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PEKKA METSO

*Divine Presence in the
Eucharistic Theology of
Nicholas Cabasilas*

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ABSTRACT: DIVINE PRESENCE IN THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF NICHOLAS CABASILAS

This study focuses on the Eucharistic theology of the Byzantine theologian Nicholas Cabasilas (d. c. 1390). It examines the presence of the divine and its transmission in the Divine Liturgy. The results of the study indicate that, according to Cabasilas, man is able to partake in God in the liturgy, and thus to subjectively receive and participate in his presence to the world. In Cabasilas' thought the presence of God is manifested in the liturgy on two major levels. There is, firstly, the level of divine presence which permeates the entire liturgy. It is based on the omnipresence of God, which is pre-eminently manifested in the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Great events of the divine economy are to be contemplated and participated in throughout the Eucharistic liturgy in the outward forms and symbols of the rite. Secondly, the presence of God is given a concrete manifestation in the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements, caused by the action of the Triune God, especially due to the Holy Spirit's descent on the bread and wine during the *epiclesis* and Christ's consecratory priestly power. What is ecumenically significant is Cabasilas' conclusion that the Greek and the Latin doctrines on the conversion of the Eucharistic elements are identical. He claims that in the Latin Mass there is also a strong epicletic element, proven by the part of the Roman Canon known by its incipit, *Supplices te rogamus*. According to Cabasilas, divine presence should ultimately become a reality within man, e.g. in his heart, soul and body. Deep subjective human reception of God's presence to the world takes place through receiving the body and blood of Christ. Cabasilas avoids accurate definitions in his statements of Eucharistic communion (*koinonia*) and union (*henosis*) with God. Speaking in accordance with the mystical tradition he emphasises the transforming effect of the Eucharist on man. In the end, union with God is manifested as life in Christ, perfected in Christian love towards neighbours.

ABSTRAKTI: JUMALALLISEN LÄSNÄOLO NIKOLAOS KABASILAKSEN EHTOOLLISTELOGIASSA

Tutkimus käsittelee bysanttilaisen teologin Nikolaos Kabasilaksen (k. n. 1390) ehtoollisteologiaa: miten hän ymmärtää jumalallisen läsnäolon todentuvan ja välittyvän jumalallisessa liturgiassa. Tutkimus osoittaa, että Kabasilaksen mukaan ihmisen on liturgiassa mahdollista subjektiivisesti osallistua Jumalasta ja hänen läsnäolostaan maailmalle. Kabasilaksella Jumalan läsnäolo todellistuu liturgiassa kahdella keskeisellä tavalla. Yhtäältä koko liturgia on jumalallisen läsnäolon läpäisemää. Ennen kaikkea Jeesuksen Kristuksen inkarnaatiossa ilmentyvä Jumalan omnipresenttinen läsnäolo on koettavissa ja osallistuttavissa liturgiassa toimituksen ulkoisten ilmausten ja symbolien kautta. Toisaalta ehtoollisaineissa läsnäoleva Kristus antaa jumalallisen läsnäololle konkreettisen muodon. Tämä on seurausta kolminaisen Jumalan toiminnasta, jossa painottuu erityisesti epikleesissä ilmaistu Hengen laskeutuminen leivän ja viinin päälle sekä Kristuksen pyhittävä papillinen voima. Ekumeenisesti merkittävänä voidaan pitää Kabasilaksen johtopäätöstä kreikkalaisen ja latinalaisen perinteen yhteneväisyydestä opetuksessa ehtoollisaineiden muuttumisesta. Hänen mukaansa myös latinalaisessa messussa on voimakas epikleettinen elementti, joka ilmenee messun *Supplices te rogamus* -rukouksessa. Jumalallisen läsnäolon tulisi Kabasilaksen mukaan viime kädessä todellistua ihmisessä itsessään; sydämessä, sielullisesti ja ruumiillisesti. Syvälinen subjektiivinen Jumalan maailmalle läsnäolemisen vastaanottaminen tapahtuu Kristuksen ruumiin ja veren nauttimisen kautta. Eukaristisesta yhteydestä (*koinonia*) ja yhtymisestä (*henosis*) puhuessaan Kabasilas välttää tarkkoja määritelmiä. Mystiikan perinteeseen nojautuen hän painottaa eukaristian ihmistä muuttavaa vaikutusta. Viime kädessä yhtyminen Jumalan kanssa ilmenee elämänä Kristuksessa, jonka täydellistää kristillinen rakkaus lähimmäistä kohtaan.

Preface

It was in the summer of 1994 when St. Nicholas Cabasilas first came to my notice. I was browsing books in the library of New Valamo monastery when by accident I caught his commentary on the Divine Liturgy. I still remember the ardour. At the time I would not have guessed how significant a role Cabasilas' works and thoughts would play in my life – personally and professionally.

At this point I find it very easy to sympathise with St. Theodore the Studite's (d. 826) description of the nature and task of research. There are two things a scholar, according to the Studite, might accomplish:

He might reinforce his own understanding, by sorting out the component arguments concerning the matter at issue and putting them in order; and he might share his findings with others, if anyone were willing to listen. Therefore, inadequate as I am to both tasks, [- -] I will try to show as well as possible how I understand the problem. "It is better", says the theologian, "to contribute what one can than to leave the whole task undone."

(Antirrheticus primus adversus iconomachos. PG 99, col. 329A)

Now that the task is completed, it is my hope that, firstly, my thinking has improved at least a bit and, secondly, the study will be received with good will by those who are interested in the subject.

I am fully aware that it would not have been possible to accomplish this study without the professional help, advice and criticism from the following persons: Pauli Annala, Paul Hesse, Gunnar af Hällström, Heikki Kotila, Antoine Levy, Serafim Seppälä, Ilja Sidoroff, Ville Vuolanto and Grant White. I alone, however, bear responsibility for any defects and ambiguities the study may contain.

My family and a great number of dear friends have contributed to the process in countless ways over the years. I am deeply thankful to you all. In addition, I wish to emphasise the personal resonance of the church of St. Nicholas and the church of St. John the Theologian in Joensuu, Finland. I have been fortunate to explore Eucharistic theology as a member of these two communities.

I also thank Paula Nieminen who in the final phase took care of the language. For the financial support I am grateful for the Finnish Orthodox Church, the Alfred Kordelin Foundation, the Brothers Kudrjanzew Fund and the Finnish Cultural Foundation, North Karelia Regional Fund.

I dedicate this study to the memory of Katariina Lampi (†), who surely had all the talent but never a chance to pursue an academic career.

Joensuu, on the Bright Wednesday in April 2010

Pekka Metsö

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCC	Catechism of the Catholic Church
Contra Gentiles	Summa contra Gentiles
De ecclesiastica	De ecclesiastica hierarchia
De sacramentis	De sacramentis fidei Christianae
De vita	De vita in Christo
JIC	Joint International Commission
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.
PG	J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca.
PGL	A Patristic Greek Lexicon
PL	J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina.
Sacrae liturgiae	Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione
Sententiae	Sententiae in IV libris distinctae
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
STh	Summa Theologiae
USC	U.S. Theological Consultation

1 Introduction

In Christianity theology and economy, God in himself and God in his outreach to the world, are in necessary unison. From the human perspective the latter forms the basis of experience of God. In the concepts of classical Christian understanding of God, it is through his self-revelation that the unknowable Godhead makes himself known and accessible to man. Dialectics between unknowable, *God in himself*, and knowable, *God manifested*, can be expressed through the distinction between *essence* and *energy*. It was already in the fourth century, namely in the thought of the Cappadocian fathers, that such ontological distinction was shaped in Christian theology.¹ As an outcome of the Palamistic dispute in the fourteenth century, the distinction was conceptualized for good in the Eastern Christian theology.² According to Christos Yannaras, the essence-energy distinction means that “what God is” is unknowable to man, but his “mode of being”, however, is accessible to man in experience. Furthermore, basing his views on Eastern Christian apophatic tradition, Yannaras argues that divine energies enable an experience of participation with imparticipable God. Finally, the participable divine mode of being is personal: God acts personally, as Trinity of persons.³ To put it briefly, in order to be participated with, God becomes present to his creation as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The theme of God’s manifestation *ad extra* and participation in him is addressed in the present study. More precisely, the topic is examined in connection with the Eucharistic teaching of Nicholas Cabasilas, the fourteenth century Byzantine theologian. Situating the question of God’s presence in the context of the Eucharistic liturgy in the Greek Byzantine tradition – that to which Cabasilas belongs – particularises the distinction between God in himself and God manifested as trinitarian, christocentric and sacramental. According to the Eastern Christian deductions of the doctrine of God as Trinity, the incarnation of the Logos is seen as the perfect manifestation of Triune God’s energy or outreach to the creation. In addition, an emphatically sacramental understanding of participation in the divine life, namely in the Eucharistic liturgy, prevails. These elements quite unsurprisingly form the bases of Cabasilas’ Eucharistic thought as well.

A trinitarian approach to the Eucharistic liturgy is apparent in the Byzantine emphasis on the culmination of the history of salvation in Christ. The way the *energy* of the Trinity was manifested in the course of history becomes real and actual in the Eucharistic liturgy. The liturgy is an expression of the trinitarian economy.⁴ This is the

¹ See e.g. Behr 2004; Pelikan 1971, 211-225.

² The role of the Cappadocian fathers as predecessors of Gregory Palamas’ essence-energy theology has recently been explored by Torrance 2009.

³ Yannaras 2005, 83-87.

⁴ The vast number of Eucharistic prayers or *anaphorae* follows the pattern of addressing the prayers to the Father – through the Son and in the Holy Spirit. This is a remarkably dominant tradition,

tradition of liturgical thought that Cabasilas is set on: the liturgy is seen as theophany of Triune God, a reality permeated with his operation.⁵ Such a setting gives grounds to view the experience of the divine presence in the liturgy in broad terms, although the christocentric view dominates the understanding of approaching God and experiencing his presence in the liturgy.⁶ The bases of Christ-centred emphasis are on the New Testament's revelation which focuses on Jesus Christ as the incarnate Logos. During the first five Christian centuries it was debated in what manner "a special presence of God" recognised in Christ should be understood and expressed. The history of doctrine clearly witnesses that since the very beginning there has been a consensus on the special presence of God in Christ – no matter how orthodox or unorthodox the given explanations of that presence were. For example, there is no difference between orthodox and monophysite christologies in their basic conviction that the Godhead is present in Christ. The difference lies in explaining *how* that presence is to be understood. Consequently, in Christian theology the question of presence of God is christocentric at its core.⁷ It is on this christocentric tradition that Cabasilas' thought is established.

Awareness of the christological *locus* of the theme of presence serves as a starting point for sacramental aspect of the Eucharist. The concept of Christ's special presence is traditionally linked with the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁸ Basically, the conviction of the Saviour's real presence in the Eucharist was well established by the beginning of the fourth century.⁹ Eucharistic realism was further fed with a *mysterium tremendum* –piety, which emphasised not only the holiness of the sacrifice but also its frightfulness.¹⁰ Taken together, the Eucharist was during the patristic era generally linked with a distinct idea of Christ's unique presence. Nevertheless, there were differences in explaining the exact manner of his Eucharistic presence, that is, the realism of his sacrificed and risen body in the bread and wine. Consequently, it is quite natural to pose a question of divine presence to Cabasilas, whose interest is in explaining that God becomes present and is participable in the Eucharistic gathering.

since there are but few known early *anaphoras* that address prayers to Christ. See Gerhards 1983. Cf. Varghese 2004, 61-62.

⁵ In the form of the 14th century Byzantine liturgy, the one commented on by Cabasilas, there are a number of elements that refer to the Trinitarian operation. Starting with the opening doxology there are recurrent references to the divine economy, with a special emphasis on the economy of the Son. Yet another and very substantial perspective of the liturgy is the pneumatological; the transformative power of the Holy Spirit (in the consecration of the elements) and the communion of the Spirit (with ecclesiological derivatives) play a central role in investigating the manifestation of God as Trinity.

⁶ Kilmartin 1988, 329-335, 338-341.

⁷ The unity between the Father and the Son, expressed in biblical expressions (e.g. Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:22; John 1:18; 5:19-23; 8:19; 10:15, 38), was conceptualised in the council of Nicea (325) by the term *homoousios*. On New Testament Christology see Burridge 2005; Brown 1994. On the christological debate see Pelikan 1971, 226-277; Pihkala 1997; Simonetti 1992.

⁸ Cooke & Macy 2005, 39; Riley 1974, 40. See also Wright 2005.

⁹ Congar 1983, 229; Evdokimov 2001, 254; Kelly 1958, 211-213, 452; Pelikan 1971, 167-170. Early patristic Eucharistic realism is illustrated in Chrysostom's description of one of the faithful who sinks his teeth into Christ's flesh and drinks from the chalice the blood which bled from the Saviour's side. *Homiliae in Joannem*, Hom. 46, 3. PG 59, col. 260.; *In Epistolam primam ad Corinthios*, Hom. 24, 2. PG 61, col. 199-200.

¹⁰ Jungmann 1976, 51; Kelly 1958, 451.

As stated above, the theme of the divine presence or the presence of God¹¹ is set on the suspense between the essence and the energy of God. The underlying epistemological starting point for approaching divine presence is a distinction between the objective presence of God (in his essence) and the subjective experience of his presence to the creation. From the human perspective, the objective omnipresence of God cannot be directly grasped. The dramatic ontological gap between God and man, the creator and creation, the essence of God and his experienced operation, thus forms the basic dynamics of the divine presence. Consequently, God can be participated in and his presence experienced only if he mediates his otherwise unattainable presence to his creation. However, the elements that mediate divine presence to his creation cannot be identified with God.¹² For example, the great entrance of the Byzantine Eucharistic liturgy is a liturgical mediator of Triune redemptive operation, as Cabasilas could describe it, yet distinct from God himself in his essence. At the same time, the mediators (types, symbols etc.) are truly the main means for experiencing God's presence.

Since this study focuses on the manner in which Cabasilas understands divine presence to be manifested, communed with and experienced in the liturgy, the presence of God as an experienced reality is taken as a starting point in this study and therefore the psychological qualifications are not discussed. Besides, the problem of the existence of God outside of the experience of his presence is not seen as a valid topic of consideration within the scope of this study.¹³

In the context of the Eucharistic liturgy noetic awareness of God's omnipresence – his being present to all things – is realised on a specific foundation. The divine presence becomes participable in specific symbols and tangible signs, made accessible to men even corporeally. The focus will therefore be on Cabasilas' concepts of those signs and signals in the liturgy which, according to him, reveal and make God's presence manifest, and allow that presence to be participated in. In the liturgy the presence of God, therefore, becomes manifested within the ontological scope of created order. This means that God is not only present to the world but is also participable. Such dialectical connection, posed by the possibility of partaking in the God whose essence is beyond human grasp, is where the focus will be when Cabasilas' explications of the divine presence are examined. How does he manage to balance his thought between theocentrism and anthropocentrism, between the objective manifestation of history of salvation and its subjective reception?

¹¹ "Divine presence" and "presence of God" are used as synonyms in the present study. Furthermore, when divinity or divine is referred to in this study, it is the Trinitarian God – the Father, the Son and the Spirit – who is intended. This postulate is conceivable because, firstly, Cabasilas explicates his views within the conventional *milieu* of classical Christian doctrine on God. Secondly, the focus of the study is not on the conception of God in the work of Nicholas Cabasilas but on his propositions concerning how God or the divine is manifested in the Eucharistic synaxis. Thus, in this study there is no need to speculate on hypotheses concerning Cabasilas' concept of God or divinity as such.

¹² Dalferth 2001, 237-240, 244.

¹³ In principle, the presence of God is naturally separable from the psychological level of human experience of the divine presence. Philosophically put, the presence of God is not dependent on human experience of his presence.

The concept of presence is in this work used as the framework of interpretation in assessing Cabasilas' thought. It needs to be clarified that "divine presence" is not derived from Cabasilas as a technical term, as if it were a construct he uses in his major works. Instead, it is a concept I have introduced for the purpose of approaching the question of God's operation and manifestation in the Eucharist according to Cabasilas. The mode of God's presence enables us to perceive his Eucharistic doctrine in the broad perspective of liturgical and sacramental theology.¹⁴ Therefore, using the concept of divine presence in studying Cabasilas' doctrine enables us to enhance our understanding of his way of thought.

1.1. RELEVANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In modern theology, Cabasilas appears to be a subject of a broad interest transcending the boundaries of theological currents within Eastern Orthodoxy. The relevance of a study of his Eucharistic thought is immediately apparent. Two major contemporary developments render an investigation of his views particularly valuable. First, the achievements of the modern ecumenical movement point to the necessity of investigating Eucharistic theology in the Christian tradition. Liturgical theology and sacramental theology are major trends in the sphere of ecumenical theology. Current issues in the ecumenical movement, such as the question of Eucharistic hospitality and a general convergence in Eucharistic doctrine, point to the relevance of the present work.

The results achieved by the ecumenical movement are reflected and are partly a consequence of the second circumstance which points to the importance of research on Cabasilas' liturgically-oriented thought. That circumstance is the Liturgical Movement of the 20th century which marked the historically momentous reform of the Christian liturgy and Eucharistic rites especially. The reform of Eucharistic rites engendered not only renewed practices in many churches, but also intensified research in the fields of liturgical and sacramental theology. Traditionally, the idea of re-enactment of the redemptive deeds of God in the liturgy, "the mystical representation and the re-enactment of [Christ's] death and resurrection", occupies a central place in Orthodox liturgical experience.¹⁵ However, the nature and function of liturgical symbolism¹⁶, the dominating feature of Cabasilas' approach, has been debated and causes dissent.

¹⁴ I have explored the focality of the concept of the presence of God in theology more thoroughly elsewhere. See Metso 2010.

¹⁵ Arseniev 1979, 120. The following characterisation by Boris Bobrinsky serves as an example of the Orthodox approach to the liturgy: "The liturgy is filled with theology; not only do the liturgical texts [- -] reflect a rich theological doctrine and express the faith of the Church, but the *liturgical action itself*, the ritual and symbolic celebration express a theological reality, through the sacramental gestures and the action of the assembly. They manifest, on the one hand, the presence of God, the ecclesial foretaste of the Trinitarian kingdom [- -] and they signify, on the other hand, the doxological attitude, that of praise, of the Church before the presence of God." Bobrinsky 1999, 147.

¹⁶ In the context of this study the term liturgical symbolism signifies a special approach to the totality of liturgy (hymns, prayers, entrances etc.) that aims to point out the connection of worship with the great events of the history of salvation, culminating in Jesus Christ. Furthermore, these

The first aspect, the ecumenical relevance of Cabasilas, is attested by the latter-day attention he has attracted especially among Roman Catholic theologians. Two decades ago Hans-Joachim Schulz, a Roman Catholic liturgical scholar and ecumenist, suggested that explicitly due to Nicholas Cabasilas' approach to the Eucharist he could lead the way to a new kind of reflection in contemporary ecumenical dialogue. According to Schulz, Cabasilas' thought is especially adaptable to "juncture points for the contemporary ecumenical encounter of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Evangelical churches", namely Eucharistic ecclesiology and a pneumatological approach to the Eucharistic action.¹⁷ Positive estimation of Cabasilas' ecumenical potency has more recently been endorsed by the Jesuit liturgical scholar Robert Taft who made reference to Cabasilas' "universal ecumenical appeal".¹⁸ In 2006 the 14th International Ecumenical Conference held in Bose, Italy, concentrated on Cabasilas' Eucharistic and liturgical thought, and hence gave a strong witness to the presently felt "ecumenical appeal" of his visions.¹⁹ It also seems that it is especially to the hierarchs responsible for the official teaching of the Roman Church that Cabasilas appeals.²⁰

The linkage between Cabasilas and the Roman Church is not a new one. Its roots go far back to the times of the Catholic Reformation, particularly to the Council of Trent (1545-1563). It was in 1548 when the legate Cervini produced a Latin translation of Cabasilas' commentary on the Divine Liturgy for the needs of the council in proving the universality of the Catholic position against the Reformed and Lutheran views.²¹ A translation into Latin of *De vita in Christo*, another of Cabasilas' main works, appeared some sixty years later in 1604.²² Cabasilas' commentary on the Liturgy became one of the most circulated works of Byzantine theology in the West.²³

It was in the early 20th century that Cabasilas reappeared on the stage of modern Roman Catholic theological discussion. Evidently his status in Trent had had an influence on H. Bouëssé and M. de la Taille. Comparing Cabasilas' teaching to the decisions of the Council of Trent, Bouëssé concludes with a remarkably sympathetic approach to Cabasilas, whom he considered to be fully consistent with Roman Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist. The Jesuit scholar de la Taille had some years earlier defined the mystery of Eucharistic sacrifice in a manner consonant with that of Cabasilas.²⁴

What makes Cabasilas' Eucharistic thinking ecumenically interesting is not only the apparent Roman Catholic interest showed towards him. It is, in particular, his own

great events of the past are believed to be accessible through various liturgical symbols, which therefore establish a connection between God and man in the Eucharistic liturgy.

¹⁷ Schulz 1986, 196.

¹⁸ Taft 1999, 253.

¹⁹ For the published papers of the conference see *Nicola Cabasilas e la divina liturgia* 2007.

²⁰ John Paul II 2003; Ratzinger 2002.

²¹ Schulz 1964, 202. See also Bobrinskoy 1968, 484. In the minutes of the council Cabasilas is referred to more than twenty times, his name appearing several times with an epithet "interpres missae Graecorum". *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 447, 527-528. It is not clear whether the designation "interpres missae Graecorum" was just a clarification for those who did not know him or whether the fathers of Trent considered him to be the highest authority in interpreting "the Greek mass", Cabasilas being *the* interpreter.

²² Getcha 2007a, 48.

²³ Conticello 2006, 16.

²⁴ Mazza 1989, 4. Cf. Bouëssé 1938; de la Taille 1921.

interest in the Latin liturgical practices and Eucharistic doctrine that accentuates the ecumenical relevance of his thought. Cabasilas dedicates one of the chapters of his *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatatione* to the Latin conception of the epiclesis and the words of institution. Furthermore he compares these to the views and liturgy of the Greek tradition, naturally better known by him than the Latin one. Cabasilas comes to the remarkable conclusion that even though there are in the Latin liturgical usage practices that appear to him as erroneous, he nonetheless maintains that the theology of the Latin (Roman Catholic) Mass is uniform with the Greek (Orthodox) doctrine of the Eucharist.²⁵

Cabasilas' desire to understand Latin Eucharistic doctrine draws attention to modern dialogue between the Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The Eucharist has been one of the issues considered to be among the uniting rather than dividing issues between the two traditions.²⁶ The way in which the doctrine of the Eucharist was presented – notably the emphasis on epiclesis – in the 1992 *Catechism of the Catholic Church* gives a strong witness to the convergence between the Church of Rome and the Orthodox Church in this issue.²⁷ Cabasilas' conclusions on the comparison between the Greek and Latin views of consecration of the Eucharist anticipate the modern ecumenical achievements. But it is not just the themes and achievements of the Catholic-Orthodox dialogue to which Cabasilas' Eucharistic interest is confined. This dialogue is but an example of a larger frame of an ecumenical Eucharistic trend in the 20th century.²⁸ During the first years of the third millennium the Eucharist has remained one of the major theological issues in the agenda of the ecumenical movement.²⁹

A second aspect of the relevance of the present research is connected with the ecumenical Eucharistic interest. The 20th century Liturgical Movement not only meant a significant concentration on Eucharistic thought, but a tremendous impetus toward liturgical research and renewal of both liturgical theology and liturgical practices within many Christian traditions. The liturgical relevance of Cabasilas is evident here. It is not only his interest towards liturgy in itself, but more especially his unique place at the very end of the evolution of the Eucharistic liturgy of the Byzantine tradition that makes him a notable object of study.³⁰ Furthermore, his work has been repeatedly referred to in the liturgical renewal of the Orthodox Church.

²⁵ "Ὅτι καὶ τῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Λατίνων ἡ τελετὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν τελεῖται τρόπον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX.

²⁶ A common Eucharist was set as the goal of the dialogue already in its planning phase. JIC 1980, 47. Especially in the documents *Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist* (JIC 1982) and *Faith, Sacraments and Unity of the Church* (JIC 1987) the centrality of Eucharistic unity is verified. See also Fahey 1996.

²⁷ See e.g. CCC 1992, § 1353, § 1375.

²⁸ This is witnessed by one of the major ecumenical embodiments, the Faith and Order convergence text *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (1982), which alongside baptism and ministry largely focuses on the Eucharist.

²⁹ In the recent Faith and Order documents *The Nature and Mission of the Church* (2005, 46-49) and *Christian Perspectives on Theological Anthropology* (2005, 45-46) the problems caused by the disagreements over Eucharistic doctrine and over the question of Eucharistic hospitality are mentioned as future challenges. See also Briggs 2004, 670.

³⁰ In this study the question of the text(s) of the liturgy known and used by Cabasilas as sources is not dealt with. The focus is on Cabasilas' theology of the liturgy, not on the text of the liturgy known by him. Naturally, the text of the liturgy is entailed in his theology, thus significantly orientating his insights on the Eucharist. Whenever significant echoes of liturgical material, direct

The basic principle in the Orthodox liturgical movement is to revitalise the Eucharistic experience of the liturgy.³¹ The reform is not so concerned with liturgical structures; rather, it aims to adjust the way how liturgy is approached and understood. In other words, it is the change of understanding, not alterations in the shape of liturgy that is sought in the first place – a change in liturgical thought, not of liturgical form.³² This kind of mentality could be described as a *renewal through tradition*. Alexander Schmemmann, one of the leading spokesmen of the liturgical movement, has crystallised the mindset of the movement as follows: “It is a return through worship to the Church and through the Church to worship.”³³ The reason for the need for a readjusted perspective lies in the argument of reformists that the liturgy has during the course of history developed into a polymorphic entity that offers a possibility of multiple interpretations of its very purpose and nature.³⁴ To begin with, Schmemmann’s characterization points to the theological foundations of the renewal, namely, to ecclesiology and to worship as the central act in and of the life of the church. Thus, the renewal aims to establish an orientation towards liturgy that supports sound ecclesiological understanding, an idea palpable widely in the Russian émigré theology of the 20th century. In addition, the very idea of return also necessitates a critical dissection of the historical layers of the liturgical tradition. After all, the return and fresh orientation has to be based on some concrete forms of and approaches to liturgy that are considered to be ideal. Therefore, the argument based on how the history of development of the form has influenced the theology of liturgy – and *vice versa* – has become crucial when the need for reforms in the spirit of the tradition is discussed.³⁵

It has proved not to be an easy task for Orthodox liturgists to assess the value of various expressions and lines of thought in the tradition of interpretation of the liturgy. This is evident when it comes to Nicholas Cabasilas’ paradoxical role in the modern discussion about the liturgical renewal. There are scholars who look upon Cabasilas critically in arguing their views on the true interpretation of the liturgy. The critics of Cabasilas base their negative attitude toward him on his symbolical interpretation of liturgy, Cabasilas’ predominant approach. Schmemmann even goes so far as to make him an example of decadence of Eucharistic thought, so evident in Cabasilas’ liturgical

and indirect, are detected, references to it are made in the text or in the footnotes. The aim is thus to demonstrate how deeply rooted Cabasilas is in the liturgy, not to speculate on the manuscript variants of the liturgy and different liturgical practices of the time, serving as the background to his Eucharistic thought. When there is a need to refer to the text of the liturgy, a Greek text in Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western, Volume 1* (1896) is used. As is well known, the text of the Byzantine liturgy is not one, but there are various manuscript traditions with considerable authority. Up to the present, there is no critical edition of the entire Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

³¹ On the history and principles of the Orthodox liturgical movement see Felmy 1984. On the Roman Catholic liturgical movement and its influence on the Orthodox Church see Chandlee 1986; Jounel 1987, 71-84; Legrand 2007; Wainwright 1993, 341-344, 406-409.

³² Paavali 1981, 187; Purmonen 1971, 10; Sidoroff 1979, 243; Woolfenden 2000, 45, 49.

³³ Schmemmann 1966, 12. On the influence of Catholic liturgical renewal on Schmemmann see Nguyen 2005.

³⁴ Cf. Schmemmann 1966, 12; Ware 1963, 279.

³⁵ Wainwright (1993, 342-343) remarks that there is not much to say about actual liturgical readjustments made in the Eastern Churches. Wainwright’s insight proves that the primary reforms in Orthodoxy tend to be aimed toward the attitude towards the liturgy, not the liturgy itself.

symbolism.³⁶ However, Cabasilas is at the same time considered by others, e.g. Georges Florovsky³⁷ and John Meyendorff³⁸, to be a representative of genuine liturgical and Eucharistic tradition.³⁹

There are others who have not gone along with Schmemann's view of a decline in the development of the liturgy. Some have openly criticised "the negative scholarly tradition" of Schmemann and questioned his fundamental claim regarding the breakage in Byzantine liturgical tradition.⁴⁰ Justifications of the criticism of liturgical symbolism within the renewal movement are then impugned. Harakas fears that dereliction of symbolism leads to neglecting genuine Orthodox tradition and narrowing the ways of participation in the liturgy.⁴¹ The ascetic-subjective dimension of liturgical symbolism, which contributes to contemplation of divine mysteries, is also acknowledged by Ryksert. As a spokesman for liturgical renewal, he still is cautious with regard to symbolism and maintains that due to the mystagogical tradition the historical and practical character of the rite has been neglected.⁴² Not all liturgical scholars are as critical of the mystagogical tradition. When discussing the hermeneutical value of the traditional liturgical commentaries, Paul Meyendorff contents himself to regret that Schmemann sees the commentaries in such a fault-finding light.⁴³

Nevertheless, as Schmemann puts it, symbolism has almost become a byword for the Byzantine liturgy.⁴⁴ This observation carries a nuance of criticism. The tradition of symbolical interpretation is often reproached for bypassing the Eucharistic nucleus of liturgy; in this tradition the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements is not emphasised and the very act of communion is neglected. According to Schmemann, many interpreters of the liturgy, Cabasilas included, due to their symbolism actually alienate people from the true contents of the liturgy. Liturgy then becomes merely a depiction of Christ's life and contemplation of various symbols, rather than an authentic

³⁶ Schmemann 1990a, 81-82. Purmonen duplicates Schmemann views by professing to view Cabasilas' symbolism as a witness of orthodox liturgical decline. Purmonen 1971, 11.

³⁷ Florovsky 1978, 176-177.

³⁸ Meyendorff defines Cabasilas as a theologian who marked a return to sacramental realism of early Christianity from pseudo-Dionysian symbolism as a counter reaction against overpronounced symbolism. J. Meyendorff 1974a, 108. Wybrew and Solovey also emphasize Cabasilas' role in balancing out liturgical theology by focusing on Eucharist-centeredness of the liturgy. Wybrew 1990, 158; Solovey 1970, 73-74. Of Catholic scholars, Bouyer rates Cabasilas' interpretation of the liturgy exceptionally high. Bouyer 1955, 279. See also Mazza 1989, 3.

³⁹ As an illustration of Cabasilas' extensive status, *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, under the entry on "Orthodox worship", lists only two titles by orthodox scholars: one of them is Cabasilas' commentary on the Divine Liturgy, and the other one – perhaps wryly – a book by Alexander Schmemann. Hackel 1986, 423. Cabasilas' appreciation is further seen in the status given to him in the Patriarchate of Constantinople's response to *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*. He is anonymously referred to as a voice representing "the Orthodox tradition". *Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople* 1987, 4. The weight of reference to Cabasilas is even more momentous since it is the only reference to any individual theologian in the entire statement.

⁴⁰ Auxentios & Thorton 1987, 288.

⁴¹ Harakas 1974, 58-59.

⁴² Ryksert 1966, 10-11.

⁴³ P. Meyendorff 1984, 39. See also Taft 1980-1981, 45. Ion Bria has recently drawn upon Cabasilas in his presentation of "the essentials of the liturgy" which contains half a dozen large citations from Cabasilas. Bria 1996, 5-16.

⁴⁴ Schmemann 1981, 91.

self-expression of the Church and true participation in the life of the Church.⁴⁵ The liturgical symbols should therefore not be seen as a simple means of 'representation' and 'symbolizing', derived from liturgical action, but they should originate from theology. Schmemmann concludes that the interpretation of the liturgy should be understood as "the elucidation of its theological meaning."⁴⁶

Based on Schmemmann's arguments, one is tempted to ask, is a symbolic interpretation of the liturgy necessarily disconnected from theology? Or could symbolism rather be seen as a way of clarifying the *lex credendi* of the *lex orandi*? The question of the theological weight of the commentaries has huge significance, since liturgical commentaries typify *per se* Orthodox liturgical understanding; how the liturgy is viewed by the Church as the expression of her faith.⁴⁷ It is evident that, alongside some other modern and more recent scholars, Schmemmann represents a phase of critical assessment of an earlier tier of tradition of liturgical interpretation. Orthodox liturgical reform as *renewal through tradition* makes the discussion about the abandonment of liturgical symbolism problematic. Symbolical interpretation is a traditional approach to liturgy, its roots extending back for centuries. How could tradition-appreciating Orthodoxy cast aside such an ancient hermeneutical tradition? It is not, of course, only the antiquity of the symbolism that makes the issue complicated, but the general Orthodox approach to liturgy that gives symbols such an important place in expressing the presence of the divine in the liturgical setting. This arrangement has recently given rise to a debate on the importance and the role of symbol in the Eucharistic liturgy.⁴⁸ It is evident that in modern-day Orthodox theology both the liturgical expressions – the present *ordo* of the liturgy – and their interpretations are in part found problematic. In 1998, a pan-Orthodox consultation on liturgical renewal made an effort to clarify the nature and significance of the liturgy, and released a list of principles defining the characteristics of Orthodox worship. According to the consultation's statement, the formulation of these principles emerges from the need to specify criteria for both judging reforms of the Orthodox liturgy and Orthodox participation in ecumenical worship.⁴⁹ In

⁴⁵ Schmemmann 1966, 24-25, 99-100. Grgurevich (1993, 87) considers Schmemmann's resistance to symbolism surprising. For him especially Eucharistic symbolism represents a specific identity for Orthodox theology.

⁴⁶ Schmemmann 1966, 14.

⁴⁷ Cf. Varghese (2004, 16), who sees commentaries as representing how the Church viewed liturgy as the expression of her *lex credendi*.

⁴⁸ John Zizioulas has observed that the Orthodox liturgy is centred on the Eucharist and at the same time is symbolical to the core. What Zizioulas finds problematic is not symbolism itself but the blurred theological foundations of the symbol, not to speak of magical connotations so easily merged with symbolism. Zizioulas 2000, 3-4, 14-17. The problem of proper understanding of symbolism has among others also been detected by Koumarios (2000, 21), Vassiliadis (1997, 5-7) and Woolfenden (2000, 41-43).

⁴⁹ The bases for worship are determined by the consultation to simultaneously be (1) *theocentric* and *dialogical*; in and through worship God manifests himself and communicates with his people, who for their part turn towards God in prayer and praise. As an expression of man's relation to God, the liturgy is (2) *formative* to the church. It is the primary way of forming faith and identity. The dialogical aspect of the liturgy also indicates that worship is dynamic in its essence. This dynamism can be clearly seen in various points highlighted by the statement. Worship is a (3) *holistic* event that enables a (4) *transformative* personal connection between man and God. Additionally, worship is not objective in itself, being therefore (5) *instrumental* in its nature. Worship aims to transfigure man's

light of the consultation's views it is obvious that in the foreground of the Orthodox liturgical movement is the attainment of the essence of divine worship which, above all else, is expressed in the Eucharistic liturgy.⁵⁰

1.2. PURPOSE, METHOD AND SOURCES OF THE STUDY

On the basis of former considerations on the tension between objective and subjective and topical discussion about symbolic interpretation of the Eucharistic liturgy, the purpose of the present study can now be specified. The aim is to answer the following questions: what is the nature of the divine presence, according to Nicholas Cabasilas, in the Eucharistic assembly? How does he understand that presence to be manifested and confessed in and through the liturgy?

In answering these questions a special focus is put on the relation or even interplay between symbolism and realism in Cabasilas' interpretation of the Eucharistic liturgy as manifestation of the divine presence. The recent debate on the nature of symbolism in the Orthodox liturgy of the Eucharist indicates that liturgical symbolism is seen by some as a threat to the real nature of the Eucharist. To put it otherwise, does cultivation of symbolism threaten the objective reality of God to be subjectively participated? Is there a danger of losing the special presence of Christ in the bread and wine underneath a layer of symbolism? Thus particular interest is directed in this study towards Cabasilas' position within the tradition of sacramental realism. Does he perceive Christ's presence in the Eucharistic bread and wine in an exceptional manner, distinctively different from Christ's presence manifested in other symbols of the liturgy? How are these modes of divine presence placed on the objective-subjective span? Answering these questions necessitates an examination of the alleged tension between liturgical symbolism and real Eucharistic presence of Christ in Cabasilas' thought.

From Cabasilas' own intentions arises a need to define also the interconnection of Greek and Latin traditions on the Eucharist in his thought. Cabasilas explicitly relates not only to the Eastern Greek tradition but also to that of Western Latin scholasticism.⁵¹ Modern ecumenical and Eucharistic tendencies further justify the resonance of explicating Cabasilas' junctures with the Latin tradition of his age. Cabasilas confines the discussion to his own discovery of the common understanding of the elements of the liturgy that are believed to effect the transformation of the Eucharistic gifts. Interconnections between the two traditions in Cabasilas' thought are examined by

intellect, purify his heart and liberate him from desire. In addition, the consultation states that worship is formative to the Christian faith and it is the primary way of expressing that faith. Therefore, it is not only individual identity the worship defines, but correspondingly the communal identity: the statement stresses the (6) *ecclesial*, (7) *inclusive* and (8) *cosmic* aspects of worship. As an allusion to liturgical symbolism the (9) *evangelical* aspect is defined as expression of the history of salvation culminated in Christ. As stated by the document, the liturgy "tells the story of Jesus Christ." Lastly, the document emphasises the (10) *eschatological* orientation of worship. *Consultation* 1998, 388-389.

⁵⁰ Cf. Vassiliadis 1997, 10-11.

⁵¹ It is exactly due to his Eucharistic doctrine that Gouillard for his part characterises Cabasilas as the Byzantine scholastic. Gouillard 1967, 26.

proportioning the views of Cabasilas with a selection of mediaeval Latin sources on the Eucharist. This task is carried out in Chapter four, which focuses on questions on Eucharistic sacrifice and change of the elements of the Eucharist.

Methodologically, my approach is systematic analysis. Through systematic analysis I aim to reveal the central aspects and supporting structure of Cabasilas' theology of the Eucharist. This also necessitates assessing the logical grounds of Cabasilas' presentation of his own thoughts and interpretations of the liturgy. This assessment is done in order to clarify the essential characteristics in Cabasilas' thought. In this process the theme of the presence of God serves as the hermeneutical key.

The order of the chapters is like a methodological framework in itself. From the perspective of the divine presence, the third chapter firstly concentrates on the presence of God and his action in the world as expressed through the Eucharistic liturgy. How does Cabasilas understand the liturgy to be a manifestation of imparticipable God becoming participable? Secondly, the symbolic meaning of the altar as a sign of the special and permanent presence of God is studied. Absoluteness of the gap between objective and subjective is then challenged. Lastly, the liturgical symbolism of the Eucharistic rite as an anamnestic element in making the presence of God is addressed.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist as a special case of making divine presence a reality within the realm of created order. The role of the priest as a sign of the presence of God and as an instrument to make the divine present is also investigated in this chapter. The fifth chapter focuses on the presence of God in man as a result of Eucharistic communion. The effects of the actualisation of the Eucharistic mystery within the soul of the communicant are closely studied. Consequently, the perspective on participation becomes utmostly subjective, even existential⁵². Taken as a whole, this work begins with the liturgical setting of Eucharistic assembly and ends with the mystical Eucharistic experience.

The main sources of this study consist of Cabasilas' principal works on sacramental and mystical theology; *De vita in Christo* and *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione*.⁵³ In the former work Cabasilas presents an overall picture of communion with Jesus Christ enabled by the mysteries of baptism, chrismation and Eucharist. In *De vita in Christo* sacramental communion with life-giving Christ culminates in mystical union. The three mysteries of

⁵² In this study "existential" is used in no reference to existentialism as a philosophical tendency or school. "Existential" points to such subjective experience of an individual which transforms the objective-subjective tension into himself as his personally experienced inner reality. Thus, "existential" is something that takes place in the personal or subjective inner life of an individual. As a result, the objective reality of the Eucharistic liturgy becomes subjectively grasped. This does not mean, however, that the unreachable objectiveness of God (*essence*) is challenged. Rather, despite his absolute objectiveness, God becomes into close contact with the subjective human mode of being.

⁵³ The authenticity of the two main sources is unquestionable. I have used the editions published in the series *Sources chrétiennes* (SC). *De vita* is in two volumes, published in 1989 and 1990 as numbers SC 355 and SC 361 respectively. The content and relationships of the known manuscripts of the work are explained in detail by Congourdeau (1989, 48-62), the editor of the edition. The alternative readings in the SC edition are shown in the apparatus of the critical text. Regarding *Sacrae liturgiae* I have likewise used the SC edition (1967, number 4). The manuscript tradition basis of the edition of *Sacrae liturgiae* is presented in Périchon 1967.

initiation, as presented by Cabasilas, form a hierarchical system in which the Eucharist embodies the highest and most desirable form of sacramental-mystical unity. As the title of the latter work suggests, it is an explanation of the Byzantine liturgy of the Eucharist. Cabasilas approaches the liturgy from the perspective provided by the tradition of symbolic interpretation. He describes the outward form of the rite, the prayers and liturgical action, and presents his interpretations of their spiritual meaning. The guiding principle in his interpretation is to reconstruct the central events of the history of salvation from the *ordo* of the liturgy, the very *ordo* being, according to Cabasilas, formed by the influence of divine economy. In *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione* there are two sections that are dedicated to special questions on the doctrine of the Eucharist. In these parts Cabasilas discusses the manner of the change of the Eucharistic elements, the communion of the deceased, and the Latin views on the relation of the epiclesis to the words of institution.

The complementary sources consist, on the one hand, of a number of minor works of Cabasilas that are used to support and broaden the views he presents in his main works. On the other hand, I have used a collection of Latin sources as a point of comparison. Unfortunately there are no references in Cabasilas' works revealing what is his source of information on Latin views of the Eucharist. I have, therefore, chosen a selection of four basic works on Latin scholastic doctrine of the Eucharist. All of them have significantly contributed to the formation and interpretation of mediaeval Latin Eucharistic doctrine, thus forming the received Latin view. The authors and the works are: Hugh of St. Victor's (ca. 1090-1141) *De sacramentis*, Peter Lombard's (ca. 1095-1160) *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (*Sententiae*), and Thomas Aquinas' (ca. 1225-1274) *Summa theologiae* (*STh*) and *Summa contra gentiles* (*Contra gentiles*).⁵⁴ In each of these works I have mainly focused on the chapters dedicated to the fundamentals of the theology of the sacraments and to the doctrine of the Eucharist particularly.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Hugh of St. Victor is one of the main developers of theology of the sacraments in the West since Augustine, to such an extent that he is known as *Alter Augustinus*. *De sacramentis* is his main work, not only on sacramental theology but also on other major topics of Christian theology. It is one of the first mediaeval general presentations of theology, marking also the beginning of standardization of the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments. Peter Lombard, for his part, gave a definite input in finishing the process to which Hugh contributed in its beginning. Lombard made his lasting contribution to the doctrine of the sacraments in his highly acclaimed *Sententiae*. It is a systematic presentation of Christian theology that not only set down the basis for sacramental theology for centuries to come, but practically defined the content of theological education in the age of high and late scholasticism, maintaining its nearly normative status up till the mid-16th century. Thomas Aquinas took his degree by lecturing on Lombard's sentences, and Martin Luther is also known to have read the book. The thought of Thomas Aquinas has had a dominant role in the Catholic Church up to the present. Aquinas represents the pinnacle of the scholasticism of the high Middle Ages, his authority unsurpassed when Latin mediaeval theology is studied (Eucharistic theology included). His monumental main work, *Summa theologiae*, is one of the largest presentations of Christian theology ever written. *Summa contra gentiles* also bears evidence of Aquinas' inclination towards comprehensiveness in theological treatise. Châtillon 1986; Deferrari 1951, ix; Hauschild 1995, 571-575, 601; Hödl 1996, 296-296, 301-302; Kopperi 1994, 18-19, 101-102; Rosemann 2004, 25-33, 54-70; Schmidt 1982, 583-587, 651-652; Wawrykow 1999a & 1999b.

⁵⁵ Of the work by Hugh of St. Victor, I have unfortunately had no access to a better edition than that appearing in volume 176 of *Patrologia Migne* (1880). It is well-known that Migne's editions are in most cases far from reliable. Of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, I have used the 1981 edition in the series *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum*. In this study the main interest focuses on the fourth book of the

My intention is not to claim that Nicholas Cabasilas was actually familiar with these Latin sources. Yet, it is a known fact that the *Summa contra gentiles* was translated into Greek by Demetrios Cydones already in 1355, and portions of the *Summa theologiae* some years later.⁵⁶ In the fourth book of the *Summa contra gentiles* Aquinas presents both the Latin doctrine on the Eucharist (IV, 61-69) and the Latin belief in the procession of the Spirit from the Son (IV, 24-25). The Greek translation of the *Summa theologiae* covered the monumental work only partially, thus leaving some of the controversial contemporary themes in sacramental theology outside its scope.⁵⁷ However, through these translations and his interaction with the translators, with whom he was acquainted, Cabasilas potentially had access to Aquinas' works and consequently to the theological premises of Latin Christian thought. Hugh's and Peter Lombard's works probably were not known to Cabasilas. In any case, the Latin material in question reveals basic beliefs of the scholastic doctrine of the Eucharist, and it is for this reason that I found them fruitful sources in assessing Cabasilas' presentation of the Latin view, regardless of how much his unknown source of information was actually depending on them.⁵⁸

1.3. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON NICHOLAS CABASILAS

The previous works focusing on Cabasilas can be classified into two groups. The first group consists of studies dedicated to his sacramental and mystical theology, the other comprises studies on various other aspects of his thought.

The forerunner of the entirety of modern research into Cabasilas is the German scholar W. Gass. As the title of his book *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo* (1849) suggests, he primarily focused on *De vita in Christo*. In his book Gass depicts Cabasilas as a faithful representative of Eastern Christian tradition, embracing both the heritage of great spiritual authors (e.g. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Macarius of Egypt and Maximus the Confessor) and the basic views of Eastern Christian soteriology. In connection with the subject of soteriology, Gass found that Cabasilas' doctrine of the Incarnation is largely consistent with that of Anselm of Canterbury's *satisfactio* theory. Gass' distinctive tendentiousness (e.g. anti-Roman Catholic polemics) whittles away the resonance of his work.

sentences, which is included in the second part of the aforementioned edition. Of Thomas Aquinas' *STh*, I have relied on the standard text edition provided by the Dominicans. It is based on the late 14th/early 15th century manuscript ms. 15801 that is kept in the French National Library in Paris. The reliability of the edition is not totally sound, but the rather early date of the main manuscript does not give grounds to question its usability. Of *Contra gentiles*, I have used the standard edition of the Leonine text reprinted in Paris 1951-1964.

⁵⁶ Kianka 1982; Tyn 1974.

⁵⁷ Rackl 1924. For partial edition of the translation see Cydones 1976-1982.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that this selection of works of Latin mediaeval scholars is used as a methodological application to clarify Cabasilas' thought in more detail. Since my aim is to present as systematic a picture as possible of *his* thought, the application of Latin sources is done in the framework of the systematic analysis. In other words, attention is paid only to those connections and differences between Cabasilas and the scholastic theology that are logical derivations of the analysis of Cabasilas' thought.

More than a century was to elapse before the appearance of the studies by M. Lot-Borodine (*Nicolas Cabasilas. Un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIVe siècle*, 1958), C. Tsirpanlis (*The Liturgical and the Mystical Theology of Nicolas Cabasilas*, s.a.) and W. Völker (*Die Sakramentsmystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas*, 1977) on Cabasilas' thought. They all revolved around the question of the relation between sacramental and mystical theology, their focus being especially on the spiritual dimension of Cabasilas' doctrine of the sacraments. Like Gass, Lot-Borodine and Völker use *De vita in Christo* as their main source, thus leaving the liturgically-oriented *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione* and its Eucharistic speculations aside. Unlike the other two, Tsirpanlis showed some interest towards the sacramental theology of Cabasilas as such, but his relatively modest work does not treat the issue in depth. Further, all three scholars are concerned with the connection of the sacraments with the history of salvation. Both Lot-Borodine and Völker explore Cabasilas with a specific reference to the concepts of *φιλανθρωπία* and *οικονομία*, thus describing the Eucharist (and other sacraments) in a broad framework of soteriology and spirituality.⁵⁹ Respectively, Tsirpanlis extensively explored the connection between the sacraments and the salvation brought by Jesus Christ, with a special emphasis on kenosis.⁶⁰

To my knowledge, there is only one scholarly attempt to treat Cabasilas' Eucharistic doctrine in detail. Knowing the interest and alleged importance of his Eucharistic thought, this seems surprising. In his doctoral dissertation, *The Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas* (1984), Paul Mantovanis aims, firstly, to consider theologically the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and, secondly, to discuss in detail Cabasilas' Eucharistic theology. The title of the work is, nonetheless, somewhat misleading. The focus in Mantovanis' work is more on the liturgical theology and historical development of the Byzantine liturgy than on theology of the Eucharist *per se*. For another, special consideration – almost equal to that on Cabasilas – is given to the fifteenth century Symeon of Thessalonica, whom Mantovanis compares with Cabasilas in order to make clear their distinctive approaches to the liturgy.⁶¹ The comparison with Symeon of Thessalonica (and earlier Byzantine interpreters as well) serves Mantovanis' historical approach: Cabasilas' works are related to those of other Byzantine interpreters to indicate his own characteristic contribution to the development of liturgical theology.⁶²

Mantovanis' study is divided into two sections. The first begins with a biographical and historical research with a special aim of overcoming gaps and confusion in previous research concerning the obscure points of the last days of Cabasilas. The majority of part one, and nearly one-third of the entire manuscript, consists of a detailed description of the works of Cabasilas (codices, editions, published works and translations).⁶³ In the second part Mantovanis aims to give a systematic explanation of the Eucharistic doctrine of Cabasilas. He begins with a presentation of Cabasilas' contribution to the history of

⁵⁹ Lot-Borodine 1958, 121-175; Völker 1977, 23-68

⁶⁰ Tsirpanlis s.a., 63-77

⁶¹ This emphasis is exemplified in a thirty page appendix in the middle of his work (pages 132-162) under the title "A Note on the Life and the Writings of Symeon of Thessalonica". Mantovanis also uses Symeon as the main point of comparison with Cabasilas throughout his work.

⁶² Mantovanis 1984, 9.

⁶³ Mantovanis 1984, 51-131.

development of the Byzantine Liturgy.⁶⁴ He then proceeds to doctrinal issues, focusing on three major points: real presence, Eucharistic sacrifice and epiclesis.⁶⁵ Although Mantovanis considers many aspects of Cabasilas' Eucharistic teaching, in effect he contents himself with illustrating the basic aspects on Cabasilas' thought without elaboration, merely quoting short extracts from his texts. Mantovanis' style is more declaratory than analytical. His contribution could therefore be designated as a presentation of central themes of Cabasilas' Eucharistic theology. From the perspective of the present study, Mantovanis' work serves more as an assistant than an interlocutor.

However, Mantovanis' special merit in relation to the present study must be highlighted. In his introduction Mantovanis claims that Cabasilas was not familiar with the scholastic doctrines of real presence and Eucharistic sacrifice. He then leaves the issue outside of his own field of research but states the potential of closer comparison of Cabasilas with scholastic theology.⁶⁶ In the present study it is exactly this comparison with scholasticism that is to be carried out in Chapter four.

Apart from works on Cabasilas' sacramental and Eucharistic framework, there are a number of studies investigating some other aspects of his thought. Panagiotes Nellas (1975) addressed Cabasilas' doctrine of justification and Rubini (1976) studied his anthropology. Seraphim Storheim (1982) has written a modest treatise on Cabasilas' commentary on the liturgy. Before Storheim, Cabasilas' symbolic interpretation of the Eucharistic rite was taken up much more thoroughly by René Bornert, whose *Les commentaries byzantins de la divine liturgie* (1966) provided a sound picture of the principles of liturgical hermeneutics of Cabasilas and his position in the history of the interpretation of the liturgy.⁶⁷

Cabasilas: teologo e mistico bizantino (1996) by Yannis Spiteris, is chiefly a presentation of Cabasilas' mariology, soteriology and sacramental system, yet in a rather general frame of reference. The Eucharistic doctrine of Cabasilas is also touched upon by Spiteris, and is treated fairly briefly using the following themes: the Eucharist as culmination of all the sacraments, the transformative effect of the Eucharist on man, human collaboration with God, the Eucharistic sacrifice, the epiclesis, and the Eucharist as a grace-filled event of justification, transfiguration and resurrection.⁶⁸ Spiteris' book is not scholarly research in a strict sense. It is a popularizing, yet profound, introduction that gives a general view of Cabasilas' thinking. As such, it does not substantially benefit the present study. Rather, it typifies the present interest in Cabasilas.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau has only recently touched upon the alleged Palamism of Cabasilas in her illuminating article *Nicolas Cabasilas et le Palamisme* (2004). She notes that earlier scholars (e.g. Tatakis, Lot-Borodine and John Meyendorff) have taken Cabasilas' Palamism as given, even underlining his pro-Palamism (e.g. Nicol and Dennis).⁶⁹ This is

⁶⁴ Mantovanis 1984, 163-190.

⁶⁵ Mantovanis 1984, 191-287.

⁶⁶ Mantovanis 1984, 9-10.

⁶⁷ Before Bornert, the history of interpretation of liturgy has been presented by Hans-Joachim Schulz (1964), and after them by Hugh Wybrew (1990). Both Schulz and Wybrew, however, concentrate on Cabasilas with much less accuracy than Bornert.

⁶⁸ Spiteris 1996, 127-140.

⁶⁹ Congourdeau 2004, 192-193. According to McGrath, Cabasilas acquired Palamas' central thoughts and elaborated them. McGrath 2001, 55-56. Bobrinskoy agrees with Lot-Borodine's viewpoint on

not, however, the case in more recent characterisations of Cabasilas' connection to Palamas. While the nature of Palamite influence is now contested, Congourdeau makes it clear that there is a prevailing hesychastic tendency in Cabasilas' thought that remains unchallenged. She thus suggests that based on new insights it would be more appropriate to categorise Cabasilas as a *hesychast* rather than a Palamite in a strict sense.⁷⁰ Evidently, Congourdeau has found the blind spot of previous studies, in which Cabasilas' dependency on Palamas is usually simply asserted without any precise evidence based on research.⁷¹ For Congourdeau, the incoherence among scholars on the nature of Palamas' influence on Cabasilas points to a need for clarifying both the points of interconnection and discrepancy between Cabasilas and Palamas.⁷²

The most recent work on Cabasilas, entitled *Nicola Cabasilas e la divina liturgia* (2007), is a collection of articles based on the papers presented at the fourteenth International Ecumenical Conference in Bose, Italy, in 2006. As the title suggests, the majority of articles focus on Cabasilas' liturgical commentary and its theological significance. Chrysostomos Savvatos presents the sacramental bases, formed by the mysteries of baptism, chrismation and Eucharist, of Cabasilas' understanding of spiritual life. More specifically, the God-man relationship in Cabasilas' commentary is discussed by Rosario Scognamiglio. In his article, Chrysostomos Papathanasiou spells out Cabasilas' contribution to the question of frequency of Eucharistic communion.

Cabasilas' congruence with Palamas. Bobrinsky 1968, 491; Lot-Borodine 1958, 180. Similarly, Nellas emphasises Cabasilas' significance by arguing that the general view of the 14th century is defective if Palamas is read without paying attention to Cabasilas. He compares the link between Cabasilas and Palamas with the influence of Athanasios the Great on the Cappadocian fathers. Nellas 1996, 14.

⁷⁰ This broader concept of hesychast emphasizes the element of distinct humanism in Cabasilas' thought, strongly accentuated by Beck, Klimenko and Demetrakopoulos in their criticism of 'palamite Cabasilas'. Congourdeau 2004, 194-195.

⁷¹ There are no evident connections to Palamas' central theological views in Cabasilas' main works. Lot-Borodine and Bobrinsky have surmised that Palamas' controversial reception led Cabasilas consciously to avoid pointing out parallels to Palamite theology in his own thinking. Lot-Borodine 1958, 180; Bobrinsky 1968, 491. John Meyendorff is consistent with them in proposing that Cabasilas' attitude towards Palamas was not reserved even though there are no references to Palamas in his writings. Meyendorff, J., 1964, 140. Hero (in Gregory Akindynos 1983, 336) remarks: "Although he later became a defender of Palamism, Cabasilas retained a neutral attitude at the start." She bases her opinion on David Dishypatos' attempt to entice Cabasilas to the Palamite party during the early phase of the dispute. Cf. David Dishypatos' *Λόγος κατά Βαρλαάμ και 'Ακινδύνου προς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν*. Tsirpanlis (1979, 416) suggests that Cabasilas has occasionally even been considered an anti-Palamite before joining the Palamite party. This view is, however, based on confusing Nicholas Cabasilas with another Cabasilas who is referred to in Nicephoros Gregoras' Byzantine history as an opponent of Palamas.

⁷² The main points of convergence between the two theologians are mostly in the sphere of mystical and sacramental theology, not to speak of their common hesychastic mindset. Congourdeau also lists Eucharistic realism among the most important connective elements. There are also significant points of divergence. Firstly, Cabasilas, unlike Palamas, is cautious in accepting spiritual experience as sound criteria for theological statements. Secondly, the essence-energy distinction is not found in Palamite form in Cabasilas' works, thus he cannot be taken as a definite Palamite. Finally, Cabasilas' openness towards influences of both Latin Christian authors and Hellenistic philosophical tradition forms another notable divergence. Cabasilas is sympathetic to humanistic trends of his era, unlike Palamas, who is much more cautious and critical towards any 'non-Orthodox influences' in theology. Congourdeau 2004, 199-207.

The hermeneutical principles of Cabasilas' liturgical interpretation are discussed in three articles: Stavros Yangazoglou and Hugh Wybrew respectively approach Cabasilas' commentary from the perspective of the divine economy manifested through the Eucharistic rite, while the connection between liturgical symbolism and biblical hermeneutics is discussed by Assaad Kattan. On the other hand, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau and Job Getcha concentrate on the person, life and works of Cabasilas, thus providing mostly general information on him and his times. Finally, the collection also includes a few articles that do not deal directly with Cabasilas' thought, but which discuss actual liturgical and Eucharistic themes more or less indirectly motivated by Cabasilas' spirit.

As such, *Nicola Cabasilas e la divina liturgia* provides some significant information, primarily on the principles of Cabasilas' liturgical and sacramental thought, thus strengthening the picture of Cabasilas as a noteworthy theologian of the late Byzantine era.

Finally we may note that there is also a study by A. Angelopoulos (1970) which, unlike all the previously mentioned works, does not focus on Cabasilas' thought but on the problems concerning the data on the person and works of Cabasilas. The main contribution of Angelopoulos' work is therefore in providing background information on Cabasilas.

To sum up, one could say that in the nineteenth century Gass paved the way for the subsequent scholars who have mainly dealt with Cabasilas' mystical theology. A majority of studies on Cabasilas either aim to present a general view of his mystical-sacramental thought or focus on some other aspects of his theology. Even though previous scholars have been interested in Cabasilas' sacramental theology, little attention has been given to his Eucharistic doctrine in its own right. The above brief review of previous research gives the distinct impression that Cabasilas' Eucharistic theology has not received the attention that it deserves. It is my hope that this study will contribute to the reawakened ecumenical interest in Cabasilas' thinking, and his Eucharistic theology in particular.

1.4. LIFE AND CONTEXT OF NICHOLAS CABASILAS

Nicholas Cabasilas has been described as a person who could serve as a model of the characteristics of fourteenth century Byzantine Empire; its humanistic renaissance, political history, religious themes and debates, current social and economical issues as well as aspects of Byzantine law.⁷³ Based on the known facts of his life, he evidently was a talented man with multiple interests. Cabasilas was born as Nicholas Chamaetos around 1310-1320⁷⁴ into an aristocratic family in Thessaloniki. He gained an extensive education before being appointed as a high-ranking officer in Constantinople. In his

⁷³ Congourdeau 2007, 25-26.

⁷⁴ In his letter to Cabasilas, Gregory Akindynos praises Cabasilas' erudition and elegant style of writing. The letter dates from 1341/2. This suggests that in order to have gained such education by that time, Cabasilas was likely to have been born no later than 1320. Cf. Gregory Akindynos 1983, 60-63, 336.

youth Nicholas had adopted his mother's maiden name Cabasilas instead of his patronymic. His uncle, Nilus Cabasilas (d. 1361/3) was the Archbishop of Thessaloniki. At times these two men have been and still are mistaken for each other, and Nicholas has occasionally been referred to as an Archbishop of Thessaloniki.⁷⁵ There is, however, no certain proof that he ever became a clergyman. What we know of him for certain, is that he was a public servant and took part in state politics during the reign of Emperor John Cantacuzenos (1347-1354). Nicholas Cabasilas belonged, together with Gregorios Palamas, to the circle of acquaintances of Cantacuzenos even before the latter became the Emperor. Due to this friendship with the future Emperor, Cabasilas was nearly killed in the turmoil of civil war that preceded Cantacuzenos' rise to power in 1347. Mention of Cabasilas declines when Cantacuzenos was deposed in 1354 even though he managed to maintain good rapport with the new Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus⁷⁶. It has been suggested that Cabasilas might have followed the example set by the resigned Cantacuzenos and taken monastic vows. There is, however, no exact knowledge of the later period of his life. Even the date of Cabasilas' death remains uncertain, but most likely he died sometime in the late 1390s. The Church of Greece canonised him in 1983. His memory is celebrated on the 20th of June.⁷⁷

The times of Cabasilas marked a critical period preceding the final devastation of the Byzantine Empire. The death struggle had already begun with the fourth crusade (1204) which resulted in Latin oppression of the Byzantines for nearly 60 years. After the death of Emperor Andronicos III in 1341 the Empire almost fell into anarchy. The Empire was torn apart from within due to civil war and struggle for power. From outside the imminence of destruction was caused by eastbound-extending Ottomans and

⁷⁵ The confusion of Nicholas Cabasilas' status may originate from the elections of the successor to the toppled Patriarch Kallistos of Constantinople in 1352. According to Dennis (1977, xxx), Cabasilas' uncle Nilus was one of the nominees. Dennis claims that Nilus was then still a layman, known by his presumed baptismal name Nicholas. He later became a monk under the name Nilus, and was then elevated to the episcopate. Tsirpanlis relates the story somewhat differently maintaining that Nicholas Cabasilas actually was among the three candidates but did not become appointed. Further, Tsirpanlis refers to another known Cabasilas of the time, Michael Cabasilas the Sacellion, with whom Nicholas Cabasilas may have been confused. Tsirpanlis 1979, 416, 418-419. See also Mantovanis 1984, 13-18, 38-42.

⁷⁶ Judging from their correspondence, the relationship between Manuel II and Cabasilas was warm, if not cordial. Manuel II identifies Cabasilas as a good friend of many years and refers to the greatness of Cabasilas' friendship. See letters 6, 7, 15 and 67 in Manuel II Palaeologus 1977.

⁷⁷ Angelopoulos 1970, 18-74; Bobrinskoy 1968, 483-488; Congourdeau 1989, 11-16; 2007; Dennis 1977, xxx-xxiv; Geanakoplos 1984, 186; Hussey 1986, 360; Klimenko 1996, 17-19; Koutroubis 1984, 17; Loenertz 1955, 205-216; Lot-Borodine 1958, 1-4; Mantovanis 1984, 21-50; Nellas 1987, 107-108; Spiteris & Conticello 2002; Tsirpanlis 1979, 415-421; Völker 1977, 1-5; Ware 1963, 79. Angelopoulos and Geanakoplos assume Cabasilas took a monastic habit. Additionally Angelopoulos, together with Lot-Borodine, identify him as an Archbishop of Thessaloniki. Similarly, in his *synaxarion* Cabasilas is commemorated as a hierarch. Yet, a majority of researchers (e.g. Bobrinskoy, Congourdiau, Hussey, Klimenko, Koutroubis, Tsirpanlis and Ware) assume instead that he remained layman to the very end of his life. Based on forceful evidence Dennis (1977, xxxi) concludes: "There are no indications that he ever became a monk, for the letters of Manuel II in 1387 and in 1391 and those of Joseph Bryennios in 1390-96 are clearly addressed to Nicholas as a layman." Getcha – in keeping with Congourdeau – asserts that for the last years of his life Cabasilas was affiliated with Xanthopouloi monastery in Constantinople, where he wrote his two main works. However, whether he became a monk or not, is not certain. Getcha 2007b, 1; Congourdeau 1989, 15-16.

restlessness in many regions along the northern border of the shrunken Empire. In 1453, only half a century after Cabasilas' death, the Ottoman army conquered Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire fell.⁷⁸

Despite certain degradation, the fourteenth century was also a time of cultural recovery. The breath of the European Renaissance vivified the intellectual endeavours of Byzantine secular humanism. The Academy of Constantinople had been reopened in the late thirteenth century. Byzantine scholars drew fresh innovation from the Hellenistic tradition. Many of them were also leaning towards the West, especially towards Italy. This tendency influenced Byzantine theology as well. Scholars such as Maximos Planudes (d. c. 1305), Prochoros Cydones (d. c. 1369) and his brother Demetrios (d. 1398) were all inspired by Latin theology. In the early 1280s Planudes produced a Greek translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Being an expert on Latin theology, he was strongly dedicated to endorsing the policy of reunion with the Latins. Brothers Cydones also evinced Latinophile attitudes and engaged in translating works of Latin theology into Greek; Prochoros focusing mainly on Augustine and Demetrios on Thomas Aquinas. Demetrios Cydones belonged to the same intellectual circles as Cabasilas, together with Nicephoros Gregoras (d. 1360), probably the greatest scholar of his time. Unlike Cabasilas, Nicephoros Gregoras and Demetrios Cydones ended up as adversaries of Gregorios Palamas and the Palamite hesychasm. Demetrios Cydones eventually became reconciled to the Roman Church, while Gregoras wound up in jail, condemned as a heretic due to his disagreement with Palamas.⁷⁹

Uncle Nilus openly criticized Aquinas and especially the Latin *filioque* clause. Nicholas Cabasilas even took part in completing Nilus' polemical work on the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ Palamas, as is well known, is seen as an unflinching opponent of what he considered to be speculative Latin thought.⁸¹ The approach of Palamas and Nilus Cabasilas thus marked a significant counterforce to both Latin and anti-Palamite influences in Nicholas Cabasilas' environment.

⁷⁸ Bréhier 1977, 299-314; Hussey 1986, 260-267; Klimenko 1996, 17-19; Nicol 1972, 78-94, 159-330; 1992, 59-82; Runciman 1965, 3-21, 133-144; Ware 1963, 70-71.

⁷⁹ Bradshaw 2004, 263; Dejaifve 1963, 52-53; Klimenko 1996, 17; Lössl 2000; 273-295; Meyendorff, J. 1964, 188; 1974a, 107; 1975b, 95-96, 100; Nellas 1996, 12-13; Runciman 1965, 5-9; 1970, 1-23; Ware 1963, 70-71. The Palamite or hesychastic controversy is personified, along with Palamas, by the Greek monk Barlaam who in the 1330s came to Constantinople from Italy. The focus of their dispute was on the question of knowing God. According to Palamas, God is experientially encountered and known for real in his energies even though he remains unknown in his essence. Barlaam, for his part, claimed that God cannot be known by man and can, therefore, be approached only intellectually. A concise, yet deep presentation of the Palamite controversy is given in Bradshaw 2004, 229-242. For a more thorough account see J. Meyendorff 1964.

⁸⁰ Erickson (1991, 165) points out that Nilus originally admired Aquinas' way of thinking, but later on turned against it. Nilus became acquainted with Aquinas through the translation made by Cydones. Nilus' work *De Spiritu sancto argumenta Latinorum, quibus se demonstrare putant, Spiritum sanctum ex Filio quoque procedere* rests a great deal on Aquinas' *STh*. Section by section Nilus overrules Aquinas' arguments on support of the *filioque*. Nicholas Cabasilas wrote an introduction for his uncle's work. See *Protheoria* (PG 149, col. 677-680). In the following century the Greek theologians in the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9) leant on Nilus' work in opposing the Latin doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Erickson 1991, 165.

⁸¹ Yannaras' strict view on Palamas' stand against "the Western understanding" characterizes the generally accepted view among modern Orthodox theologians of Palamas' basic convictions. Yannaras 2006, 23.

In present-day Orthodox theology the fourteenth century is first and foremost viewed as the century that accomplished a fresh synthesis of the central elements of patristic tradition that shines forth *par excellence* in Palamas' teachings. The orthodoxy of the teaching of Palamas was confirmed as early as 1351 and 1368 in councils held in Constantinople. At the heart of Palamas' thought is the distinction between the essence (οὐσία) of God and its manifestations (ἐνέργεια). The distinction is generally acclaimed as being authentically orthodox, even though the modern proponents of Palamite theology find different accents in Palamas' conceptualisations. The neo-Palamite theology of the twentieth century has been criticised, mainly by Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians.⁸² Regardless of the difficulties of his times, Cabasilas managed to generate theological definitions of lasting value, especially in his interpretation of the Divine Liturgy. It is explicitly his merits in the fields of theology of liturgy and sacraments that explain why he is cherished notably in modern-day Orthodoxy.⁸³ His commentary has been described as the crystallization of the Byzantine liturgical tradition, combining the centuries old tradition of hermeneutics of the liturgy with the topical trends in spirituality, namely hesychasm.⁸⁴ Due to Cabasilas and Palamas, the fourteenth century has been characterised as the last Golden Age in the history of the Byzantine Church.⁸⁵

⁸² John Meyendorff, Basil Krivocheine, Georges Florovsky, Vladimir Lossky, Alexander Schmemmann and Dumitru Staniloae are regarded as the main representatives of the neo-Palamite school. Williams, R. 1993, 123-124. It is first and foremost Florovsky, whom many scholars consider to be the generator of the neo-patristic school. A concise introduction to Florovsky's neo-patristic thought is given in Khoruzhii 2004. The history of reception and interpretation of Palamas' thought is presented by A. Williams 1999, 3-17.

⁸³ Topicality of Cabasilas' theological competence was just recently exemplified during the 5th International Theological Conference of the Russian Orthodox Church in November 2007, where several papers examined Cabasilas' contribution to liturgical theology and theology of the sacraments. See e.g. Getcha 2007b, Koumarios 2007 and Scouteris 2007.

⁸⁴ Cabié (1983, 164) and Rorem (1986, 30) characterise Cabasilas as a great liturgical scholar before anything else. J. Meyendorff (1974a, 109, 118) and Solovey (1970, 73) likewise commend his merits on the theology of the Eucharist and liturgy. According to Geanakoplos (1984, 186), Cabasilas was the last of the great Byzantine mystics, whose influence in the Christian East is comparable to that of Thomas à Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* in the West. Hussey (1986, 360) writes that Cabasilas, being a faithful heir to the tradition of the Byzantine liturgical commentaries, focused on topical issues such as Byzantine hesychasm and certain aspects of Latin theology.

⁸⁵ Bobrinskoy 1968, 483.

2 Concept of Symbol and Interpretation of the Liturgy

This chapter has two aims. Firstly, it serves the clarification of the concept of symbol. This is done in order to give means for assessing the symbolic approach to liturgy, the prevailing method of interpretation of Cabasilas and other Byzantine commentators before him. Secondly, as necessary background information, a summary of history of the symbolic interpretation of the Byzantine liturgy of the Eucharist up to Cabasilas is given.

2.1. DEFINITION OF SYMBOL

On account of the diverse opinions about Cabasilas' significance for modern liturgical theology, it is evident that it is explicitly his approach to the Eucharist that causes dissenting voices. The difference of opinions clearly attests to the fact that the origins of controversy are not so much in Cabasilas' thought as in different opinions about the concept of symbol in general. The dispute ultimately points to the importance of interpretation, which has a pivotal role in understanding symbolic discourse. I maintain that it is not symbolism as such but a tradition of its misinterpretation that actually is the reason behind dissent.

In modern linguistic, psychological and religious studies it is generally agreed that symbols and symbolism have a central place in human comprehension and thought. Man deals with things and reality by using symbols. Consequently, the context in which symbols are interpreted has a tremendous impact: meaning is dependent on the context. Thus, the interpreter's familiarity with the context becomes crucial, since symbols are incongruous when interpreted out of their context.¹

Paul Tillich's definition of a symbol proves to be enlightening especially with regard to liturgical symbolism. He maintains that the intention of a symbol is to open up realities that would otherwise be closed. Without these symbols those levels could not be opened in the first place.² Consequently, a symbol aims to reveal and open up realities, based on the connection between the form of a symbol and its content. A symbol functions on the basis of the adequacy of its reference to its object. At the same time, however, a symbol hides a direct vision of its contents. In other words, a symbol both obscures and reveals its reference. If the point of reference of a symbol could be detected without a symbol, a symbol would turn out to be useless and an obscuring factor.

¹ For further reading on the importance of context in understanding symbols see Stensland, 1986; *Symbol as Sense* 1980; Todorov 1983.

² Tillich 1958, 42.

However, if the realities covered and opened up by symbols are understood to be accessible explicitly only through symbols, getting rid of symbolism would mean that the realities unveiled by them would remain unexposed (unless some other means of reaching them are offered).

In the framework of Orthodox thought and, especially, of liturgical theology, symbolism is generally linked with the rite. The liturgy as ritual can be characterised as action that in its very essence, at least partially, takes place symbolically. Accordingly, in sacred rites and rituals men become partakers of the reality signified by the symbols.³ Objective reality of God's being is made subjectively approachable by symbols. The modern discussion on the symbolism of Orthodox liturgy implies that it is not taken for granted that symbols automatically make present what they symbolise.⁴ The present-day subtext of criticism towards symbolical interpretation and the increasing interest in, and significance of, Eucharistic theology, makes the question of the nature of symbolism pertinent. To quote John Zizioulas, "a return to the Fathers without recovering the meaning of liturgical symbolism will get us nowhere; for in the Orthodox Church, the *lex credendi* has no meaning without the *lex orandi*."⁵ This kind of opinion forms the basis for insistence on rethinking the meaning of liturgy in the life of the church and, especially, the grounds on which the liturgy is interpreted.

The discussion on symbol seems to beg the basic question: how is "symbol" defined? Whether the symbolic approach used by the Byzantine liturgical commentators is objected or approved, an appropriate understanding of "symbol" is the criterion. It is obvious that there are differences in the symbolic discourse between the two contexts – modern and the Byzantine. The meanings attached to a symbol – and ways of attaching them – in an earlier age may not be so evident in another age. Besides, the usage and function of different symbols and meanings attached to them can vary in theological discourse. Therefore, hermeneutics has a significant role in the understanding of a symbol. In the words of Tzvetan Todorov, symbolism and interpretation are inseparable, and projection and reception of a symbol make a single phenomenon.⁶

³ Bernard Cooke and Gary Macy define Christian rituals, specially the Eucharist, as recollections of Jesus that "make present what they symbolize – namely, the presence of Christ as risen." Cooke & Macy 2005, 44. On the axiomatic importance of symbolism in Christian liturgy and rituals, see also Grainger 1988; Watts 1968.

⁴ The traditional understanding of the symbol in a liturgical context opens to a vision of divine reality made present and accessible in and through the symbol. Schmemmann criticizes a rational approach to sacramental theology which leads to the isolation of the sacraments from their liturgical context. Schmemmann 1973, 150-151. The function of a symbol as a signifier of the divine is so significant for Schmemmann, that he argues that without symbols there would not be sacraments at all. Schmemmann 1973, 141. Nonetheless, in the Byzantine commentaries on the liturgy (such as the commentary by Cabasilas) the genuineness of interpretation of liturgical symbols in connection with the rite was lost, Schmemmann claims. His opinion is that in the "exegesis of the liturgy" there is a conflict between the liturgy itself and how liturgical symbols are interpreted. Even though the structure of the liturgy was kept consistent for centuries, this is not the case with liturgical understanding and experience. Schmemmann 1981, 96.

⁵ Zizioulas 2000, 16-17.

⁶ Todorov 1983, 19. For more on the significance of interpretation see Hirsch 1967. According to Tillich, symbols grow from certain situations, and they also die when the situation changes. Tillich 1958, 43. Tillich's observation can be taken as a comment on the importance of contextuality. One of the reasons behind the death of a symbol may well be the fact that in a changed situation the

In order to clarify the discourse, at least within the boundaries of this study, I present a classification of different levels of representation in a symbol.⁷ As Tillich maintains, it is essential to a symbol that it participates in that to which it points.⁸ The idea of participation makes a symbol different from a mere sign which is not based on a fundamental interconnectedness between the content and the form. The dynamics and reference between the content and the form may, however, vary. Schmemmann's observation of the symbol as 'real' forms only the basis for a substantial concept of the symbol.⁹ Based on the idea of a symbol's 'realism' and its relational representation with its content, symbols can therefore be seen to manifest their point of reference to a greater or lesser degree. It is precisely this intensity and dynamics in the connection between the symbol's content and form that establishes the basis of my classification of a symbol. We may differentiate the following four levels of representation in a symbol:

1. Arbitrary conventional symbol. The linkage of the form with the thing symbolized is based on convention. There is no direct or immanent connective factor in the form that explains its interconnectedness with the content. Despite common agreement, the identity of a symbol with the symbolised object is somewhat arbitrary. For an arbitrary conventional symbol to be understood correctly, knowledge of the context of the symbol is required. As an example, in politics, the term left is generally associated with the colour red, and right with the colour blue. Red is also a symbol of hot water, while cold is associated with the colour blue. There are, however, no rational or physical bases in the colours themselves that suggest that these symbols should be formed exactly on such interconnections.

2. Sensual symbol. Alliance of a symbol with its content is based on an obvious connection of the outward form with the point of reference. The connective element is thus based on imitation or an otherwise palpable accordance with a formal alliance between the form and the content of a symbol. For an example, a statue of a ruler represents its reference based on a sensual likeness. In the case of a statue, the symbol may function as a means of showing appreciation or dislike of the ruler depicted. In a liturgical setting the spear-shaped knife used in the proskomide to cut the Eucharistic bread belongs to this category, the knife being a symbol of the spear that pierced the side of Jesus Christ. The symbolic function is thus based on an alliance that engenders a sensation that provides an awareness or contemplation of the content (reality, object, truth etc.) symbolised by the form.

meaning of a certain symbol is no longer understood. The meanings attached to a symbol – and ways of attaching them – in an earlier age may not be so evident in another age. The indirect content of a symbol (its internal meaning intended by its creator) may differ from the significance given to it when the symbol is included in another context. Thus, a symbol bears also an unconscious indirect meaning, not known or intended by the author of the symbol, but perceived by the interpreter. The significance given to a symbol by the latter may therefore be different from the original intended or even the indirect meaning.

⁷ There is a vast number of theories and models of symbol. For further reading on different symbol theories and symbolism in general see Elias 1991; Jaspers 1959; Ogden & Richards 1972; *Religious Symbols* 1979; Skorupski 1983; Stensland 1986; Stiver 1996.

⁸ Tillich 1958, 42.

⁹ At the same time Schmemmann challenges the conception of symbol as something opposed to a 'real presence' (situated on the distinction between 'real' and 'not-real') and criticises the usage of liturgical symbolism as the hermeneutic approach to liturgy. Schmemmann 1973, 150-151.

For example, statue as a sensual symbol of a ruler cannot be said to share in the identity aspect in essence, although there may be a remarkable formal identity between the statue and the person signified by it. However, an ontologically identical symbol, such as Eucharistic bread, does not share very much – if at all – in the formal identity with the thing signified (the body of Christ). Nonetheless, it is seen to have a direct relationship to it in its very own content. In order for a symbol to preserve its symbolic function, it cannot obtain complete identity or complete separation with the content. In the former case, the basic condition of participation in the point of reference disappears. In the latter, the symbol ceases to exist since its object becomes identical with the symbol.

In his analysis Paul Mantovanis distinguishes between the reality and the symbolic in the liturgical symbolism of Cabasilas. The realistic in Cabasilas' symbolism is concentrated at the true presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist while the merely symbolic is discerned throughout the forms of the rite. In the symbolic he further distinguishes between weak symbols and strong symbols.¹⁰ Thus, in Mantovanis' interpretation of Cabasilas' symbolism both the idea of intensity of different symbols in their identity with the content and the tension implicated by the identity separation continuum is explicated. Furthermore, the concept of divine presence seems to correlate with the identity separation continuum. Cabasilas' symbolic approach to the Eucharistic therefore enables us to investigate how his symbolism contributes to the vision of the Eucharistic liturgy as a means of realization of the divine presence.¹¹

2.2. OUTLINE OF INTERPRETATION OF THE BYZANTINE LITURGY UP TO CABASILAS

The age of Nicholas Cabasilas marked for the Byzantine liturgy the final phase of thirteen hundred years of evolution. The liturgy commented on by him has in its outward form little in common with the New Testament descriptions of breaking the bread in the early Christian communities. Originally the Christian liturgy was formed around Jewish traditions and practices of common prayer.¹² Even though the Christians

¹⁰ Mantovanis 1984, 295. As an illustration of a symbol in the strong sense Mantovanis refers to the Book of the Gospels as a symbol of Christ. Unfortunately, Mantovanis does not go deeper in his categorization of Cabasilas' symbolism.

¹¹ This is a crucial question, and hence it is exactly the Eucharist that can be seen as both the starting point and the goal of liturgical movement. According to Petros Vassiliadis, it is of necessity that the Eucharist is the point where the Orthodox liturgical renewal begins, since the Eucharist is "the only expression of the *being* of the Church." Any other methods of reforming the mind of the Church Vassiliadis considers insufficient. Furthermore, he claims that only through radical liturgical reform the Eucharistic identity of the church can be reinforced. This radical liturgical renewal truly provides a way to bear witness to the unity and catholicity of Orthodoxy. Vassiliadis 1997, 10-12.

¹² The earliest witness of the celebration and meaning of the Eucharist in apostolic community is given by Apostle Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 11:23-26), where he refers to the tradition of the Last Supper that was handed over to him. It is not only the tradition on Eucharist that Paul refers to but also the fixed formulation of the Eucharistic narrative he uses in the paragraph that suggests that from the very early days on the Eucharist had had a definite core, a structure and a form, according to which it was officiated. On the Eucharist in the New Testament writings see Jones 1978; Kodell 1988; LaVerdiere 1998, 1994; Léon-Dufour 1982. The tradition of celebrating the Eucharist in connection with the Jewish meal ceased to exist by the 2nd century. In

soon started to distance themselves from their Jewish roots, it took centuries before the Eucharistic liturgy developed into the spectacular and multiform worship known to Cabasilas.

The earliest post-New Testamental sources, such as the Apostolic Fathers, give evidence of the further entrenchment of the Eucharist in the life of Christian communities. Sources from the later patristic period amplify even more the strategic position the Eucharist has in the life, thought and practices of Church.¹³ Early tradition of the institution narrative maintained its place in the heart of the Eucharistic celebration, becoming a central element in the Eucharistic prayer of the liturgy structured during the first four Christian centuries.¹⁴ One of the earliest detailed descriptions of the celebration of the Eucharist comes from Justin the Martyr (d. 165) from the middle of the second century. The worship described by Justin is characterised by division into two parts. The first part was comprised of reading the Bible, teaching and prayer. This part of the service was open to the catechumens. It was only the baptised who participated in the second part which included the actual celebration of the Eucharist.¹⁵ These two parts were originally celebrated distinctly. By the end of the second century they were unified and have since that time formed the body of the Eucharistic liturgy.¹⁶

The main liturgies of the Byzantine rite, connected to the names of St. John Chrysostom (d. 407) and St. Basil the Great (d. 371), formed for Cabasilas both the basis and substance for his commentary on the rite and the doctrine of the Eucharist. The two liturgies are very similar, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom deviating from the one of St. Basil's in the brevity of its anaphora and some other prayers.¹⁷ The earliest known manuscripts of the anaphoras of these liturgies are from the eighth century (Codex Barberini and Porphyrian manuscripts).¹⁸

During the time of Cabasilas, an athonite hesychastic Philotheos Kokkinos, twice Patriarch of Constantinople (1353-1354, 1364-1376), strove to harmonize liturgical practises. While still an abbot of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (1342-1345), he composed a soon-to-be standard *diataxis* (instructions of celebrating) of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, which by that time had already attained the status of the primary Eucharistic liturgy of the Byzantine tradition. Kokkinos' work was widely circulated,

the 4th century it was already disputed whether the Eucharist was originally celebrated before or after the meal. See e.g. John Chrysostom's arguments on the issue. *Oporet haereses*. PG 51, 257. For the Jewish roots of Christian liturgy of the Eucharist, see Bouyer 1968, 15-28; Kotila 1994, 51-58.

¹³ See e.g. Hamman 1992; Kelly 1958, 440-449; LaVerdiere 1996; Mazza 1999, 75-159.

¹⁴ For a well-balanced summary of the institution narrative's incorporation into the Eucharistic prayer see White 2003.

¹⁵ *Apologia prima* 65-67. PG 6, 428A-429C.

¹⁶ Dix 1945, 436-437; Kotila 1994, 73; Solovey 1970, 34-35.

¹⁷ The traditional conception of the origin of the two liturgies is presented in the spurious *Tractatus de traditione divinae missae* (PG 65, 849-852), associated with the name of Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446). In the work it is told that John Chrysostom abbreviated the Eucharistic prayer written by Basil. The reason for this was the diminished enthusiasm among the Christians to attend long services. Andrew Louth has recently claimed that the anaphora of the liturgy of St. Basil is most likely to a great extent from Basil himself. Louth 2004a, 294-295. It is as late as the 9th century that the manuscripts for the first time credit John Chrysostom as the author of prayers of the liturgy. Schulz 1964, 24-25; Solovey 1970, 47-52, 255.

¹⁸ Dix 1945, 515-516; Solovey 1970, 54.

and proved to be a success. His presentation of the ordo of the liturgy was rapidly adopted in various local churches following the Byzantine rite to the extent that it forms one of the most important bases of the current Greek text of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.¹⁹ Cabasilas is, nonetheless, familiar with both of the main liturgies of the Byzantine rite, as is indicated by his comparison of the differences of style and composition of the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil.²⁰ Patriarch Kokkinos' efforts exemplify the more generally felt concern for standardization of the ordo of the Eucharistic rite, which might well have motivated also Cabasilas to present his own insights into the meaning and nature of liturgical rites.²¹

The literary genre of liturgical commentaries emerged soon after the standing structures of the ordo became well established. Even though the actual commentaries on liturgy appear at the turn of the sixth century, it is yet already from the late fourth century that a group of mystagogical catecheses is known.

2.2.1 Mystagogical Tradition and Symbolic Interpretation of Liturgy

The aim of catechetical mystagogy was to teach newly baptised Christians about the meaning of the central Christian beliefs and mysteries of baptism, chrismation and Eucharist. "Mystagogy" can therefore be defined as an instruction of faith and initiation into the mysteries.²² Before these mystagogical catecheses, there were no written systematic presentations concerning the sacraments. Preservation of the kerygma presumed that a veil was drawn over the sacred mysteries, and the teaching was thus transmitted orally.²³ Public – oral and literal – presentation of the mysteries of the faith became possible at the latest in the Roman Empire when Christianity was declared as state religion during the reign of Emperor Theodosios I (379-395). The change of status of Christianity meant that the catechumenate system withered away, and no actual mystagogies in the traditional sense were written after the early fifth century.²⁴

Mazza refers to canon 46 of the local council of Laodicea (ca. 343) in Asia Minor as an explanation of the emergence of the mystagogies. This canon dictates that the person willing to be baptised must know the central Christian doctrines. Bishops complied with the rule and either began to compile literal descriptions of the mysteries or let their homilies to be documented as a certain kind of standard of the articles of faith.²⁵ The

¹⁹ Bornert 1966, 227-229; Rentel 2005, 368-370; Solovey 1970, 57-58.

²⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIII, 9.

²¹ Beside Kokkinos, there were in 14th century Byzantium others who also significantly influenced the codification of liturgical practices. One of them is Dimitrios Gemistos (d. ca. 1397), whose patriarchal *diataxis* is examined in detail by Rentel (2005). On the history of the Byzantine rite liturgy see Kucharek s.a., Solovey 1970 and Wybrew 1990.

²² Mazza 1989, x; Schmemmann 1981, 94. Mazza (1989, 1) defines mystagogy as follows: "Nowadays, the term 'mystagogy' signifies catechetical instruction on the sacraments, with special reference to the sacraments of Christian initiation and to the deeper spiritual meaning of the liturgical rites. The broader sense of mystagogy as meaning simply 'explanation of liturgical rites' dates from the beginning of the Byzantine period." According to Ouspensky (1978, 21), the symbols that are interpreted in mystagogy become understandable only through the very process of initiation.

²³ Daniélou 1956, 9; Ouspensky 1978, 24.

²⁴ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 23.

²⁵ "They who are to be baptized must learn the faith [creed] by heart, and recite it to the bishop, or to the presbyters, on the fifth day of the week." *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* (1900), 154. Cf. Mazza

theory of the effect of the council of Laodicea gains further support from the fact that many of the authors of the mystagogies are from Asia Minor, namely Cyril of Jerusalem (d. ca. 387), John Chrysostom (d. 407) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. ca. 428).²⁶ Noteworthy Latin writers of mystagogical literary genre are Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) and Augustine (d. 430).²⁷

The interest of the present study towards the mystagogies is not sparked solely by their subject matter, but also by their method used in explaining the reality of the mysteries and their celebration. Jean Daniélou has showed that the liturgical symbolism of the mystagogies is clearly biblical, dating back to the apostolic era. Therefore the mystagogies cannot be properly understood without knowledge of the principles of biblical symbolism.²⁸ The Bible naturally plays a central role in Christian theology; it is the ground upon which the church has been living and operating from the very beginning. Receiving the Old Testament material as part of the Scripture of the church necessitated that the New Testamental reality was recognized also in the Old Testament. This gave way to *typology*, the hermeneutic method already found in the New Testament itself, mainly in Paul and John.

Typology (derived from Greek words *τύπος, τύπος*) offered a perspective on the Old Testament in the light of New Testamental comprehension. A typological approach to the Scripture maintains that there is a linkage between the events described in the two Testaments: the Old Testament is depiction of both Jesus Christ and the eschatological reality of the church of the New Testament.²⁹ In the mystagogies, this kind of approach to the Scripture was adapted to the sacramental mysteries. Like the Bible, the liturgy was also perceived by the authors of the mystagogies as a mediator of the presence of God and a means of expressing divine life in the present. It was therefore natural for them to interpret liturgy in a similar manner as they did with the sacred texts.³⁰ In characterising the biblical nature of the essence of early Christian *lex orandi*, Varghese boldly claims that “the ultimate end of biblical exegesis – at least in the East – was the exposition of the hidden meaning of the Word of God and the ‘building up of the Body of Christ’. The Word was ‘mystically broken’ in order that the faithful should share in the divine life it reveals.” Varghese further states, that “biblical exegesis [- -] served as a model for liturgical exposition [- -].”³¹

The two main centres of early Christian biblical hermeneutics were Alexandria and Antioch. By the fourth century they had developed hermeneutical traditions with different emphases. Allegory was the dominant method in the school of Alexandria,

1989, xi. P. Meyendorff (1984, 24) argues that 4th-century radical social change explains the emergence of mystagogies, which proved to be useful in post-initiation education.

²⁶ Cyril and Theodore are discussed in some detail later. On Chrysostom as a mystagogue see Mazza (1989, 105-149) and Riley (1974).

²⁷ On Ambrose’s mystagogy see Mazza (1989, 14-44) and on Augustine’s mystagogical writings see Harmless (1995).

²⁸ Daniélou 1956, 4. See also P. Meyendorff 1984, 24-25.

²⁹ On the influence of Paul’s typological hermeneutics see Breck 1986, 56; Daniélou 1956, 4-5; Mazza 1989, 7-10; Simonetti 1994, 8-12. See Dimitrov (2004) for general principles of approaching Old Testament with christocentric perspective.

³⁰ Mazza 1989, 9; Meyendorff, P. 1984, 25; Schmemmann 1981, 94-95.

³¹ Varghese 2004, 14.

while in Antioch typology held the strongest position.³² Relying on Bornert's definition, Mazza identifies the difference between the two approaches by stating that typology relies on objective historical grounds, while allegory aims to perceive things and events spiritually in a timeless dimension. In other words, typology is connected with the renewal or fulfilment of a historical event, and allegory to the meaning and subject matter with a loose connection to an objective reality. The different approaches of the two schools become evident in the history of interpreting the liturgy.³³

The author of one of the major mystagogies, Cyril of Jerusalem, approaches in his mystagogical catecheses the Eucharistic liturgy using biblical typology: liturgical symbol is interpreted through Old Testament images.³⁴ In his mystagogical catechesis on the Eucharist, Cyril calls the events of the Old Testament τύποι, which in the liturgical context of the church are renewed and become actual (ἀλήθεια).³⁵ The boundary between the Old and New Testament is still so clear that the meaning of the old covenant events as such cannot be sought from the New Testament. Evidently Cyril detects a shift of paradigm from one reality to another since the bases for the two covenant realities are not the same.³⁶ Regarding the doctrine on the Eucharist, Cyril maintains that Jesus Christ is truly present in the Eucharistic bread and wine. He calls them depictions (τύποι) of Christ's body and blood. Since God's table is mystical (μυστική) and intellectual (νοητή), envisaging the body and blood of Christ requires "unveiled conscience".³⁷ On the very moment of communing, Cyril further encourages his hearers not to trust their senses of sight and taste but faith; it is under the visible signs of bread and wine that the divine body and blood are received.³⁸

Cyril does not imply that in the Eucharistic liturgy itself there simply would be some signs or symbols referring to the life and passion of Christ. For him the new reality of the liturgy does not lead to a dramatisation of past events but rather to the realisation of the spiritual fullness of the Eucharistic event.³⁹ This is illustrated by the notion, inspired by

³² Mazza (1989, 9, 12) claims that typology still formed a common ground for mystagogies for the schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Scholars tend to disagree on the proper definitions in this field. For example, P. Meyendorff (1984, 25) states, contrary to Mazza, that the prevailing method of the Alexandrian school was in fact anagogy, and Antiochians principally practiced historical allegory. On the overlapping of different terms and methods see Young 1997.

³³ Mazza 1989, 11-12. Cf. Bornert 1966, 44-45.

³⁴ Daniélou 1956, 10. The scholars disagree whether it is Cyril himself who composed the mystagogy. In some of the manuscripts they are ascribed to his successor John (387-417). Louth 2004b, 284-285. The catecheses open with the washing of hands and the kiss of peace (*Catecheses mystagogicae* V, 2-3.). This points to familiarity with the first part of the Eucharistic synaxis among the catechumens; there was no need to give an explanation of it.

³⁵ "Μεταβηθί μοι λοιπόν ἀπό τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νέα, ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν." *Catecheses mystagogicae* I, 3.

³⁶ This is evident in Cyril's comparison between the shewbread of the Old Testament and the heavenly bread of the New Testament. He does not consider the shewbread to be an analogy or *typos* of the heavenly bread, but simply states that the actuality of the Old Testament met its end when the new reality came along with the New Testament. *Catecheses mystagogicae* IV, 5. See also Mazza 1989, 161-164.

³⁷ *Catecheses mystagogicae* IV, 9.

³⁸ *Catecheses mystagogicae* IV, 3, 9.

³⁹ Wybrew (1990, 34-35) indicates that Cyril represents a breakthrough of a new kind of Eucharistic interpretation. Prior to him the presence of Christ in the Eucharist had been understood merely in a spiritual manner. Cyril, in contrast, emphasises a more tangible presence, actualised through the

sanctus, Cyril makes on the co-celebration of the angels.⁴⁰ The presence of the angelic hosts and Christ himself in the sacrament explain why for Cyril the Eucharist is an awe-inspiring mystery that can only be approached after “sanctifying ourselves by spiritual hymns.” The notion of the sanctifying effect of the hymns gives evidence of Cyril’s view of the importance of the elements of the *ordo* in preparing the way for receiving Christ in the sacrament. Wybrew suggests that Cyril represents a shift in how the Eucharistic mystery is approached. Wybrew points out that in Cyril’s thought the Apostle Paul’s stress on proper preparation and self-contemplation prior to communion has given way to awe and reverence towards Christ’s presence in the Eucharistic bread and wine.⁴¹ In Cyril’s depiction of receiving of the body and blood of Christ, the idea of physical sanctity transmitted by the elements of the Eucharist is accentuated.⁴²

The interconnectedness between liturgical action and the historical events of Jesus’ life as well as the importance of the components of the structure of the liturgy in approaching the sacramental mystery is underlined in the catechetical orations of Theodore of Mopsuestia. His emphasis on the fulfilment of past events in the liturgy is grounded in the Antiochian approach to the Bible.⁴³ Unlike Cyril, Theodore unexpectedly almost completely gives up *biblical* typology. Instead of referring to the historical events of the old covenant, he grounds his arguments on the meaning of the liturgy in the very structure of the service itself. It is therefore from the form of the liturgy that he draws his imagery of the invisible, heavenly liturgy figured by the liturgy on earth – an aspect that Cyril only incidentally refers to. For Theodore the reality represented by the liturgical symbol is grasped by contemplating the elements of the structure of the liturgy. His interpretation is therefore based on vertical symbolism between the visible and invisible, not on the horizontal linkage between events in different points on a continuum of time.⁴⁴

Despite this vertical orientation, the historical element is still strongly present. Theodore grounds certain parts of the liturgy in the life of Christ, which through liturgical symbols become participable.⁴⁵ However, the main point of reference of the liturgy is still the heavenly reality. Mazza characterises Theodore’s hermeneutical principle: “[- -] every function that is part of a sacrament derives from the nature of the

epiclesis. This, according to Wybrew demonstrates that the Eucharistic “real presence” became a dominant view in the East centuries before it received its normative status in the West. Contrary to Wybrew, Mazza (1989, 153) implies that it is namely this strict Eucharistic representation of Christ that Cyril avoids in his *mystagogy*.

⁴⁰ “Ἡσαΐας παρεστηκότα κύκλω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυοὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυοὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν σεραφίμ θεολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινοῦναι τῆς ἡμῶν ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις γενόμεθα στρατιαις.” *Catecheses mystagogicae* V, 6.

⁴¹ Wybrew 1990, 36-37.

⁴² *Catecheses mystagogicae* V, 4, 7, 21-22.

⁴³ Meyendorff, J. 1975a, 15-16; Wybrew 1990, 64. The genuineness of Theodore’s orations is not in doubt. They were most likely composed sometime between 392 and 428. See P. Meyendorff 1984, 29.

⁴⁴ Daniélou 1956, 13-14. Mazza (1989, 46-47) observes that Theodore does not even apply the typological pairings ‘figure – reality’ or ‘typos’ – ‘antitypos’.

⁴⁵ Schulz 1964, 40-41; Mazza 1989, 152-153.

sacrament, which must, therefore, have the same characteristics as the function.⁴⁶ This means that the liturgy on earth is the image of the heavenly liturgy only to the extent it participates in it.⁴⁷ At the same time the prime archetype of the earthly liturgy is neither the heavenly liturgy nor the Last Supper (which would reduce the cosmic potential of liturgy) but the *kenosis* of Christ. It is the salvation brought by Christ's condescension that is the originating power and substance of the heavenly liturgy. This leads to the observation that Theodore's strong liturgical eschatology flows from soteriology. In instituting the Eucharist, Christ gave the liturgy to the church in order to transmit salvation brought about in the present by the eschatological fullness sealed in the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁴⁸

In short, the liturgy is for Theodore already in this time a participation in the fullness of salvation. The symbols of passion, resurrection and *parousia* are thus necessary to make a representation of the history of salvation complete. Because salvation in its utmost totality becomes real only in heaven, the liturgy on earth must participate in the heavenly realm in order to transmit and be connected with eternal salvation.

Besides the influence of Antiochian hermeneutics, there were other factors underlying Theodore's interpretation. During the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, churches and monuments were erected on the holy sites, chiefly in Palestine. The discovery of the Cross of Christ in 326 gave extra impetus for pilgrimages to the Holy Land's historical places familiar from the Gospels. Interpretation of the liturgy was influenced by this historical enthusiasm, and more consideration was given to the outward form of the liturgy as symbolical reference to the life of Christ.⁴⁹ The fourth century also marked a change in the understanding of the function of the Eucharistic liturgy due to the decline of the number of communicants. Growing indifference towards spirituality among Christians, banning from receiving communion as a disciplinary penalty and the custom of postponing baptism (and therefore Eucharistic communion) to the end of life all contributed to the process of finding new ways to interpret the meaning of the Eucharistic assembly. The liturgy was no longer by definition centred around the Eucharistic communion. The tendency to stress worship itself as a means to the re-enactment of the history of salvation gave meaning to the attendance in the assembly for those who for one reason or another were not able to receive the Eucharist.⁵⁰ Storheim characterises this as a "shift from catechetical mystagogy to a new kind of mystagogy – mystagogy for the faithful themselves."⁵¹

Due to the perspective of eternity broached by Theodore's interpretation, his approach to liturgy could be described as *eschatological typology*. Its biblical roots are in the Pauline way of approaching past events from the eschatological perspective given by the present age and seeing them as *τυποί* of the age to come (e.g. 1 Cor. 10:6, 11). Jean

⁴⁶ Mazza 1989, 85.

⁴⁷ Mazza 1989, 62.

⁴⁸ Mazza 1989, 72-76, 82, 84.

⁴⁹ Cross 1951, xiv-xviii; Meyendorff, P. 1984, 33; Wybrew 1990, 65-66. E.g. the diary of Egeria reveals that in the 4th century Jerusalem there was an established practice of celebrating services on the very sites of Christ's tribulations. See Wilkinson 1971, 81.

⁵⁰ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 40. This development also affected the development of church art. Ouspensky 1978, 25.

⁵¹ Storheim 1982, 14.

Daniélou has observed that this eschatological dimension of typology leads in the New Testament to *sacramental typology*. It is evident, for example, in Paul's interpretation of heavenly manna as a *τύπος* of Eucharist and crossing the Red Sea as a *τύπος* of baptism. (1 Cor. 10:1-3). Through the mysteries of the church, the great events in the course of the history of salvation are highlighted and they are given an eschatological significance. This eschatological approach makes it possible to participate in the past events and re-enact them in the liturgy until the end of time. Even though sacramental typology is only one way of interpreting the history of salvation, its sacramental character makes it a unique one. First, it offers a possibility of participating in the reality that has already been fulfilled; therefore the participant himself or herself becomes a part and continuation of divine economy. Second, sacramental typology is always interpreted through a visible sign which is perceived as an instrument of God's action. The sacramental element is a sign, a symbol, through which the sacrament in question is interpreted.⁵² Like Daniélou, Schmemmann also emphasises the role of eschatology as the key to liturgical understanding. In an eschatological perspective on symbolism, liturgical signs and their reading become one and the same thing. This enables participation in the deep meaning of the liturgy, liturgy therefore becoming a true event, an entrance into the kingdom of God – not just into a contemplative frame of mind.⁵³

In keeping with both Daniélou and Schmemmann, Riley observes that, manifestly, typology ought to be the hermeneutical approach used to explain the Christian rites of the sacraments. Liturgy and the sacraments are therefore perceived by the fathers as embodiments of the atonement of Christ – foretold in the Old Testament, fulfilled on the cross and anticipated in full in the *parousia*. In consequence, the mystagogies present the rites of initiation as a ritual drama of salvation history.⁵⁴ The dramatic aspect of interpreting liturgical symbols thus originates from mystagogical catecheses. In order to keep the interpretation of the symbol from separating from the reality of the mystery, the interpretation must be one with the rite, the liturgical celebration of the mystery. Accordingly “[- -] the explanation being, in fact, an exegesis of the liturgy itself in all its ritual complexity and concreteness.”⁵⁵ This leads one to realize that interpretation of the mystery cannot be separated from the context and the reality the very mystery stands for. Now that we turn to examining the Byzantine commentators on the liturgy, the significance of the liturgical shape of the rite becomes even more significant for the interpretation.

⁵² Daniélou argues that during the patristic era Christian sacraments were situated and interpreted on the foundation of biblical symbolism. First, this means that the authority of the sacraments introduced by Christ was largely based on their biblicality, i.e. they participated in the recognised forms of divine action. Secondly, the salvation-historical point of reference innately anchors the sacraments in symbolism. Daniélou 1956, 5-7. Riley (1974, 38-39) is in line with Daniélou: “[- -] typology will show us that we are quite justified in seeing the sacraments as prefigures in the Old Testament, since it is for this reason that these particular signs were chosen by Christ.” On Jewish tradition of biblical exegesis see Breck 1986, 51-52; Simonetti 1994, 2, 4-8; Wolfson 1956, 30-31.

⁵³ Schmemmann 1981, 100.

⁵⁴ Riley 1974, 36, 39-40.

⁵⁵ Schmemmann 1973, 137. Ouspensky (1978, 21) sees the symbolism in a like manner: “The symbolism of the Church cannot be effectively studied outside of the liturgy because it is a liturgical symbolism and it is through the liturgy that the Fathers explained it. Separated from the divine services, symbolism loses its meaning and becomes a series of sterile abstractions.”

2.2.2. Main Representatives of the Byzantine Liturgical Tradition

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

The contemplative symbolical orientation, criticised by Schmemmann, has a long history of its own in interpretation of the Eucharistic liturgy. Such a reading of the rite broke through in the sixth century, due to the influence of mystical writings of an unknown author under the name of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.⁵⁶ His commentary on the liturgy in *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* is dominated by the symbolism of the divine realm, the trend represented to a lesser degree already by Theodore of Mopsuestia. For the Areopagite, the liturgy stands manifestly for a reality permeated by mystical symbols and allegory with little room for the biblical typology of earlier mystagogies. For him the sensory diverseness of the liturgy is a figure of cohesive intelligible reality, grasped by mental contemplation of liturgical symbols.⁵⁷ On the other hand, Pseudo-Dionysius repeatedly refers to participating in the “perfecting gifts of communion”, thus anchoring his explanation of the liturgy in the concrete act of receiving communion.⁵⁸

Pseudo-Dionysius’ commentary differs from the earlier mystagogies in its starting point: it aims not to edify the neophytes but to spiritually lift Christians who already have entered deeply into the spiritual life. In *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* the faithful are instructed to contemplate symbols of the liturgy as a means of being elevated from “effects to causes”. In his presentation of the soul’s mystical ascent in the liturgy, the Areopagite mirrors classical terminology of spiritual growth: the liturgy is a way of man’s deification (θεώσις) and even a point of union (ἔνωσις) with God. Purification, however, is for Pseudo-Dionysius a prerequisite for attaining this Eucharistic union. In the event that a person was not spiritually purified, the outward structure of the Eucharistic liturgy can give primarily ethical edification, and the Eucharist as a symbol of unity will also strengthen the sense of belonging among the faithful. Union with God in the liturgy can only be reached by the pure ones.⁵⁹ The attendees are therefore divided into two groups: those who can grasp – due to their purity – the deep spiritual meaning of the liturgy, and on the other had those who (whom the Areopagite calls “the general crowd”⁶⁰) can but partake in moral and communal aspect of the worship, therefore remaining outside of the true spiritual reality manifested in the liturgy.⁶¹

It remains somewhat unclear what Pseudo-Dionysius thinks the unpurified benefit from communing in the divine gifts, or even if they are expected to commune at all. He

⁵⁶ On discussion on the identity of Pseudo-Dionysius see Annala 1993, 168-169; Campbell 1981, 8-11; Louth 1981, 160-161.

⁵⁷ Daniélou 1956, 15; Taft 1980-1981, 61-62. Pseudo-Dionysius’ standpoint becomes evident in the following: “Ἄλλ’ ὃ θειοτάτη καὶ ἱερά τελετή, τὰ περικείμενά σοι συμβολικῶς ἀμφιέσματα τῶν αἰνιγματῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντα, τηλαυγῶς ἡμῖν ἀναδειχθήτω καὶ τὰς νοεράς ἡμῶν ὄψεις ἐνιαίου καὶ ἀπερικάλυπτου φωτός ἀποπλήρωσον.” *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 82, 9-12 (PG 3, 428C). Auxentios & Thornton (1987, 294) note that the footing of liturgical allegory of Pseudo-Dionysius is not independent of corporeal reality since it is namely through it that the divine reality in the liturgy is symbolised by and participated in.

⁵⁸ *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 79, 15-17 (PG 3, 424D); 81, 8-9 (PG 3, 425D-428A), 21-24 (PG 3, 428B).

⁵⁹ *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 79, 7-12 (PG 3, 424C); 81, 15 - 82, 12 (PG 3, 428A-C).

⁶⁰ *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 81, 10 (PG 3, 428A).

⁶¹ On the efficacy of sacraments in the Dionysian system see Wear & Dillon 2007, 108-110.

writes several times about how the bishop first partakes in the sacrament and then distributes it either “to others” or to those of the “sacred rank”.⁶² Since there is no direct reference to communion of the “general crowd”, the inclusiveness of the Eucharistic culmination of the rite remains unclear. Are the faithful expected to be satisfied only with looking at the divine symbols, or is it possible for them also, as for the presiding hierarch, to be uplifted by the rite into contemplation of God in purity?⁶³ Despite his lack of clarity on this point, the Areopagite still holds the act of communing in high regard.

The principles for Pseudo-Dionysius’ interpretation of the liturgy derive from the bases of his whole theological system. The Eucharistic liturgy signifies for him the highest plane of the highest ecclesial triad (the mysteries).⁶⁴ The ecclesial hierarchies of mysteries and ministry for their part transmit an illumination of the Trinity, the highest triad of the celestial hierarchy. Therefore partaking of the mysteries is truly participation in the celestial, divine realm. In explaining the Christian liturgy, Pseudo-Dionysius echoes principles of Iamblichian *theourgia* – yet differing from it mainly in his emphasis on the communal character of the rite.⁶⁵ He also relies heavily on the hierarchical worldview of Proclus and typical neo-platonic cosmology, as can be seen in his description of participation in the mysteries as an expression of will of returning to the source of everything, to God.⁶⁶ According to Pseudo-Dionysius, God makes himself known in the liturgy through symbols. Derived from the idea of return to God, Pseudo-Dionysius defines symbols as representations of God’s emanation in the world of diversity. It is through the contemplation of these liturgical symbols of God’s presence in the world that the soul can ascend to illumination.⁶⁷ In Dionysian *theoria* the transcendent divine could not be conveyed at all without symbols. However, borrowing especially from Proclus, he understands the degree of unfolding symbols to be dependent on the rank and spiritual ability of the participant.⁶⁸

Since Pseudo-Dionysius’ emphasis is admittedly on present spiritual potential, it is not surprising that in his commentary no notice is taken of the great events of salvation history, except for a concise reference to incarnation.⁶⁹ Based on the Areopagite’s

⁶² *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 81, 9-10 (PG 3, 428A); 93, 23 - 94,3 (PG 3, 444D-445C).

⁶³ See eg. *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 81, 9-13 (PG 3, 428A).

⁶⁴ Pseudo-Dionysius designates the Eucharist as *synaxis*. According to him it is “τελετῶν τελετή”, the perfection of all the other mysteries and the whole Christian life. *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 79, 3 (PG 3, 424C). The hierarchical order of the Pseudo-Dionysian universe is based on the philosophy of Proclus, who himself was heavily influenced by Plotinus’ hierarchy of three principles. Annala 1993, 173-175; Louth 1981, 37, 162.

⁶⁵ For an excellent presentation of Hellenic and Platonic alliances in the Dionysian presentation of the Eucharistic liturgy see Wear & Dillon 2007, 99-115.

⁶⁶ Louth 1981, 27-28, 167; Meyendorff, P. 1984, 27-28; Wear & Dillon 2007, 117-129.

⁶⁷ The purpose of the liturgy as unifying action is plainly seen in the way Pseudo-Dionysius explains the entrance at the very beginning of the service. The bishop’s coming out of the altar and entering into it again during the little entrance demonstrates God’s active reaching out towards people and his offering to people of the possibility of establishing communion with him. Despite this divine “movement”, God remains changeless in his essence. *De ecclesiastica*. Heil & Rittel 82, 13 - 83, 10 (PG 3, 428D-429B).

⁶⁸ On the interdependence of Pseudo-Dionysius’ symbolism with that of Proclus’ see Wear & Dillon 2007, 85-97.

⁶⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius examines the interconnectedness between the incarnation and the Eucharist in *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 92, 18 - 93, 22 (PG 3, 444A-D).

orientation towards the spiritual realm rather than historical events, Schulz notes that in his thought allegory does not refer to 'other' so much as to something 'higher'.⁷⁰ This is demonstrated in Pseudo-Dionysius' contemplation of the sacred hymns. He claims that they attune the souls of the faithful to the divine harmony – a view similar to that of Cyril of Jerusalem – and bring them into accord with divine reality in a bond of communion.⁷¹ The liturgy thus offers a harmonious image of spiritual reality, a picture of the soul's return from the corporeal and diverse world to a unified spiritual vision of God.⁷² It is worth noting that, despite his contemplative approach, Pseudo-Dionysius concludes his commentary with the notion that it is only through the reception of the Eucharist that the infinite breadth of brilliance of the divine gifts can be discerned.⁷³

To summarise, in Pseudo-Dionysius the earthly and celestial realities do not necessarily become as one in the liturgy. In addition, the souls of the attendees either participate in the mystical and unifying experience of God or remain devoid of it. In other words, the church is not "taken up" in its entirety, but only through some of its members. The Eucharist, consequently, at the same time is and is not the main point of reference for those attending the liturgy. Pseudo-Dionysius, in some respects, actually seems to encourage taking the role of observer rather than participant with regard to the deep meaning of the liturgy. The standpoint to Eucharist is then not given by sacramental communion but rather by observing the enigmas revealed in the structure of the liturgy.

Maximus the Confessor

Maximus the Confessor (d. 662) entitled his interpretation of the liturgy *Mystagogia*. The title already suggests that he considers himself to be in line with previous commentators on the divine liturgy. It is, however, the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius that is more dominant in his work than that of the fourth century mystagogies.⁷⁴ First, just as in Pseudo-Dionysius, Maximus also directs his words of instruction to those already initiated into Christianity and who lead an ascetic life. Second, for him the liturgical

⁷⁰ Schulz 1964, 53. Louth (1981, 26) observes that the way Pseudo-Dionysius speaks of contemplation is very close to Philo of Alexandria's presentation of contemplation as an inward-going movement.

⁷¹ *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 84, 7-14 (PG 3, 432A-B).

⁷² For Pseudo-Dionysius God is the One (*ἕν*). See e.g. *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 79, 9-12 (PG 3, 424C-D). Wybrew (1990, 91) characterises Pseudo-Dionysius' approach to liturgy as follows: "The divine mystery, which is one and spiritual, is revealed to us through what is multiple and material. So in the celebration of the sacraments the visible and tangible rites are the image of spiritual realities. From the multiplicity of the sign the human spirit can rise to the unifying vision of the One."

⁷³ *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 94, 18-22 (PG 3, 445C).

⁷⁴ Since, according to Maximus, Pseudo-Dionysius has already given a thorough explanation of the liturgy, he is not going to repeat what has been said in his predecessor's commentary but concentrates instead on themes not taken up by the Areopagite. *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 660D-661A. Von Balthasar (2003, 316) assumes that Maximus' conscious avoidance of aspects already handled by Pseudo-Dionysius explains "the curious fact that precisely the heart of the Church's liturgy, the Eucharistic consecration, is passed in his work without explanation."

symbols are parallel to divine revelation, which make the hidden God revealed in the liturgy. Symbols are a way of entering into the presence of God.⁷⁵

The Eucharist is for Maximus the most central of liturgical symbols, all of which have a highly concrete function in realistically transmitting the divine mysteries. Maximus understands symbol as truly representing the reality it makes present.⁷⁶ His emphasis is then on eschatological spirituality. Even though there are some historical elements from the life of Jesus in Maximus' commentary, the salvation-historical perspective remains rather minimal, focusing mainly on the incarnation.⁷⁷ Thus, the majority of liturgical symbols – hymns, entrances etc. – reveal the transcendent and communicate it.

Schulz has observed that Maximus elucidates the presence of two dimensions, heavenly and earthly, by dividing the liturgy into two parts: the heavenly reality is symbolised by the parts of the liturgy celebrated at the altar, and the earthly reality by parts that are conducted in the nave.⁷⁸ Maximus' interpretation begins with an explanation of the symbolism of the church building. Consequently, it is the physical setting of the church building and its influence on celebrating the liturgy that gives significant impetus for his understanding of the symbols. His interest in the physical structure of the liturgy does not, however, lead to stagnation but, in the words of von Balthasar, Maximus moves beyond his emphasis on duality to a dynamic vision of earthly and heavenly liturgy in "the unconfused unity of two in one in the visible, hierarchical Church [- -]."⁷⁹

Paul Meyendorff sees another kind of classification in Maximus' interpretation: general (γενικῶς) and specific (ιδικῶς) interpretation. The former links Maximus to the earlier tradition of eschatological-historical symbolism. The latter is the more original way of interpreting the liturgy as a depiction of the soul's ascent to God.⁸⁰ The difference

⁷⁵ "[- -] μεθ' ἧν ὁ τῆς γνωστικῆς θεωρίας ὡσπερ Ἄρχιερεὺς οὐρανόθεν ἐπιδημῶν αὐτοῖς Λόγος, τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ τινὰ κόσμον αἰσθητῶν συστέλλει τὸ φρόνημα· τοὺς ἐτι πρὸς γῆν κατανεύοντας λογισμοὺς ἀπωθοῦμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἐποσίαν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τῆς τῶν θυρῶν κλείσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν ἀγίων μυστηρίων, αὐτοὺς ἀγαγὼν, λόγων τε καὶ πραγμάτων, μύσαντας ἤδη τὰς αἰσθήσεις." *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 692B.

⁷⁶ Wybrew 1990, 95. See also Schmemmann 1981, 97.

⁷⁷ *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 688B-D. Auxentius & Thornton (1987, 296, 299) surmise that the lack of reference to salvation history in the commentaries of Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus originates from the tradition of emphasising important matters by being silent about them. In my opinion, this claim fails to substantiate the meaning of historical events in the Eucharistic assembly since it is precisely in these two commentaries that *not* mentioning salvation-historical linkages actually fails to emphasize the importance of historical events.

⁷⁸ Schulz 1964, 85-86.

⁷⁹ Von Balthasar 2003, 316-317. Maximus' stress on the spiritual meaning of the physical church building is remarkable. According to him, angels point out to God every person who visits the church and especially those who attend the liturgy. The grace of the Holy Spirit also affects every person entering the building and thus leads them to "more divine way of life." *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 701D-704A.

⁸⁰ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 36, 38. The difference between these two levels of interpretation becomes clear in Maximus' own words: "Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τάξει βαίνοντες, πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς γνωστικῆς θεωρήσωμεν· καὶ συναναβῆναι μικρὸν κατὰ δύναμιν τῷ λόγῳ μετ' εὐλαβείας πρὸς ὑψηλοτέραν θεωρίαν, σκοπήσαι τε καὶ κατανοῆσαι πῶς οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀγίας Ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τελειότητα δι' ἀληθοῦς καὶ ἐνεργῶς γνώσεως ἄγουσι, ποθοῦντα τὸν νοῦν καὶ βουλόμενον, Θεοῦ χειραγωγούντος· εἰ δοκεῖ μὴ κωλύσωμεν." *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 697B.

between Pseudo-Dionysius' and Maximus' way of presenting the liturgy as mystical ascent can be described in this way: for Pseudo-Dionysius the Eucharistic liturgy is more an act of inspiration for the soul's journey to God, but for Maximus the liturgy is part of the reality of that journey, an event of the church's ascent to the divine realm, "an effective guarantee of the transformation of the whole universe."⁸¹

Schmemmann considers Maximus' *Mystagogia* to be a good example of Byzantine liturgical symbolism where liturgy is not so much a dramatisation of Jesus' life as an act of entry into divine reality. Schmemmann further sees that Maximus' eschatological orientation underlines participation in the kingdom of God as the main objective of the liturgy.⁸² Schmemmann's appraisal of Maximus becomes understandable when it is juxtaposed with his own view of movement and ascent to kingdom of God as the essence of the liturgy.⁸³ This does not mean that Schmemmann's observations on Maximus would be on tenuous ground. Obviously the liturgical experience is for Maximus essentially real and communal. Liturgy is not a stimulant to contemplation based on a detached symbolical construction. This can be seen further in the way he promotes Eucharistic communion. The potential of Eucharistic communion is based on how Maximus views the relationship between God and man: macro- and microcosmos. In this he relies on Chalcedonian christology, notably upon the *communicatio idiomatum* of christological perichoresis, as the basis for the idea of reaching deification through Eucharistic communion.⁸⁴ Some scholars have suggested that there are strains here of Origenistic mysticism, modified by Evagrius of Pontus. In his stress on Eucharistic communion and positive materialism due to the incarnation, Maximus is, however, combating a messalian approach to sacraments and spirituality.⁸⁵

Germanus of Constantinople

The influence of the interpretations of Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor resulted in the situation that from the mid-sixth until the late eighth century, liturgical hermeneutics was dominated by an "Alexandrian strain", a mystical stress on liturgy as the depiction of the soul's spiritual ascent in a process of knowing God. This strain began to fade during the first part of the eighth century due to the remarkable commentary on the liturgy under the name of Germanus the Patriarch of Constantinople

⁸¹ von Balthasar 2003, 321-322. In Schulz' (1964, 89-90) opinion Maximus marked a new way of interpretation where the liturgy is seen as a depiction of soul's ascent instead of being a representation of the historical event of salvation. Through its ascent the soul really participates in divine reality and attains the glory of the angels by becoming God (*Gott zu werden*). P. Meyendorff (1984, 38) identifies this shift of interpretation as history of salvation becoming mystical history.

⁸² Schmemmann 1981, 98-100.

⁸³ Schmemmann 1988, 27.

⁸⁴ Meyendorff, J. 1975a, 139-140. J. Meyendorff (1974a, 72) considers Maximus to be "first of all a consistent Chalcedonian, and thus he approached the problem with a fundamental conviction that each nature of Christ keeps, as nature, its characteristics and activity. 'Deification' does not suppress humanity, but makes it more authentically human." Without denying the significance of the influence of Chalcedonian Christology on Maximus' thought, Törönen has recently contested the idea of it as the sole fountainhead of his theology. Törönen designates the prevailing tendency in modern scholarly research on Maximus as "pan-Chalcedonianism". Törönen 2007, 1-6.

⁸⁵ von Balthasar 2003, 317-321; Meyendorff, J. 1974a, 67, 69-72.

(d. 733).⁸⁶ In this work an emphasis on the life of the historical Jesus was connected to the prevailing metahistorical stress in interpreting the liturgy. As Paul Meyendorff has observed, this change in hermeneutics is already seen in the appearance of the word *historia* in the title of Germanus' commentary *Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio*. The author was willing to detach himself from the earlier contemplative tradition and took again the Antiochian liturgical exegesis of the early authors of mystagogies as a central approach in commenting on the liturgy. The *Historia* by Germanus thus marked a return to biblical typology in liturgical hermeneutics.⁸⁷ In Pseudo-Dionysius' interpretation there were only sporadic flashes of historicity, and Maximus for his part virtually ignores the historical perspective after a compact presentation of historical symbols in contact with his explanation of the little entrance. Germanus has a very different standpoint: he is positioned principally at the level of salvation-*historia*, focusing on re-enactment of past events.⁸⁸

With its ceremonial and ritual richness, the eighth century Divine Liturgy made it possible for Germanus to comment on a much more abundant liturgical structure than his predecessors. He dedicates himself to examining all aspects of the liturgy as well as the church building and attaches historical-symbolical significance to each part and detail of them. Yet, in doing this Germanus does not only look back (into history) but beyond (to present and the eschaton) and up (to heaven), thus combining his interpretation utilizing an Antiochian background with an Alexandrian tendency to grasp transcendent reality. Contemplating the events of salvation-history makes it possible to take part in the eternal divine realm, made accessible by the historical events now present in their eschatological fullness in the symbols of the Eucharistic liturgy.⁸⁹

Explanation of the altar exemplifies Germanus' synthetic multi-level symbolism in presenting the complete life of Christ from nativity to ascension. To begin with, he gives the liturgy an Old Testament basis in presenting the miracle of the manna in the wilderness (Exod. 16:13-35) as a type of the Eucharist, the heavenly food that is laid upon the altar. Secondly, the altar table has a threefold meaning in connection with the life of Jesus: it is a symbol of incarnation, institution of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice on the cross. Finally, the altar stands also as an eschatological sign of God's heavenly throne.⁹⁰ The liturgy is thus filled with signs and symbols pointing to the past and to the eschatological present. The running order of liturgical representation of the events of salvation-history does not follow the historical chronology of those events. Obviously Germanus does not think this to be inconsistent. Liturgy is, after all, also a manifestation

⁸⁶ It has been suggested that Germanus the Patriarch is not the real composer of the work. Since Theodosius the Studite already cites the commentary and the Latin translation of it is known as early as from the 860s, it is assumed that the work originates from the early 8th century, possibly even from the age of Germanus. Meyendorff, P. 1984, 13; Schulz 1964, 118-119; Taft 1978, xxxviii.

⁸⁷ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 42, 48; Wybrew 1990, 123. Despite Germanus' salvation-historical emphasis Auxentius & Thornton (1987, 286) do not consider, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia to be an influence on Germanus.

⁸⁸ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 45-46; Schulz 1964, 130.

⁸⁹ Auxentius & Thornton 1987, 300; Meyendorff, P. 1984, 46-47; Wybrew 1990, 124-125. The *Historia* by Germanus is an excellent illustration of Byzantine 'liturgical drama' which was born out of close interaction between the development of the liturgical ordo and Byzantine court ritual. It resulted in envisioning the solemnity of liturgy as an allegory of the life of Jesus Christ. Tajakka 1967, 43.

⁹⁰ *Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio* 4-5.

of the eschatological fullness that makes chronology a relative issue. In addition, since Germanus supposes that each part of the building, liturgical function and item has a unique symbolical fastener, the chronology seems to be a secondary criterion for pointing out suitable historical symbols that are naturally derived from the action or an item in case.⁹¹

After explaining the Great Entrance, the course of Germanus' interpretation alters significantly. From then on he takes the way paved by Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor. A historical-symbolic perspective is abandoned in the latter part of the *Historia*; the focus turns to the spiritual and eschatological symbols of the heavenly realm. For example, the priest at the altar stands now face-to-face with the Holy Trinity, no longer on earth but in the heavenly heights. The being and actions of the priest thus represent the contemplation of ineffable divine mysteries, the contemplation that the assembled people should also seek.⁹²

Germanus' symbolism has been criticised for showing a lack of interest in the natural, functional dimension of the liturgy.⁹³ Despite the strong element of non-historical interpretation in the latter half of the *Historia*, the general concern of the work with the historical Jesus is noteworthy. The iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century at least in part explains Germanus' keen emphasis on historicism. According to Neoplatonically slanted iconoclastic theology, it was not possible to depict Jesus Christ in the icon. Even though Germanus' commentary is not explicitly aimed against the iconoclasts, it can in any event be read as a comment upon the major theological dispute of the day. The battle against iconoclasm not only made the place of the icon more central in Byzantine Christianity, but it also affected the historical-symbolic interpretation of liturgy and the church building – as can be seen in the *Historia*.⁹⁴ Schulz even argues that the guidelines of interpretation given by Germanus will eventuate in stagnation: the liturgy is perceived as a static event, an unveiled and sensory 'icon' of the life of Jesus Christ with no point of reference to this world.⁹⁵ Paul Meyendorff sees

⁹¹ Schulz 1964, 121. Koumarianos (2000, 20) criticises the lack of chronology in Germanus' symbolical interpretation of the liturgy and finds it unauthentic: "[- -] this form of symbolism is something that has been imposed to the Liturgy after the event, and that when the Early church originally established the order of the Liturgy, it had no intention of providing a dramatic representation of the life of Christ."

⁹² *Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio* 41. Cf. e.g. Maximus' *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 700C-701C.

⁹³ See e.g. Schulz 1964, 121.

⁹⁴ Solovey 1970, 70-71. The commentary of Germanus reflects well the principle of the 82nd canon of the Quinisext council (691) that instructs the church to depict Jesus in his human shape in order to manifest his life in the flesh, suffering and death as well as salvation brought through them. *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* 1900, 401.

⁹⁵ Schulz 1964, 121. Schulz' interpretation is open to criticism. His view of the liturgy as a depiction of Christ is based on the hypothesis that, due to the interconnection between liturgy and theology of icons, the liturgy is a receding and static event. The Orthodox stand on the nature of icons, however, accentuates dynamism. It is namely in a liturgical context that an icon prepares the way for a living encounter with spiritual reality. See e.g. Quenot 1997, 46; Ouspensky 1978, 11. If it would be maintained that according to Germanus the liturgy is but an iconographic presentation, i.e. Christ is not truly present in the Eucharist, it would not contradict the principle of iconic dynamism of liturgical symbols, strongly supported by the principles of the theology of the icon. Yet, this would of course lead to a conflict with Eucharistic realism, but Schulz's opinion on the nature of icons still remains open to challenge.

Germanus in a more dynamic and positive light. He pays attention to the many levels of interpretation in the *Historia* in which notable aspects of Eucharistic theology and tradition of liturgical interpretation are represented.⁹⁶

Germanus' work proved to be very influential in the Christian east. On the one hand, it regularised symbolism as a certain basic hermeneutical method and, on the other, it contributed to the liturgical symbolism of subsequent Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopian commentaries on the liturgy. It was only Nicholas Cabasilas who is regarded as superseding Germanus as the author of a standard interpretation of the Byzantine liturgy.⁹⁷

Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem and Nicholas of Andida

There were yet two more noteworthy commentaries of the liturgy written before Cabasilas. The two works are the eleventh century *Brevis commentatio de divinae liturgiae symbolis ac mysteriis*⁹⁸ written by Nicholas of Andida and the twelfth century *Commentarius liturgicus*⁹⁹ by Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem. The influence of Germanus is evident in both commentaries, especially in *Commentarius liturgicus*, which in many parts is a duplication of Germanus' *Historia*.

The two commentaries present the liturgy solely as a historical-symbolic dramatisation in an extreme manner. This is especially the case with Nicholas of Andida's work. He not only presents the symbols of the liturgy as referring to the events mentioned in the Gospel, but as referring also to extra-biblical episodes of Christ's life.¹⁰⁰ His aim is evidently to show how thoroughly and accurately the entire life of Christ is represented in the course of the liturgy.¹⁰¹ The tendency of Germanus of Constantinople to add more than one meaning to a single symbol also prevails in Nicholas' *Brevis commentatio*; nearly all the symbols in the liturgy signify several different things or events. Therefore, the symbolical construction of the *Brevis commentatio* has been labelled as artificial and contrived.¹⁰² Storheim flatly labels it as "an utopia of allegorists, since everything means something else, either heavenly or in the Life of Christ."¹⁰³ Here again the criticism towards symbolic representation is duplicated. Based on the fact that one symbol is given various meanings, the connection between the symbol and its content is considered loose.

In my view, the logic of a symbol does not necessarily disintegrate if one symbol is said to have various meanings. The multidimensionality of a symbol is accepted without effort in the earlier commentaries as well (e.g. Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the

⁹⁶ Meyendorff, P. 1984, 51-52.

⁹⁷ Salaville 1942, 135-148; Solovey 1970, 73; Taft 1980-1981, 74. Germanus' commentary was included in the very first printed edition of the liturgy. This gives witness to the high admiration for his work. Auxentios & Thornton 1987, 300

⁹⁸ PG 140, 417-468.

⁹⁹ PG 87, 3981B-4001B. The known manuscripts of the work are not complete; the commentary concludes with the great entrance.

¹⁰⁰ According to Nicholas, there are symbols that refer to Christ in the womb of Mary and his life before his first public appearance (PG 140, 429C-D), as well as the pouring of water over his head during the crucifixion (PG 140, 464A-B).

¹⁰¹ *Brevis commentatio*. PG 140, 417A-B, 421A-B, 424A-B.

¹⁰² Solovey 1970, 72-73; Wybrew 1990, 139-144.

¹⁰³ Storheim 1982, 32.

Confessor). Even though Nicholas of Andryda and Pseudo-Sophronius present the liturgy as encumbered with a vast number of salvation-historical references, the basic purpose of a symbol to reveal hidden realities should not be predicated on the basis of an abundance of meanings. However, since there are no direct references to the Eucharistic fulcrum of the liturgy, it is understandable that their interpretations can be criticised especially due to their looseness with respect to the Eucharistic content of the rite.

* * *

Ever since the time of Byzantine liturgical commentaries, the Orthodox liturgy has been primarily understood as a depiction of Jesus Christ's life on earth. Accordingly, Evelyn Underhill describes in her *Worship* from 1937 the very content of Orthodox liturgy in a customary manner:

So, in the Orthodox Liturgy of the Orthodox Church, the whole movement of the service is correlated with the successive phases of the life of Jesus. The solemn preparation of the elements behind the closed doors of the sanctuary commemorates His humble birth and hidden childhood; the Liturgy of the Catechumens, centred on the ceremonial proclamation of the Gospel, His public ministry. The Liturgy of the Faithful, with its "great entrance" of the Offering and acts of oblation, consecration, and communion shadows forth the awful mysteries of the Passion and Risen life.¹⁰⁴

Underhill's standpoint in explaining the nature and meaning of Orthodox Eucharistic liturgy is compatible with the findings of the above summary of the evolution of interpreting of the Eucharistic liturgy. On the one hand, her description is in line with the fundamental christocentric orientation of the liturgy, dating from the early mystagogies. On the other hand, Underhill bears witness to later layers of liturgical hermeneutics: the manner of representing the life of Christ in the liturgy so much discussed by modern liturgical theologians. As this survey of liturgical commentaries has showed, understanding the liturgy as a communion- or contact-generating act between the faithful and Christ is derived from the basic christocentric stance of the liturgy.

The tradition of symbolic interpretation is nowadays both appreciated and criticised. Provided that the relatively early date of origin of liturgical symbolism is constantly kept in mind, the dangers of anachronism and theological short-sightedness raised by modern critics are avoided in the ongoing discussion. It is at the latest with the fifth century Theodore of Mopsuestia that the symbolical interpretation emerges, if not earlier.¹⁰⁵ Regardless of what kind of stand is taken towards symbolism, it cannot be criticised as a late phenomenon in the history of liturgical hermeneutics and Eucharistic theology.

¹⁰⁴ Underhill 1937, 74.

¹⁰⁵ Patrinos (1976, 273) connects appearance of symbolism to Theodore while Harakas (1974, 54) ascribes the origin of symbolism to the thoughts of Cyprian. There are, however, some, like Purmonen (1971, 11), who on rather vague grounds claim symbolism to be a relatively new strain, even originating from the 14th century Cabasilas.

One also needs to notice that the evolution of interpretation of the liturgy coincides with the development of the Eucharistic rite itself. As a result of the ideological and social emancipation of the church in the fourth century, the form of liturgy expanded dramatically – together with other spheres of Christian life. A growth in symbolical explanations of the rites is but one result of this change. In all events, the emphasis must be on the word *development* when it comes to assessing liturgical symbolism. As this historical overview has shown, the tradition of symbolic interpretation is not by any means a cohesive phenomenon, but a transient one.

3 *Divine Presence and the Liturgical Setting*

With this chapter a thorough investigation of Nicholas Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought begins. The central theme of divine presence is in this chapter examined from the perspective of the liturgy as an expression of God-man dialogue. In Cabasilas' words, in the liturgy "the whole design of the work of redemption is signified."¹ The concrete and symbolical elements that, according to Cabasilas, contribute to making God's presence manifest in the Eucharistic synaxis are also determined. There are three fundamental perspectives into Cabasilas' understanding that are introduced. *The first perspective*, which deals with the trinitarian bases of the liturgy, aims to reveal Cabasilas' theological underpinnings of the liturgy as a manifestation of God to the world. Thus, a look at the trinitarian element of the liturgy – as Cabasilas understands it – gives a distinct theocentric perspective for investigation of the theme of the presence of God. *The second perspective* clarifies the anthropocentric or subjective grounding of the Eucharistic liturgy, exemplified in Cabasilas' discussion on the holy table or altar table. In his interpretation of the table, Cabasilas makes explicit the potential of subjectively experienced presence of the divine. Within the church building, the altar is a permanent physical reminder and example of the culmination of the God-man relationship and of the doxological orientation of the liturgy. *As the third perspective*, the theme of presence of God is examined from the viewpoint of the Eucharistic rite. The focus then turns to Cabasilas' symbolical interpretation of the liturgy. While the altar table manifests the possibility of participation in God's presence, the Eucharistic rite embraces the variety of liturgical expressions and operations as a means of meeting God.

3.1. MANIFESTATION OF THE TRINITY

The Byzantine liturgy opens with the great Trinitarian doxology and ends with the final benediction which also has a Trinitarian form. Within these markers the Eucharistic celebration takes place, giving the liturgy its traditionally distinctly Trinitarian orientation. The trinitarian shape and content of the Eucharistic celebration originates from the foundation of Christian faith, conventionally established upon the central dogma of the Trinity. Thus, on the one hand, the Eucharistic liturgy has to be situated within the broader framework of Christian theology, impregnated with Trinitarian faith. On the other hand, it is exactly the liturgy that gives one of the most well-balanced manifestations of the very Trinitarian faith. The Eucharistic liturgy is both an expression and source of Christian faith.

¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 6.

Cabasilas' trinitarian vision of the Eucharistic liturgy is demonstrated on various levels. First, he reads certain elements in the rite as straightforward revelations of divine operation as the Triune God. Second, there are also references to special operations of each person of the Trinity. The distinction between God in himself and God manifested is therefore explicitly witnessed in Cabasilas' phrasings. Due to the christocentric fundamental orientation of Christian liturgy, there is a manifest christocentric emphasis on the divine operation. In actual fact, the operation of Christ runs through Cabasilas' entire explanation of the liturgy and the Eucharist. Christocentric reading of the mysteries is based on trinitarian economy, which in Cabasilas' understanding culminates in the redemption attained by Jesus Christ. In spite of the fact that God effects salvation through one divine act of love, each of the three persons of the Godhead still contributes something unique to that operation. When it comes to the culmination of the divine economy, Cabasilas consequently maintains that although God as Trinity jointly willed man's salvation, it was the incarnate Word – not the Father, nor the Spirit – who achieved it through his incarnation, passion, death and resurrection. Cabasilas calls this a novelty in God's manner of operation, which up until then was characterized by God's acting as one power and providence.²

For example, when one examines Cabasilas' presentation of the three main mysteries of the church in *De vita in Christo*, one discovers that he explains all divine operation for man's salvation from a christocentric perspective. The result is that the operation of the second person of the Godhead has a dominant role when it comes to Cabasilas' understanding of the divine economy, spiritual life and divine presence in the sacraments as well. This is exemplified in his recapitulation of the history of salvation in Chapters 43 to 53 of the first book of *De vita in Christo*. The divine operation aimed at man's salvation begins with the gates of Paradise being closed behind the fallen Adam. God's battle against sin and his efforts to reconcile man are presented by Cabasilas from an incarnational standpoint as if the history of salvation started only with the radical change brought about in the incarnation of the Logos. Further, in his illustration of the divine economy Cabasilas speaks of God the Master (Δεσπότης) and the Saviour (Σωτήρ) – the word Trinity is not used, nor any of the names of the two other divine persons. The names used (God, Master and Saviour), seem to refer to one and the same agent. The result is that, when speaking of the Saviour's achievements for salvation of mankind, Cabasilas proceeds to state: "It is God who died; God's blood was shed upon the cross."³ Besides, he concludes his narration with a definition of the death of God as repayment of man's debt to God; God being the one who is reconciled with man as a result of sacrifice offered by God the Master in whom humanity and divinity coincide.⁴ In sum, operation of the one divine essence *ad extra* has a christocentric form in the culmination of the history of salvation.

² *De vita* II, 33. Cabasilas further specifies that it is Christ alone who reconciles men with God and makes peace between them (*Sacrae liturgiae* XLIV, 2); of the divine hypostases he is the one who works the salvation of man and is justly called the Saviour (*Sacrae liturgiae* XIX, 3).

³ *De vita* I, 51.

⁴ *De vita* I, 52-53. Cf. Cabasilas' recounting of Christ's kenosis in *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 12 in a similar manner.

Due to such dominance of one particular emphasis on the divine operation, Christ's specific operation cannot be discussed in detail here or separately in any other part of the study. Christ's role is rather a pervasive theme in Cabasilas' entire theological vision, a directive perspective and a predominant feature of his thought.⁵ The divine essence, the objective reality of Godhead, is received subjectively through Christ-centred energy.

3.1.1. One Triune Operation Revealed

In the words of Cabasilas, the church is an assembly of those who believe in the trinity and unity of God.⁶ In the liturgy this faith is proclaimed in the opening doxology, towards which Cabasilas shows notable interest. The priest's exclamation "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος" marks the beginning of the publicly celebrated stage of the Eucharistic liturgy.⁷ For Cabasilas the opening doxology is first and foremost an expression of God's glory. As such, it makes the initial setting of the Eucharistic gathering openly clear: it falls to man to marvel at God's incomprehensibility and turn towards him with petitions.⁸ It seems, however, that it is not just the revelation of the divine being itself that causes Cabasilas to stress human awe as a natural reaction to the opening doxology. It is particularly the Trinitarian formulation of doxology that interests him. Following the Eastern Christian connotation of the dogma of the Trinity, Cabasilas points out that it is not the one and united divine nature that is being praised (τὸ τρισσὸν ἐπιφημίζει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οὐ τὸ ἐνιαῖον) but the three *prosopa* of God.⁹ Through Christ's incarnation the divine essence is personally manifested and God became known as the Trinity. For Cabasilas this incarnational perspective explains why the celebration of the economy of the Son begins with the

⁵ As Mantovanis straightforwardly states, "Christ is at the centre of the thought of Cabasilas." Mantovanis 1984, 236.

⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* XX, 3.

⁷ The doxology is announced at the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens. It is preceded by *proskomide*, which is performed behind the iconostasis out of sight of the congregation. Orientation towards the Kingdom is repeated in Cabasilas' description of the first parts of the service, especially in his commentary on the litanies. The repetitive supplications of peace and salvation are equated by Cabasilas to seeking the heavenly kingdom (cf. Matt. 6:33). Κύριε ἐλέησον, repeated after every supplication, is just another form of the fundamental plea for the inheritance of the Kingdom. As Cabasilas puts it, admittance into the Kingdom is a sign of the final fulfillment of divine grace. *Sacrae liturgiae* XIII, 2-9.

⁸ "Εὐθύς γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ προσερχόμενοι, τὸ ἀπόσιτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον κατανοοῦμεν, ᾧ θανάμα καὶ ἐκπληξίς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκολουθεῖ· τούτω δὲ δοξολογία ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔπεται." *Sacrae liturgiae* XI B, 5. The trinitarian nature of Eucharistic liturgy as the orthodox conviction was secured in the local Council of Constantinople in 1157. The synod declared that the one sacrifice of the cross and of the Eucharist is offered to the Holy Trinity. More on the synod see Tchermoukhine 1969; Mantovanis 1984, 263-265.

⁹ "[-] διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου πρώτης ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι ὡς εἶη τρία πρόσωπα ὁ Θεός. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου μυσταγωγία ἐστὶ τὰ τελούμενα· ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς προομιῶις αὐτῶν ἔδει προλάμπειν καὶ κηρύττεσθαι τὴν Τριάδα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XI B, 10. Cf. *De vita* II, 33 where Cabasilas maintains that invocation of each divine Person has a theological basis; each of the Persons contributes to the one divine action. In Eastern Christian theology it is traditionally emphasised that the knowledge of God as Trinity, the essential unity of the divine persons, is the primary experience of God's true being. The essence of God remains unknown to man. In the Latin West the prevailing theological view has instead stressed the ontological importance of God's oneness, his essence. Meyendorff, J. 1974a 181, 184.

praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ The idea of the Trinitarian dedication of the opening doxology is duplicated in Cabasilas' comment that thanksgiving, *eucharistia*, is not attributed to the Father alone, but to the Son and the Spirit also.¹¹

The emphasis on the economic Trinity is again evident in Cabasilas' comments on the final benediction of the liturgy, the last subject he mentions in the final chapter of *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione*. Consequently, his commentary concludes with a salvation-historical standpoint. The emphasis is on the culmination of divine economy in the Son, whom Cabasilas in accordance with the text of the prayer designates as "our true God" (ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς ἡμῶν). In Christ the full revelation of the Trinity became public and the worship of false gods came to an end. This was due to Christ's opening up to a trinitarian vision of God. The final words of Cabasilas' commentary on the divine liturgy are in the form of trinitarian exaltation: "[- -] we owe all glory, honour and veneration to him [Christ] alone, as to God, together with his eternal Father and his most holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and always and for ever. Amen."¹² In sum, both the beginning and the end of the liturgy have a distinct trinitarian significance, albeit with a strong emphasis on the revelation of the Trinity through the economy of the Son. The novelty of God's operation in and through Jesus Christ, as Cabasilas puts it, makes evident the Triune nature of Godhead. Thus, the "whole race of man" gives thanks to the fullness of the triune God who was revealed as such through the incarnation.

Besides these doxological remarks, there are other trinitarian observations in Cabasilas' comments on the liturgy. One of these focal trinitarian motives is the blessing pronounced by the priest after the Creed. According to Cabasilas, the priest's words – Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἶη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν – express the most perfect and divine good.¹³ Hypostatic characteristics of the Triune God find their expression in the divine operation, as expressed in the blessing: the Son gives his life for the salvation of mankind, the Father reconciles with men through his Son, and the Spirit consummates Father's love towards mankind by begetting a bond of friendship.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XI B, 10. In Orthodox theology it is primarily soteriology that is the constituting principle of the doctrine of Trinity. See e.g. Meyendorff, J. 1974a 180 and Staniloae 1994, 248. According to Kotiranta (1993, 210), Orthodox liturgy emanates from trinitarian faith and contemplation of God as Trinity. The times of Cabasilas marked a final phase of formulation of classical trinitarian doctrine in the East. Gregory Palamas' distinction between divine substance, hypostasis, and energy exemplifies the culmination of eastern Christian theology of the Trinity. The difference between essence and energy makes sense only when categorized in connection with an understanding of hypostasis in Trinity. The key to understanding the doctrine of the Trinity is, according to Palamas, incarnation. This soteriological premise enables men to be in personal communion with Jesus Christ (i.e. with his hypostatic energy) even though they cannot participate in his divine essence. Meyendorff, J. 1977, 33-34.

¹¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 17.

¹² *Sacrae liturgiae* LIII, 6-8.

¹³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 3.

¹⁴ "Ἡ δὲ εὐχὴ αὐτὴ εἰληπταὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου. Προξενεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἀγαθὰ, πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφ' ἑκάστης τῶν μακαρίων Ὑποστάσεων ἰδίῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι ὀνομάζει· ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ χάριν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀγάπην, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κοινωνίαν. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς μὴδὲν εἰσενεγκοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ οφείλουσιν ἔτι δίκας Σωτῆρα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ἑαυτὸν· Καὶ γὰρ ἀσεβῶν ὄντων ἔτι, φησὶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε· ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ πρόνοια χάρις ἐστίν. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ Πατὴρ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ παθῶν διηλλαγῆ τῷ γένει τῶν

Special attention has to be paid to the place in the liturgy of this particular blessing and its explanation. The blessing is said just before the anaphora, the culminating prayer which in both main Byzantine liturgies (that of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great) includes a compact presentation of the wonders performed by the Trinity for the salvation of man. Although the exact place of the blessing is of course independent of Cabasilas, it is nevertheless significant that it is just before the anaphora he once again reminds his readers of the point of departure of the liturgy. In other words, he restates the stance suggested by his interpretation of the opening doxology. Further, the salvation-historical notion is in harmony with Cabasilas' way of treating the anaphora mainly from the perspective of thanksgiving.¹⁵

Another noteworthy element with a trinitarian point of view is provided by Cabasilas in the little entrance. At this point in the liturgy the Gospel book is solemnly brought out and placed onto the altar table. In this action Cabasilas sees a trinitarian manifestation. A symbolical reading of the little entrance thus gives him a liturgical revelation of Christ's appearance to unveil himself and introduce mankind to a full knowledge of God as Trinity. According to Cabasilas, the effect of the incarnation of the Son (from the perspective of the economy of salvation) is witnessed to in the liturgy by the *Trishagion*, the hymn composed to praise the Holy Trinity which is sung just after the little entrance.¹⁶

To sum up, Cabasilas' presentation of the one trinitarian operation revealed in the course of the Eucharistic rite has a distinct economical feature. For him the triune operation of God culminates in the economy of the incarnate Son. It is namely through the incarnation of Jesus Christ that God reveals himself as Trinity.

3.1.2. Descent of the Spirit

In addition to general trinitarian references, there are two explications in Cabasilas' commentary that reveal his understanding of the special role of the Spirit in manifesting the divine energy. One of them is the epiclesis or the prayer of invocation of the Spirit. Cabasilas maintains that true communion with Christ calls for the operation of the Spirit: communion with Christ would not be possible unless Christ according to his promise (cf. Luke 24:49; John 14:17) sends the Spirit to link men with God. Thus, the Spirit is sent by the Son to carry out the Eucharistic mystery "through the hand and the tongue of the priest."¹⁷

From the perspective of traditional Eastern Christian liturgical understanding it is not surprising that Cabasilas deals with the pneumatology of the liturgy particularly in connection with the epiclesis. The epiclesis is the central prayer and the place where the

ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἠγάπησε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐκείνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπη καλαίται. Ἐπει δὲ τοῖς φλιωθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἔδει κοινωνῆσαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν τὸν πλούσιον ἐν ἐλέει, τοῦτο ποιεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιδημήσαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χησιστότης κοινωνία λέγεται." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 4.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

¹⁶ "Ἐπειτα καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς Τριάδα τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦμεν, οἷον αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐδίδαξεν ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ Σωτῆρος." *Sacrae liturgiae* XX, 3. The hymn consists of a threefold repetition of the word "holy", which recalls the hymn sung by the seraphim (Isa. 6:3), and by the four apocalyptic beasts (Rev. 4:8).

¹⁷ "Τοῦτο διὰ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελεσιουργεῖ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 2.

operation of the second person of the Trinity is manifested. Cabasilas' understanding of Christ's becoming truly present in the Eucharist will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Here it is sufficient to simply note three things. Firstly, Cabasilas maintains that the Spirit begets Eucharistic communion with Christ. The epiclesis can therefore be seen as both consecrative and communion-engendering in its nature. Secondly, he also apparently considers the Son as the originator of the Spirit's descent down in the liturgy. Christ's promise of the Comforter thus has a liturgical connotation. This latter notion further shows that the epiclesis has also a christocentric nature. Finally, it is worth noting that the Spirit is said to work through the priest in order to accomplish the Eucharistic mystery. The connection of ordained ministry to the Eucharist is then openly expressed.

Cabasilas' reading of the epiclesis opens up a broad pneumatological vision. This is also the case with his second pneumatological highlight in the liturgy, namely the *zeon* or the warm water. According to the Byzantine rite, after the anaphora warm water is poured upon the portions of the bread inside the chalice and mixed with the wine. Cabasilas' explanation of the meaning of this action in Chapter 37 of *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione* opens up into a three-tiered symbolism:

- 1) Pouring of water reminds of Spirit's descent upon the apostles on Pentecost. Warmth symbolises the fiery tongues of the Spirit.
- 2) The *zeon* reveals how the economy of the Son vivifies the faithful in the liturgy. Transformation of the bread and wine is the culmination of Christ's sacrifice, but it is the Spirit who sanctifies the people, hence transmitting the benefits of Christ's sacrifice to them.¹⁸ This interpretation is based on the liturgy itself, where at the moment of pouring the water into the cup the priest refers to the warmth of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹
- 3) The *zeon* typifies the church. Following the Apostle Paul's imagery, Cabasilas designates the portion of the Eucharistic bread in the chalice as Church-Body upon which the Spirit is poured.

¹⁸ "Τί γάρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀποτέλεσμα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθῶν καὶ ἔργων καὶ λόγων; Εἴ τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὰ θεωρεῖ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιδημία. Οὐκοῦν ἔδει μετ' ἐκεῖνα σημασθῆναι καὶ αὐτήν. Καὶ δὴ σημαίνεται τοῦ ζέοντος ὕδατος ἐγγεομένου τοῖς μυστηρίοις. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο αὐτὸ τε ὕδωρ ὄν καὶ πυρὸς μετέχον, τὸ Πνεῦμα σημαίνει τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ καὶ ὕδωρ λέγεται καὶ ὡς πῦρ ἐφάνη τότε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐμπροσθέν. Ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὗτος τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον σημαίνει. Τότε μὲν γὰρ κατήλθε μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἅπαντα, νῦν δὲ τελειωθέντων τῶν δώρων τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεισάγεται τοῦτο." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVII, 3-5. In late 14th century – during the final years of Cabasilas' life – a custom was adopted in Constantinople to add at the time of distributing the eucharist the words "receive the Holy Spirit" to the ones normally said in reference to Christ's body and blood. This new phrase accentuated the pneumatological aspect of the mystery of Christ's body. Cabasilas' interpretation of the *zeon* makes this aspect very clear. Ware notes that Mark of Ephesus (ca. 1394 - 1445) considered the interpolation to be theologically defensible since alongside the body and blood of Christ the Spirit is also received in the Eucharist. Ware 1979b, 148. According to Evdokimov, the *zeon* refers to the Spirit. The focus is therefore in the connection between the Eucharist and Pentecost. Evdokimov 2001, 258.

¹⁹ Brightman 1896, 394. The physical warmth of the Eucharist – caused by the *zeon* – is considered to be a symbol of unsubstantial fire of the Spirit. Ware 1979b, 147.

The pouring of the *zeon* therefore refers to the historical-pneumatological characteristic of the church: being filled with the Spirit ever since Pentecost.²⁰ Linking the liturgy this way with historical events indicates that Cabasilas aims to point out that as the church received the Spirit after Christ's ascension the same happens and becomes real in the liturgy.

Cabasilas' explanation of the *zeon* as a symbol of the Holy Spirit combines salvation-historical, pneumatological and ecclesiological meanings of the Eucharist. Pentecost is marked as the starting point of the pneumatological fullness of the church. In the Eucharist the Spirit-filled reality constitutes, on the one hand, the mystical Church-Body of Christ and, on the other hand, effects sanctification in each communing member of the church. Implications of the importance of both the epiclesis and the *zeon* are attested by Cabasilas' explanation of the origin and importance of the communion (κοινωνία) with the Spirit. He sees it as one of the main results of Christ's atonement: men are no longer separated from God, but filled with the grace of God since the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Pentecost. Communion with the Spirit clearly is for Cabasilas a prerequisite for commending oneself to God.²¹ In the liturgy it is namely the Spirit, the begetter of *koinonia*, who grants forgiveness of sins for those who worthily partake of the Eucharistic offering.²² The vision based on Cabasilas' comments on both the epiclesis and the *zeon* concretely give witness to his basic conviction of the nature of Holy Spirit's role both in the divine plan of man's salvation and its being made present in the Eucharistic assembly.

Cabasilas' interpretation of the *zeon* reveals different aspects of a symbol. The warmth of the water links the *zeon* with the fiery tongues of the Spirit. This association exemplifies the symbol as sensually connected with its referent; historically, to Pentecost and spiritually to enlivening of man through sanctification. In understanding the portion

²⁰ "Διὰ δὲ τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία σημαίνεται, «σῶμα οὖσα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους»· ἦτις καὶ τότε ἐδέξατο τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· καὶ νῦν δέχεται τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, προσδεχθέντων τῶν δώρων εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον θουσιαστήριον, ἀντικαταπέμποντος αὐτὴν ἡμῖν τοῦ προσδεξαμένου ταῦτα Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα, ὅτι μεσίτης ὁ αὐτός καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVII, 6. At the Council of Trent, Luther's resistance to adding water to the chalice was discussed. Luther based his arguments on symbolism (Quia Christi sanguis non fuit cum nostro unitus nec fusus, ac per hoc nec miscendum vinum aqua) and on the alleged practice of the Greek church (Quia ecclesia Graeca hoc non recipit). Referring to Cabasilas, the fathers of Trent proved that Luther's claim of Eastern practice was false. Cabasilas provides evidence for adding water to the chalice not once but twice during the service: "Graeci enim adeo aliensi sunt ab hoc errore, ut bis misceant, semel frigida ante consecrationem et semel calida sub communionem, ut supra ex interprete liturgiae Grecorum Cabasilla ostensum est." *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 528. Thus, based on Cabasilas' authority the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil are judged by the Council to be acceptable. *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 523.

²¹ "Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ πίστεως βεβαίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος βοηθείας τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς ἑαυτὸν παρατίθεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XIV, 6 (cf. also XIV, 5). Cabasilas states that historically the Spirit's descent took place at the completion of the plan of salvation. In the Liturgy the Spirit descends at the consummation of the sacrifice in order to complete the offering in the communicants. Furthermore, he identifies the descent of the Spirit upon the church as the result of the entire scheme of the economy of salvation. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVII 1, 3. Craig (1957, 23) states that Pentecost is for Cabasilas the fulfillment of Golgotha. It is through the activity of the Spirit that the church enters into full participation in the divine economy.

²² *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIV, 4, 11.

of the bread in the chalice as a typification of the Church-Body of Christ, Cabasilas links the symbolic act and its reference in a connotative manner. Based on the customary biblical phrasing (cf. 1 Cor. 12; Eph. 5:23, 30), the bread as the body of Christ is identified by Cabasilas as the symbol of the church, which, furthermore, is vivified by the Spirit (symbolised in the *zeon*). Thus, the spiritual and theological foundations of ecclesiology are explicated through the symbolism of the *zeon*. Furthermore, Cabasilas' pneumatological accent indicates that he understands the eucharistic synaxis as an actualization of God's redemptive operation in the world.

3.1.3. Silence on the Father's role

The prayers of the anaphora of the Byzantine liturgy are expressly addressed to the Father while the litanies are addressed to the Lord (Κύριος) with a concluding Trinitarian doxology. The epithet Κύριος is repeatedly used by Cabasilas to identify both Jesus Christ and God the Father. For example, when commenting on the exhortation 'Let us give thanks to the Lord', he addresses both Father and Jesus Christ as Lord.²³ It may at first seem a bit surprising that there are in Cabasilas' main works scarcely any direct references to Father's active role in the Eucharistic liturgy. Apart from a few exceptions²⁴, for the most part Cabasilas in his explanations of the prayers speaks of God or Lord rather than explicitly of the Father. Whether he then actually means to refer to God the Father alone, to Jesus Christ or to the tri-hypostatic trinitarian God as one, is not altogether clear.

A good case in point is Chapter XIII of *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione*. When explaining the content of litanies Cabasilas repeatedly speaks of God (Θεός) – not the Father or Christ – whose mercy is sought (XIII, 9). At the same time he clearly attests that mercy is brought by Christ, especially due to his promise of the Kingdom. It thus remains a bit unclear whether 'God' refers here to Christ, the Father or the entire Trinity. There is, on the other hand, a sharp change of attribution (e.g. in XIII, 8) to be detected between Christ and God, the latter being one that makes men as co-heirs and sons of God. This would indicate that 'God' could be read as referring to the Father. This is exemplified by Cabasilas' rather extensive section on the prayer accompanying the antiphons (the entire Chapter XV of *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione*) which explicate the God-man dialogue. Only the word Θεός is applied to the divine party of the interaction throughout the entire discussion, with the exception of a couple of appearances of Κύριος when he quotes the LXX.

In most of the cases when Cabasilas is speaking of God he is not much interested in the divine hypostatic qualities but in man's relation to God in general. For example, in *De vita in Christo* II, 31 Cabasilas explicitly states that it is customary to speak of the Trinity

²³ "[-] τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ταύτην ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

²⁴ For example, in *Sacrae liturgiae* II Cabasilas states that Christ was sacrificed for the glory of the Father, and that the Eucharistic offering was dedicated by Christ to the Father. Similarly, the work of the Son as glorification of the Father is pointed out in *Sacrae liturgiae* XVII, 1 where Cabasilas interprets "Υψιστε in Ps 91:1 (LXX) as a reference to the Father, and Κύριος in the same verse as equivalent to Christ. When referring to the institution of the Eucharist in *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII, Cabasilas designates Christ as the High Priest who gave thanks to "τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ". This is the reason why God (the Father) is addressed in the prayers of the Liturgy.

as God without reference to the distinct persons of the Trinity. He specifies, however, that if one wants to theologize clearly it is necessary to speak of the proper qualities of each of the hypostases of the Godhead. Yet, in most cases when Cabasilas refers to God as the sole actor, he is not himself very accurate in his theological phrazings, thus leaving considerable room for interpretation as to whether it is God as Trinity or one of the divine hypostases that is actually meant by him.

Cabasilas' focus seems to be mainly on the relationship of a redeemed creature with his Creator and God. This perspective goes well together with the economic perspective, witnessed in his manner of explicating the distribution of the work for salvation of man between the Father and the Son. In his comments on the prayers following the Lord's Prayer, Cabasilas states that the Father has authorized men to call him Ruler (Δεσπότης) and Creator (Δημιουργός) by the right bought with the price of his only Son's blood. Furthermore, he observes that the prayers to God the Father are ensured by the name of his only-begotten Son.²⁵ Consequently, the objective reality of God is manifested through the trinitarian mode of being, with a distinct christocentric expression. As a result, the name "Father" is mentioned by Cabasilas either in clearly trinitarian connections, such as in the aforementioned examples of trinitarian clauses of the liturgy, or in relation to acceptance of the reconciliation brought about by his Son. On those occasions, however, no special emphasis is put on the Father's uniqueness of operation but on the full revelation of God as Trinity due to the Son's incarnation.

The grounds for understanding Cabasilas' ideas on the Father's role become clearer in Chapter 31 of *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione*, where he discusses the question of addressing the Father rather than the Son in the anaphora. Cabasilas maintains that turning towards the Father confirms the divinity of Jesus Christ. This manner of assurance was witnessed by Christ himself when he gave thanks to God during the institution of the Eucharist and when he performed miracles. Besides, he appealed to the Father's will on the cross. Consequently, addressing the consecrative prayer to the Father shows that Christ does not perform great things based on his human nature but on his divine nature. The prayer of consecration then teaches "that the power of sanctification is not possessed by the Saviour as a man, but because he is God, and because of the divine power which he shares with the Father."²⁶ Cabasilas' explanation of the Father-orientation of the prayer therefore indicates that the main reason for the structure of the prayers is to confirm right belief in Christ as true God, *homoousios* with the Father. Yet the focus is still on Christ, not on the Father. Clearly Cabasilas sees Christ as the sanctifier, who as such shares the Father's divinity, the very source of sanctification. This perspective is supported by Cabasilas' symbolic reading of the little entrance. The Gospel book carried by the priest during the entrance is a symbol of Christ. When the entrance reaches the Royal Gates of the iconostasis, the book is lifted high for the people to see. Cabasilas finds it significant that the book is not open at that moment: it is a symbol of

²⁵ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXV, 2-3. In *Sacrae liturgiae* XL, 3-7 Cabasilas narrates the economy of Christ, referring to it as redeeming the creation and making men inheritors of God. This operation is described as if achieved partly by one agent (Christ), and partly due to the interplay between the Only-begotten and the Father. Cf. also *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIV, 4-5 and XLVII, 6 where reconciliation with God the Father through the economy of the Son is given a sacramental interpretation.

²⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXI, 2.

Christ's baptism, Christ himself being silent but the Father giving an audible witness of his origin.²⁷

In addition to these scenes, there is a lack of substantial references to the Father's role in Cabasilas' liturgical reading. However, is the silence around Father as unbreakable as it seems? Does a balanced theological presentation require as much talk about the Father as about the Son? Instead of being troubled by Cabasilas' silence about the Father's operation, one could rather focus on thinking about the Father's fundamental role in accomplishing the redemption. When the Gospel narratives of the life of Jesus are considered, their evident stress on the Son and the lack of emphasis on the Father are not considered problematic. There is a similar economical orientation or tendency in Cabasilas' description of the divine operation in the liturgy. Since the liturgy is a celebration of the economy of the Son, as Cabasilas' calls it, it is only natural that Jesus Christ is the centre of attraction.

Based on New Testament perspective, similar to that of Cabasilas' liturgical perspective, one can easily argue that the redemptive work of the Son is already quite a strong statement about the Father as well. Considering Cabasilas' reading of the rite in terms of the economy of salvation, the main role of the Father seems to be that of the receiver of offerings. The Father is the one who favourably receives the Eucharistic offering as he once was satisfied with the sacrifice made on the cross by his Son. Consequently, the silence of one of the persons would then indicate that there is a clear distribution of work between the three divine persons. The 'silent' Father would then be passive in relation to performance of the consecration (performed by the Spirit and his Son) but active in receiving the offering. This might explain why Cabasilas' focus is still on the divine origin and character of Christ's ministry when reference is made to the Father. Thus, the Father's role is sharply explicated when viewed against the background of the operation of Son. Focusing on the Son is then a form of accentuating the important role of the Father as validator and acceptor of the operation of the Only-begotten. This manner of presenting the connection between the Father and his incarnate Son coheres with Cabasilas' distinct emphasis on Christ as the central mediator of holiness and salvation to mankind.²⁸ Despite Cabasilas' lack of explicitness in referring to the role of the Father, the transformative presence of God makes apparent the fullness of the trinitarian dynamics at the high point of the Eucharistic liturgy.

Finally, it should also be remembered that Cabasilas discusses the trinitarian operation from a Eucharistic and sacramental point of view. His texts should not be read as distinct presentations of trinitarian faith and dogma. Ultimately, it can be said that Cabasilas has a strong emphasis on Christ's person and role when it comes to his understanding of the revelation of the trinitarian action in the liturgy.

²⁷ "Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἀναδείκνυται συνεπτυγμένον, τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Κυρίου σημαίνον, καθ' ἣν σιωπῶντα αὐτὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ἀνεδείκνυ [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXII, 4. Ware (1979a, 45) observes that the Baptism of Christ is in the Orthodox tradition seen as revelation of the Trinity.

²⁸ When interpreting the exclamation "Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἷς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς" (*Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 5) Cabasilas refers to the equality of holiness and splendor of the Son and the Father. The Father is designated by him as God the Father of the Holy One (i.e. the Son), and the dignity of the God made man (i.e. the Son) expresses the glory of the Creator.

3.2. THE HOLY TABLE – SACRAMENTAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF THE EUCHARIST

Now that the trinitarian character of divine outreach, revealed in the liturgy, is spelled out, attention can be turned towards the antropocentric viewpoint, the human response to the divine operation. This is done by investigating Cabasilas' interpretation of the meaning of the altar table. The celebration of the Byzantine liturgy is centred on the holy table or altar table, located behind the iconostasis at the eastern end of a church building. The focus on the table in the liturgy results from the liturgical action which is very much centred around it; the priest stands and intones prayers in front of the holy table for the most of the service, the entrances have it as their endpoint, and the bread and wine are placed on it for the mystical transformation. In his inspired and deep symbolism of the holy table, the idea of divine presence is associated by Cabasilas with the table.

3.2.1. Presence of Christ in the Holy Table

In instituting the sacrament of the Eucharist Christ gave an example of how to celebrate the mystery of his body and blood. In the model bestowed upon the apostles he combined action and word: Jesus Christ broke the bread and uttered words accompanying this act (1 Cor. 11:23-24). In the liturgy this pattern of action and word is kept ('Επει γάρ τοῖς δυσὶ τοῦτοις αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· λαβῶν, φησί, τὸν ἄρτον καὶ εὐλόγησας, τὴν χεῖρα ζητοῦμεν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν φωνήν). Cabasilas explains that the operation and the words of the priest have the same effect as if Christ himself would be celebrating the service. The importance of this historical origin is seen in Cabasilas' claim that the efficacy of Christ's words of institution has perdured in the church ever since and there has been no need for any kind of restorative ceremony to secure their effectivity.²⁹ Yet, it is not only the words of Christ and actions performed by him that were passed down from the Last Supper, but also the tradition of celebrating the Eucharist upon an altar prepared specifically for that purpose. Consequently, Cabasilas argues that an altar table anointed with holy *myron* has the significance of the hand of Christ. The Eucharist is therefore received from the altar as if from Christ's own hands.³⁰

The basis for identifying the hand of Christ with a holy table is found in Cabasilas' explanation of the holy *myron* as a source of God's grace. Jesus Christ himself, as "the treasury of all spiritual energy", is the personification of chrismation. He is not only the anointed one (Χριστός) but the very chrism (χρίσμα) or *myron* (μύρον) itself. Thus, Christ is identified by Cabasilas with the anointing.³¹ Furthermore, the sanctifying grace of *myron* derived from Christ is linked by Cabasilas especially with his sacrifice and the

²⁹ *De vita* V, 22. The idea that the priest represents Christ in himself is discussed more closely in Chapter 4.3.3.

³⁰ *De vita* III, 21. In *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXV, 4 Cabasilas states that in the liturgy Christ himself distributes the Eucharistic bread to his servants.

³¹ "Ἐτι δὲ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Δεσπότης οὐ χεθὲν τῇ κεφαλῇ δεξάμενος μύρον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὅτι τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπάσης, τῆς σαρκὸς ἕνεκα τῆς ἀναληφθείσης, ἐγένετο θησαυρός. Καὶ οὐ Χριστὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρίσμα." *De vita* III, 3. Cabasilas specifies that Jesus is the Anointed One (Christ) from the very beginning but became chrism through his incarnation. In his becoming man, Christ became sanctifying chrism that was poured over all of humanity.

event of institution of the Eucharist. Cabasilas relies on Pseudo-Dionysius in stating that the *myron* stands for Christ and in particular his sacrament-instituting hand. The apostles, called to the priesthood and ordained by Christ, celebrated the Eucharist upon the altar of their own hands (θυσιαστήριον ἦσαν αἱ χεῖρες). After the apostles, however, a special service of anointing an altar table became necessary in order to execute the power of Christ's hand.³² Cabasilas also identifies the ordination of priests with anointing, directly linking ministry with the grace transmitted through chrism.³³

It is evident that Cabasilas does not claim that the altar table has any direct historical link to the events that took place in the Upper Room in Jerusalem. Originally there was no other altar than "the hand of Christ". In any case, the holy table at the heart of the church building appears to be for Cabasilas a sacramental foundation, if not a precondition for celebration of the Eucharist in the first place. The power of God is transmitted through the holy table and is represented by it. Accordingly, Cabasilas designates the holy table as the starting point of holy services (τὸ θυσιαστήριον πάσης ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τελετῆς) as well as the ground and root of life transmitted in the mysteries (ἡ ρίζα καὶ τὸ κρηπίς τῶν μυστηρίων). Further, consecration of the table contributes to "culmination of all goodness" (ὁ κεφάλαιος τῶν ἀγαθῶν).³⁴

How should Cabasilas' characterisations of the altar table as a sacramental source of all the mysteries be interpreted? Of all the mysteries it is only the Eucharist and ordination that are directly connected with the table, the first being celebrated upon it and the latter in close proximity to it. In other sacraments there are no allusions to the sanctifying power of the altar table or any actual usage of it. Despite a lack of firm evidence, Cabasilas' way of thinking implies that the table can be seen as a concrete symbol and reminder of the sacramental reality which all the mysteries are believed to make present in the church. Further, Cabasilas' descriptions of the table lend support to viewing the table as a concrete *topos*, being both a source of sacramental grace and a guarantee of the efficacy of the mysteries. It is an embodiment of Christ's power, representing his grace-filled hand and making its sanctifying power pervasive in the church.

³² "[-] τὸ μύρον, ὃ πάσαν τῇ τελετῇ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχον ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θυσίαν ἀντικρὺς φέρει. Ἐπει γὰρ τοῖς δυοῖς τούτοις αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· «λαβὼν, φησί, τὸν ἄρτον καὶ εὐλόγησας», τὴν χεῖρα ζητοῦμεν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν φωνήν. [-] καὶ γὰρ «αὐτόν, φησὶν ὁ θεὸς Διονυσίος, τὸ μύρον εἰσάγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν.»" *De vita* V, 22. See also *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 11 and *De vita* III, 8-13. Cabasilas refers to Pseudo-Dionysius' *De ecclesiastica* IV. Heil & Rittel 102, 1-103, 18 (PG 3, col. 484A-485A), in which Christ is identified with both the *myron* and the altar table. According to Pseudo-Dionysius, Christ is the only true sacrificial altar. Since Christ's power is also in the *myron*, Pseudo-Dionysius understands the anointing of the altar table as a mystical event of Christ's anointing of himself with himself. Further, the bringing in of the Eucharistic sacrifice by the church is made possible by the fact that Christ has made himself the sacrificial table upon which he is carried as a sacrifice in the Eucharist. Further, in *De vita* III, 1 Cabasilas explicates his views on the mystery of the anointing. He states that originally the gift of the Spirit was given by the apostles through the laying on of hands, but since then the Spirit comes upon the initiated through holy chrism. This is clearly analogous to his understanding of the consecration of the altar table.

³³ *De vita* III, 2.

³⁴ *De vita* V, 1; V, 14. Undeniably Cabasilas connects all the blessings and salvation with the table: "[-] ἡμῖν αἱ πάσαι τῆς σωτηρίας εἰσὶν ἀφορμαί." *De vita* V, 16.

The theocentric base of the entire liturgy is given a powerful and physical Christ-centred expression in the holy table. The sanctifying power of Christ is identified by Cabasilas with the holy table and the table's function with the sacramentality of the Eucharist. This recognition is patent in his description of Christ as both priest and altar: "The Saviour is altar and offerer through the chrism."³⁵ The chrism has the power of Christ, who is identified with the holy table through the rite of consecration. In other words, the holy table is a tangible sign of Christ, his presence and power in the church.³⁶

When explaining the function of the holy table as revealer of sacramental reality, Cabasilas resorts to symbolism. This he does by commenting on the rite of the consecration of a church, thus giving a spiritual meaning to its outward form. The special emphasis Cabasilas puts on the importance of the altar table is seen in the fact that in his explanation of the rite he deals only with elements that are involved in one way or another with the physical table: preparation of the table, its consecration and placing of a relic into it. The parts that do not directly relate to the table he ignores with no reference.³⁷

According to Cabasilas, the actual consecration of the holy table takes place by anointing the table with *myron*. He points out that it takes place in silence, with only the bishop singing a song of praise.³⁸ The silence demonstrates that the reality signified by the service has become truly present: Christ's presence is real in the church.³⁹ It is the *myron* which enforces Christ's presence. The bases of such a claim are directly stated by Cabasilas: the *myron* is equal in sanctity with the eucharist, the mystery which culminates in the true presence of Christ.⁴⁰ Cabasilas' interpretation of the rite of consecration gives grounds for the claim that for him the altar table is a sign of the special and permanent presence of Christ in the church. When observed through the identity-separation

³⁵ "Καὶ γὰρ θυσιαστήριον μὲν ἔστιν ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ θύων διὰ τὸ χρῖσμα." *De vita* III, 22.

³⁶ Furthermore, the very fact of celebrating the Eucharist and designation of Christ as the priest, refer to the offerer of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Both Christ and the priest can be designated as the offerer, bound to the mystery of the Eucharist through chrism. If Christ is personally identified with chrism, the priest is connected to it (and Christ and the table) through ordination as equivalent to anointing. In the Eucharistic liturgy, Christ, the holy table and the offerer are bound to each other by the chrism, the Eucharist then being a *chrismatic* event in its essence.

³⁷ Cabasilas depicts the consecration service in *De vita* V, 3-7, 14-22. Apart from parts of the service relating to the altar table, Cabasilas makes only two minor references to the broader context of the consecration of the church: the bishop approaches in a procession the to-be-consecrated building (οἶκος ἀγιαζόμενος, *De vita* V, 5), which after the service has become a house of prayer (προσευχῆς οἶκος, *De vita* V, 7, 18). All the same, there is no mention of such central elements of the Byzantine rite of consecration of a "house of prayer" as circumambulating it and anointing its walls with *myron*.

³⁸ Cabasilas is speaking of the hymn "hallelujah", even though he does not explicitly say so. He only speaks of a hymn of praise that consists of "Hebrew syllables". *De vita* V, 23; *Sacrae liturgiae* XXII, 2. Here Cabasilas faithfully follows Pseudo-Dionysius. See *De ecclesiastica* IV. Heil & Rittel 103, 19-104, 2 (PG 3, col. 485B).

³⁹ Cabasilas refers to Matt. 11:12-13 where advancing the Kingdom of Heaven and ending of prophecy is mentioned. Evidently, for Cabasilas, it is Christ who brings the fulfillment of prophecies and the final manifestation of the Kingdom. Since Christ's grace and power are with the *myron* Cabasilas sees no reason for further prayers which for him bear a distinct anamnestic implication *De vita* V, 23. For further reasoning on Christ's identification with chrism see *De vita* III, 22-23.

⁴⁰ Cabasilas' identification of the *myron* with the Eucharistic elements in *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 11 comes from Pseudo-Dionysius. Cf. *De ecclesiastica* IV. Heil & Rittel 97, 19-28 (PG 3, col. 476C-D).

dynamics of symbol, the concreteness of connection with the symbol (altar) and the thing it signifies (Christ), gives grounds to claim that on an ontological level the altar table has a remarkable identity with Christ. The table thus provides a concrete means of entering into communion with God and of experiencing his presence.

3.2.2. The Human Heart and the Holy Table as One

Through objective identification of Christ with the holy table Cabasilas gives a concrete expression of the theocentric foundation of the Eucharistic liturgy. The altar table is not, however, only a tangible symbol of divine presence. It also demonstrates subjective human reception of divine outreach to the world. This latter meaning focuses on the God-man relationship revealed in the rite of consecration.

Even though the consecration of an altar table is a strong manifestation of divine power, preparation of the table also necessitates human action. The officiating bishop symbolizes the activity of humanity in reaching for God. Cabasilas lays down a strict precondition for this human pursuit: in order to participate in God, man's heart must be made a sacrificial altar. The officiating bishop, accordingly, before approaching the table strives with all his capacity to live out its model in his soul and heart. The bishop's white linen serves as a sensual symbol, symbolizing this inner spiritual preparation. According to Cabasilas, the bishop stands for all humanity, and it is man who actually is the model for the physical altar table in the church (τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον θυσιαστηρίου γράφει τὸν τύπον) – not the other way around. It is, therefore, man's heart which in the first place is made by God into his altar (Θεὸν ἐνοικίζει καθαρῶς τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐργάζεται τὴν καρδίαν). God accomplishes this by deifying the human capacities symbolised by the bishop.⁴¹ As personification of the whole human race, the bishop is in his operation ontologically identified with the spiritual contents of the very rite.

Evidently, Cabasilas shows a great interest towards man's heart as a dwelling place of God. In the spiritual traditions of the Christian East the heart is traditionally perceived as the psycho-somatic center of man.⁴² The heart is simultaneously a source of physical life as well as a nucleus of mental and spiritual functions. Hence, it is the heart that precisely constitutes within man the meeting place of God and man. From this notion originates the rich symbolism of the heart in Christian traditions. One of the currents of mysticism of the heart, consistent with Cabasilas' interpretation, is a description of the heart as a church or an altar, upon which man secretly worships God and may even reach a mystical union with him.⁴³ It was precisely 'the mysticism of the heart' that, due to the Hesychastic controversy, was a matter of dispute in the fourteenth century.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *De vita* V, 9-10. Tsirpanlis (s.a., 15) understands Cabasilas' interpretation more in a Christ-centred manner: "Also, all the actions of the officiating bishop ritually identified with Christ Himself, the hierarchic representative of the whole humanity, have no other purpose than to establish the house of prayer, [- -] and to transform the stone into an altar."

⁴² The writings of Pseudo-Macarius had a major influence on the change in Eastern monastic spirituality on the 5th century. The earlier tradition, represented by Origen and Evagrius, was based on the platonic view of man with an emphasis on mind and intellect. It gave way to Pseudo-Macarius' "spirituality of the heart", in which the heart was seen as the centre of human life and existence, as biblical anthropology suggests. Behr-Sigel 1992, 63-73; Meyendorff, J. 1974a 68.

⁴³ The heart, according to Nellas (1987, 179), is for the Fathers the deepest point of human consciousness. It is the place where meeting with God takes place. Vlachos shares this opinion in his

In presenting his view of man's heart as the archetype of the altar table Cabasilas depends first on the New Testament writings. He gives evidence of the connection of God's dwelling place with the inner man by referring to Stephen's presentation of the proper dwelling place of God in Acts 7:49. The theme of man's dedication to God as a temple is further witnessed by Paul (2 Cor. 6:16), whom Cabasilas uses to support his view. Basing himself on Paul's teaching in 1 Tim. 3:2-5, Cabasilas states that just as a spiritual leader of others must first cleanse his own heart, the transmission of sanctifying grace from man (symbolized by bishop) to inanimate material (altar table) necessitates that there already exists a state of sanctification within the consecrating man. Cabasilas aims to propose that the inner state of man is the prerequisite for the dedication of the physical altar to God as an instrument of his grace.⁴⁵

Alongside biblical arguments, Cabasilas relies on rational bases of everyday life in explaining his opinion on the human heart as the primary altar of God. Both a construction worker and an artist reach a final phase of their work through thorough preliminary work, planning and drafting.⁴⁶ Cabasilas considers this to be parallel to the construction of an altar. Just as a building is erected according to the plans of construction, the human heart serves as a model (τύπος) and an image (εικόων) for the holy table. Of all creation, only human nature can become a temple of God and thus only man can prepare a physical altar for transmitting sanctification and salvation.⁴⁷

The way Cabasilas perceives the importance of placing the relic makes equally evident his understanding of the rite of dedication of the church as an image of mystical union between Christ and man. Clearly, anointing the relic with *myron* and placing it in the table represents for Cabasilas one of the culminating points of the entire rite. He phrases his thoughts as follows: "There is nothing more akin to Christ's mysteries as the martyrs, who have body, spirit, way of dying and everything else in common with Christ."⁴⁸ A firm identification of the relic with Christ is attested in Cabasilas' notion that,

characterization of the place of the heart in patristic spirituality. His findings on the patristic mysticism of the heart have notable common features with Cabasilas' thought. According to Vlachos, the Fathers compare the heart with the altar and the church building. Vlachos 1994, 157, 159, 170.

⁴⁴ Even though Palamas is known as a defender of the prayer of the heart and hesychastic spirituality, he did not have a negative stance towards intellectual mysticism. Yannaras observes that for Palamas intellectual strivings and rational analysis also opened out to understanding of the Gospel. Thus, when defending the priority of experience in knowing God he did not limit himself to irrational mysticism but took advantage of Aristotelian logic. Yannaras 2006, 49. See also Meyendorff, J. 1964, 147.

⁴⁵ *De vita* V, 13-14. In his line of argumentation Cabasilas differs from traditional typology where prefiguration precedes actualisation of the prefigured event. In stressing the inner spiritual condition of man as both requirement and archetype of consecration of the holy table, Cabasilas instead suggests that the actualization of an event may be partaken of before it is openly revealed in the course of time. Washing of the table thus signifies the same thing as baptism: Satan's dominion is trampled underfoot, and man deliberately rebuilds the connection between God and his creation. Cf. *De vita* V, 19.

⁴⁶ *De vita* V, 12.

⁴⁷ "Ἐπειτα παράδειγμα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὸν ἱεράρχην οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖ μόνον ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὸς τεχνίτης, ἀλλ' ὅτι ναὸς εἶναι Θεοῦ καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἀληθῶς μόνη τῶν ὁρωμένων ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δύναται φύσις, ὡς τὸ γε χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων πάγεν εἰκόνα τούτου σώζει καὶ τύπον." *De vita* V, 13.

⁴⁸ "Μαρτύρων γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις οὐδὲν συγγενέστερον, οἷς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ θανάτου σχήμα καὶ πάντα κοινά." *De vita* V, 25.

for the reason of the relic's likeness to Christ, the bishop venerates it as if it were Christ himself. The relic is handled as if it were a portion of consecrated Eucharistic bread. Moreover, the identification of the relic with Christ gives further witness to Cabasilas' understanding of the human heart as the primary altar of God: the bones of the martyr are a more genuine temple and altar of God than the holy table, which is but a *mimesis* of the anthropological accommodation to the divine. (Ἄλλως τε Θεοῦ μὲν νεῶς ἀληθῆς καὶ θυσιαστήριον τὰ ὅσα ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ χειροποίητος οὗτος ἀληθοῦς μίμημα). Thus, the ultimate seal of consecration of the altar table is set with unification of Christ – made present in the *myron* – and a man – brought to Christ in the relic of a martyr.⁴⁹ The *myron* and the relic, i.e. Christ and man, are thus made as one, one perfecting the other.⁵⁰

Some conclusions may be drawn from the preceding analysis. To begin with, Cabasilas' thoughts on the interconnectedness of the human heart with the altar table can be understood as an effort to prove that it is the inner state of man that counts the most. In order to consecrate the table, man has to consecrate himself. The human heart is analogous to the altar table, and their connection is ontologically established. On the other hand, the rite of consecration of the holy table is not only a symbol of man's inner relation with God but an event which truly makes the presence of Christ concrete. The mystical, yet concrete, dimension of Christ's presence in the altar table is witnessed by the relic, which is considered by Cabasilas to be *identical* with Christ: the saint shares the divine properties of Christ due to his closeness to God. The relic, then, is a forceful evidence of union with God; a *factuality*. The relic does not refer to anything outside itself, but makes its ontological essence – intimacy of divine-humane communion – tangibly apparent.

The altar table can be called a sacramental-anthropological symbol. It is for Cabasilas a concrete expression of the mystical aspect of Christian life, which is attested to and sought after in the mysteries, especially in the Eucharist. As an inseparable premise of the Eucharist, the table betokens the Eucharistic mystery: deifying communion between God

⁴⁹ *De vita* V, 24-26.

⁵⁰ The high esteem given to relics by Cabasilas is based on his appreciation of the saints in general. He maintains that the saints already possess the Kingdom of God. As citizens of the heavenly Kingdom, the saints have attained the ultimate destiny of man and fulfilled the purpose of life. In *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 24 Cabasilas designates the liturgy as εὐχαριστία due to the fact that in giving thanks the church is especially grateful for the saints. See also *Sacrae liturgiae* LII, 9. Retelling the anaphora of St. Basil (in *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 21), Cabasilas states that God created the universe, gave Paradise to men, sent prophets and finally became man only to enable men to become citizens of his Kingdom. The object of both creation and redemption becomes materialised in the saints. Consequently, Cabasilas designates the saints as the most perfect gift of all God's gifts to men. Since it is proper to thank God for every good thing he bestows on man, it is for the saints that men should give thanks the most. There is a similar recapitulation of the economy of salvation in the commentary by Pseudo-Dionysius. The Eucharist is described by him as the culmination of the history of salvation. See *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 90, 11-92, 1 (PG 3, 440C-441C). For the narrative portion in the anaphora of St. Basil, see Brightman 1896, 324-328. Cabasilas' teaching on the saints was recognised by the Council of Trent, which instructed to interpret the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom along the lines of Cabasilas: "Et ad hunc sensum trahendus est Chrysostomus, qui in liturgia ait offerre pro iustis, id est *apostolis, martyribus* etc., et *pro beata Virgine*, quod intelligendum est ad gratiarum actionem, ut interpretatur Cabasilla c. 10 et 49, et mox subdit orationem, in qua defunctis petit requiem." Furthermore, the fathers of Trent encouraged to approach the saints with the motivation suggested by Cabasilas: to think of them as the precious gift from God. *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 512.

and man.⁵¹ This mystery is typified by the bishop in his person when he performs the consecration of the table. Perichoretic communion with God, implicated by the relic and pledged by the holy table, becomes attainable to the faithful in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The relic indicates that it is possible for man to attain spiritual perfection, to become a citizen of God's Kingdom.⁵² Additionally, Cabasilas' view of human capacity is stamped with optimism, typical of classical Eastern Orthodox theological anthropology. Based on the fact of being a creation of God there is within man a calling and potential to act in accordance with God's will. The heart as the sacramental and spiritual nucleus within man is realized in communion with God. Positiveness of Cabasilas' anthropology is exemplified by his understanding of the relic: man can truly be of equal honour with his Creator.⁵³

Although Cabasilas directly speaks in favour of man's capability in spiritual life, he does not fall into 'anthropological maximalism'⁵⁴. On the contrary, he maintains that human effort cannot be accomplished without help from God. In everything connected with the mysteries man's role is simply to give thanks to God and honour him. Cabasilas frankly states that the mysteries, evidently including the consecration of the holy table as well, belong to God's sphere of operation.⁵⁵ In the rite of consecration this is symbolized by the attar and wine used in anointing the table top. These materials typify all the necessities of life as abundant gifts bestowed by Christ. The bishop as a spokesman for all humanity offers them to God as a sacrifice of thanksgiving.⁵⁶

3.3. RITE AS REPRESENTATION OF THE DIVINE ECONOMY

Based on the above observations on Cabasilas' theological thought, the Eucharistic liturgy could be described as an awe-inspiring and God-orientated action around the

⁵¹ According to Nikolaou, the altar is for Cabasilas the centre from which the ecclesial-sacramental life of a Christian (das kirchlich-sakramentale Leben des Christen) originates. Nikolaou 1995, 177.

⁵² On the spiritual exemplariness of the saint see Vasileios 1994, 19-20. According to Yannaras (1984, 107), the presence of the saints may also be personally experienced in the liturgy. The liturgical atmosphere of the church is marked by a "festive ethos", in which commemoration of the saints makes present the operation of God in history.

⁵³ The Christian doctrine of man is based on the image of God in him. As a result of the Fall, the image is fractured. The Orthodox Christian reading of the Fall underlines that the image of God in man did not, however, perish entirely. As a God-given capacity it cannot be annulled. The incarnation of the Son of God opened up new prospects for man to achieve the likeness of God, his original state and vocation. The process of reaching and attaining the goal is generally called *deification* or *theosis*. See Russell, N. 2004 for an extensive presentation of patristic notions of deification. Also cf. Mantzaridis 1984; Nellas 1987; Ware 1979a, 64-68.

⁵⁴ The term 'anthropological maximalism' was used by Georges Florovsky (1981, 122) to express the soteriological results of Pelagianism and Nestorianism, both of which accentuated the potential of human nature at the expense of grace. 'Anthropological minimalism', the opposite of 'anthropological maximalism', again denies entirely or to a large degree the possibility of human activity in respect to relations with God.

⁵⁵ "[- -] και γάρ ανῶσαι μὲν δύναται ἄν οὐδεις μὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ τυχῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐν οἷς τὸ πᾶν ἐκείνου καθαρώς ἔργον." *De vita* V, 15; "Πάντα γὰρ δέον εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖν, τὰ μυστήρια μάλιστα πάντων, ὅσω καὶ πάντων λυσιτελέστερα καὶ Θεοῦ μόνου." *De vita* V, 20.

⁵⁶ *De vita* V, 21.

altar table, the real symbol of communion with Christ. How Cabasilas interprets this kind of action, expressed in and through the rite of the liturgy, will now be discussed.

The spiritual or symbolical meaning of the liturgy is summarized by him as follows:

[in the ceremonies of the liturgy] we see Christ and the deeds he completed and the sufferings he endured for us typified. Certainly, it is in the psalms and readings and in all the actions of the priest all through the liturgy that the whole design of the work of redemption is signified. The first part [of the liturgy] represent the beginnings of it; the next, the continuation; and the last its results. Thus, those who are present [in the liturgy] have before their eyes all of these.⁵⁷

Cabasilas argues that it is the liturgy of the catechumens which symbolises (σημαίνω) and reveals (φανερώω) the events that took place before sacrifice on the cross: incarnation and public appearance of Christ among the people – in a word, the first phase of the economy of Christ (τὸν πρῶτον καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας σημαίνουσι).⁵⁸ Even though the symbolical content of the latter part of public celebration, known as liturgy of the faithful, is not as directly stated by Cabasilas, he nevertheless focuses on historical events of life of Christ in the parts to follow the liturgy of the catechumens.

Evidently Cabasilas believes that the prayers of the liturgy and the actions of the priest contribute to the fact that the worship is an introduction to and demonstration of the life of Christ, which through the rite is portrayed before the eyes of participants. Presence of the divine is especially attached to sacramental bread and wine due to Cabasilas' definition of the essential object of the liturgy. In the very first lines of his *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione* he states:

The main act of the celebration of the holy mysteries is the transformation of the gifts into the divine body and blood; so the aim is the sanctification of the faithful, who obtain forgiveness of their sins and the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom through these mysteries.⁵⁹

The miraculous transformation of the elements into the body and blood of Christ and partaking of them for salvation of man is, for Cabasilas, the most important part of the Eucharistic liturgy. Fundamentally, the holy table is erected to give witness to the very same goal: inheritance of the heavenly Kingdom. Since it is through Eucharistic communion that sanctification of the faithful culminates, one can see in Cabasilas'

⁵⁷ “[-] καθ’ ὃν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁρώμεν τὸν Χριστὸν τυπούμενον καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ ἔργα καὶ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσι καὶ πάσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως διὰ πάσης τῆς τελετῆς πραττομένοις, ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ Σωτήρος σημαίνεται, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αὐτῆς, τῶν πρῶτον τῆς ἱεουργίας δηλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων, τὰ δευτέρα, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων, τὰ μετ’ ἐκεῖνα. Καὶ ἔξεστι τοῖς ταῦτα ὁρῶσι πάντα ἐκεῖνα πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν.” *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 6. Here Cabasilas' thinking speaks to the mystery aspect of the liturgy. Bouyer (1955, 18) characterizes this aspect as follows: “[the Mystery] is the re-enactment in, by and for the Church of the Act of Our Lord which accomplished our salvation, that is, His Passion and Death in the fullness of their final effects, – the Resurrection, the communication of saving grace to mankind and the final consummation of all things.”

⁵⁸ *Sacrae liturgiae* XVI, 1-5. Cabasilas refers to the wholeness of Christ's work with an extensive term 'salvation' (σωτηρία). Tsirpanlis (1991, 61) remarks that in the vocabulary of Orthodox theology Catholic and Protestant terms such as atonement, redemption and justification are shunned.

⁵⁹ “Τῆς ἀγίας τελετῆς τῶν ἱερῶν μυστηρίων ἔργον μὲν ἡ τῶν δώρων εἰς τὸ θεῖον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβολή· τέλος δέ, τὸ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἀγιασθῆναι, δι’ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀφεσιν, καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν κληρονομίαν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λαβόντας.” *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 1.

approach to Eucharistic liturgy a tendency to make clear that the liturgy aims to obtain the very same reality that the holy table is built to signify.

How, then, does the celebration of the Eucharist enable man to reach sanctification? The celebration of the holy mysteries is constructed of liturgical actions – gestures, prayers, psalms, readings and so forth. According to Cabasilas, these acts in part prepare (παρασκευή) the faithful for receiving the spiritual benefits of the Eucharist, provided by the main liturgical act of transformation of the elements. Actually, it is the entire liturgy that can be said to prepare man to attain such a spiritual state which Cabasilas considers to be a requirement for both communing with Christ and also maintaining the blessings derived from it (ἐπιτήδευοι γινώμεθα πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν δώρων).⁶⁰ The function of the prayers and readings is to generate fear and love of God, which further leads one to strive for fulfillment of God’s commandments. As a result, God looks favorably upon the people and makes them capable of receiving the blessings of Eucharistic communion.⁶¹ Associated with this kind of view of the general meaning of the rite, the symbolism can be identified as a tool or an instrument supporting the process of preparation for communion. The elements of the rite are not an end in themselves, but the focus is on the Eucharistic participation from the beginning.⁶²

This way of understanding of Cabasilas’ symbolism gets further support from his insights into the inner stand of the priest during the celebration: throughout the liturgy he must aspire to purity of heart, deeds and speech.⁶³ Besides, at the same time Cabasilas demands similar alertness from the faithful, whom he warns not to distract themselves from prayer and contemplation due to laziness or inattentiveness.⁶⁴ Evidently, for Cabasilas a suitable attendance in the liturgy requires that mind and heart are set according to the worth of the divine celebration.

In addition, the liturgical operation also contributes to consummation (συντέλεια) of sanctification and the process of obtaining citizenship in God’s kingdom, as Cabasilas designates it. He is in agreement with Theodoret of Mopsuestia and Germanus of Constantinople in maintaining that liturgical operation does not only depict the divine economy of Christ, starting from incarnation and culminating in ascension, but also makes it participable. Since the Bible readings and various hymns are divinely inspired,

⁶⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 11; VI, 3-5.

⁶¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 5; *De vita* VII, 10. The idea of soul’s connection with God generated through liturgical operation becomes evident in the following: “Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλη τις εἴρηται εἶναι χρεια τῶν ἀναγνώσεων καὶ τῶν ψαλμοῦδιῶν, παρειλῆφθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ἵνα δηλονότι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλείψωσι ἡμᾶς, ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ἰλεώσωνται, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τοῦτο κάκεῖνο δύνασθαι, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοὺς τε πιστοὺς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐνάγειν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν σημαίνειν.” *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 9. Of the early church regulations the 2nd rule of the local Synod of Antioch (341) passes judgment to those who come to church only to hear reading of the holy script and exiting too early show contempt for the Eucharist. *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* 1900, 108-109.

⁶² *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 2. The 1998 Pan-Orthodox liturgical consultation defined worship as ‘instrumental’. The Eucharistic liturgy therefore is not an aim in and of of itself, but rather fulfills the purpose of bringing men into communion with each other and with the Triune God. *Consultation* 1998, 388.

⁶³ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 5. In the tradition of the Orthodox Church, the priest’s proper preparation for celebration of the Eucharist is accentuated. This includes fasting and abstaining from conjugal relations the night before. There is also a certain rule of prayer for preparation.

⁶⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXI, 1-6.

they enhance the affective nature of the rite. Thus, Cabasilas concludes that in the divine liturgy all operation is solely connected with salvation.⁶⁵ The liturgy could therefore be characterized as an event through which salvation is mediated to those who take part in it.

In expressing his symbolic construction Cabasilas uses the familiar terminology of his predecessors. The basic terms for expressing the re-enactment of past events, the presence of the historical-eschatological reality in the present, adopted by Cabasilas are εἰκῶν and τύπος.⁶⁶ He also uses the verb σημαίνω in explaining what is signified by different liturgical elements. In *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatione* alone σημαίνω occurs more than 30 times.⁶⁷ The verb μιμέομαι⁶⁸ further serves the same purpose. He occasionally makes use of the words σημείον⁶⁹ and σύμβολον⁷⁰, which appear to be synonymous for him. Finally, Cabasilas' usage of the term μυσταγωγία, however, differs from its original meaning. For him it is exclusively a synonym for the term 'liturgy' or 'holy rite'.⁷¹ In Cabasilas' theology of the Eucharist the mystagogy does not therefore refer to the aim of liturgical interpretation (i.e. initiation into the mysteries) but rather to its subject (i.e. celebration of the mystery itself).

3.3.1. Transition from the Old to the New Covenant

The classical outlook towards liturgy, witnessed by the early mystagogies, is adopted by Cabasilas: the liturgy is for him an expression of the interconnectedness between the Old and New covenant. The fulfilment of Old testamental prophecies in Jesus Christ, culminated in the sacrifice on the cross, is evoked in the liturgy and realized in its sacramental context.

Cabasilas states that the Eucharist instituted in the upper room in Jerusalem marked the culmination and final realisation of the redemptive events of the Old Covenant. Nevertheless, he explicitly names only one of the significant events of the economy of salvation that became an actual fact in the eucharist, namely "the Passover, sacrifice of the lamb, *anamnesis* of the slaughtering of the sheep whose blood preserved the first-born of the Hebrews in Egypt."⁷² The events prior to Christ were only portrayals (τῶν τύπων

⁶⁵ "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ καὶ θεόπνευστα ῥήματα καὶ ὕμνους τοῦ Θεοῦ περιέχουσι καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν προτρέπονται, τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ ἀδοντας ἀγιάζουσιν." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 9. "Πρὸ δὲ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς τελετῆς φαινόμενην τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίαν." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 15. Mantovanis classifies the symbolism of Cabasilas into four categories: 1) typological, 2) moral, 3) mystical, and 4) christological. The last-mentioned has a commanding role in Cabasilas' symbolism as a whole. Mantovanis 1984, 289.

⁶⁶ E.g. *De vita* I, 36; *Sacrae liturgiae* IX, 3; XVI, 8; XVII.

⁶⁷ Σημαίνο appears six times in the first chapter alone of *Sacrae liturgiae* (I, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15). The word is used by Cabasilas regularly throughout the text. For other occurrences of σημαίνω see the index on page 392 of the SC edition of Cabasilas' *Explication de la divine liturgie*.

⁶⁸ E.g. *De vita* I, 18; II, 34.

⁶⁹ E.g. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXI, 5.

⁷⁰ E.g. *De vita* II, 83, 99; *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVIII, 1.

⁷¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 5, 7; XVI, 5; XLIX, 15, 17.

⁷² "Τούτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ Πάσχα καὶ ἡ σφαγὴ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ, ἀνάμνησις τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ προβάτου ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ διασεσωκότος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὰ πρωτότοκα." *Sacrae liturgiae* IX, 3. The connection of the Jewish paschal meal and the Last Supper is characterized by Solovey (1970, 28): "The Divine Liturgy is the New Testament sacrifice which was prefigured by the Old testament Paschal offering [- -]. The Divine Liturgy likewise is a commemoration of the work of redemption which was accomplished by the "Lamb of God", Jesus Christ Himself." According to Young (1979,

ποιεῖν) which were consummated in him and in his actions (ὁ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκέλευσε).⁷³ If the passover lamb of the Old Covenant had been a complete sacrifice, what was the need for the sacrifice of Christ, Cabasilas asks. Thus, the prefigurations and images (τύπος, εἰκόν) of the Old Covenant were nothing but foreshadowings of the reality and truth (πράγματα, ἀληθεία) to come through the later sacrifice.⁷⁴

Celebration of the Eucharist is based on Christ's command during the Last Supper. When distributing his body and blood he said to the apostles: "Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19). Cabasilas compares Christ's will with gratitude shown by founding monuments and statues in honour and memory of preeminent persons.⁷⁵ Just as in these temporal monuments, the memory of Christ's sufferings, death and victory is carved on the Eucharist. Cabasilas specifies that the difference between a monument and the Eucharist is that the Eucharistic celebration does not consist only in recalling Lord's image (τύπος) but it consists in the presence of his body.⁷⁶ Thus, Cabasilas makes here a clear distinction between iconic representation and true presence, or between separation from and identification with the point of reference of a symbol. In this context the word τύπος is used to express the opposite to the truly present body of Christ. It is noteworthy that τύπος is here used synonymously with εἰκόν which also appears in same passage.⁷⁷ This gives grounds to claim that referring to Christ as *typos* is different from his *true presence* in a similar manner to a statue which only superficially resembles the object of depiction without making it ontologically present. When it comes to the Eucharist, it is not an act of superficial reminiscence, but rather an event of attaining the reality of the Last Supper.

Cabasilas further explicates that the liturgical elements around the mysteries are meant to convey authentically (ἀληθεία) what was depicted in ancient events and representations (οἱ πράγματα τύποι καὶ γραφαί). Symbolical actions are designated by Cabasilas as prophesying about mystery-conveying actions. This kind of liturgical prophesying is an expression of God's will in a manner that has been passed down from

271), the Eucharistic liturgy is a realization of these analogical pairs: "Christ's death fulfilled the Passover, and the Eucharist was the Christian Paschal feast; Christ's death instituted the New Covenant, and the Eucharist was the sacrifice of the New Covenant." A similar line of thought is manifested in Cabasilas' theology.

⁷³ *Sacrae liturgiae* IX, 3.

⁷⁴ *De vita* I, 36.

⁷⁵ *Sacrae liturgiae* II, 6; IX, 1.

⁷⁶ "[- -] οὕτω τοῖς δόροις τούτοις ἡμεῖς παραγράφομεν τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ᾧ πάσα γέγονε ἡ κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ νίκη." "Καὶ διὰ μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων αἱ πόλεις τὸν τύπον μόνον τοῦ σώματος ἔχουσι τῶν εὐεργετῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσαγωγῆς ταύτης οὐ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σώματος ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀριστέως." *Sacrae liturgiae* IX, 2.

⁷⁷ On the meaning of the terms see PGL 1961, 410, 1418. In his definition of representation and true presence, Cabasilas comes close to John of Damascus (d. ca. 749) in his *Expositio fidei* 86, 114-117. Bouyer (1968, 104-105), among others, underlines that anamnesis is an objective reality that comes true due to the Institution Narrative. The body and blood of Christ are the elements of remembrance, left to his followers as a constant gift from God and a token of his love. An Eucharistic feast is already the fulfillment, since in it Christians are made into the Body of Christ and are nourished by his body and blood.

the prophets to the apostles and further to the fathers of the church.⁷⁸ Here Cabasilas is clearly in accordance with sacramental typology based on early Christian exegesis. The events of the Old Testament have a typological relation to the events in the New Testament, and further – following the same logic – the biblical events typify Christian mysteries. Cabasilas is in keeping with the catechetical tradition of Cyril of Jerusalem, who highlighted the importance of seeing the New Testament elements of the Eucharist in connection with their Old Testament *typoi*.

Cabasilas' claim that liturgical symbolism is in line with the Old Testament prophecies opens up an interesting standpoint into the Eucharist. Unlike the prophecies of the Old Covenant, prophesying in the liturgy (through various symbols) makes present the reality which is symbolised. Cabasilas' reading of the Old Covenant *typoi* in a Eucharistic context then opens up to a new kind of perspective: fulfillment of the history of salvation in the present liturgical gathering.

Even though Cabasilas ascribes enormous importance to the Last Supper as the culminating point of the Old Covenant, he yet highlights the crucifixion of Christ as another focal event which concretely spoke of the radical change in the course of the history of salvation. In the liturgy it is the *proskomide* or *prothesis* which stands for the liturgical re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.⁷⁹ Cabasilas claims that since the sufferings and death of Christ were foretold in the Old Testament, the *typoi* of them are engraved on the Lamb, the separated portion of the bread which is to be consecrated as the Body of Christ. Identity between the historic reality and its present re-enactment is made evident by symbolic actions when the bread and wine are prepared. In his description of the priest's actions Cabasilas follows the *ordo* of the *proskomide*. Adapting his gestures to the words of Isaiah (53: 7, 8), the priest pierces and cuts the Lamb with a spear-shaped knife, and places it on the *diskos*. He also recites a narration of appearing of a star upon the manger (Matt. 2:9) and places the star, a special cross standing on its edges, above the Lamb. Finally the priest covers the *diskos* and the chalice, and then censes them. According to Cabasilas, these acts symbolically represent the mystery of Christ's incarnation and his way to his Father through suffering and death. In his words, Christ was a dedicated sacrifice or gift (*δῶρον*) to God already at the moment of his nativity. At the same time the *prothesis* has a purely practical function: the Lamb has to be cut into pieces in order to be distributed in communion.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Sacrae liturgiae* VI, 3-6. Mihoc takes Cabasilas as an example of patristic Messianic reading of the Old Testament. A christological interpretation is supported by him not only in exegesis of the texts, but also in the actions of the rite. Mihoc 2004, 127.

⁷⁹ The *proskomide* is the part of the service when the priest prepares the bread and wine to be brought later to the holy table in the great entrance. On the celebration of the *proskomide* see Grisbrooke 1986b; Mantovanis 1984, 163-167.

⁸⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* VI, 2; VIII, 1; XI, 1-3. The meaning of the *proskomide* as representation of the Passion of the Christ is openly maintained also in *Περί ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τελομένων* 1. Germanus of Constantinople is already familiar with piercing of the Lamb, its placing on the *diskos*, covering it with veils and censing the gifts. For him, however, the *proskomide* is a depiction of events on Calvary, not a representation of incarnation. *Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio* 20-22, 36. Tsirpanlis (s.a., 21) claims that Cabasilas sees the star as a symbol of the magi. There is, however, no reference to the magi in Cabasilas' text. Cf. *Sacrae liturgiae* XI A, 1. The star in the *proskomide* is mentioned for the first time in Andida's *Brevis commentatio* (PG 140, col. 429C). Schulz (1964, 164)

Cabasilas finds it revealing that the proskomide takes place on the side table and that the bread and wine are not placed on the altar at the beginning of the service. This practice illustrates the differences between the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifices of the Old Covenant. Christ's sacrifice was unique and perfect. Further, his sacrifice included aspects of Jewish sacrifices: Christ is in the proskomide ceremonially brought forward like a gift of gold, and at the end of the service he is offered to the Father like a sacrificial animal.⁸¹ It is noteworthy that Cabasilas remarks that during the proskomide, and other parts of the liturgy before the anaphora as well, the Lamb remains bread even though it has been dedicated to God and thus has a special character.⁸² The Lamb thus only symbolises Christ in a connotative manner until it becomes the true body of Christ. Here Cabasilas clearly makes a distinction on a symbol's level of identity.

The little entrance contributes to the theme of transition as a symbol of manifestation and reception of the New Covenant. In Cabasilas' historical symbolism of the life of Christ, the entrance stands for the beginning of his public ministry. Cabasilas portrays this in an atmosphere of fulfillment of prophecies concerning the Messiah. It is the antiphon psalms⁸³, two of them sung prior and one during the little entrance, which form the bases for his reading of the procession. The first of the three psalms (Ps. 91:2,3,16 LXX) reveals the kenosis of Son of God, his poverty and sufferings in flesh. Christ's operation shows the greatness of God's love towards men, which dispels the shadows (σκιά) of the Old Covenant and turns figures (τύπος) into truth (ἀλήθεια). The benefits of Son's incarnation are now in full view of everyone: justice and condemnation, repealing of sin and suppression of dark powers.⁸⁴ The kenotic perspective also dominates Cabasilas' interpretation of the second antiphon (Ps. 92:1,5 LXX), which in the first place signifies the phase in Christ's life preceding the prophetic mission of John the Baptist. In

observes that the star hardly had had any practical function. Supposedly it is a product of a 11th century historical-symbolic interpretation of the liturgy.

⁸¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* II, 1-5. The consecration takes place on the holy table, to which the Lamb is brought in the great entrance. One of Cabasilas' symbolical readings of the entrance involves the Old Testament sacrificial procession. Thus, the priest carrying the Lamb typifies the Israelite king who carried the sacrifice to the temple with his own hands. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIV, 2-4. Cabasilas thus assumes that the bread used at the Eucharist symbolises the sacrifice from the very beginning of the service. In the minutes of the Council of Trent, it is exactly this point which is referred to in the defense against Zwingli's accusations against the Catholic stance. Zwingli maintained that there is no real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Consequently, the Eucharistic elements do not need to be and are not allowed to be venerated. Basing their argument on Cabasilas, the fathers of Trent maintained that due veneration is to be shown towards the bread and wine even then when they have not yet been transformed into the body and blood of Christ: "Cabasilas [- -] reddens rationem, cur non ab inicio ponuntur dona praeciosa ad altare et sacrificantur, sed primum tanquam dona Dei dedicantur [- -]." *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 509.

⁸² "Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποτιμηθεὶς ἄρτος, ἕως ἐν τῇ προθέσει κείται, ἄρτος ἐστὶ ψιλός· τοῦτο μόνον λαβὼν τὸ ἀνατεθῆναι Θεῷ, καὶ γενέσθαι δῶρον, ὅτε καὶ σημαίνει τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἧς ἐγένετο δῶρον." *Sacrae liturgiae* VI, 1. See also *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIV, 5. Wybrew (1990, 161) states: "Cabasilas stresses that the bread remains bread so long as it is in the prothesis: he was concerned to discourage the popular view that the gifts were already objects of veneration."

⁸³ The psalms commented by Cabasilas are the antiphons of weekday liturgy. Different antiphons are used for Sundays or feast days. Kucharek s.a., 365.

⁸⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XVII, 1-8. Cabasilas' commentary of the first antiphon is like a synopsis of the incarnation and kenosis theme in Pseudo-Dionysios' presentation of the liturgy. *De ecclesiastica* III. Heil & Rittel 91, 8-92,1 (PG 3, col. 441A-C).

addition, the verses foretell the fruits of Christ passion and death.⁸⁵ According to Cabasilas, the second antiphon proclaims "the dominion, glory and power of the Son of God, attained by him through kenosis and poverty."⁸⁶

During the last antiphon (Ps. 94:1-5 LXX) the book of Gospel is brought out from the altar through the north door of the iconostasis, and then through the Holy Doors brought back on the holy table. Cabasilas characterises the entrance as an encounter with Lord who draws near.⁸⁷ Appearance of the Lord is symbolically presented in the carrying of the book of Gospel, which in Cabasilas' reading typifies self-revealing Christ (διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ὁ Χριστὸς δηλοῦται). Placing the Gospel book on the holy table marks the turning point of the two Covenants, transition from the Old into the New. Cabasilas points out that the ordo of the rite confirms this changeover since chanting the prophetic texts of the Old Testament comes to an end with the entrance.⁸⁸

It is noteworthy that Cabasilas' symbolism is here based on interpretation of a biblical text. Although the liturgical context accentuates his reading of biblical text, Cabasilas focuses more on the text than on the liturgical action accompanying it. In stating his aim of explaining the meaning of prophetic hymns, Cabasilas uses the word ἐξήγησις.⁸⁹ Would there be an alteration of his interpretation if procession was accompanied with another text? It would seem justifiable to assume that some alterations would occur since Cabasilas bases his insights substantially on the text. Instead of the psalm 94, it is the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:2-12) that are sung when the book of Gospel is carried in the entrance in the Sunday liturgy. In the sixth chapter of his *De vita in Christo* Cabasilas examines this focal biblical pericope. Thus, Matt. 5:2-12 serves as a parallel text for giving more evidence of Cabasilas' interpretation of the little entrance.

Cabasilas does not, however, explicitly justify his going to town on the text with liturgical alliance of the little entrance. Nevertheless, his meditation of the Beatitudes is explicitly Eucharist-orientated with liturgical connotations. This is witnessed in several ways. Firstly, the entire sixth chapter of *De vita in Christo* focuses on the philanthropy of Christ and the mystical communion with him enabled by the Eucharist. In the preceding

⁸⁵ *Sacrae liturgiae* XVIII, 3, 5.

⁸⁶ "Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ψαλμωδία αὐτὴν ἀννυνεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ «τὴν εὐπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν» τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κενώσεως καὶ πτωχείας αὐτῶ περιγενομένην." *Sacrae liturgiae* XVIII, 1. Concurrence of Christ's kenosis and glory is a typical trend in Orthodox spirituality. See e.g. A Monk of the Eastern Church 1980, 62.

⁸⁷ "[-] ἀπάντησις εἶναι δοκεῖ ὡς ἤδη τοῦ Κυρίου παραγενομένου καὶ φαινομένου." *Sacrae liturgiae* XIX, 1. At the latest from the 14th century onwards the little entrance had but a symbolical function. The book of Gospel was kept on the holy table. As a result the entrance ended up where it started. During the earlier centuries, the holy book was kept elsewhere, even outside of the church, and the little entrance truly was an entrance of the Gospel into the church and on the table. Schmemmann 1988, 58-59; Wybrew 1990, 155.

⁸⁸ *Sacrae liturgiae* XX, 1-2.

⁸⁹ In *Sacrae liturgiae* the second antiphon is discussed in Chapter 18 under the title Τί σημαίνουν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῆς ἱερουργίας ῥάδομενα τὰ προφητικά. The title of the 19th Chapter is Ἐξήγησις τοῦ τρίτου ἀντιφώνου. Rorem characterizes Cabasilas' hermeneutics as "devotional 'exegesis', to use his own words, and detailed doctrinal exegesis at that." Rorem 1986, 5. Even though his definition of ἐξήγησις cannot be taken as an equivalent of modern connotation of the term, one cannot neglect the fact that in patristic usage the term exegesis was used in connection with biblical interpretation. It is the term ἐξηγέομαι which is since Justin the Martyr used in connection with biblical interpretation. PGL 1961, 496.

two chapters of *De vita in Christo* Cabasilas had discussed the spiritual depth, nature and premises of the Eucharistic mystery. Thus, the meditation of the Beatitudes is given a firm Eucharistic subtext. Secondly, Cabasilas repeatedly refers in his commentary of the Beatitudes to the mystical Eucharistic communion between Christ and the faithful. Finally, exegesis of the Beatitudes is the only extensive meditation on any biblical text in the main works of Cabasilas. The centrality of this very pericope in liturgical tradition gives good grounds for understanding Cabasilas' interest towards this particular text. Otherwise why would he discuss it with such rich Eucharistic allusions? In conclusion, the Eucharistic context of the Beatitudes is so strongly explicated by Cabasilas that it justifies reading his commentary on the text in connection with the little entrance, the very liturgical context of the Beatitudes in the Byzantine liturgical tradition.

As an introduction to his meditation of the Beatitudes, Cabasilas states that the life of a Christian should be orientated towards Christ and he ought to strive to become a partaker of salvation. Atonement and philanthropia of Christ constitute the foundation of man's holiness. Therefore truly blessed are the ones who live up to the ideals put forward by Christ in the Beatitudes.⁹⁰ The actual interpretation of the text arrives at the same conclusion as the reading of the antiphon psalms: the focus is on the manifestation of the incarnated Son. With most of the Beatitudes Cabasilas shows how Christ was the perfect executor of the virtue in case. As an example, he notes that the passion of Christ indicated divine grief⁹¹ (Matt. 5:4), his death the greatness of thirst for righteousness⁹² (Matt. 5:6), and taking on the human nature the impenetrable depth of his spiritual poverty⁹³ (Matt. 5:3). In sum, Cabasilas indicates that in the kenosis of Christ each of the Beatitudes was manifested in perfection.⁹⁴ Thus, Christ is set by Cabasilas as a perfect example of spiritual ambitions for Christians to imitate.

Taken as a whole, Cabasilas' presentation of the little entrance introduces the first portion of the liturgy of the faithful as kenotic theophany of Christ. The theme of incarnation proves to be focal in Cabasilas' interpretation of the texts accompanying the entrance. Yet, his meditation on the Beatitudes broadens the incarnational motive with a mystical connotation. The elevation of the book as a particular symbolic act situates the general incarnational frame into a specific historical theophany; Christ's baptism. The significance of liturgical operation is thus witnessed by lifting of the book of Gospel in front of the Holy Doors. Cabasilas understands this exact moment to symbolize the beginning of public ministry of Christ in his baptism in the waters of Jordan.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *De vita* VI, 46-50.

⁹¹ *De vita* VI, 59.

⁹² *De vita* VI, 74.

⁹³ *De vita* VI, 51.

⁹⁴ Prevalence of kenotic reading of the Beatitudes is further witnessed in Cabasilas' meditation. For instance, he repeatedly points out that the salvation was brought into the world through kenosis of Christ. E.g. *De vita* VI, 52-53, 57, 61, 65-66. In addition, he recurrently reminds of human weakness, which is used by him as an antithesis of salvation accomplished in Christ. In other words, compared with human inadequacy, the salvation in Christ manifested in his kenotic ministry is shown to be something indispensable and marvelous. E.g. *De vita* VI, 54, 59, 62-63.

⁹⁵ "Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἀναδείκνυται συνεπτυγμένον, τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Κυρίου σημαῖνον, καθ' ἣν σιωπῶντα αὐτὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ἀνεδείκνυ [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXII, 4.

Disclosure of Christ leads to “an unceasing feast of the church”, as Cabasilas designates the part of the service following the little entrance. Instead of prophecies of Christ, Mother of God and all the saints as well as Christ’s saving operation are praised.⁹⁶ Evidently Cabasilas refers to troparions and kontakions whose theme in the Orthodox hymnography consists of the memory of the day; saint, event or feast. In addition, praise of the Trinity is imbued with the revelation of Christ. This is done by singing the *Trishagion*. Instead of underlining the New Covenant as counterpoint to the Old, Cabasilas aims to give a connective and harmonizing vision:

She [the Church] wished to show, on the one hand, the harmony of the Old and New Testaments, and on the other hand, that angels and men form one Church, a single choir, because of the coming of Christ who was both of heaven and earth.⁹⁷

The people of the Old Covenant then join in the church’s adoration of the Trinity, inspired by unveiling of the Son of God. Since *Trishagion* was originally adopted from the angels under the Old Covenant (Isa. 6:3, cf. Rev. 4:8), it is natural that the church, living in the continuum of the two covenants, approaches God with that hymn together with the people of the Old. In other words, Cabasilas’ interpretation of the little entrance shows that the culmination of the Old Covenant is seen as both a change and continuation. Further, here again it can be noticed that Cabasilas bases his interpretation of the liturgy on the text, this time on the *Trishagion* hymn, rather than on liturgical action.

To conclude, Cabasilas derives the historical and theological point of departure of the liturgy from the radical change between the Old and New Covenants. Operation of God in the past becomes present actuality in the Eucharistic gathering. Christ integrated the Eucharist with the paschal supper, and thus gave witness of a totally different and new reality which is re-enacted in the liturgy.⁹⁸ Evidently the institution of the Eucharist in the Upper Room was not a separate incident, but a concrete sign of a new phase fixed firmly into the chain of events of divine economy. This turning point is well expressed in Cabasilas’ reading of the proskomide and the little entrance. The former focuses on the incarnation and sacrifice, the focal manifestations of breaking through of the new reality in Christ. Explanation of the latter, for one thing, introduces the theme of continuation between the two Covenants; despite the radical change divine economy is yet coherent. From the little entrance onwards the Christ-centred content of the liturgy is no longer discussed in comparison with the Old covenant. For Cabasilas the dialectics between the two Covenants do not therefore carry too far from the issues of historical instantiation of the New Covenant as the origin of the Eucharistic liturgy.

⁹⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* XX, 1-2.

⁹⁷ “Ἐπειτα καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς Τριάδα τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦμεν, οἷον αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐδίδαξεν ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ Σωτῆρος. [- -] Τὸ δέξασθαι δὲ καὶ συνθεῖναι ταῦτα ἐκείνοις, καὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν ἱκεσίαν, λέγω δὴ τὸ «Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς», τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Τριάδα τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ εἰδῶτων καὶ κηρυττόντων, ἵνα δειχθῆ, τοῦτο μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην τῆς παλαιᾶς συμφωνία, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ καὶ ἀγγέλου καὶ ἀνθρώπου μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ χρόν ἕνα, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν, τοῦ ὑπερουρανοῦ καὶ ἐπιγείου.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XX, 3.

⁹⁸ Mantovanis has also observed Cabasilas’ tendency of bringing together past, present and future in “a continuous presence”. Mantovanis 1984, x.

3.3.2. Encounter with the Lord

Even though Cabasilas understands the Eucharistic rite as a symbolic representation of the economy of Christ, the rite seems not to be just a kind of holy play. Instead, it is a spiritual event transmitting divine presence and enabling participation in it. Cabasilas clearly maintains that the faithful should not just confine themselves to a role of spectators when attending the liturgy. Rather, they are called to be co-actors in the Eucharistic drama of re-enactment of salvation in the liturgy.

How, then, is an active participation into the divine economy achieved? The answer is Christ becoming present in the actions and operations of the Eucharistic rite. Self-revelation of Jesus Christ as the incarnated Logos and the Son of God enhances the importance of economical allusions in the liturgy. Cabasilas rhetorically asks, “How could men be saved in the first place if Christ would have concealed himself?” Thus, the economy of Christ had to be proclaimed and to become an object of faith and contemplation (θέωρια).⁹⁹

According to Cabasilas, the historical manifestation of Christ is directly connected with the liturgy which re-enacts the historical Christ event. Eucharistic celebration hence embodies operations that beget religious feelings in order to make “freshness of salvation” (καινότητα τῆς σωτηρίας) visible in the present moment of the Eucharistic assembly. Cabasilas further specifies that receiving the proclamation of salvation in the liturgy generates a respect towards Christ’s kenosis similar to the reactions during the time when the good news was proclaimed for the first time. Thus, the soul is willing to give itself up to Christ and the heart is burst into flames with love for God. It is specifically the partaking of that original faith, love and respect of God that salvation is, in Cabasilas’ understanding, all about. Besides, Cabasilas claims that they are uncompromising prerequisites for participation into the liturgy. On the other hand, the liturgy is both the source of faith and love, and their consolidation.¹⁰⁰ With these phrasings Cabasilas verifiably characterises the liturgy as an event that makes present the very economy of Christ and enables to participate in the fruits of salvation. The

⁹⁹ “Καθάπερ γάρ γενομένη τότε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνέστησεν, οὕτως αἰεὶ θεωρουμένη καλλίω τοῖς θεωροῦσιν αὐτὴν καὶ θειωτέραν ἐργάζεται τὴν ψυχὴν· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἂν ὠφέλησεν οὐδὲν μὴ θεωρηθεῖσα, μὴ πιστευθεῖσα. Καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐκηρύχθη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πιστευθῆναι μυρία ὁ Θεὸς ἐμηχανήσατο· ὡς οὐ δυναμένη τὰ ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖν καὶ σώζειν ἀνθρώπους, εἰ γενομένη τοὺς σώζεισθαι μέλλοντας ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐλάνθανεν.” *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 11.

¹⁰⁰ “Διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρὴν τὴν αὐτὰ ἡμῖν ἐνθεῖναι δυναμένην θεωρίαν ἐν τῇ συντάξει τῆς ἱερουργίας σημαίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῷ νῷ λογιζώμεθα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπωμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τρόπον δὴ τινα τὴν πολλὴν τοῦ πλουσίου πενίαν, τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ πάντα τόπον κατέχοντος, τὰ ὄνειδη τοῦ εὐλογημένου, τὰ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς, ὅσον μισηθεῖς, ὅσον ἠγάπησεν· ἡλικὸς ὢν, ὅσον ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτόν· καὶ τί παθῶν καὶ τί δράσας, ταύτην ἠτοίμασεν ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν τὴν πράπεζαν· καὶ οὕτω θαυμάσαντες τὴν καινότητα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐκπλαγέντες τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρῶν, αἰδεσθῶμεν τὸν οὕτως ἐλεήσαντα, τὸν οὕτω σώσαντα καὶ πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ παραθώμεθα τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ φλέξωμεν τὰς καρδίας τῷ πυρὶ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι, τῷ πυρὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ὁμιλήσωμεν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ οἰκειῶς.” *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 12. “Ritual symbolism is more than a representation addressed to the senses in order to remind us of spiritual realities. The word ἀνάμνησις does not mean only commemoration; rather it denotes an initiation into a mystery, the revelation of a reality which is always present in the Church. It is in this sense that Nicolas Cabasilas speaks of liturgical symbols.” Tsirpanlis s.a., 20. Craig points out that Cabasilas calls for those participating into the worship much more than a role of a passive attendant: “[- -] we must share in the Eucharistic sacrifice both actually and morally.” Craig 1957, 21.

theocentric foundation of the Eucharistic synaxis gives onto subjective human reception. Such intention was already detected in Cabasilas' interpretations of several parts of the celebration. Since the very pronouncement of the opening doxology, man is put into the position of celebrant of a mystery; he is standing in front of God. Additionally, the interpretation of the priest's exhortations, "Let us attend" (Πρόσχωμεν) and "This is Wisdom" (Σοφία) attest that Cabasilas sees no room for any human weakness in the due celebration of the Eucharist. The mind is set towards God in prayer, and indolence or inattention should not distract it from contemplation of the outward form of the rite.¹⁰¹

The idea of setting one's mind and heart in accordance with the mystery is further witnessed in the interpretation of the sequel of interplay between the priest and the faithful at the beginning of anaphora. Cabasilas sees it as a sort of spiritual illumination culminating with the exhortation to lift up the hearts (Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας). He understands it as an actual spiritual elevation of the soul into celestial reality. The maximalist tone of his description gives grounds to assume that Cabasilas rather portrays an ideal form of attending liturgy than what he posits to be an average. Yet, the following portions of his commentary reveal that spiritual ascension still does not mean that the terrestrial Eucharistic liturgy would be somehow altered.¹⁰²

Cabasilas' emphasis is on the inner man's spiritual experience of meeting the Christ. The fundamental function of the symbolism clearly is to unite these two visions: re-enactment of economy and due preparation of receiving its fruits. This tendency is fortified in Cabasilas' reading of the parts of the liturgy which follow the great entrance. The entrance ends when the bread and wine are placed on the holy table, which then is made ready for the preparation of the offering. As Cabasilas states, the entrance signifies that what was begun by the proskomide is soon fulfilled (ἵνα ἀγιασθῶσι τὰ δῶρα καὶ εἰς τέλος ἡμῖν ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσις ἔλθῃ). The priest prepares for the offering by praying. He also exhorts the faithful to turn towards God and show love and compassion towards each other.¹⁰³ In other words, the symbolic representation of past events aims for real participation in the present. Historical narration through liturgical symbols leads to the point where man faces the truly present Lord himself.

The way for communion with Christ in the actualized divine presence opens up with the creed, which has a special place as a structural turning point in Cabasilas' general construction of the liturgy. From that point onwards, Cabasilas is no longer interested in the outward symbolic form of the rite but in the inner state of man and the way the liturgy affects it. Such a change in interpretation can, on the one hand, be taken as a natural result from the fact that the functional dimension of the liturgy decreases towards the end. There are no more impressive elements like entrances in the latter part of the rite. Thus, it is the very ordo of the liturgy itself that directs the emphasis on preparation to

¹⁰¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXI, 1-6.

¹⁰² "Τοιαύτης δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσας εὐχῆς καὶ οὕτω τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, αἶρει τὰ φρονήματα καὶ φησὶν· Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας, τὰ ἄνω φρονῶμεν, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ συντίθενται καὶ φασὶν ἐκεῖ τὰς καρδίας ἔχειν, ὅπου ὁ θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν, οὐδ' ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθήμενος· Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 6.

¹⁰³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 1-3.

meet the Lord in the sacrament.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, the change of perspective can be taken as Cabasilas' own conscious theological statement. The emergent tendency in the genre of liturgical commentaries has been that of 'ultra-symbolism'. Germanus of Constantinople and Nicholas of Andida focused almost solely on the outwards of the liturgy. Their commentaries illustrate a massive interest in the expressions of the form of the rite, not in its Eucharistic content. The case is very different with Cabasilas who intentionally impresses on the Eucharistic and spiritual dimension alongside salvation-historical symbolism. In his commentary the creed is a dividing element between historical symbolism and eucharist-inspired spirituality – culminating in the true presence of Christ.

When compared with his predecessors, the most striking difference between him and his more recent precursors is Cabasilas' almost total lack of interest towards the symbolism of the church building, the physical place of realization of Eucharistic mystery.¹⁰⁵ This may seem a bit strange as Cabasilas lived in times when the development of the Eastern Orthodox Church building had reached the fullness of its rich interior. Yet, Cabasilas never refers to the symbolism of different parts of the building or the iconostasis, one of the most definable characteristics of the Orthodox church building. Even his dedication to the consecration of the holy table, the only sign of his interest towards the physical element of the very building, is dictated by the same concern.¹⁰⁶ Taking the progression of earlier commentaries' adaptation to development of church building into account, Cabasilas' radical withdrawal from the prevailing vision of the components of Eucharistic synaxis of his time seems even more significant.¹⁰⁷

There are no direct references in Cabasilas' writings which would explain his refrain from discussing the symbolism of church building. Yet, it is well suited to his general approach to the liturgy as the manifestation of an event of meeting, rather than a series of disclosures meant for contemplation. His preoccupation with textual and operatorial levels thus suggests that the event itself is more important for Cabasilas than the physical surroundings in which it takes place, despite his great appreciation of the altar table. Comparing Cabasilas with "building-orientated" commentators, one notices that their symbolism is much more stagnant, confined in great deal to the static physical suppositions of the liturgy. This may create a feeling of detachment rather than of

¹⁰⁴ In this shift of focus the basic character of the liturgy as a change-generating event is manifested. "It [the worship] invites us to discover, experience and realize our true and eternal mode of being through the illumination of the intellect, the transformation of the passions and the purification of the heart." Consultation 1998, 388.

¹⁰⁵ Compared with Nicholas of Andida, Pseudo-Sofronios and Germanus, for example, one directly notices the remarkable difference of concern. The three interpreters deal in their commentaries to a great extent with the physical construction of the church. The church building itself is for them a strongly stimulating sign which challenges them to uncover its mysteries. Cabasilas, on the other hand, does not really pay attention to the architecture and interior of sanctuary at all. Here he clearly differs from the later tradition of liturgical symbolism.

¹⁰⁶ He does not really give any symbolic interpretation of the table, unlike e.g. Germanus. Quite the contrary, the table is for Cabasilas a symbol of Christ's true presence.

¹⁰⁷ This characteristic tendency of Cabasilas links him with the early mystagogical tradition. The 4th century catecheses dealt first and foremost with the content of the liturgy, expressed in the words and operation. It was only later that the interest was directed towards the symbolism of the building as well.

integration. Cabasilas, so it seems, is clearly more interested in man as a living church than the physical building.

Cabasilas' interior standpoint is manifested in his usage of the phrase "in this wisdom" (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ) to describe in what kind of state the creed is proclaimed. In making this specification he implies that the liturgy actually is the realization of the state of wisdom which is crystallised in the creed. The liturgy is an initiation into experiencing the essentials of Christian faith; into the reality which finds its expression in being and living in accordance with the divine wisdom.¹⁰⁸ Against this, it becomes understandable why Cabasilas does not comment on the content of the creed and does not link it with his symbolic construction. The creed is not a symbolic act. Rather, it is in itself a direct reference to the very reality which has become real through celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy. Encouragement to enter into that reality is captured by Cabasilas in the priest's behest "The doors! The doors!" just before the creed. When the exhortation originally indicated that the doors of a church are closed – and the anaphora actually celebrated behind the closed doors – the cry now stands for Cabasilas as an exhortation to *open up* human doors, mouth and ears, for the divine wisdom expressed in the creed (Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ κελεύει πάσας ἀναπετάσαι τὰς θύρας, τὰ στόματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ὄτα ἡμῶν).¹⁰⁹

It is presumable that Cabasilas purposely interprets the announcement of closing as an exhortation to open up. There is a connection in his interpretation with the New testamental tradition of prayer, which focuses on Christ's teaching in Matt. 6:6. Linkage with the concept of 'secret inner room' makes understandable why Cabasilas presents shutting away and isolating oneself as a condition for spiritual unfurl. The priest's reference to the doors is an indication of turning towards God; the mouth opens to confess the faith and the ear to hear that confession. This interpretation coincides with the above remark on Cabasilas' lack of interest towards the outward and physical setting of the liturgy.

Cabasilas designates the creed as the wisdom hidden from the world but belonging to the mature (cf. 1 Cor. 2:6-7). The symbol of the faith (τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως) can therefore be characterised as a synopsis of the dogmatic content of preceding parts of the liturgy. This description is attested in Cabasilas' statement that just before proclamation of the faith "the priest exhorts everybody to confess what they have learned of God and believe in."¹¹⁰ In addition to more general confession of Christian beliefs, this clause could

¹⁰⁸ "Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ κελεύει πάσας ἀναπετάσαι τὰς θύρας, τὰ στόματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ὄτα ἡμῶν. Ἐν ταύτῃ, φησὶν, ἀνοίξατε τῇ σοφίᾳ, ταῦτα διηλεκτικῶς καὶ λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βραθύμως, ἀλλὰ σπουδαίως ποιεῖτε καὶ προσέχοντες ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. Καὶ αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἀναβῶσι τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 1-2. Interpretation of the creed as a gateway leading to the focal Christian mystery can be understood as Cabasilas' doctrinal liturgical emphasis, pointing out the realistic nature of the sacrament.

¹⁰⁹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 1. The exclamation originates from the early Christian centuries when church doors were indeed shut, and only baptised and communing Christians were allowed to stay for the Eucharistic celebration. Nowadays the interjection is merely a liturgical remnant, which is often omitted. Even though Cabasilas does not indicate that he is aware of the original meaning of the reference to the doors in the rite, he nevertheless points out in another passage that the uninitiated are dismissed before the sacrifice is offered. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIII, 3.

¹¹⁰ "Ἐἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπι κελεύει πάντα ἀνειπεῖν ἅ περι Θεοῦ μαθόντες πιστεύουσι, τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν περι ἧς φησὶν ὁ Απόστολος: «Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις», ἣν σοφίαν ὁ κόσμος οὐκ

be taken as a reference to the symbolism of the liturgy. Until the point of confessing the faith, the symbols have passed on the economy of God manifested through kenosis of Christ. The creed is then literally a σύμβολον (from the verb συμβάλλω, to combine), which serves as a compact recapitulation of fundamental Christian truths already portrayed in the preceding parts of the liturgy.¹¹¹ Cabasilas must have also been thinking about church teachings outside the liturgical setting. The context of his description of the meaning of the creed nevertheless lends support to the interpretation of it as reference to the liturgical experience as the source of doctrinal knowledge.¹¹² Such reading is supported by Cabasilas' reference to the mutual confession of faith in the Holy Trinity as the perfect expression of fraternal love of the Christians.¹¹³ Clearly, the creed is not for him solely a synopsis of the faith but also an expression and experience of what it means to be a Christian.

A special importance has to be put on the fact that the creed is proclaimed immediately before the celebration of the Eucharist comes to its completion. Thus, it is the creed that somehow one sensitizes for the Eucharistic mystery. In Cabasilas' interpretation the creed is like a step leading from meditation of historical events, re-enacted by symbolic representation, to the holy mystery: to become a real partaker of what up to the moment has been more an object of anamnesis and contemplation. The symbolical presentation of Christ's life in the liturgy comes more or less to its end by the creed and anaphora that follows. Thus, when the symbolical 'movement' comes to a halt, Cabasilas turns from contemplation of outward forms more into inspection of inner state and experience of man. He is now less concerned with the outward rite than with the participant faithful. This shift of perspective indicates that there is a connection between Cabasilas and early Christian catechesis. The early mystagogical tradition clearly shows that the liturgy in itself was understood to be a form of tuition. Thus, the dogmatic content of the liturgy was and is in a way summarised in the creed. As a result, members of the church are enlightened by divine wisdom and brought near God in the Eucharistic celebration.

ἔγνω δηλονότι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου σοφοὶ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γνώσεως μεῖζον καὶ ὑψηλότερον οὔτε εἰδότες, οὔτε ὅλως εἶναι πιστεύοντες." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 1.

¹¹¹ Baggeley defines the σύμβολον in a manner which excellently points out an idea of union between different levels of being or reality: "The word 'symbol' derives from Greek words meaning 'to draw together' [- -]. Symbols allow us to draw together different perceptions, different levels of understanding and meaning, different dimensions to human experience; symbols become the focal point at which the material and spiritual, the ordinary and the extra-ordinary, the human and the divine converge in human perception." Baggeley 1988, 33. The real-symbolic character of the concept σύμβολον is also evident in Evdokimov's (2001, 186) definition. He understands the word as denoting two halves joined together; the one being the symbol and the other the thing symbolised. Cf. also Zizioulas (2000, 5), who compares the symbol to a bridge which unites two realities – God and man – and simultaneously partakes of both realities.

¹¹² In the French translation of the critical edition edited by Salaville, the Greek word ἀνεπιεῖν is translated into the verb *redire*, repeat (Salaville 1967, 169). Salaville's translation clearly indicates that there is a connection between reciting of the creed and 'liturgical tuition' preceding it. Thus, the French translation supports my idea of the creed as a repetition of the content of the liturgy.

¹¹³ "Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ ἀκολουθεῖ, τῇ δὲ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν τελεία καὶ ζῶσα πίστις ἔπεται, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀγάπην εἰπῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους παραίνεσας εὐθύς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐπάγει τῆς πίστεως." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 2.

Figure 2 illustrates the connection of the creed as σύμβολον or recapitulation of the contents of the liturgy with the spiritual awakening of man expressed in the exclamation “The doors!”.

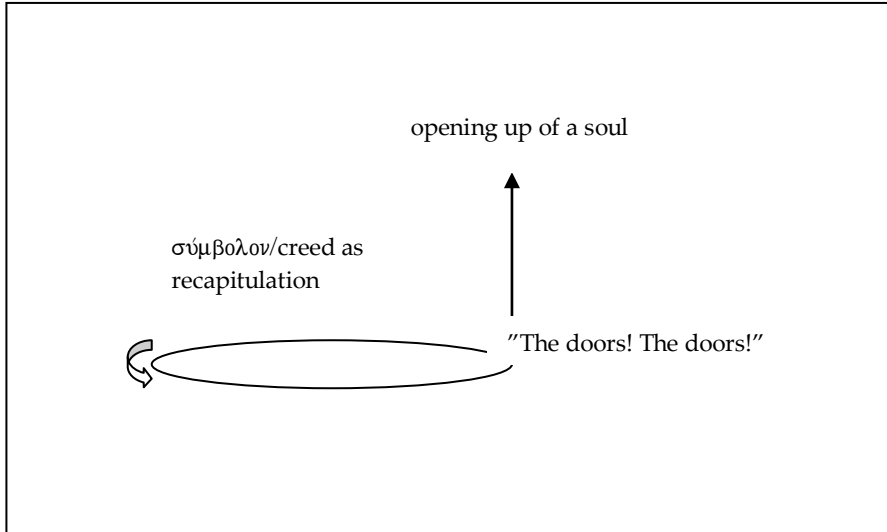


FIGURE 2: *The creed and inner opening up of man*

The idea of the creed as a stimulus for spiritual elevation, a transition towards the Eucharistic centre of the synaxis, is illustrated in Cabasilas’ “road” metaphor. He characterizes the creed as a road leading up to Paradise. The road thus opens up the very same route for climbing up to heaven that Christ used when he came down to earth.¹¹⁴ Such imagery evidently refers to the close interrelationship between the mysteries and salvation-historical content of the creed. On the one hand, it is specifically through the mysteries that salvation in Christ is participated in. On the other hand, the creed is a compact expression of the redemptive faith, a sign or symbol of Christian orientation towards the Kingdom of Heaven. The idea of ascension through the road leading up to heaven is in line with Cabasilas’ explanation of the sequel of exchanged greetings and blessings starting from the creed and ending to the priest’s call for lifting up the heart. As was stated before, Cabasilas describes this portion as enlightenment of the faithful by the priest. As a result of this action, the souls of the faithful are elevated and their thoughts directed from the earth towards Christ, the true treasure of hearts (cf. Matt. 6:21).¹¹⁵ After

¹¹⁴ *De vita* II, 24-25.

¹¹⁵ “Τοιαύτης δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσας εὐχῆς καὶ οὕτω τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, αἶρει τὰ φρονήματα καὶ φησὶν· Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας, τὰ ἄνω φρονῶμεν, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ συντίθενται καὶ φασὶν ἐκεῖ τὰς καρδίας ἔχειν, ὅπου ὁ θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθήμενος· Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 6.

reaching this blessed state the souls can but express their commendation to God.¹¹⁶ The creed thus opens up to sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving, an aspect closely connected to the Eucharistic sacrifice already by definition of the word *eucharistia*.

Although symbolism is by the creed left in the background in Cabasilas' commentary, he does not completely desert it. What is significant in his post-creedal symbolism is that it does not compete with Eucharistic realism of the liturgy – brought to the fore in anaphora. Instead, it aims to promote the centrality of transformation of the elements into the body and blood of Christ as the focal aspect of the entire service. Cabasilas states that at the end of the anaphora the Eucharistic elements are transformed into the body and blood of Christ.¹¹⁷ This transformation symbolizes death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ (τῶν δώρων ἁγιασμός, αὐτῆ ἢ θυσία, τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταγγέλλει καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν). Such a phrase can be taken as an expression of Cabasilas' commitment to the realistic understanding of Christ's presence in the sacrament. Since the consecrated Eucharistic gifts are now truly the body and blood of Christ, economical events in which Christ's corporality has a central role are highlighted. (ὅτι τὰ τίμια ταῦτα δῶρα εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Κυριακὸν μεταβάλλει σῶμα, τὰ ταῦτα πάντα δεξάμενον, τὸ σταυρωθέν, τὸ ἀναστάν, τὸ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεληλυθός).¹¹⁸ The description of transformation as a symbol of culmination of economy of Christ probably is, at least in part, based on the recapitulation of the great economic events of Christ's life in the anaphora of St. Basil.

A realistic understanding of Christ's presence in the bread and wine becomes evident in Cabasilas' description of a prayer following the consecration. He sketches out how the priest turns to the Lamb of God, visibly seen in the Eucharistic elements, and prays with and through him the Father to grant his blessing and mercy upon each communing faithful.¹¹⁹ This depiction give grounds to hypothesize that Cabasilas actually attests that the priest, while turning towards the bread and wine, in truth communes with Christ, now truly present on the holy table. This reading indicates that Cabasilas'

¹¹⁶ "Οὕτω δὲ κάλλιστα καὶ ἱερώτατα διατεθέντας, τί λοιπὸν ἢ πρὸς εὐχαριστίαν τραπήναι τοῦ χορηγοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων Θεοῦ;" *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

¹¹⁷ "Καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς τελεστικῆς εὐχῆς, καθ' ἣν ἱεουργεῖ τὰ ἅγια, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ταύτην ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [- -] καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτῆς τῆς ἄρρητου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἡμῶν ἔνεκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας μνησθεῖς, εἶτα ἱεουργεῖ τὰ τίμια δῶρα καὶ ἡ θυσία τελεῖται πάσα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

¹¹⁸ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 6; XVI, 4. Zizioulas (2000, 13-14) detects traits of scholastic thought in the way Cabasilas perceives anaphora as an image of Christ's sacrifice. According to Zizioulas, it was the *proskomide* which in the earlier commentaries was considered to be the depiction of the sacrifice. Since the times of Maximus the Confessor, the emphasis of symbolism had moved from eschatological symbolism to iconic symbolism. As a result, representation of past events became more central than that of connection between earthly and heavenly liturgies.

¹¹⁹ "Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς, τῆς θυσίας τελεσθεΐσης, καὶ τὸ ἐνέχυρον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας προκείμενον ὀρών τὸν Ἄμνον αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἦδη τοῦ μεσίτου λαβόμενος καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν παράκλητον ἔχων, γνωρίζει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ αἰτήματα πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἐκχεῖ τὴν δέησιν μετὰ χρηστῆς ἤδη καὶ βεβαίας ἐλπίδος, καὶ ὧν προτιθεῖς τὸν ἄρτον ἐμνήσθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰς προτελείους εὐχὰς ἐποίησατο καὶ τὰ δῶρα προσήνεγκε, καὶ προσδεχθῆναι αὐτὰ ἰκέτευε, ταῦτα προσδεχθέντα, εὐχεται εἰς ἔργον ἐκβῆναι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIII, 1.

understanding of the Eucharist has a strongly realistic nature.¹²⁰ The Eucharistic bread and wine are identified with Christ.

The salience of Cabasilas' sacramental realism transpires in his interpretation of elevation of the Lamb after the anaphora. When elevating and breaking the Lamb, the priest exclaims: "The holies for the holy ones" (Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις). These words Cabasilas understands as an expression which, firstly, confirms the true presence of Christ in the sacrament and, secondly, refers to the sanctifying power of his body and blood transmitted in communion. Consequently, by communing with the body and blood of Christ, one becomes a partaker of his holiness – and thus is justly called holy.¹²¹ Characterizations of Eucharistic communion additionally contribute to sacramental realism. As was seen before, Cabasilas believes the Eucharistic communion to be a source of man's deification. When partaking in the divine body and blood in the sacrament, man receives Christ into himself. Notability of spiritual outcome of Eucharistic communion with Christ truly present is revealed in Cabasilas' description of Christ as the "other me" once his body and blood have been communed.¹²² In other words, the anamnetic representation of the vicissitudes of Christ climaxes at the time of Eucharistic communion when Christ becomes one with the faithful.

It is precisely in the Eucharistic setting, according to Cabasilas, that man can truly achieve union with Christ. The liturgy, therefore, is orientated towards mystical meeting of man with his God. Cabasilas' description indicates that in the liturgy the sanctifying effects of Christ's kenosis become spiritually adoptable. In other words, divine presence becomes subjectively experienced reality for man. The extraordinary exchange of properties that follows from Eucharistic communion with Christ fulfils the function of the liturgy: sanctification through participation. This would not be possible unless Christ, according to his promise (Luke 24:49; John 14:17), sends the Spirit: "Through the hand and tongue of priests [the Holy Spirit] officiates the mysteries."¹²³ Thus, becoming present of the divine economy presumes operation of the Spirit, which is transmitted through the sacramental hierarchy.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ The realism of the somatic presence of Christ in the bread and wine even generates physical effects in the officiating priest: "[-] και καταφιλοῦσι την δεξιάν, ως αν προσφάτως ἀμαμένην τοῦ παναγίου τοῦ Σωτήρος σώματος και τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἁγιασμόν και δεξαμένην, και μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ψαύουσι πιστευομένην." *Sacrae liturgiae* LIII, 4. The realistic understanding of Christ's presence in the liturgy is therefore made evident in the human celebrant of the mystery. Touching the truly present body of the Saviour transforms the priest into a physical representative of divine grace.

¹²¹ "Ἅγιος δὲ τοὺς τελείους τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐνταῦθα φησιν, ἀλλὰ και ὅσοι πρὸς τὴν τελειότητα ἐκείνην ἐπείγονται μὲν, λείπονται δὲ ἔτι. Και τούτους γὰρ οὐδὲν κωλύει τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων ἐν μεθέξει γινομένους ἁγιαζεσθαι και τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἁγίους εἶναι, ὡσπερ και ἡ Ἐκκλησία πᾶσα ἁγία λέγεται και ὁ μακάριος Ἀπόστολος πρὸς δῆμον ὀλόκληρον γράφων: « Ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι, φησί, κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι.» Ἅγιοι γὰρ καλοῦνται δια τὸν ἅγιον οὗ μετέχουσι και ᾧ σώματος και αἵματος κοινωνοῦσι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 1.

¹²² *De vita* VI, 58. The idea of inner relationship with Christ is also explicated in *De vita* VI, 54 where Cabasilas states that unless one adheres to constant communion with the holy table and the cleansing blood, there is nothing to prevent him from falling.

¹²³ "Τοῦτο δια τῆς χειρὸς και τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελεσιουργεῖ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 2.

¹²⁴ The operation of the Holy Spirit and the significance of the ministry in the Eucharistic celebration are studied more closely in Chapter 4.3.

Since the historical sequence of Christ's full revelation of himself preceded the sending of the Spirit, the same seems to occur in the liturgy. Cabasilas considers it to be reasonable that the effects of Christ's atonement are also typified in the liturgy. Thus, the miracle of the Pentecost, together with ascension and the Spirit-filled life of the church, are depicted in the liturgy once Christ's presence is made apparent. All this is symbolized in the act of pouring the *zeon* into the cup at the end of anaphora.¹²⁵ The pneumatological reading of the *zeon* puts emphasis on the Spirit's transformative and communion generating operation in the liturgy.

Interestingly, the commentary on the *zeon* marks the end of Cabasilas' symbolical reading of the rite. Just before the adding of the *zeon* into the chalice "the main object of the liturgy", as Cabasilas calls it, has been reached and performed during the anaphora. The bread and the wine have consequently turned into the body and blood of Christ. Cabasilas' interpretation of the *zeon* implies that a shift away from historical representation promotes the significance of sacramental and mystical understanding of the rite. The symbolized events have become an actuality. What is left in the liturgy after pouring of the *zeon* is communing with the body and blood of Christ and concluding the rite. There are no special symbolic meanings Cabasilas attaches with the rest of the celebration. He is mostly satisfied just to describe how the liturgy is finished off.¹²⁶

Based on what has been indicated so far it can be stated that the actual function of the entire construction of liturgical symbolism is expressed in connection with the focal point of the Eucharistic celebration: the transformation of the elements and communing with them. Cabasilas maintains that all the afore-described symbols or liturgical depictions (τύπος) have been generated in order to keep the economy of Christ not only verbally but markedly on view (βλέπω) through the entire liturgy.¹²⁷ The aim of this visual sensation is not to create transitory feelings but to press deep down in the soul awareness and sense of magnitude of the economy accomplished by Christ:

¹²⁵ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVII, 3-5. Yarnold (1971, 49) thinks that the emphasis on the Spirit in the *zeon* is a result of the epicletic nature of Byzantine liturgy. The same is further manifested by the fact that when the Lamb, i.e. the body of Christ, is shed into the chalice there is a reference made to the Spirit, not to Christ.

¹²⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* LIII. Mantovanis thinks that Cabasilas' disinterest towards the symbolism of the rite after partaking in the eucharist is a proof of his dedication to the inner meaning of the liturgy. Mantovanis 1984, 190. Schulz (1964, 210) comments the change in Cabasilas reading: "In der *Zeon*-Symbolik vollendet sich die Symbolisierung des geschichtlichen Heilswerkes. Nach der *Intensität* dieser Symbolisierung unterscheidet Nikolaos eindeutig die vor- und nachanaphorische Symbolik, die zu vergleichen ist mit der Darstellung auf einer Tafel, und die eigentliche sakramentale Vergegenwärtigung des Kreuzestodes durch die Realpräsenz des Leibes Christi, von der es ausdrücklich heißt, sie sei nicht mehr Bild und Aufzeichnung wie auf einer Tafel, sondern reine Wirklichkeit."

¹²⁷ "Τα δὲ ἐν τῇ τελειῇ τῶν δώρων γινόμενα εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίαν ἀναφέρεται πάντα, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἢ αὐτῆς θεωρία πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕσα τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγιάξῃ καὶ οὕτως ἐπιτήδειοι γινόμεθα πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν δώρων." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 11; "Διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρῆν τὴν ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐνθεῖναι δυναμένην θεωρίαν ἐν τῇ συντάξει τῆς ἱερουργίας σημαίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῷ νῶ λογιζώμεθα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπωμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τρόπον δὴ τινα τὴν πολλὴν τοῦ πλουσίου πενίαν, τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ πάντα τόπον κατέχοντος, τὰ ὄνειδη τοῦ εὐλογημένου, τὰ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς, ὅσον μισηθεῖς, ὅσον ἠγάπησεν." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 12.

It is not enough to be educated of things which are Christ's and to have knowledge of them, but we must at this moment contemplate these things with the eyes of our understanding and behold them; striving to banish all useless thoughts. That is, if we wish to attain condition of soul, of which I have spoken, which makes worthy of sanctification. If we, however, look reverently [to the holy liturgy] only in order to be able to give an answer when we are asked about it, and at the time of the celebration we do not concentrate upon these things and our minds are unfocused, such knowledge does not benefit us at all.¹²⁸

Thus, the reason of continuous representation of divine economy throughout the liturgy is to keep the mind from distracting. In other words, the liturgical symbolism contributes to achieving a suitable state of mind for communing with Christ in the Eucharist. It could even be said that when Christ is received in the sacrament, the contemplative mind is face to face with the object of its contemplation. Cabasilas calls this meeting point "grace upon grace", a transition from what is minor to something much greater (cf. 2 Cor. 3:18).¹²⁹ This alteration can be characterized as a movement from the level of contemplation of sensual and conventional symbols to experiencing the mystery. The latter is characterized by communion, a real participation with what has been depicted by symbols in the first place.¹³⁰

If such a transition is interpreted in connection with the dynamics of identity-separation, a shift towards a more intensive identity between a symbol and its reference is detected. When confronting the truly present Christ in the symbol of his presence (the bread and the wine), communion with the content (Christ himself) is not based on sensual or other connective factor in the symbol, but on the fact that the very point of reference has become truly present in the symbol. This shift of emphasis to really experienced presence explains why Cabasilas leaves symbolic interpretation aside when the fulfillment of Eucharistic mystery becomes topical in the liturgy. One could say that Cabasilas maintains that in the Eucharist one can participate in the ontologically present content revealed by the Eucharistic symbols.

¹²⁸ "Ὅθ' γὰρ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτους γενέσθαι τότε τὸ μαθεῖν ποτε τὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰδὼτας εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τηρικαῦτα τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν ἐκεῖ καὶ θεωρεῖν αὐτά, ἐνεργεῖα πάντα λογισμὸν ἕτερον ἐκβαλόντας, εἰ γε μέλλοιμεν πρὸς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐκείνον ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἡμπερ ἔφην ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν. Εἰ γὰρ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἔχομεν τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὥστ' ἐρωτηθέντες αὐτὸν ὑγιῶς ἂν ἀποκριθῆναι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ μυεῖσθαι δεῖ, μὴ θεωρῶμεν ἅπαντα καλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸν νοῦν ἄλλοις προσέχωμεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ὄφελος τῆς γνώσεώς ἐστιν ἐκείνης." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 13.

¹²⁹ "ἐκείνω δὲ μὴ δῶ τῇ λήθῃ χάραν, μηδ' ἑάση πρὸς ἄλλο τι τρέψαι τὸν λογισμὸν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀγάγοι τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ οὕτω γέμοντες τῶν ἐννοιῶν τούτων, καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀκμάζουσας ἔχοντες, τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόμεν μυστηρίων, ἁγιασμὸν ἐπισηάγοντες ἁγιασμῶ, τῶ τῶν θεωριῶν τὸν τῆς τελετῆς, καὶ «μεταμορφούμενοι ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν» τὴν ἀπασῶν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάττονος." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 14. Wybrew comments on Cabasilas' emphasis on the Eucharistic nucleus: "The Liturgy is meant to affect us not only at the level of conscious thought: it is meant to appeal also to our emotions, so that we can respond to God's love with our whole being. The worshipper is invited to see, as well as to think about, the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ, and through contemplation of it to be sanctified. But contemplation as a means of sanctification is subordinate to the reception of the mysteries [- -]." Wybrew 1990, 160-161.

¹³⁰ According to Woolfenden (2000, 41), the liturgical symbols do not only generate prayerful and pious atmosphere, but direct the attention of both the worshipping community and each of its individual members to the Eucharistic mystery.

3.4. CONCLUSION: PARTAKING IN THE DIVINE ECONOMY

There are six groups that exhibit the nature and nuances in the divine presence detected in Cabasilas' thought so far. To begin with, the entire liturgy aims to intensify a sense of presence of the majesty of God, his power and grace. The prevailing atmosphere of Eucharistic synaxis, as presented by Cabasilas, is that of (1) **general manifestation of presence of the divine**. Divine presence is also manifested by Cabasilas as (2) **anamnetic presence of God**. Starting from the proskomide, the great redemptive works of God are kept in mind. The anamnetic mode of presence points out that recalling the past shows *what* is made present. It also is a certain manner of making something present. (3) **Symbolic** presentation of **presence of God**, however, falls to the category of method; *how* the presence is conveyed.

The transforming grace of Christ and the divine power can be labelled as (4) **sacramental presence of Christ**. It is made evident through the holy table as 'real symbol'. The sacramental presence of Christ is transmitted in the *myron* used in consecration of the altar table. Further, the table externalizes his enduring presence in a church. Thus, there is a significant aspect of identity in the symbolism of the table. Reading of the holy table already sets the (5) **real presence of Christ** as the reality made evident in transformation of the Eucharistic gifts into true body and blood of Christ, the high point of the liturgy. The radical difference between symbolic and real presence is evident in the manner Cabasilas discusses the Lamb. Initially it is just a symbol of Christ's dedication to God but is later consecrated into the body of Christ. The change takes place through the influence of the Spirit, who could be described as the agent of presence of God's consecrative power.

Finally, the true presence of God is perceived as (6) **mystical presence within man**. Through participation in Christ's body and blood, man experiences the sanctifying presence of Christ within himself. The emphasis is then on subjective adaption to the presence of the divine. The goal and fruits of profound experience of Eucharistic communion is laid bare already in the relic within the altar table. Thus, the goal of the Eucharistic communion is already manifested in the establishing of the sacred space. All the previous classes of presence find their consummation in the inner spiritual experience of God's presence in man. Symbolic representation of Christ's life builds up a certain spiritual tone within man, which enables him to enter in communion with God, sacramentally and really present in the liturgy. The really present Christ in the sacrament becomes one with the faithful, "his second self", as Cabasilas describes the effects of mystical union.

Cabasilas' theological vision of the Eucharist is marked by liturgical symbolism. The orientation towards text links his symbolic interpretations of the rite especially closely to the spiritual content of the liturgy, manifested first and foremost by the wordings of the prayers, hymns and readings. Liturgical illustration of historical substances is for Cabasilas a method of actualizing the past in the liturgy. Consequently, his symbolism rather points to and prepares for revealing of the realistic and sacramental crux of the Eucharistic than blurs it. Thus, the a-historical dimension of "presence of God" prevails over the historical aspect of "life of Christ". The ultimate aim of Cabasilas' symbolism is

not to provide knowledge of historical events but to enable participation and communion with God, whose presence is actualised in the liturgy. The idea of meeting and participation evinces that for Cabasilas the essential importance of symbols lies in their capability to reveal ontologically true realities.

To sum up, the celebration of the Eucharist takes place in an atmosphere that is entirely permeated by manifestations of God's operation. The faithful are in the liturgy invited to contemplate and adore divine economy, accomplished in the mystery of Jesus Christ, the incarnated Logos. Manifestation of divine operation and presence of triune God in the Eucharistic liturgy invites man to enter into a deep communion with God; in Christ through the Spirit. The promise of the communion is ever witnessed in the holy table, which is a permanent, physical manifestation of both the union with God and his presence among the faithful. There is a distinct emphasis on how the *prosopa* of triune God are manifested in the synaxis. The presence of Jesus Christ outruns that of Spirit and Father. The Eucharistic liturgy is pronouncedly a celebration of the mystery of economy of Jesus Christ, Cabasilas' focus being on making present the incarnated Son of God. The Spirit has yet a well explicated role in the process (symbolized by the *zeon* and made vividly evident in the epiclesis), but the Father's role remains undefined at first glance. Nonetheless, it is quite evident that Cabasilas sees the Father as guarantor of authenticity of the operation of Son, thus making him the validator of divine presence in the liturgy. This kind of distribution of roles and difference in emphasis results from Cabasilas' christocentric general adjustment towards eucharistic liturgy.

Concerning Cabasilas' connection to the Byzantine tradition on liturgical symbolism, he seems at the first glance to be in line with the symbolical tradition of Germanus of Constantinople and Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem. They all see liturgy as dramatization of salvation history. Nonetheless, Cabasilas clearly evades the ultra-symbolism of Nicholas of Andida. In addition, unlike most of his more recent predecessors, he shows no interest towards symbolism of a church building. It is Pseudo-Dionysius that Cabasilas himself seems to think as his most influential precursor. Still, Cabasilas clearly is not wedded to Pseudo-Dionysius' construction but instead significantly differs from him in his openly realistic view of explaining the presence of Christ in bread and wine. Of the early authors, it is particularly the sacramental realism of Cyril of Jerusalem that comes through in Cabasilas' thinking.

4 Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Sacrifice

Cabasilas' commentary on the rite of consecration of the holy table opens up a vision that union with Christ can be witnessed to through tangible objects. The holy table, with the relic placed into it, stands as a physical and real symbol authenticating the possibility of reaching an extensive mystical union with Christ. That very union is aspired to in the divine liturgy, partially promoted by liturgical symbolic representations. Realization of union with Christ requires yet another kind of corporeal medium, the Eucharistic bread and wine. From the perspective of theocentricism and anthropocentrism, in the Eucharistic elements there is a concrete meeting point of the divine and the humane agents of the Eucharistic synaxis.

This chapter explores in depth the means of actualization of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharistic liturgy. Answers will be sought in three ways. First, the connection between Christ's sacrifice on Golgotha and the Eucharistic mystery is spelled out. The manner of Cabasilas' understanding of the change in the Eucharistic gifts will then be discussed in relation to the liturgical actualization of the sacrifice. Secondly, a deeper reflection will be made on the idea of divine action in making the Eucharistic mystery. What kind of mode of Trinitarian being does Cabasilas perceive in the divine operation *ad extra* which enforces the transformation of the elements? Discussion concentrates on the Spirit's active role in accomplishing the actualization of Christ's sacrifice. This is done in comparison with the efficacy of Christ's words of institution. Finally, the human element in making Christ present in the sacrament will be investigated. How the presence of God is conveyed by the celebrant of the Eucharistic mystery?

In an earlier part of this study it was stated that Cabasilas perceives Greek (Orthodox) and Latin (Roman Catholic) doctrine on the Eucharist as being alike. Thus, explaining Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought requires assessment of his thought in comparison to the emphases of the mediaeval Latin Eucharistic tradition. For this reason, considerations of the three Latin authors – Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas – will occupy a central role in this chapter.

4.1. UNITY OF THE SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS AND THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

For Cabasilas the sacrifice is the objective of the liturgical action since it was the culmination of the economy of Christ.¹ Investigation of the proskomide has already revealed that he sees the Lamb as a symbol of the incarnated Son, dedicated to the Father as sacrifice since the very beginning. In Cabasilas' symbolic construction the theme of sacrifice recurs in later parts of the rite as well. During the Eucharistic prayer Christ's sacrifice becomes actualised reality in the liturgy. After commemoration of and thanksgiving for the great events of the past, the priest pronounces the institution narrative and pleads for the Spirit's descent. This is the high point of the consecration and transformation of the Eucharist bread and wine. Cabasilas designates this moment as the completion of the sacrifice. The fulfilment transpires when the bread and wine have been transformed into the body and blood of Christ.²

Cabasilas maintains that the liturgy originates in the Last Supper when Christ "had accomplished the entire mystery" (μετὰ τὸ τελέσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἅπαν).³ What is this mystery Cabasilas refers to? Apparently it is the totality of redemptive acts of Christ. According to Cabasilas, the commandment of remembrance referred not only to the breaking of the bread but to Christ's entire ministry. Therefore the consummation of divine economy on the cross, the sacrifice, gives a deeper meaning to Christ's words during the Last Supper and the entire liturgy as well.⁴ Christ's command necessitates that his weakness is remembered in the Eucharistic celebration. Basing his reasoning on apostle Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. 11:26, Cabasilas interprets Christ's words of institution primarily as referring to his sufferings and death.⁵ He writes, "In the holy mysteries,

¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 15. When using the word ἡ τελετή (e.g. *Sacrae liturgiae* LII, 2) Cabasilas stresses the importance of Christ's sacrifice as the culmination of history of salvation. Mantovanis has observed that Cabasilas' concept of sacrifice has not been properly investigated in previous studies. Tsirpanlis is the only one, Mantovanis maintains, who has touched the issue – yet deficiently and peripherally. Mantovanis 1984, 237. See Tsirpanlis s.a., 53, 70-77.

² "Καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς τελεστικῆς εὐχῆς, καθ' ἣν ἱερουργεῖ τὰ ἅγια, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ταύτην ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [- -] καὶ δοξολογήσας αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ ἀγγέλων ἀνυμνήσας καὶ χάριτας ὁμολογήσας τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἡμῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας μνησθεῖς, εἶτα ἱερουργεῖ τὰ τίμια δῶρα καὶ ἡ θυσία τελεῖται πάσα. Καὶ τίνα τρόπον; Τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο διηγησάμενος δειπνῶν καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸ παρέδωκε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ὡς ἐδέξατο ποτήριον καὶ ὡς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἠγίασεν· καὶ ὡς εἶπε δι' ὧν ἐδήλωσε τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἀνειπῶν εἶτα προσπίπτει, καὶ εὐχεταὶ καὶ ἱκετεύει τὰς θείας ἐκεῖνας φωνὰς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων καὶ δεξιάμενα τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδυνάμενον Πνεῦμα μεταβληθῆναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα, τὸν δὲ οἶνον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀχραντον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιον αἶμα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

³ "Καὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐκείνου τοῦτο λέγει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πάσης τῆς τελετῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐν τελευτῇ τῆς ἱερουργίας ἀρχόμενος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Κύριος μετὰ τὸ τελέσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἅπαν, τοῦτον ἐπήγαγε τὸν λόγον· «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.»" *Sacrae liturgiae* VII, 2.

⁴ Cabasilas' comprehension of Christ's commandment's reference to the entire liturgy becomes clear when he, leaning on to Pseudo-Dionysius, claims that breaking the bread outside the eucharistic liturgy would not have a sanctifying effect. *De vita* IV, 22.

⁵ "[- -] ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα σημαίνειν ἀσθένειαν, τὸν σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθος, τὸν θάνατον, ἐν τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε." *Sacrae liturgiae* VII, 3; "Τοῦτο [τὸν θάνατον

then, we depict his entombment and proclaim his death. By them we are begotten and shaped and miraculously united to the Saviour.”⁶

The actualisation of Christ’s sacrifice in the liturgy highlights the connection between God’s redemptive operation and the Eucharist. This becomes evident in Cabasilas’ statement that the Eucharist embodies the entirety of redemption.⁷ Therefore, the Eucharist becomes integrated with the divine plan for salvation, fulfilled in the crucifixion at Calvary.⁸ To put it another way, the divine economy sets the foundation for sacramental and liturgical action. This is well expressed in the adaptation of the anaphora of St. Basil by Cabasilas in his account of the kenosis of Christ. The anaphora itself is a recapitulation of the history of salvation, naturally coming to a head with Christ’s work. In addition to liturgical material, Cabasilas hews to Paul’s presentation of Jesus’ kenosis (Phil. 2:5-11). He is also in line with the mediator theme in the letter to the Hebrews: Christ is the only mediator between God and mankind (Heb. 8:6; 9:15). Here the heart of Cabasilas’ christocentric understanding of the redemptive operation of God is expressed: the abased Christ has reconciled men with God, and it is only through and in him that God’s grace is within reach of mankind. Without Christ man would still be an enemy of God.⁹

The Eucharist, due to its close integration with the redemption in Christ, can be designated as a sacrifice of atonement. This becomes evident in Cabasilas’ delineation of how the offence against God, caused by the fall of man, was overruled by Christ’s passion. Along with his atonement Christ got mankind out of debt, on the one hand, by restoring the relationship with God, and on the other hand, by providing compensation for the wrongdoings of men (τὰ μὲν ἀποδιδόντα, τὰ δ’ ἐξ ἀντιρρόπου περι ὧν ἠδίκησε προστιθέντα). Further, Cabasilas considers Christ’s sacrifice an inevitability since it was not possible for fallen man to reconcile himself with God (οὐκ ἦν οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ τὸν Θεὸν καταλλάξαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνην εἰσενεγκόντα).¹⁰

αὐτοῦ καταγγέλλετε] καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἐνέφηεν ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ μυστηρίου.” *Sacrae liturgiae* VII, 4.

⁶ “Ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ γράφοντες καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταγγέλλοντες, δι’ αὐτῶν γεννώμεθα καὶ πλαττόμεθα καὶ ὑπερφύως συναπτόμεθα τῷ Σωτῆρι.” *De vita* I, 18.

⁷ “Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πρότερον εἰπόντας ὅτι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίας σημαίνεται μὲν διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτῆς [- -].” *Sacrae liturgiae* XVI, 2.

⁸ “Μεσίτης γὰρ ἐστὶ δι’ οὗ πάντα γέγονε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοθέντα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ· μᾶλλον δὲ δίδοται αἰεὶ.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIV, 1; “Τί γὰρ τὸ καταλλάξαι τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Θεόν; Πάντως ὅτι ἄνθρωπον εἶδε τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν· οὕτω καὶ ἐκάστῳ σπένδεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἴ τις τὴν μορφήν κομίζει τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνον φορεῖ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν πνεύμα μετ’ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. Τούτων δὲ χωρὶς ἕκαστος αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν ὁ παλαιὸς ὁ τῷ Θεῷ ἀπρηθημένος, ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἔχων.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIV, 4. See also *De vita* IV, 42.

⁹ *De vita* IV, 96; *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 4; XL, 3-4; XLIII, 7; XLIV, 2; XLIV, 4; XLIX, 14. On the connection with the anaphora of St. Basil, see *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 21.

¹⁰ *De vita* IV, 12-14. See also *De vita* I, 43-53; IV, 15-16. Gass and Rivière propose that similarities between Cabasilas’ description of atonement and Anselm of Canterbury’s theology of incarnation suggest that Cabasilas has been influenced by Anselm’s *satisfactio* theory of atonement. See especially *Cur Deus homo* I, 11, 22; II, 6. Rivière 1931, 301; Gass 1849, 78. Salaville (Salaville 1943b, 52-55) does not agree with Gass and Rivière, but considers the general view of Cabasilas’ theology incompatible with Anselm’s views. In addition, there are no sources of information that lend support to the claim of an association of Cabasilas with Anselm. Salaville nevertheless agrees with Gass’ idea (1849, 79) of Thomas Aquinas as a possible middleman for Latin conceptions of the

When speaking of Christ's sacrifice Cabasilas does not restrict himself only to the God-man relationship. There is a larger cosmic setting for the sacrifice on the cross, namely the battle between God and Satan over man. This is demonstrated by Cabasilas' idea of the sacrifice as ransom (λύτρον) paid for prisoners. Equally, he describes the reconciliation as overthrowing Satan's tyranny in the souls of men. One of the results of the fall was, after all, man's subordination to Satan. With his blood Christ has purchased men from Satan's ownership. As a result, mankind now belongs to Christ alone, for his possession.¹¹

From the standpoint of the actual celebration of the Eucharist, Cabasilas concentrates on three points of view on the sacrifice of Christ. First, he maintains that the offering of the Lamb of God was a unique, unrepeatable act. Second, the Eucharistic offering of Christ is not a symbolic act but takes place in reality. Third, in the Eucharist it is the body of Christ which is sacrificed, not the Eucharistic bread.¹²

incarnation. Even though Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* was translated into Greek after Cabasilas' death, Demetrios Cydones' translation of Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles* from the mid-1350s contains a modified version of Anselm's *satisfactio* theory. Salaville puts forward the supposition that Cabasilas might have been familiar with Cydones' translation. Tsirpanlis (s.a., 77) is very doubtful when it comes to Cabasilas' dependence on Anselm. He observes that, firstly, Cabasilas does not use in his works the Greek equivalents *ικανοποίησις* and *ικανοποιεῖν* for the Latin *satisfactio*. Secondly, the two authors' points of departure are very different from each other. In addition, Cabasilas received his influences rather from the incarnational motifs of the Greek authors. Actually, the Greek patristic tradition had, according to Tsirpanlis, a significant effect on Anselm. Tsirpanlis' argument exemplifies the fact that Anselm's reception has not been very enthusiastic among Eastern Orthodox theologians. Lossky and Nellas argue that Orthodox theologians have always been opposed to what they see as the narrow-minded theological vision and juridical connotation offered by the *satisfactio* theory. They maintain that atonement and reconciliation should not be limited to the fall-atonement axis, but discussed as part of the entirety beginning from creation and ending with deification. Lossky 1974, 99-103; Nellas 1996, 10-12, 15-23.

¹¹ "Ὁὐ γὰρ ἤρπασε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἀλλὰ «λύτρον ἔδωκε» [- -] καὶ «ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ», ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν τυραννίδα λύσας, οὐχ ὅτι ἐδύνατο λύσαι, [- -]. Ἐπει δὲ «ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνέτειλε» «τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ ψεύδους καὶ τῆ σκιᾷ καθημένοις», τῆρικαῦτα καὶ «ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψε», ἄρτι πρῶτως ἀληθῶς καὶ τελείως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φανεῖσα· καὶ ἐδικαιώθημεν, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀπαλλαγέντες, τοῦ μηδὲν ἠδικηκότος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπολογησαμένου, τῷ διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτῳ καθ' ὃν ἔδωκε δικὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐτολμήσαμεν· ἔπειτα καὶ φίλοι Θεοῦ καὶ δίκαιοι κατέστημεν διὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐκεῖνον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔλυσε μόνον καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ κατήλλαξεν ἀποθανῶν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ «ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι» [- -]." *De vita* I, 30, 32; "Ἐτι τοίνυν τοὺς ἐν Ἄδου δεσμώτας ἔδει λυθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγγέλοις ἢ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κατήλθεν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον. Τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰκὸς ἦν οὐ προῖκα λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐωνημένους· καὶ λύει τὸ αἷμα καταβαλῶν. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξ ἐκεῖνου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀπαλλάττει καὶ εὐθύνης ἀφίησι καὶ ῥύπου τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποκλύζει." *De vita* IV, 92. The Bible describes the effect of Christ's redemptive work as liberation from enslavement. Christ gave his life as a ransom (Matt. 20:28, Mark 10:45). With his own blood he redeemed men (Heb. 9:12, 1 Cor. 6:20, Rom. 3:25) from subordination of sin (Eph. 1:7, Col. 1:14). Along with these Biblical themes, two different lines of patristic theology of sacrifice converge in Cabasilas' thinking. On the one hand, he identifies with e.g. Basil the Great's conception of Christ's sacrifice as a ransom paid to Satan for the liberation of mankind. On the other hand, the sacrifice is also compensation to God the Father: a reconciliation of man with God, not God's reckoning with Satan. This line of thought is represented by Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus. Kelly 1958, 380-385; Russell, J. 1981, 192-193. See also Greenfield 1988, 61-64.

¹² "Τὸ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην μὴ εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον εἶναι θυσίας, ἀλλὰ θυσίαν ἀληθινήν, τὸ μὴ ἄρτον εἶναι τὸ τεθυμένον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ Ἄμωδ τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσίαν καὶ ἀπαξ γεγεννημένην." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 10.

To begin with the uniqueness of the sacrifice, the Eucharistic actualisation of the sacrifice does not mean that the resurrected body of Christ is sacrificed anew. Quite the contrary, Cabasilas finds it impossible to accept the idea of the Son of God's suffering again.¹³ He thus refutes the idea of repetition of the sacrifice. It is one and unique. This conviction is actually stated in the text of the Byzantine liturgy of St. John of Chrysostom by a description of Christ in the Eucharist as "broken and distributed; broken but not divided. He is forever eaten yet is never consumed [- -]."¹⁴

In the midst of his explanation of the Eucharistic mystery Cabasilas bursts into prayer which expresses his fundamental beliefs: the Eucharist is grounded on Christ's redemptive work and his command – there is nothing man can add to it.

We offer to you the same offering which your Only-begotten himself offered to you, God and Father; and we give thanks to you in offering it since he also gave thanks to you. To this offering of gifts we bring nothing of ours; for they are not of our work but yours, you creator of all. The form of worship is not either our own invention; we had not even conceived it, nor brought to it by ourselves, but you yourself taught us, you advised us through your Only-begotten. For this reason, our offering to you of the things you have given us, is yours in all things and through all things.¹⁵

The very last words in this paragraph adapt the liturgical proclamation concerning the inclusiveness of the sacrifice: "Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα."¹⁶ Since the theme of unrepeatability of the sacrifice is also witnessed to by liturgical phrasing, Cabasilas evidently intends to affirm his insights by referring to the very wordings and themes of the prayers of the liturgy itself. This kind of grounding of argumentation is well suited to the previous establishment of Cabasilas' method of interpretation as an exegesis of the text of the rite.

How, then, does Christ's one and unrepeated sacrifice become present in the Eucharistic synaxis? Cabasilas contemplates the becoming-present of the sacrifice on two levels. He firstly speaks of a transition of the non-sacrificed becoming sacrifice through an act of offering. Non-sacrificed bread "transforms into something which is sacrificed" (μεταβάλλει τότε εἰς τὸ τεθυμένον). He compares this transition with a sheep becoming

¹³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 4. Cabasilas identifies with the Eastern Christian position of the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice. Cabasilas still speculates, probably in a sarcastic tone, with the thought of the re-crucifixion of Christ. He points out that even if Christ could suffer again, it would be hard to find volunteers who would crucify him. Besides, it would be very difficult to perform everything in an exact similitude with the Gospel descriptions of Christ's passion.

¹⁴ "Μελίζεται καὶ διαμερίζεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ μελιζόμενος καὶ μὴ διαιρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος καὶ μηδέποτε δαπανώμενος ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἀγιάζων." Brightman 1896, 393.

¹⁵ "Αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν προσφορὰν προσάγομεν, ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Μονογενὴς ἀνέδειξέ σοι, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν προσάγοντες, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναδεικνύς αὐτὴν ἠγαρίσκει. Διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν εἰσάγομεν εἰς ταύτην τὴν δωροφορίαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔργα ἡμῶν τὰ δῶρα ἀλλὰ σοῦ τοῦ πάντων δημιουργοῦ, οὔτε ἡμετέρα ἐπίνοια τῆς λατρείας οὗτος ὁ τύπος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προεθυμήθημεν οὐδ' οἴκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκινήθημεν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξας, αὐτὸς προετρέψω διὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς. Τούτου χάριν ἃ προσφέρομέν σοι ἐκ τῶν σῶν ὧν ἡμῖν ἔδωκας, σὰ ἐστὶ κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 27.

¹⁶ Brightman 1896, 329, 386.

similarly a sacrifice through an act of offering.¹⁷ This kind of transformation can be designated as *change in function*. It indicates that an act of offering creates a transition from one category of meaning or significance to another. Simply put, something which is not sacrificed becomes a sacrifice. Yet, even though it is bread that is in the Eucharist brought for offering, it is not ordinary bread that is actually offered. If that were the case, Cabasilas rationalizes, the bread would still be bread after the act of offering (just as the offered sheep remains sheep).¹⁸ This would contradict Cabasilas' definition of the central act of the liturgy: transformation of the gifts into Christ's true body and blood.

Recognition of change in function is not for Cabasilas a sufficient enough proof to explain the similitude of the Eucharistic offering of the bread to Christ's unique sacrifice on the cross. For them to be as one, he provides another kind of change on the level which unites Christ's sacrifice with its Eucharistic analogue. As a result, at the moment of offering the Eucharistic elements really change (μεταβάλλω) into the sacrificed body and blood of Christ.¹⁹ This second level of change can be defined as *concrete change*. When it takes place, the offered bread and wine no longer remain mere bread and wine but have truly become the sacrificed Lamb of God.

The concept of the presence of God is at the cutting edge when one begins to discuss Cabasilas' account of the transformation of the bread and wine. He openly attests that unlike the other liturgical elements, the Eucharistic sacrifice is not a figurative or symbolic act. On the contrary, the Eucharistic sacrifice is truly what it stands for ([- -] μη τύπος ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα θυσίας).²⁰ It consists of sacrificing Christ's body, immolation of the Lamb of God.²¹ Consequently, the Eucharistic miracle is a real event, not a portrayal of the historical sacrifice.²²

¹⁷ "Τίς γάρ ἢ τοῦ προβάτου θυσία, ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἐσφαγμένου πάντως εἰς τὸ ἐσφαγμένον μεταβολή, τοῦτο καὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνεται. Ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος ἄθυτος ὦν μεταβάλλει τότε εἰς τὸ τεθυμένον. [- -] Ὅθεν καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προβάτου ἡ μεταβολὴ θυσίαν ἀληθῶς ἐργάζεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην θυσία τὸ τελούμενον ἀληθές." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 12.

¹⁸ "Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄρτος μένων ἐγένετο τεθυμένος, ὁ ἄρτος ἂν ἦν ὁ δεξιόμενος τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ ἦν ἂν ἡ σφαγὴ τότε ἄρτου θυσία." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 13.

¹⁹ "Ἡ θυσία οὔτε πρὸ τοῦ ἁγιασθῆναι τὸν ἄρτον οὔτε μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι τελεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγιάζεσθαι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 8; "[- -] μεταβάλλει γὰρ οὐκ εἰς τύπον, ἀλλ' εἰς πρᾶγμα σφαγῆς, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα Κυρίου τὸ τεθυμένον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 12. In the anaphora of St. Basil, the bread and wine are referred to as memorials of the redemptive passion of Christ: "κατέλιπεν δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους ταῦτα ἃ προτεθείκαμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὰς." Brightman 1896, 327. Mantovanis states that the sacrificial language reveals Cabasilas' conviction of real presence of Christ. Mantovanis 1984, 199.

²⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 11. "Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ τύπος θυσίας οὐδὲ αἵματος εἰκὼν, ἀλλὰ ἀληθῶς σφαγὴ καὶ θυσία [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 2. Wybrew points out that unlike many of his predecessors Cabasilas pays special attention to the anaphora and the consecration. According to Wybrew, the earlier commentators either tended to pass over these parts or reduced them to the symbolic level with the rest of the service. Wybrew 1990, 160.

²¹ "Ἐπειτα οὐ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον ἄρτον ἰδεῖν σφαττόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν αἰρόντα τῇ σφαγῇ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 3. Mantovanis designates Cabasilas' understanding of the consecration of the gifts as "real representation of the Divine Dispensation", different from symbolic representations. Mantovanis 1984, x.

²² Even though Cabasilas does not refer to the Palamite controversy, he is close to Palamas in his understanding of the relation between symbol and the reality typified by it. At the same time he is far from Byzantine humanism, represented by Nicephoros Gregoras and other anti-Palamites who conceived the Eucharist as a symbol. In keeping with the heritage of classical philosophy, they interpreted a symbol in connection with a closed or static cosmos. Consequently, the Eucharist as a

Conviction of Christ's somatic real presence in the sacrament is explicit in Cabasilas' manner of explaining the change. His insistence on realism emphasizes that it is Christ's body, not the bread, which is sacrificed. Cabasilas still specifies that the Eucharistic offering is not constituted of a blood-streaked slaughtering of Christ, but of bread changing into the once-offered Lamb. The unique sacrifice on the cross is then both a foundation for the Eucharistic offering of the bread, and the contents of it. In other words, even though the one sacrifice on the cross is in the liturgy offered again and again, the actuality of the Eucharistic sacrifice is always identical with the sacrifice on Golgotha.²³ Cabasilas states: "Therefore, this sacrifice is not that of the bread, but of the substance of body of Christ under the appearance of bread; not the sacrifice of the bread but the Lamb of God, as it is called ([- -] διὰ τοῦτο ἡ σφαγή ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ θεωρουμένη τῷ σώματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ τοῦ ἄρτου ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἄμνου τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσία καὶ ἔστι καὶ λέγεται)."²⁴ To sum up, the unique sacrifice of Christ becomes present in the Eucharist and its fruits participable through the change of the bread into the Lamb of God.²⁵

symbol was not capable of being a mediator or link with concrete historical events and realities. It remained as a symbol which nevertheless could benefit intellectual striving from the created order towards noetic reality. Palamas, however, committed himself to a different approach. He maintained that historical theophanies such as the incarnation form the bases of symbols, thus they are realistic in nature. Just like Cabasilas he situates symbols within a christocentric economical reality. The thing typified in and through the symbol is then truly present with the symbol in question. This is the only way for symbols to exist: by being connected with the reality manifested in them. Meyendorff, J. 1964, 185-187; 196-197.

²³ "Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ θυσία αὐτὴ γίνεται, οὐ σφαττομένου τῆνικαὶ τοῦ Ἄμνου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄρτου μεταβαλλομένου εἰς τὸν σφαγέντα Ἄμνον, πρόδηλον ὡς ἡ μὲν μεταβολὴ γίνεται, ἡ δὲ σφαγὴ οὐ γίνεται τότε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ μεταβαλλόμενον πολλὰ καὶ ἡ μεταβολὴ πολλάκις· τὸ δὲ εἰς ὃ μεταβάλλεται, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι, καθάπερ σῶμα ἐν οὕτω καὶ σφαγὴν τοῦ σώματος μίαν." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 15; "Μεταβάλλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρτου μὴ ἐσφαμγμένου [sic!] εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ σφαγὲν ἀληθῶς." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 12. Here Cabasilas seemingly follows John Chrysostom. See *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos* XXVII, 5. PG 63, 189-192. The interconnectedness between Golgotha and Eucharist is summed up by Grgurevich: "The sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ has two aspects: first, that of Golgotha and second, the eucharistic. Both aspects, that of Golgotha, the cross, and the Eucharistic, the bloodless, viewed in their essence, are actually one and the same." Grgurevich 1993, 63. According to Craig's (1957, 21) observation, the Eucharist is not for Cabasilas a repetition of Golgotha, but representation of and participation in the sacrifice. This is made possible by the standing, everlasting status of Christ's sacrifice.

²⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 14. See also *Περὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τελομένου* 9.

²⁵ On the sacrificial motif in Eastern Christian doctrine of the Eucharist see Gouillard 1967, 26. Cabasilas' views on the sacrifice were accepted in the Council of Trent, which discovered that the Eucharistic celebration is both a commemoration and representation of Christ's sacrifice (eucharistiam in missa esse similitudinem, exemplar, imaginem, repraesentationem et commemorationem mortis Christi). Yet, the Eucharistic sacrifice is not the same as the historical offering of Christ (Repraesentatio sacrificii non tollit veritatem sacrificii, sicut commemoratio coenae dominicae non tollit veritatem coenae nostrae ex Christi praecepto; alias enim non veram, sed imaginariam coenam faceremus). Still, as Cabasilas (in line with the Fathers) shows, the Eucharist nevertheless is true sacrificing of Christ: "Idipsum patres admonent; nam Cabasila, intrepres liturgiae Graecorum, c. 32 ita ait: 'Quod est de sacrificio, his verbis necesse est omnia, quae de eo creduntur et figuram sacrificii, sed verum sacrificium; non edde panem id, quod sacrificatur, sed ipsum corpus Christi.' Haec ille." *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 447. The citation is taken from *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 10.

The transformation of a non-sacrificed bread, firstly, into one that is sacrificed, and, secondly, into the sacrificed body of the Lamb of God, occurs as one coherent event. This can be concluded from Cabasilas' designation of the transformative event taking place in a dual manner.²⁶ There are thus two distinct implications attached to the sacrifice in this model of change. Change in the function – from non-sacrificed bread to sacrificed bread – could be designated as προσφορά, bringing forth of the offering. As προσφορά the bread does not become something else in its substance, yet there is a specific meaning of sacrifice attached to it. The bread is then dedicated to God but remains bread substantially. Based on Cabasilas' reading of the bread's symbolic function at the proskomide, it can be concluded that the Lamb becomes to some extent πρόσφορα already in the preparatory phase of the Eucharistic liturgy.

Christ's immolation and sacrifice on the cross, for its part, was and is θυσία, a real sacrifice. When the aspects of προσφορά and θυσία merge during the Eucharistic liturgy, the sacrifice on Golgotha is actualised and the Eucharistic elements are transformed (μεταβολή) into the body and blood of Christ. Change in meaning is then accompanied with concrete change. Bread becomes body, wine becomes blood. This dual or double change of unsacrificed elements into the body and blood of Christ can be illustrated as follows:

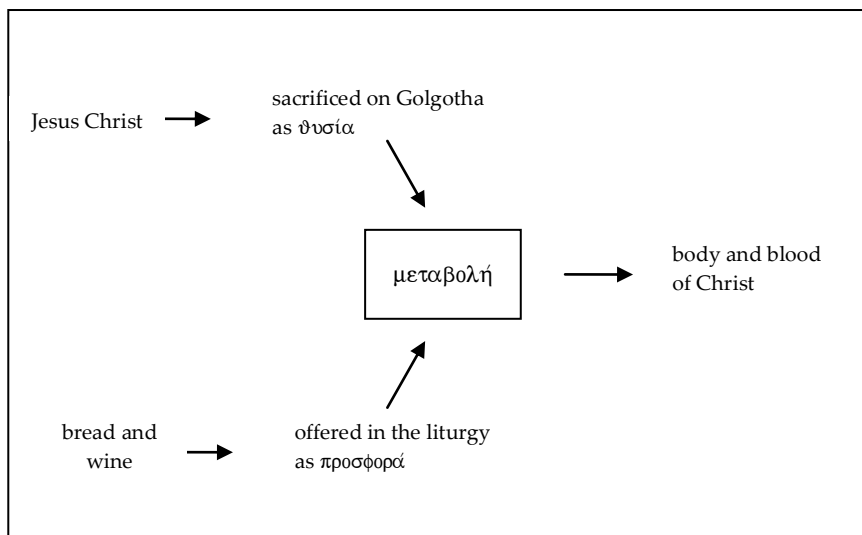


FIGURE 3: Cabasilas' model of dual change

²⁶ "Ἐπει δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μετεβλήθη καὶ ἄθυτον καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ γέγονεν ἀντι μὲν ἀθύτου τεθυμένος, ἀντι δὲ ἄρτου σῶμα Χριστοῦ [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 14. What is called in this study a dual change is a feature also emphasized by Mantovanis, who maintains that Cabasilas' conceptualization of the change "safeguards the sacrificial character of the Eucharist as well as the uniqueness of the sacrifice of Christ." Mantovanis 1984, 258.

As a consequence of this dual change the bread and the wine turn into the body and blood of Christ. Thus, the highpoint of the liturgy is attained. In Cabasilas' interpretation of the rite the transition of the focus from description of liturgical action to conceptual analysis of the sacrifice speaks to the effects of the dual change. The previous chapter demonstrated how liturgical symbolism moves to the side when sacramental realism in the heart of the liturgy is approached. In other words, liturgical actions – gestures, motion, hymns and proclamations – are an anamnesis of the reality which becomes truly present through actualisation of Christ's sacrifice. This kind of alteration can be described as a transition from an image into the reality of the archetype. Hence, there is a clear distinction to be seen between Cabasilas' understanding of Christ's presence through liturgical representation and his real somatic presence in the sacrament.²⁷

Cabasilas' conception of Christ becoming really present in the sacrament through conversion of the elements lends support to interpretation of the creed as the divider between a symbolic and a realistic reading. Prior to the consecration the symbols depict events that call to mind Christ's life on earth. All of this aims to pave the way for meeting him and truly receiving him in the sacrament. After the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ, the previously-symbolised reality is really present. Even though Cabasilas describes the consecration as a depiction of the Saviour's passion and resurrection, it is obvious that the consecration as a symbol does not refer to anything outside of itself or to something in the future. Rather, the symbolic connotation of the consecration – which for Cabasilas seems to be a truly miraculous conversion of bread into the body of Christ – strongly indicates that the symbolised reality is then perceived truly to be one with the symbol. The conversion of the elements is thus a real symbol which points out and refers to itself, that is, to the real and true presence of the suffering and resurrected body of Christ. Through the dual change the body and blood of Christ are on the altar table. This kind of realistic reading of the change is a clarifying factor in Cabasilas' theology of the Eucharist. It shows that sacramental realism permeates the layer of liturgical symbolism. Proclaiming the creed marks the point when symbolism becomes thinner and sacramental realism comes forward.²⁸ The interdependence between

²⁷ The margin between liturgical symbolism and the realistic presence of Christ is contemplated by Wybrew, who points out that Cabasilas' interpretation of the anaphora is theological and non-symbolic. Wybrew 1990, 163. Schulz crystallizes the difference between symbolic and real presence in Cabasilas' thought as follows: "Die Leben-Jesu-Symbolik der Liturgie gipfelt also bei Nikolaos eindeutig in der sakramentalen Anamnesis des Todes Christi bei der Konsekration. Die Sonderstellung des eigentlichen Opfers, die Nikolaos schon im ersten Staz seines Kommentars betonte, wird keinen Augenblick außer acht gelassen. Eben diese eindeutige theologische Akzentuierung ließen die übrigen Liturgiekommentare seit Germanos vermissen." Schulz 1964, 205.

²⁸ Schmemmann's demand for liturgical renewal is partially directed precisely at the turning point between symbolism and realism – so evident in Cabasilas' construction. Due to this transition, the symbolic prologue turns into an illustration of Christ' presence. This is seen by Schmemmann (1990b, 103-104) as a thread for a true Eucharistic vision. It may lead to an overly exact definition of the moment of the change and the manner of it as well. According to him, the liturgical act should instead to be understood as a whole, the fundamental thing being the ecclesial dimension of it. Even though it is precisely Cabasilas that Schmemmann takes as an example of a thinker who promotes the transition from symbolism to realism, Cabasilas restrains him from speculative analysis of the moment and manner of the change. When he deals with these issues, he mostly is satisfied with the answers provided by the tradition. Besides, Schmemmann's claim of a sudden appearance of realism seems not very convincing when it comes to Cabasilas. For example, the realistic approach was set

sacrifice and consecration, as spelled out by Cabasilas in his theory of dual or double change, has been considered by some to be no less than his most remarkable contribution to Byzantine theology.²⁹

Now that it has been seen that Cabasilas keeps to a realistic understanding of the conversion of the Eucharistic elements, it can still be asked: how does the Eucharistic sacrifice, made really present in the consecration, eventually differ from its symbolic depictions? Cabasilas' insistence on the realism of the Eucharistic sacrifice is seen when his understanding of the sacrificial symbolism (in the *proskomide*) is compared with the true Eucharistic offering of Christ (during the *anaphora*). His reading of the liturgy indicates that the Eucharistic elements are offered twice, in a manner of speaking, during the liturgy. The first offering takes place at the *proskomide* as an "anticipated sacrifice".³⁰ At that point the bread and wine are, nevertheless, mere symbols. Their function is to be symbolic references to the body and blood of Christ, whose presence is actualised when the sacrifice becomes a manifested reality through the consecration. Cabasilas suggests that at the *proskomide* the bread and wine are used to demonstrate what the sacrifice is and will be about. The second and actual offering takes place when Christ, not the bread and wine, is immolated as the true sacrifice ('Επει γὰρ διττῆ ἡ προσαγωγῆ, ἡ μὲν ὡς δώρων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἀπλῶς, [- -] ἡ δὲ ὡς θυσίας).³¹

A comparison of symbolic and true sacrifice in relation to the *proskomide* demonstrates that sacrifice is established by Cabasilas as the dominant theme for an overall understanding of the Eucharistic rite from its very beginning. Despite the difference in the nature of sacrificial realism between the offerings at the *proskomide* and the *anaphora*, there still is an element that provides interconnectedness. At the

forth already by Cabasilas in his analysis of the function of the holy table. Cabasilas' construction, therefore, rather suggests that realism is both the starting point and the aim for liturgical action. As a result, symbolism and realism are within each other. Cabasilas' thought should therefore rather be approached from the perspective of reciprocity than that of transition. The function of the symbolism is then to make references to and lead towards a growing awareness of realism, manifested in different levels of presence. Consequently, realism is not opposed to symbolism but overlaps with it.

²⁹ Such praise is by Kallistos Ware, who finds it extremely significant that the *act* of transformation is placed by Cabasilas into the very core of Eucharistic sacrifice. Thus, Ware concludes, at the moment of consecration the bread is not sacrificed but rather transformed into the body of Christ. Ware finds this essential to Eucharistic sacrifice, which he designates by interpreting Cabasilas' idea of transformation a "rite of passage". Ware 2005, 149. Significance of Cabasilas' teaching on the sacrifice is also emphasised by Mantovanis. He maintains that Cabasilas expanded the patristic concept of the sacrifice and developed the subject significantly. There are three focal aspects, according to Mantovanis, in Cabasilas' theology of sacrifice: 1) the Eucharist is not just a reminder or an image of the sacrifice on the cross, 2) Eucharistic sacrifice is not a new sacrifice, 3) Eucharistic sacrifice consists of the consecration which truly transforms the bread and wine into the truly crucified body and blood of Christ. Mantovanis 1984, 239.

³⁰ Mantovanis 1984, 241.

³¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* L, 3. As Mantovanis puts it, the *proskomide* is not a sacrifice itself but an anticipation of it. Mantovanis 1984, vii. The margin made by Cabasilas' is in line with John of Damascus' remark that even though the bread and wine occasionally are designated as the *antitypa* of Lord's body and blood (ἀντίτυπα τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου), this can be done only before the consecration (πρὶν ἁγιασθῆναι). *Expositio fidei* 86, 163-166. Thus, there is a difference in the manner of how the symbols of Christ's body and blood – the bread and the wine – are to be understood in connection with the reality of his being and presence in them. On the patristic use of ἀντίτυπον in Eucharistic context see Getcha 2007b, 5-6.

proskomide the priest, so to speak, “acts out” the sacrifice. By the time of the anaphora the play is over and the sacrifice becomes present in reality through influence of the invisible divine grace.³² Thus, the above distinction between a sacrifice as προσφορά and a sacrifice as θυσία becomes clear here. The former involves a transition of category, the latter a change as an actual fact. Since Christ’s sacrifice is a unique one, it is actualised invisibly without any assistance from man. Adapting one of the prayers of the rite, Cabasilas therefore characterises the Eucharist as a worship of the intellect (λογικὴ λατρεία).³³ Reference to intellectual worship indicates that even though God’s outreach is revealed within the creation ontologically (in the bread and wine of the Eucharist), Cabasilas yet maintains that unattainability of the divine essence remains out of reach. Man can approach it only through λογικὴ λατρεία.

Now that Cabasilas’ basic beliefs about the actualisation of Christ’s sacrifice have become evident, we can take a look at the three Latin scholars. The actualisation of the sacrifice and understanding of its uniqueness are themes that Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas deal with as well.

Hugh’s statement on Christ’s sacrifice as the primary substance of the Eucharist and other sacraments alone indicates that the Eucharist is identified with the sacrifice on Golgotha in the Latin tradition as well as the Greek.³⁴ Hugh specifies that Christ’ body and blood, eaten under the form of bread and wine, are called a true sacrifice (*Eucharistia hostis sacra divinissima vocatur*). The true sacrifice and victim, which affects the grace of the sacrament, is hidden under the outward form of the Eucharist.³⁵

³² Koumarios has also detected the close connection between the proskomide and anaphora in Cabasilas’ interpretation of the sacrifice. Koumarios (2000, 22) understands the proskomide as a synonym for the offering (prosfora). In patristic writings the proskomide is nevertheless also used as a byword for the anaphora. Koumarios writes: “*Proskomide* refers to the Anaphora, and has nothing to do with the preparation of the Precious Gifts before the Liturgy.” Thus, he suggests that instead of the proskomide, the term “preparation” should rather be used to designate the first phase of the liturgy. He argues that the proskomide refers to already offered elements, not to their preparation for that offering.

³³ “Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας προσαγωγῆς οὐδὲν φαίνεται ποιῶν· ἀλλὰ γίνεται μὲν ἡ προσφορά, γίνεται δὲ ἀοράτως. Τὴν γὰρ θυσίαν ἀφανῶς ἡ χάρις ἐργάζεται διὰ τῶν τελεστικῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ ἱερέως. Οὐκοῦν ἔδει λόγων τῶν κηρυττόντων τὴν μὴ φαινομένην προσαγωγὴν.” *Sacrae liturgiae* L, 8; “[- -] τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβολὴν τῶν δώρων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου δύναμιν οὖσαν ἐργάζεται μὲν ἡ χάρις· εὐχεται δὲ μόνον ὁ ἱερεὺς. Ὅθεν εἰ καὶ ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ πρᾶγμα ἀληθῶς ἡ θυσία, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ λέγων μόνον, εἰκότως οὐ πραγματικὴν ἀλλὰ λογικὴν λατρείαν προσάγειν γησί.” *Sacrae liturgiae* LI, 2-3. In one of the prayers of the liturgy of St. Basil it is petitioned: “[- -] ἵνα γενόμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀνάιμακτον θυσίαν [- -].” Brightman 1896, 319. There is in the prayer an allusion to Paul’s λογικὴ λατρεία in Rom. 12:1, where the apostle designates the concept as deliberate consecration and dedication of one’s life to God.

³⁴ “*Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi unum est ex his in quibus principaliter salus constat, et inter omnia singulare; quia ex ipso omnis sanctificatio est. Haec enim hostia semel pro mundi salute oblata, omnibus praecedentibus et subsequentibus sacramentis virtutem dedit, ut ex illa sanctificarent per illam liberandos omnes.*” *De sacramentis* II, 8, i. PL 176, col. 461D.

³⁵ “*Ipsa autem Eucharistia, id est bona gratia; ipsa scilicet hostis sacra divinissima vocatur; quoniam divinos facit, et participes divinitatis eos qui se digne participant. Et quia ipsa signum est et veritas, in qua vera caro Christi sub specie panis sumitur; et in carne eius digne sumpta, ipsius etiam divinitatis susceptio et participatio et consortium econdonatur; propterea divinissima et sanctissima et sanctificans sanctificantia omnia et sancta.*” *De sacramentis* II, 8, viii. PL 176, col. 467D-468A. The Roman catholic sacrifice motif is summarised by Hardon (1981, 465-466): “The sacrifice on the altar,

Peter Lombard addresses the issue by distinguishing the sacramental offering of Christ in the Mass from the sacrifice in the person of Christ on Golgotha. Yet, he stresses that they are closely interrelated. The commemoration of Christ's unique offering on the cross is for him the justification for designating the consecration in the Mass as a sacrifice (*sacrificium et oblationem*). Along with commemoration, the sacrifice in the Mass can be understood as a becoming-present of the represented sacrifice of Christ on "the altar of the cross", as Lombard calls it. Therefore, what happens on the altar is justly called sacrifice. "Christ has been sacrificed once, and is sacrificed daily; then in one way, now in another", Lombard states.³⁶ Even though he shows that the sacrifice on the cross and the Eucharist are actually one thing, his understanding of the representation of Christ's sacrifice calls for some attention. Apparently Lombard thinks that despite their essential unity the sacramental offering of Christ is somewhat different from the sacrifice on the cross. If this is the case, representation stands for the anamnestic aspect of the Mass, crystallised in the commandment of Christ at the institution of the sacrament. Representation would then reveal the historical and essential uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice: the present moment and the process of making present the sacrifice derive their meaning and content from the reality of a past event.³⁷ In any event, it appears unlikely that Peter Lombard would see the representative nature of the Mass in terms akin to Cabasilas' symbolical construction.

Thomas Aquinas situates the Eucharist at the intersection of past, present and future. The Eucharistic event and reality thus constitute the centre of time and eternity. It becomes *nunc* in which the qualities of different dimensions of time are confronted. The past is present in the Eucharist explicitly as the sacrifice (*sacrificium*), the present as

then, is no mere empty commemoration of Calvary, but a true and proper act of sacrifice, whereby Christ the high priest by an unbloody immolation offers himself a most acceptable victim to the eternal father, as he did on the cross." He further (1981, 466-468) specifies that there are three main points of contact between the Mass and the cross. Firstly, the connection is manifested through representation of the sacrifice. This is the grounds for offering Christ to his Father in the Mass. The essence of the sacrifice in the Mass is one with the sacrifice on the cross. Secondly, there is an element of commemoration or anamnesis, which makes the sacrificed and resurrected Christ present in the Mass. Finally, Hardon argues that in the Mass the blessings of the one sacrifice on Golgotha are truly partaken of.

³⁶ " Ad hoc breviter dici potest illud quod offertur et consecratur a sacerdote vocari sacrificium et oblationem, quia memoria est et representatio sacrificii veri et sanctae immolationis factae in ara crucis. Et semel Christus mortuus est, in cruce scilicet, ibique immolatus est in semetipso; quotidie autem immolatur in sacramento, quia in sacramento recordatio fit illius quod factum est semel. [- -] Ex his colligitur sacrificium esse et dici, quod agitur in altari; et Christum semel oblatum, et quotidie offerri; sed aliter tunc, aliter nunc." Peter thus intends to clarify by what means the Eucharistic sacrifice can be considered true sacrifice (*sacrificio vel immolatio*). *Sententiae*, Liber IV, 12, V, i, iv. Smolarski (1982, 72) points out that whatever is offered to the Father, it has to be in contact with Christ's sacrifice. When talking about the "altar of the cross", Smolarski connects the sacrifice on the cross and in the Mass terminologically in a similar manner to Peter Lombard. Yet, Smolarski deviates from Lombard in his stress that, alongside Christ's sacrifice, it is important that the faithful give themselves to God as sacrifice as well.

³⁷ The difference between the historical and sacramental sacrifice is well articulated by Macquarrie (1966, 476). He maintains that the thought of a literal repetition of the sacrifice makes no sense at all. The Eucharist rather consists of a making-present of the sacrifice on Golgotha in a manner which in an actual historicity differs from the original sacrifice but, nevertheless, brings forth the sacrifice as a saving act.

ecclesial communion and gathering (*communio, synaxis*), and the future as making for the eternal joy and fulfilment (*viaticum*).³⁸ In addition, Aquinas draws a sharp conceptual distinction between the concepts of *sacrificium* and *hostia*. The former refers to the anamnesis, representation of the sacrifice in the mass. Thus, the *sacrificium* dimension fastens the Eucharist onto the historical uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice. *Hostia*, for its part, expresses the real nature of the Eucharist, the presence of Christ in the bread and wine.³⁹ Hence, the Eucharist seen as *hostia* highlights the reality of the sacrificial aspect of the Mass, and the reality of Christ's presence in the sacrament as well. Aquinas expands on his understanding of Eucharistic realism by stating that, compared with other physical sacraments, the sanctity of the Eucharist is absolute since Christ is concretely present in it.⁴⁰ This realistic physicality is further accentuated in Aquinas' description of Christ's bodily presence in the sacraments extending to bones, nerves and all. Thus, for Aquinas the concept of "body" (*corpus*) stands in the Eucharistic context for the full physical existence of Christ.⁴¹

³⁸ "Dicendum quod hoc sacramentum habet triplicem significationem. Unam quidem respectu praeteriti: inquantum scilicet est commemorativum Dominicae passionis [- -]. Aliam autem significationem habet respectu rei praesentis, scilicet ecclesiasticae unitatis, cui homines congregantur per hoc sacramentum. Et secundum hoc nominatur 'communio' vel 'synaxis' [- -]. Tertiam significationem habet respectu futuri: inquantum scilicet hoc sacramentum est praefigurativum fruitionis Dei, quae erit in patria. Et secundum hoc dicitur 'viaticum', quia hoc praebet nobis viam illuc perveniendi." *STh* 3a. 74, 1, res. Aquinas sees the passion of Christ as the ultimate point of reference for the past, present and future fulfillment alike. *STh* 3a. 60, 3, res.

³⁹ "[- -] hoc sacramentum dicitur 'sacrificium', inquantum repraesentat ipsam passionem Christi. Dicitur autem 'hostia', inquantum continet ipsum Christum, qui est Hostia suavitatis, ut dicitur Ephes." *STh* 3a. 73, 4, ad. 3. Cf. Eph. 5:2, where Paul characterises Christ as "fragrant offering and sacrifice." Buxton (1976, 42) asserts that in Aquinas' thought the uniqueness of the sacrifice on the cross cannot be questioned. Buxton points to a speculation of Aquinas on the question whether Christ would have died in the first place if some of the apostles had kept a portion of his body from the Last Supper, or if the Eucharist would have been celebrated at the exact hour of his death on the cross (cf. *STh* 3a. 81, 4). Aquinas' answer, that Christ would have died in the sacrament as well, indicates, according to Buxton, that the Eucharist and the sacrifice on the cross are inseparable. Even though Aquinas does not directly say so, Buxton surmises that Aquinas considers actual and factual immolation and slaying of Christ in the sacrament as impossible.

⁴⁰ "Haec est autem differentia inter Eucharistiam et alia sacramenta habentia materiam sensibilem: quod Eucharistia continet aliquid sacrum absolute, scilicet ipsum Christum; aqua vero baptismi continet aliquid sacrum in ordine ad aliud, scilicet virtutem ad sanctificandum; et eadem ratio est de chrismate et similibus." *STh* 3a. 73, 1, ad. 3. Aquinas passes judgement on those – calling them heretics – who deny the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist and maintain that the Eucharist is but a sign of his presence. *Contra gentiles* 62, 1. See also *STh* 3a. 75, 3, ad 2.

⁴¹ "[- -] ex vi sacramenti sub hoc sacramento continetur, quantum ad species panis, non solum caro, sed totum corpus Christi, id est ossa et nervi et alia huiusmodi. Et hoc apparet ex forma huius sacramenti, in qua non dicitur, 'Haec est caro mea', sed 'Hoc est corpus meum'." *STh* 3a. 76, 1, ad. 2. Aquinas specifies that the word flesh (*caro*) is in the New Testament used as a replacement for 'body'. When eating Christ's flesh is mentioned, even then it is his body that is intended. It simply is more natural for men to speak of eating flesh than body (e.g. John 6:54-56). He also observes that it is not only the corporeality of the body of Christ which is present in the sacrament in its entirety, but his soul is there as well. *Contra gentiles* 64, 2. In addition, Aquinas discusses the concrete presence of Christ's body in connection with the question of Christ's coexistent multipresence on various altars. According to Aquinas, the sacramental presence in the Eucharist is not locally restricted, despite its concreteness. Christ is really present in a special manner, worthy of the holiness of the sacrament. Aquinas refers to Aristotle's definition of the requirements of space equaling the size of an object, if the object is at a certain location (*Physics* IV, 4. 210b35-211c3). Since Aristotle's implication suggests

Hugh, Lombard and Aquinas all commit themselves to a realistic understanding of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Lombard and Aquinas explicitly spell out the Eucharist as an event of interrelation between the past sacrificial offering of Christ on the cross and the present actualisation of that very sacrifice. This makes the Latin authors equivalent to Cabasilas when it comes to explanation of the unique sacrifice's re-enactment in the liturgy. Yet, the Latin authors are interested in a more accurate definition of the manner of presence than Cabasilas, who rather restricts himself to a liturgical approach.

4.2. TRANSFORMATION OF THE EUCHARISTIC ELEMENTS

The next question that requires further examination is, how does Cabasilas understand Christ to be really and actually in the sacrament if only bread and wine are perceived in it? To put it in other words, there is a need to ascertain how he explains the presence of Christ becoming an objective actuality in the subjective human reality. Since Cabasilas does not explicitly set forth any accurate theory for or justification of his understanding of how the object of symbolic depictions and references of the liturgy becomes truly present on the altar table, an analysis of his understanding of transformation must be made by reconstruction of somewhat disconnected references to the theme.

To begin with, an analysis of Cabasilas' terminology provides some initial information. As a rule, Cabasilas adheres to the verb μεταβάλλω, to change, and its derivative substantive μεταβολή, a change, throughout his main works when designating the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.⁴² Usage of the verb μεταβάλλω can be considered natural for Cabasilas as a Byzantine theologian since it is the term used also in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom when the transformation of the gifts is begged of the Father. Besides, it is this precise terminology that is customarily used within the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Since these words are

that location can be (at least conceptually) differentiated from a thing or an object, and since Christ is substantially present in the Eucharist, his body must become localized in the dimensions of the bread. Further, the dimensions of his own body are also present in the sacrament to the extent of its substance. This is, however, no longer in line with Aristotle's definition of becoming localized. Therefore, Christ's presence on the altar does not fall into the category of local presence. Additionally, there is nothing to prevent the simultaneity of his continuous presence on the right hand of the Father and upon multiple altars. *Contra gentiles* 64, 5; *STh* 3a. 76, 5; *STh* 3a. 75, 1. Cf. Barden 1965c, 212-213. Evdokimov (2001, 255) distinguishes two manners of presence of Christ: historical and liturgical. Christ's historical, earthly presence came to an end at the ascension of Christ. After that, only liturgical presence in the sacrament is possible. Evdokimov specifies: "Thus the eucharistic gifts are not the localizing of an extra-eucharistic presence. Their full reality is exactly limited to the eucharistic consumption in which Christ offers himself mysteriously but also most really [- -]."

⁴² In addition to μεταβολή and μεταβάλλω, Cabasilas also frequently makes use of the forms μεταβληθῆναι and μεταβληθῶσι (the one who changes), and μεταβαλλόμενον (the changed). See also Mantovanis 1984, 197-198. The index of Greek terms of SC edition of *Sacrae liturgiae* (1967, 391) lists 15 paragraphs in which μεταβάλλω appears. Μεταβολή appears in 9 paragraphs. In *De vita* such terminology is not used. This may result from the fact that in *De vita* Cabasilas deals with the reality of Eucharistic life as spiritual experience, not with sacramental actualisation of the body and blood of Christ in the liturgy.

mainly expressions of the event itself, descriptions of something taking place, Cabasilas' deeper understanding of the nature or manner of the transformation is not revealed by these words themselves. Rather, they simply establish his grounding in traditional Eastern terminology.⁴³

In order to understand his thinking more accurately, another concept may prove to be more useful. The participle ὑποκείμενον is adapted by Cabasilas in delineating the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, as an expression of the location of that presence in the elements. Cabasilas attests that the ὑποκείμενον of Christ's body can be detected beneath the appearance of the bread (ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ θεωρουμένη τῷ σώματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ τοῦ ἄρτου).⁴⁴ In patristic literature the word ὑποκείμενον appears as a synonym for ὑπόστασις, the point of reference then being 'the principle of being', 'the truly existent'.⁴⁵ If Cabasilas is to be linked with this conceptual tradition, the body of Christ could then be described as the essence or substance of the Eucharist, the constitutive component of the sacrament. As a consequence, it is the substance, instead of the bread, which constitutes the truly present matter in the Eucharist. Yet, Cabasilas himself does not in any way specify the detailed meaning of the word he uses. There is only this single phrase with no further interpretation. Since the word appears in the sources only in this one instance, it cannot carry enough weight to serve as a guiding principle in drawing conclusions about Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought. In any event, it gives evidence of his tendency towards rational distinction in expressing the substantial presence of Christ's body in the corporeal element of the bread. Even though using ὑποκείμενον could be taken as evidence in favour of reading Cabasilas from the perspective of substantial change, it needs to be remembered that in classical philosophy there is remarkable conceptual looseness attached to ὑποκείμενον. For example, both Plato and Aristotle use it in a metaphysical context to express the cohesive factor of qualities, the substrate.⁴⁶ Against this background it is, firstly, quite evident that in using the concept ὑποκείμενον Cabasilas commits himself to a realistic understanding of Christ's

⁴³ J. Meyendorff (1974a, 203) and Ware (1963, 290) mention precisely μεταβάλλω as the most traditional term in expressing the transformation in Orthodox theology. Justin Martyr is one of the first to adopt μεταβολή when expressing the change. Cf. Pelikan 1971, 169. There are, however, a number of other Greek terms that have been used in the same intention, such as μεταποιεῖν, μεθιστάναι, μετασκενάξειν, σωματοποιεῖν and μεταστοιχειοῦν. Gass 1849, 140. It is common to all of these terms that none of them intends to lay bare the nature of the change. In this respect they can be regarded as equal to μεταβάλλω. Cf. Gavin 1923, 329. According to Evdokimov (2001, 246), there has been no significant interest among Orthodox theologians in expounding on the manner of change of the Eucharistic elements. It was one of the consequences of the Western Eucharistic disputes that questions of "why" and "how" were asked in relation to the Eucharistic mystery.

⁴⁴ Cf. page 87 above.

⁴⁵ PGL 1961, 1449-1450.

⁴⁶ Liddell & Scott 1889, 843. In the Latin translation of Cabasilas' text used at the Council of Trent, the word *subiectum* is used as equivalent to ὑποκείμενον. The chosen Latin term points out the realism and concreteness of being. However, the translation does not suggest that the change would take place as change of a substance: "Quoniam autem utraque mutata sunt, et insacriticatum et panis, et factum est pro insacriticato quidem sacrificatus, pro pane autem corpus Christi, propterea mactatio illa non in pane, sed tanquam in subiecto quidem considerata corpore Christi, non panis, sed agnus sacrificatus est et dicitur." *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 459 [italics mine]. The forms of the verb used by Cabasilas (μεταβάλλω and μετεβλήθη) in expressing the change have been faithfully translated as *mutatio*, which also does not reveal anything of the believed nature of the change.

presence. Secondly, even though the exact manner of that realism is not clear, there is still some evidence to support a claim of ontological transformation or change of substance. Ultimately, Cabasilas' usage of ὑποκείμενον cannot give definite certitude but it still confirms his realistic approach to the change of elements and presence of Christ in the sacrament as well. A single appearance of ὑποκείμενον, being but an allusion, nevertheless does not contradict any of the previous findings.

Besides the scarce terminological evidence, there are a few passages which shed more light on Cabasilas' thought about the nature of the transformation. In the first of these he explicitly notes that the bread changes into the body of Christ and sacrificed Lamb of God.⁴⁷ In saying this he does not, however, place much emphasis on the substantiality of the change, but his focus is rather on the reality of the becoming-present of Christ: bread becomes the sacrificed body. His attention is thus on the meaning and content of the Eucharist, not on the manner of Christ becoming present.

There is yet a sharp distinction between the content and sensible outward appearance of the Eucharistic elements, seen in two other passages. In these, Cabasilas discusses the theme of presence from a slightly different perspective. First, as a reference to the consecration of the bread, he emphasizes that even "after the prayer" the elements or gifts (τὰ δῶρα) are still on view upon the altar table. At first glance this seems to give evidence for the existence of a distinction between essence and form in Cabasilas' understanding of the sacrament. However, he is apparently not aiming simply to point out that the outward form of the bread remains after the presence of the body becomes manifested. Instead, his focus is actually on the fact of the concreteness of Christ's sacrifice and his presence, manifested in reality in the gifts. Therefore Cabasilas is not so much referring to the outward appearance or the form of the sacrament as to the simple fact that after the mystical transformation there still is something on the altar that can be seen.⁴⁸ In another passage elsewhere Cabasilas warns the faithful away from contempt for the Eucharistic mystery due to its realization in the humble material form of bread and wine.⁴⁹ Here the motive for distinguishing the contents of the Eucharist from its outward form clearly does not seem to be dogmatic or speculative aspiration, but pastoral and spiritual concerns. The distinction is thus based on an affirmation of the holiness of the sacrament.

Can Cabasilas' musings on form and content be interpreted according to the scholastic paradigm of substance and accident? Probably not. He is not extremely analytical when arguing in favour of a realistic understanding of Christ's presence. Since

⁴⁷ "Ἐπει γὰρ ἡ θυσία αὐτὴ γίνεται, οὐ σφαττομένου τηνικαῦτα τοῦ Ἄμνοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄρτου μεταβαλλομένου εἰς τὸν σφαγέντα Ἄμνον, [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 15; "Μεταβάλλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρτου μὴ ἐσφαμμένου [sic] εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ σφαγέν ἄληθῶς." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXII, 12.

⁴⁸ "[- -] ἐπει ὁρῶμεν αὐτὰ [τὰ δῶρα] παρ' ἡμῖν ὄντα ἔτι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν οὐδὲν ἦπτον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 12. The object of the verb ὁράω is rather simply the thing, i.e. the gifts, on the altar, not specifically their form or sensible appearance.

⁴⁹ "Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς [- -] καλεῖ τοὺς μετασχεῖν βουλομένους, καὶ προσιέναι κελεύει «μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως», μῆτε καταφρονούντας διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον, μῆτε ἐνδοιάζοντας διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ λόγον εἶναι τὸ πιστευόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπιγινώσκοντας τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς εἴη ζωῆς αἰτίας αἰωνίου τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσι πιστευόντας προσιέναι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIX, 1; "Ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ μεσίτης, [- -] ὁ μόνος τῶν ψυχῶν ἥλιος νῦν μὲν οὕτω φαινόμενος καὶ μετεχόμενος [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIII, 7.

there is remarkable looseness in his conceptualisations, it might be too strong an interpretation to maintain that he has as sharp a conceptual paradigm as the conventional scholastic opinion conveys.⁵⁰ Cabasilas' cautiousness in conceptualisation is illustrated by his denial of the local transformation of the gifts due to the consecration. He states that the Eucharistic elements remain on the altar even after they are consecrated. In other words, the change is not expressed as a local transformation or as elevation of the bread into heaven.⁵¹ This kind of *reductio ad absurdum* suggests that Cabasilas is not very much interested in speculating on either the nature of the change or the presence of Christ. On the contrary, he seems to be satisfied with securing an understanding of the concrete and even physical presence of Christ in the elements through their change into his body and blood.

In addition, the above warning of despise finds links to the Eastern Christian patristic tradition. Cyril of Jerusalem and Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022), among others, refer to the mystical aspect of the Eucharist when stressing that God is received under the common appearance of bread and wine. Thus, in their thinking the separation of the outward appearance from the actual essence of the sacrament does not rise from an intellectual need for explaining the precise qualities of form and substance. The motive underlying this distinction is to point out the reality of the mystery, not to account for it.⁵² Cabasilas may well be linked with a similar point of view.

The eagerness to protect a realistic understanding of Christ's presence, not an analytical explanation of it, is demonstrated by Cabasilas' treatment of the great entrance. He draws a sharp distinction between the great entrance in the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil, and that of the liturgy of the presanctified gifts, celebrated in the Byzantine tradition during the weekdays of Great Lent. The special characteristic of the liturgy of presanctified gifts is that the Eucharistic elements carried in the great entrance have already been consecrated into the body and blood of Christ.⁵³ This is not the case with an ordinary liturgy, when the great entrance introduces the to-be-consecrated elements. Thus, in the entrance of the liturgy of the presanctified gifts it is

⁵⁰ According to Latin Eucharistic doctrine in the High Middle Ages, the outward manifestation of the sacrament, i.e. the form, was designated by concepts of *sacramentum* and *sacramentum tantum*. The invisible effect and presence of grace in the sacrament, i.e. the content, was referred to as *res sacramenti*. The combination of these two levels was known as *res et sacramentum*. The latter term refers to a sacramental entirety in which the spiritual and material dimensions are one. In a Eucharistic context, *res et sacramentum* refers to the body and blood of Christ which are truly present in the eucharistic bread and wine. Nocke 1992, 198-199, 203; Ott 1952, 394. Barden (1965a, 197) gives a three-piece definition of a sacrament: 1) *sacramentum tantum*, i.e. sensible operation or visible element, 2) *res et sacramentum*, i.e. hidden reality referred by sensible outward form, and 3) *res tantum*, i.e. the ultimate reality of a sacrament, referred and signified by *res et sacramentum*. On Aristotle's impact on Mediaeval and Byzantine theology see Bradshaw 2004; Hauschild 1995, 590-596.

⁵¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 3-5. Cabasilas criticizes the idea of local elevation when seeking to present the proper understanding of the prayer *Supplices te rogamus* of the Latin mass. See Chapter 4.3.2 for a detailed examination of this theme.

⁵² Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogica* IV, 9; Symeon the New Theologian, *Discours Éthique* III, 456-524. *Traité théologiques et éthiques* I. 1966, 422-426.

⁵³ The consecration of the elements has taken place during the liturgy of the previous Sunday. Thus, the entrance is made with presanctified gifts, as the name of the celebration openly indicates. On the liturgy of the presanctified gifts see Grisbrooke 1986c; Schmemmann 1969, 55-62.

not bread and wine that are carried but the very body and blood of Christ. Cabasilas specifies that in the ordinary liturgy the bread and wine have not yet been transformed into the Eucharist at the time of the entrance. As a consequence, Christ is not then truly present in the elements (Αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἄθυστα ἔχει τὰ δῶρα καὶ οὕτω τετελεσμένα, ἐκείνη δὲ τέλεια, καὶ ἡγιασμένα, καὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ). Cabasilas concludes by stating that the faithful err if they receive and greet the elements in the ordinary great entrance as if Christ himself were present in them.⁵⁴

The distinction between the great entrances in two different liturgical circumstances exemplifies the divergence between the manner of God's presence, on the one hand, demonstrated through liturgical symbolism and, on the other hand, through actualization of Christ's sacrifice. In addition, the interconnectedness between the two aspects of the sacrifice, προσφορά and θυσία, is again established. The ordinary great entrance is performed with the elements as προσφορά, as Cabasilas' imagery of the entrance as sacrificial procession revealed. When it is Christ' body and blood that are solemnly carried in the entrance instead, the θυσία-aspect is manifested. If observed through the dynamics of identity and separation, the θυσία-aspect has a strong connotation of identity with Christ, whereas the entrance in the Sunday liturgy with πρόσφορα bears no such significance. The latter thus rather speaks for a separation between the symbol and its referent than for their substantial identity. Apart from these, Cabasilas' observation of differences in due reverence towards the materials carried in the entrances deserves to be noted. The realistic nature of his understanding of the main act of the liturgy is highlighted in his remark against veneration of the non-consecrated bread as the body of Christ.

Interestingly, Cabasilas does not pay considerable attention to the so-called *Cherubic hymn*, which in the ordinary liturgy is sung during the great entrance. Yet, he knows the hymn, as a couple of short allusions reveal.⁵⁵ One can assume that the rich textual contents of the hymn would accord well with Cabasilas' symbolism. He does not, however, comment on the text. His reserve towards the *Cherubic hymn* seems strange since the great entrance is one of the most festive and ceremonious parts of the liturgy. When the entirety of his interpretation is considered, there is no other such central hymn in the rite that Cabasilas leaves with such scant attention.

Why is it not mentioned? One explanation could be that since the text of the *Cherubic hymn* already manifests what is going on with the entrance – reception of the Lord – there is no need to spell it out again. Yet, it is precisely on the textual element that Cabasilas

⁵⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIV, 5; *Περὶ ἐν τῇ θεία λειτουργία τελουμένων* 4. According to Cabasilas, the ordinary great entrance is an illustration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. He maintains that the faithful can venerate the memory of that great event, but they must not adore the bread and wine as Christ's body and blood. Schulz also maintains that Cabasilas' reticence results from his fear of symbolism smothering the Eucharistic centre of the liturgy. As a result, Cabasilas' interpretation of the entrance is even more serene than provided in the actual text of the *Cherubic hymn*. Schulz 1964, 212.

⁵⁵ The text of the hymn reads as follows: "We who mystically represent the Cherubim sing the thrice holy hymn to the life giving Trinity. Let us set aside all the cares of life that we may receive the King of all invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia." In *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIV, 1 Cabasilas simply remarks that during the entrance a hymn is sung. On another occasion, he cites the very hymn: "Πᾶσαν βιωτικὴν γὰρ, φησί, ἀποθώμεθα μέμνηναι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXI, 4.

most often bases his interpretation. Another reason for his reticence is a theological intention. Criticism of a wrong kind of piety (adoration of non-consecrated bread) suggests that his silence aims to correct a spiritual or theological distortion which he sees as supporting the wrong kind of understanding of the nature of the Eucharistic gifts at that point of the celebration. By the sixth century the great entrance had become one of the focal acts of the liturgy. It was not only the most solemn part of the worship, but it also overshadowed the spiritual centre of the liturgy, the Eucharistic communion. It has been claimed that accentuation of the great entrance resulted from liturgical symbolism. Especially due to the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Christ's presence was considered to be real in the elements even at that point of the celebration. This tradition was to some extent sustained in the commentaries of Germanus, Pseudo-Sofronius and Simeon of Thessalonica.⁵⁶ By ignoring the *Cherubic hymn* Cabasilas almost certainly intends to direct the interpretation away from the prevailing reading. There is no similar conflict between his own insight and the dominant interpretation to be detected anywhere else in his main writings.⁵⁷

Alongside liturgical motives, Cabasilas reassures his readers of the true presence of Christ's body through evocation of the realistic dimension of the liturgy, provided by actualisation of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God. Above, Thomas Aquinas was seen to maintain that the full physical reality of Christ's body becomes present in the Eucharist. The same seems to be true for Cabasilas, who claims that after the transformation there are no longer typifications of Christ's passion and sacrifice on the altar but "the true victim, the most holy body of the Lord, which truly suffered derogations, insults, blows, crucifixion, slaying [- -]." Cabasilas continues by stating that the now-present body is the same which was conceived by the Holy Spirit and was born of the Mother of God, rose from the dead and ascended to heaven on the right side of the Father.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁶ Patrinos 1976, 273-277. See also Dix 1945, 282. A declaration of the year 535 by Emperor Justinian illustrates well the pompousness of the entrance: the number of the priests was limited to 60, the deacons to 100 and the lower clergy (readers, altar servants etc.) to 150.

⁵⁷ Wybrew points out that Cabasilas' view is based on a more clearly outlined Eucharistic thinking than for example Symeon of Thessalonica's arguments in the 15th century. Unlike Cabasilas, Symeon supports the veneration of bread and wine during the great entrance. He compares them with an icon, and identifies with iconoclasts who want to restrain from reverence at that point. Wybrew 1990, 169.

⁵⁸ "ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἔτι τύπος, οὐδὲ δῶρον, εἰκόνα φέρων τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ δώρου, οὐδὲ γραφήν τινα κομίζων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν σωτηρίων παθῶν ὡσπερ ἐν πίνακι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθινὸν δῶρον· αὐτὸ τοῦ Δεσπότης τὸ πανάγιον σῶμα τὸ πάντα ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνα δεξάμενον τὰ ὄνειδη, τὰς ὕβρεις, τοὺς μῶλωπας, τὸ σταυρωθῆν, τὸ σφαγῆν [- -]. [- -] τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τὸ συσταὶν ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὸ γεννηθῆν ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας Παρθένου, τὸ ταφῆν, τὸ ἀναστῆν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τὸ ἀνεληθῆν εἰς οὐρανούς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII; "Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα «τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος» ἐγένετο θησαυρός· καὶ πάσης μὲν ἦν ἀγευστον ἀμαρτίας, ἐπλήρωσε δὲ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην, ἐκήρυξε δὲ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι ἀγνωσοῦμενον τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ οἷς ἐπεδείκνυτο. Τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σφαγῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ὁ τῆ σφαγῆ προσάγον, ἐδειλία καὶ ἡγωνία καὶ ἰδρώτι περιερεῖτο καὶ προὔδοθη καὶ συνελήφθη καὶ κριτῶν ἠδέσχετο παρανόμων· καὶ «ἐμαρτύρησε μὲν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν», ἣ φησὶ Παῦλος, ἔδωκε δὲ δίκην τῆς ὁμολογίας θάνατον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ σταυροῦ· καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἤλιους, τῆ πλευρᾷ δὲ τὴν λόγχην ἐδέξατο· καὶ ἤλγησε μαστιγοῦμενον καὶ ὠδυνῆθη προσηλούμενον. Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, τῶν πληγῶν ἐκπηδήσας, τὸν ἥλιον ἐσβεσε καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐσεισε καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἡγίασε καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἀπέκλυσε τοῦ ρύπου τῆς ἀμαρτίας." *De vita* IV, 20. Transformation of the Eucharistic gifts is also paralleled with

transformation of the gifts is not therefore for Cabasilas only connected with the events related to sacrifice (referred to at the events of institution and crucifixion) but to the incarnation as well. Christ's body is thus present as it was at the moment of his birth.⁵⁹ Such a claim gives strong evidence on Cabasilas' view of transformation as Christ truly becoming flesh and blood on the holy table.

His thought also includes a christological standpoint which engages with the aspect of communion or participation – one of the main aims of the liturgy. Out of love towards mankind, the Logos assumed in his incarnation humanity fully and categorically, thus uniting mankind with divinity in himself. This happened for the salvation and deification of man.⁶⁰ According to his Eucharistic presentation of *communicatio idiomatum* or the christological perichoresis, the human and divine natures come together and are united in a similar manner as they did in the incarnation of the Logos. Partaking of the bread and the wine is a means of entering into communion with the deified humanity of Christ. What Christ has assumed from humanity he gives to the communicant: his body and blood. Here Cabasilas makes a notable specification: since Christ's body and blood are of deified humanity it is *God's body and blood* (σῶμα Θεοῦ καὶ αἷμα) which is communed in the Eucharist.⁶¹ The transformation of the elements therefore opens up to a concrete communication of and participation with the body and blood of the incarnate God.

incarnation by John of Damascus. He maintains that the body born of the Virgin is one and the same with Eucharistic bread, since both incarnation and Eucharistic transformation occur by the power of the Spirit. *Exposito fidei* 86, 60-107. Congar also detects an analogy or continuity existing between the Eucharist and the incarnation. Congar 1983, 229-230. Use of "explicit and vivid" language serves, according to Mantovanis, Cabasilas' aim to fix the essence of the sacrifice. Mantovanis 1984, 252.

⁵⁹ Similarly, Mantovanis states that incarnation or Christology forms the bases for Cabasilas' theology of the Eucharist. Mantovanis 1984, 193.

⁶⁰ Holding to the christological formulation compiled at the Council of Chalcedon (451), Cabasilas stresses that the incarnation did not lead to mixing (μὴ συγκεχυῖσθαι) of the two natures, but preserving of properties of both natures in the person of Christ: "Ἄλλὰ τούτω μόνω περιβολῇ τὸ κατὰ τὸν σωτήρα πρᾶγμα προσῆκε, τῷ μὴ συγκεχυῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀμιγῆ μένειν ἑκατέραν τῶν ἑκατέρας ιδιωμάτων, ὡς τὰ γε ἄλλα, τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαίνει τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτην ἐκεῖνο, ὅσον τὸ ἀπλῶς ἠνώσθαι, τὸ παντελῶς διηρῆσθαι. Τὴν γὰρ συνάφειαν ταύτην, οὔτε παράδειγμα ἔστιν ἄλλοις γενέσθαι, οὔτε αὐτὴν εἰς παράδειγμα ἀνεύεγκαι, ἀλλὰ μοναδικὴ τίς ἐστι, πρώτη καὶ μόνη φανεῖσα." *Homélie Mariales* III, 7. 503, 16-25. Cabasilas' conception is derived from the definition of the Council of Chalcedon: "[- -] ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν κύριον μονογενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως ἀδιαιρέτως ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον [- -]."

⁶¹ "Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνῆν ἡμᾶς ἀνελθόντας τῶν αὐτοῦ μετασχεῖν, αὐτὸς κατελθὼν εἰς ἡμᾶς, τῶν ἡμετέρων μεταλαμβάνει· καὶ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὅς ἐλαβε συνεφύη, ὥστε δι' ὧν ἡμῖν, ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐαυτοῦ μεταδίδωσι, καὶ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μετέχοντες ἀνθρωπέου τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δεχόμεθα, καὶ σῶμα Θεοῦ καὶ αἷμα καὶ ψυχὴν Θεοῦ καὶ νοῦν καὶ θέλησιν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἢ ἀνθρώπινα." *De vita* IV, 26. Cf. also *Epistula* XVII. PG 77, 113C-D. Völker describes Cabasilas presentation of the eucharist through the principles of *communicatio idiomatum* as follows: "[- -] die hypostatische Union [ist] die notwendige dogmatische Voraussetzung. Sie wird gelegentlich einmal erwähnt, wobei aber jede spekulative Begründung fehlt. Er begnügt sich mit der Feststellung, daß eine *communicatio idiomatum* stattgefunden habe, ohne daß die Naturen miteinander verschmolzen wären [- -]. Das Dogma von der hypostatischen Union dient also dazu, das Geheimnis des Altarsakraments verständlich zu machen." Völker 1977, 32. J. Meyendorff stresses that the Byzantine theologians saw the bread as a sign of the incarnation, i.e. Christ's humanity. Thus, the bread was not so much thought to change into some other substance as it was understood to be changed into the *typos* of humanity transfigured by Christ. It is namely Cabasilas who, according to J. Meyendorff, stands for this kind of thinking: "The great Nicholas Cabasilas, though still bound to the old Dionysian symbolism, overcomes the dangers of Nominalism; clearly, for him

Evidently, the classical christological doctrine formulated by the Church Fathers of the ancient councils is transparent in Cabasilas' presentation of the Eucharistic mystery and communion with Christ. The basis of the doctrine is a belief in Jesus Christ as one hypostasis or person in two natures. Cabasilas relies on this tradition. For him the humanity of Jesus Christ is enhypostated in the Logos, made perfect and transfigured by interaction with his divine nature.⁶² Adapting classical patristic phraseology, Cabasilas declares that God came into the world in order to enable man to get into heaven – God became man so that man could attain deification (Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Θεὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταλθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀναγαγεῖν· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον θεωθῆναι).⁶³ Thus, the transformation of humanity into the likeness of divinity takes place in the Eucharist in a twofold manner: in the Eucharistic elements and in the being of the communing faithful. Subjective existence of man embodies actualisation of the divine presence, made concretely participable through truly present Christ in the sacrament.

A method used by Cabasilas to explicate the manner of actualisation of the sacrifice on the cross is that of *liturgical exegesis*. Even though his theological discussion involves a remarkable analytical contemplation, he nevertheless typically grounds his argumentation on liturgical evidence – the terminology of the liturgy and examples drawn from it (e.g. the comparison of different entrances). Thus, his thoughts are illustrated through his use of liturgical examples. Consequently, the Eucharistic mystery is presented and explained as it becomes manifested in the liturgy itself. Depiction of the fullness of the two natures of Christ in the incarnational realism of the Eucharistic mystery is well suited to this tendency, thus enhancing the realism in his understanding of the proper nature of Eucharistic sacrifice.

as also for Gregory Palamas, the Eucharist is the mystery which not only 'represents' the life of Christ and offers to our 'contemplation'; it is the moment and the place, in which Christ's deified humanity becomes ours." J. Meyendorff, J. 1974a, 205. Of the earlier patristic authors, Cyril of Alexandria has also adapted christology into Eucharistic theology. Cyril stresses that it is the real and life-giving body of Christ which is partaken in the Eucharist: "Ἐσθίομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς, οὐ τὴν θεότητα δαπανῶντες, ἀπαγε τῆς δυσβουλίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκα ζωοποιὸν γεγενημένην, [- -]." *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias*. PG 76, col. 192D-193A.

⁶² Cf. *De vita* III, 5 where Cabasilas designates the hypostatic union as the basis of the deification of Christ's human nature; consequently, the separation between God and man was removed in Christ. The concept 'enhypositized' or 'enhyposstatic' (ἐνυπόστατος) comes from the 6th century theologian Leontios of Byzantium. He used the concept to express the dependence of human nature on the person or hypostasis of the Logos. Human nature can be said to be enhypositized in the hypostasis of the Logos, and then being truly existent. Cf. Meyendorff, J. 1975a, 66-68; Pihkala 1997, 299-303. Nellas characterises Cabasilas' christological dimension of the Eucharist by saying that created humanity and human person are enhypositized in Christ. When enhypositized, both nature and person experience being as integrated and authentic. This leads to a "Christian mode of being". Nellas 1987, 124.

⁶³ *De vita* IV, 26. Irenaeus of Lyon (*Adversus haereses* V, 1,1) Athanasius the Great (*Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, 54. PG 25, col. 192B) and Gregory Nazianzus (*Poema Dogmatica*, 10. PG 37, col. 465) all understand man's deification on the basis of the Incarnation. Their view is condensed in the catchphrase "God became man so that man could become god" which expresses the incarnational foundation of soteriology. Atonement and redemption are in the Eastern Christian tradition therefore seen as recapitulation of humanity in the incarnate Logos. This further enables personal participation in salvation. See e.g. Lossky 1974, 108-110.

Although Cabasilas deals with the question of form and substance within the postulates of the Eastern Christian tradition, he was to a certain extent familiar with the phrasing of the question in Latin Scholastic thought. Basing an assertion solely on the knowledge of his having been aware of some of Thomas Aquinas' works would make it far too hasty to claim that he concur with, for example, the conceptual footing of the doctrine of transubstantiation or the distinctions in the category of being, found in general scholastic Eucharistic theology. Keeping to traditional Eastern terminology and its lack of rational justification, however, favours another kind of interpretation.⁶⁴ Still, there is no evidence in Cabasilas' writings of any direct criticism of scholastic tradition either. He may have intended to reach Latin readers as well. For this reason it is not completely groundless to assume that he might have intentionally adopted Latin expressions. This is well suited to the generally irenic tendency of his treatment of Latin Eucharistic doctrine.⁶⁵ The most important thing for Cabasilas, so it seems, is to stress that the change is real. Explicating how it takes place is secondary.

⁶⁴ Getcha argues that, in the view of Cabasilas, Christ is not truly present on the altar due to "transformation of the substance of bread into a substance of body, neither of a transformation of the substance of wine into a substance of blood", but as a result of a "change of state": the bread is offered and transformed into the immolated body of Christ. To make his point clear, Getcha refutes any relation between Cabasilas and the Latin doctrine of transubstantiation. Referring to Cabasilas as an example of Byzantine tradition, Getcha concludes that, unlike in the Latin cataphatic doctrine of transubstantiation, the Byzantine Eucharistic doctrine of μεταβολή remains silent in explaining the Eucharistic mystery. Getcha 2007b, 6-7.

⁶⁵ When comparing Greek and Latin practices Cabasilas refers to the Roman Mass with the phrase "your priests pray" (οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν ἱερεῖς εὐχονται). Cf. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 16. Evidently in this instance he is directing his work to those from a Latin background as well. Mantovanis nevertheless labels Cabasilas as an anti-Latinist, yet more moderate in his expressions than Symeon of Thessalonika. Mantovanis 1984, 142. Forceful scholastic influences in Orthodox Eucharistic doctrine first appear in the 15th century. A local council of Jerusalem in 1672 approved the dogma of transubstantiation, and the distinction into substance and accident that follows, as an adequate concept for describing the Eucharistic mystery. Ware (1963, 290-291), however, asserts that this did not mean that traditional views were then abandoned. The council declared that acceptance of the doctrine of transubstantiation did not mean that the Eucharist would not still be considered a mystery. Gass (1872, 259) holds a similar view in surmising that for the Greek theologians transubstantiation merely meant subscribing to the realism of Christ's presence in the sacrament. The council thus aimed to fight off the 17th century suppositions of Christ's formal or nonreal Eucharistic presence. Yet, Uspensky (1985, 223) maintains that, for example, the prominent 17th century scholar Peter Moghila fully committed himself to the Latin interpretation of transubstantiation: the transformation is substantial and occurs immediately after the words of institution. In modern times, according to J. Meyendorff (1974a, 203), it is not customary among Orthodox theologians to talk about categories of existence and change of substance when Eucharistic doctrine is articulated. Personally he rejects the concept of transubstantiation (in Greek μετασυστάσις) as totally useless in Orthodox Eucharistic theology. On the other hand, the Serbian orthodox scholar Grgurevich (1993, 71-73) exclusively adheres to transubstantiation when describing the transformation. Nevertheless, he does not specify the accurate meaning of the term. Besides, he seems to diverge from strict Roman Catholic interpretation of the transformation in his emphasis on anamnesis and epiclesis as activating components of the Eucharistic mystery. He also leaves the function of the words of institution untouched when explaining the change. Thus it seems that despite his adaptation of a central Roman Catholic concept Grgurevich's theological thought is Eastern in its spirit. Similarly Ware (1963, 291) approves transubstantiation as a term, but expects that Aristotelian categories are then not emphasized. He points out that transubstantiation is not able to explicate the underlying nature of the mysterious transformation of the Eucharistic elements. In his criticism of transubstantiation Yannaras (1991, 130) ends up with a very interesting

It is time to turn to the views of the three Latin theologians. In order to understand Hugh of St. Victor's, Peter Lombard's, and Thomas Aquinas' theology of the Eucharist, it is necessary to point out the segmentation of a sacrament into its outward form and invisible content. On the plane of physical reality, a distinction can be made between continuation and change within an object. The concepts of *form* and *matter* are closely linked with this metaphysical construction. Hence, in conventional scholastic Eucharistic theology the words of institution comprise the form of the sacrament (*forma sacramenti*), and bread and wine the matter of the sacrament (*materia sacramenti*).⁶⁶ This essential distinction is evident, for example, in Hugh's description, which is based on Augustine's brief definition:

[- -] a sacrament is a corporeal or material element set before the senses without, representing by similitude and signifying by institution and by sanctification containing some invisible and spiritual grace.⁶⁷

The three Latin authors all adhere to an idea of substantial change in their explication of Eucharistic transformation: the substances of bread and wine are transformed into the substances of Christ's body and blood, contrary to the outward forms of bread and wine, the accidents, which remain as they were. In the High Middle Ages the Eucharistic change of substance came to be expressed by the term *transsubstantiation*.⁶⁸

conclusion. He argues that two different essences or natures can share a common mode of existence. Thus in the context of the Eucharist there occurs an existential, not substantial change. If Cabasilas' thought were to be presented by means of Yannaras' concept of existential change, the focus would then be on the common human nature shared by Christ and men alike. Thus, the Eucharistic mystery would be centred on the presence of Christ's deified body and blood in the Eucharistic elements. Man comes into the communion with Christ through interconnection of his nature with Christ's deified humanity.

66 Wenz 1998, 667-668.

67 "[- -] sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum foris sensibiliter propositum ex similitudine repraesentans, et ex institutione significans, et ex sanctificatione continens aliquam invisibilem et spiritualem gratiam." *De sacramentis* I, 9, ii. PL 176, col. 317 C-D. According to Hugh, a sacrament has four essential aspects that in connection with the Eucharist are as follows. Bread and wine constitute the *material aspect*, and they also have the *similitude* of Christ's body and blood. Further, the *institution* serves as a mandate given by Christ to church to celebrate the Eucharist, which *contains* divine grace for forgiveness of sins. Although Peter Lombard does not in his definition of a sacrament mention the material aspect, he is otherwise consistent with Hugh's way of thought. Lombard states that a sacrament is such a sign and form of God's invisible grace, which is installed as a consequence of God-given grace and bears its figure. Accordingly similitude, example and grace are for him the constitutive elements of sacraments. Thomas Aquinas, unlike Hugh and Peter Lombard, does not hold to one exact definition of sacrament. He relies on the classical definition by Augustine, but instead of giving precise explications he determines what a sacrament is, from a soteriological point of view. For him the content of sacraments is salvation. They are concrete signs of Christ's passion and resurrection, thus transmitting salvation to all those who partake of them. *STh* 3a. 60-62.

68 The term appeared for the first time in the middle of the 12th century in the works of Pope Alexander III and Petrus Comestor. On account of strong support by Pope Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) acknowledged transsubstantiation as the official doctrine of the Catholic Church. Buxton 1976, 49; Hauschild 1995, 579-580; Ott 1952, 454; Pelikan 1978, 195-198, 202-204. Besides philosophical and theological consequences, Eucharistic disputes also affected liturgical life. In the mass Christ's true presence was impressed by adoration shown towards the consecrated elements. Adoration of Christ's Eucharistic body gradually extended beyond the mass as a certain

For Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas, the realism of the Eucharist correlates with right belief. Hugh passes judgment on the opinion that the bread and wine are mere figurations of the body and blood of Christ.⁶⁹ Lombard finds madness in those who deny that the Eucharistic transformation is real and that Christ is truly present in the sacrament. Similarly, Aquinas denounces adherence to a symbolic reading of Christ's presence as heresy. Like Hugh, he points out that the faith has weight as evidence since Christ's presence cannot be detected with the senses.⁷⁰

The question of true belief in the real and true presence is approached by the Latin authors with a distinction between the coexistence, on the one hand, of the bread and wine, and on the other hand, of the presence of Christ. The spiritual essence of the Eucharist is hidden beyond the outward form of the elements of the Eucharist. Since the senses detect something else than what truly is the real substance of the sacrament, they aim to clarify their concepts of the manner of presence. This is done by differentiating in the sacrament the form from the content. This kind of analysis is illustrated in the Latin theologians' reasoning regarding the necessity of sacraments. With one accord, the Latin authors maintain that the soul is humiliated by the material element of the sacraments. Consequently, men are inspired to engage with spiritual discipline in order to see the divine grace hidden in the concrete materials of the sacraments.⁷¹ The sacraments obligate the soul to seek contemplation of the spiritual essence of the sacrament. As a conclusion, the distinction between the form and the content of the sacrament seems to be in the scholastic Eucharistic tradition a question that needs to be answered *a priori*.

Hugh approaches the distinction by making an observation about the incapacity of the senses to grasp the essence of the Eucharist. Human vision can only grasp the visible form of the sacrament but faith reaches the reality beneath the elements (*sub specie*): the presence of the body and blood of Christ. Hugh deduces that the body and the blood are not the point of reference of the elements, since the bread and the wine are not depictions of the body and blood but their true embodiments. Consequently, the bread and the wine

kind of worship of its own. Adoration was further promoted by *Corpus Christi* mysticism, which felicitously endorsed the conception of substantial presence of Christ in the sacrament. Cf. Hardon 1981, 455; Pelikan 1978, 201.

⁶⁹ *De sacramentis* II, 8, vii. PL 176, col. 466C-467A. On the power of faith in perceiving the real presence of Christ see also *De sacramentis* II, 8, vi. PL 176, col. 465C-466B; II, 8, xii. PL 176, col. 470A-B.

⁷⁰ Cf. Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, I, i. and Thomas Aquinas' *STh* 3a. 75, 1, res. On Lombard's conception of conversion of the elements see Rosemann 2004, 157-159. Thomas explicitly names Berengar as the first heretical representative of a symbolical interpretation of the Eucharist. Hugh, Peter Lombard and Aquinas can be taken as embodying the general mediaeval view of Eucharistic doctrine as the expression of true faith. See Pelikan 1978, 184-185.

⁷¹ Hugh maintains that the materiality of the sacraments engenders humility, directs man in search of spiritual life and keeps his soul active. *De sacramentis* I, 9, iii. PL 176, col. 319A-320D. Peter Lombard has a similar view on the meaning of the material form. *Sententiae* Liber IV, 1, V. Ott (1952, 394) points out that in doing so, Hugh relates the sensible and concrete form of the sacrament to man's psycho-physical structure. Aquinas, for his part, maintains that the chain of deduction leading from material substance to its Creator holds the primary place when it comes to significance of the sacramental form. Yet, man's essence and his post-lapsarian attachment to materiality also argue for the necessity of the sacrament's material form. Thus, the material element in the sacrament brings man to consciousness of his very being. This, finally, leads to a humiliation in face of materiality, and to spiritual endeavours inspired by it. *STh* 3a. 61, 1, res.

are truly the body and blood of Christ. Hugh clarifies his thought by stressing that Christ is substantially present in the Eucharistic elements even though they are seen as bread and wine. Thus, the outward appearance of the bread and wine is perceived even though their substance is not there. Likewise, the substance of the body and the blood is truly there, even though its outward form cannot be detected.⁷²

The ontological distinction between the sacrament and its content is also made by Peter Lombard. According to him, the bread and the wine constitute the sacrament, i.e. the outward appearance of the Eucharist. The body and the blood of Christ make up the real spiritual content of the sacrament. The latter Lombard calls *res*, the very essence of the sacrament.⁷³ He elaborates a threefold classification of the construction of the sacrament of the Eucharist. First, there is a mere sacrament (*tantum sacramentum*), which is constituted of the outward appearance of bread and wine. The second level connects the outward sacrament with its content (*sacramentum et res*), the latter, of course, being the true body and blood of Christ. Finally, there is also the sole content of the sacrament without an outward form (*res et non sacramentum*). This Lombard equates with the church, the mystical body of Christ. He continues with a clarification of the distinction he has drawn. The first level of the sacrament actually refers to two other aspects. On the one hand, *tantum sacramentum* signifies the lifegiving grace of the body and the blood of the Saviour. On the other hand, the unity and communion of the mystical church-body is also signified by it.⁷⁴ Thus, the material form makes the *res* of the sacrament attainable. Yet, there is in the sacrament a dimension that through communion with *sacramentum et res* opens up to a non-material spiritual reality: communion with Christ through the mystical church-body. Lombard's conceptualisation is grounded on the heritage of Augustine. His influence is on display in Lombard's definition of a sacrament as the visible sign of an invisible grace, referring to a reality beyond sense perception.⁷⁵ In like manner, Aquinas understands a sacrament primarily as a sign of sacred reality.⁷⁶ The figure below illustrates the Latin concepts:

⁷² *De sacramentis* II, 8, vii. PL 176, col. 466C-467A.

⁷³ Peter Lombard states that the Eucharist or the sacrament of the altar (*de sacramento altaris*) consists of four elements: 1) the institution (*insitutio*); 2) Christ's words, i.e. the form (*forma*), 3) the sacrament (*sacramentum*), thus the bread and the wine, 4) and the contents (*res*), i.e. the body of Christ. *Sententiae* Liber IV, 8, I, III-IV, VI. See also *Sententiae* Liber IV, 9, III, ii, where the interconnectedness of the inner and outward dimensions of the Eucharist is specified. The key to understanding is that a symbol can be called with the name of the thing signified (*res significantes rerum sortiri vocabula quas significant*). Thus, the bread can be named as the body of Christ.

⁷⁴ *Sententiae* Liber IV, 8, VII, ii. See also Rosemann 2004, 152-154.

⁷⁵ "Nunc quid ibi sacramentum sit et quid res, videamus. 'Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis form'; forma ergo panis vel vini, quae ibi videtur, sacramentum est, id est signum sacrae rei, quia 'praeter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud facit in cogitationem venire.'" *Sententiae* Liber IV, 8, VI. Here Peter Lombard can be seen to concur with Roman Catholic doctrine of consecration as the actualisation of the presence of Christ's body and blood under the visible form of the Eucharistic elements. Hardon (1981, 458) states that this basic conviction is based on the evidence of the Bible and holy tradition.

⁷⁶ In his definition of a sacrament Aquinas refers directly to Augustine: "Sed quidam definiunt sacramentum per hoc quod est sacrae rei signum: et hoc etiam videtur ex auctoritate Augustini supra inducta. Ergo videtur quod omne signum rei sacrae sit sacramentum." *STh* 3a. 60, 2. Cf. Hugh's (*De sacramentis* I, 9, ii. PL 176, col 317C-D) and Petrus' (*Sententiae* Liber IV, 1, II-IV) definitions which are also based on Augustine's classical definition cited by Aquinas: "Augustinus

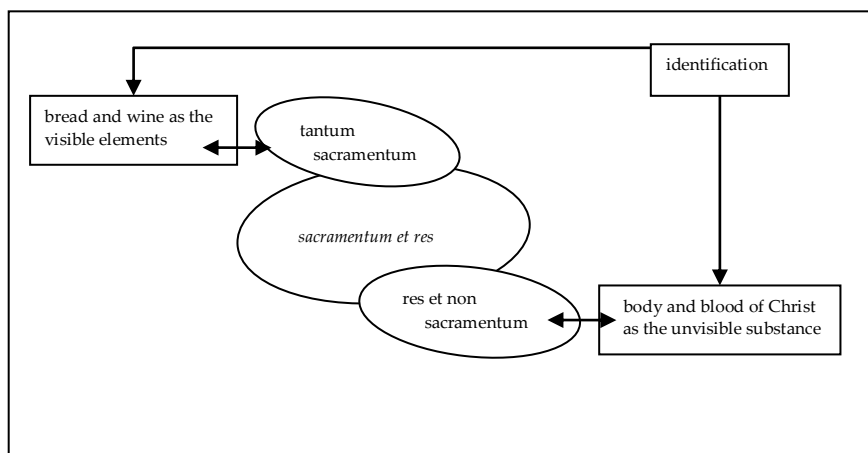


FIGURE 4: Latin composition of the sacrament of Eucharist

In the sacrament of the Eucharist, the bread and wine (*signum*) are equated with the sacrament. The concrete element points out the actual immaterial and spiritual content comprised by the body and blood of Christ (*res*). Thus, bread and wine are the figure and promise of reality and grace made present and partakable in the body and blood of Christ. This concept can at least partially be seen as parallel with Cabasilas' model of the change, which also aims to explain the mystery of becoming present of the spiritual contents of the Eucharist in bread and wine. Further, understanding of the sacrifice on the cross and in the Eucharist as having the same content seems to make for a common basis for the Greek and Latin doctrines of the Eucharist, represented by Cabasilas and the three Latin theologians respectively.

What seems to be common to all three Latin scholars is an emphasis on substantial change. Hugh deals with the paradox between the outward form and the actual content by stressing the transitional nature of the change (*transitio*). He is not willing to describe the change as union (*unio*), but as transition. What exactly is meant by transition becomes clearer in his conceptualization of the change. Hugh begins by stating that the change occurs when the bread transforms into the essence of Christ's body. There is no union of two essences, nor does one grow from the other. Hugh thus denies that the origin of the body lies in the bread. He further specifies that the substance of the bread and wine does not cease to exist at the moment of the change, but turns into something else. There is not, according to Hugh, a continuous existence but a change in the subject of the existent one. Due to the change, the original matter no longer exists but another matter begins to exist instead of it. This replacement matter does not, however, originate from the original nor is dependent on it in any way. This is possible since there is a change of one substance into another. Hugh simply states that by the power of the words of institution the

dicit, Sacrificium visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, idest sacrum signum, est." *STh* 3a. 60, 1. Cf. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* 10, v. PL 41, col. 282. More on Augustine's sacramental theology see Cutrone 1999; Wenz 1998, 664-666.

substance of the bread and wine converts into the substance of Christ's body and blood. Regardless of the change in the bread and wine's substance, their outward appearance remains.⁷⁷

Peter Lombard argues his views beginning with biblical evidence. Using the parable of the living bread (John 6:61, 67) as a proof, he maintains that the sacramental or symbolic character of the Eucharist is concomitant with its realism. This is exemplified by Christ's exhortation in the Gospel to eat his life-giving flesh. According to Lombard, these words must be taken spiritually. Their actual point of reference is the sacrament of Eucharist. The coexistence of the two aspects – symbolic and real – of Christ's presence are manifested when Christ is distributed in the Eucharist, hidden under the form of bread and wine. Lombard stresses that Christ's body is really present in the sacrament. Its invisibility simply indicates that it cannot be seen in accordance with its own shape. Instead, it is perceived as bread and wine.⁷⁸ Thus, the invisibility of Christ's body and blood does not annul the reality or concreteness of their presence. The absence of the characteristics of Christ's body is a consequence of the distinction between the content and the form of the sacrament. This is manifested in Lombard's usage of categories of substance and accident in proving that due to the consecration the bread turns into the body of Christ and wine into his blood.⁷⁹ After the change, it is only the substance of the body and blood that remains. The substance of the bread and wine no longer exists but their accidents (taste, weight etc.) remain. Underneath them the shape and nature of Christ's body is hidden. Lombard concludes that the accidents of bread and wine exist without their own substance in the substance of the body and blood.⁸⁰ By means of this substance-accidence distinction Lombard attains a more accurate analysis of the change than Hugh. In addition, he provides a deep perception of how the bread and wine are related to the outward form of the sacrament after their transformation into the body and blood of Christ.

⁷⁷ "Per verba sanctificationis vera panis et vera vini substantia, in verum corpus et sanguinem Christi convertitur, sola specie panis et vini remanente, substantia in et substantiam transeunte." *De sacramentis* II, 8, ix. PL 176, col. 468A-C. Irrespective of breaking of Christ's body into several pieces, Hugh maintains that Christ still is one and undivided. In the reality of the sacrament, Christ maintains his integrity, which is fully present in each portion of the bread. Cf. *De sacramentis* II, 8, xi. PL 176, col. 469B-D.

⁷⁸ "Non enim his negatur verum corpus Christi a fidelibus sumi vel in altari esse, sed his Veritas Apostolos et in eis nos intruxit, quod ipsius corpus non per partes disceptum, ut putaverunt illi discipuli qui retro ierunt, sed integrum; nec visibiliter in forma humana, sed invisibiliter, sub forma panis et vini, corpus et sanguinem nobis traderet. [- -] Similiter 'per id quod homo est, in caelo est': visibiliter scilicet; invisibiliter autem est in altari, quia non in forma humana apparet, sed forma panis et vini operitur. Unde et invisibilis caro eius dicitur: quae vere est in altari, sed quia non in sua specie apparet, invisibilis dicitur." *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, I, iv-v. See also *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, I, ii, where Lombard cites Augustine in order to necessitate a spiritual reading of Christ's words. Aquinas in turn understands Augustine's phrase 'spiritual consumption' as an expression of the invisible presence of the Spirit in the Eucharist. *STh* 3a. 75, 1, ad 1.

⁷⁹ "Satis responsum est haereticis objectionibus eorum qui negant verum corpus Christi in altari esse, et panem in corpus vel vinum in sanguinem mystica consecratione converti [- -]." *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, I, x; "[- -] verum corpus Christi et sanguinem in altari esse, immo integrum Christum sub utraque specie, et substantiam panis in corpus, vique substantiam in sanguinem converti." *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, II, viii.

⁸⁰ " [- - accidentibus] existere sine subiecto, quam esse in subiecto; quia ibi non est substantia nisi corporis et sanguinis dominici." *Sententiae* Liber IV, 12, I.

Conforming to Hugh's and Lombard's reasoning, Aquinas denies that the substance of the bread and wine continues to exist after consecration. He connects the realism of the sacrament with the substantial presence of Christ ([- -] *salva veritate huius sacramenti, substantia panis post consecrationem remanere non possit*). Since Christ's body is not present before consecration, Aquinas finds two possible ways to explain its becoming present. Either there is a local change or a substantial one. Since he finds the former (Christ changing places with bread) impossible, he adopts the latter. Consequently, Aquinas interprets the words of Christ preserved in the institution narrative as supporting the idea of the change of substance. According to his exegesis, the words are attached to the substance of Christ's body. When instituting the Eucharist, Christ did not say 'here is my body' but 'this is my body'. Aquinas argues that he could not have said so if he was not referring to the substance of his body.⁸¹

Aquinas is in line with Hugh's view in maintaining that after the change the one substance that was there before the transformation is there no longer. Aquinas reduces but one explanation of the change: quite strongly he maintains that the only way to understand it is the change of substance. Thus it cannot be understood, for example, as a reduction of the elements of bread and wine or their total annihilation.⁸² This emphasis on substantial change is required by the concept of transsubstantiation, used by Aquinas to express the manner of the change. As the term suggests, the change occurs explicitly as conversion of substance (*conversio substantialis*):

The total substance of the bread is converted into the total substance of Christ's body, and the total substance of the wine into the total substance of Christ's blood. Hence this change is

⁸¹ "Manifestum est autem quod corpus Christi non incipit esse in hoc sacramento per motum localem. [- -] Et propter hoc relinquitur quod non possit aliter corpus Christi incipere esse de novo in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem substantiae panis in ipsum. [- -] Quod non esset verum [so. Hoc est corpus meum] si substantia panis ibi remaneret: numquam enim substantia est corpus Christi. Sed potius esset dicendum, 'Hic est corpus meum'." *STh* 3a. 75, 3, res; *Contra gentiles* 63, 5. The unthinkability of local change is proved by its hypothetical results: in order to become present Christ should leave his existing place [by the right hand side of the Father?]. Further, he could not be simultaneously present on many altars. Besides, Aquinas finds the idea of intermediate stations of local passage also impossible to accept. The substantial change, however, is supported by the practice of adoration (*latria*) of the Eucharistic elements. This would be blasphemy if the substance of the bread and wine was considered still to be with the elements. See also *Contra gentiles* 62, 4 -15.

⁸² "Quia non erit dare aliquem modum quo corpus Christi verum incipiat esse in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem substantiae panis in ipsum: quae quidem conversio tollitur, posita vel annihilatione panis vel resolutione in preiacentem materiam." *STh* 3a. 75, 3, res. On Aquinas' denial of annihilation of substance of bread see *Contra gentiles* 63, 5. Aquinas also specifies that actualisation of Eucharistic mystery is not altogether parallel with God's act of creation. Cf. *STh* 3a. 75, 8. Ott (1952, 455) seems to follow Aquinas' arguments in his analysis of transsubstantiation. He defines the change (*Verwandlung*) as a transition from a point of where existence comes to an end (*terminus a quo*) to a point where existence begins (*terminus ad quem*). Since transsubstantiation does not have a negative starting point (*terminus a quo*) it differs from the act of creation. Due to its positive outcome (*terminus ad quem*), it also differs from annihilation. Evdokimov criticises Aquinas' conception of the change as an overly rational and material explanation. He sees it as alien to Orthodox tradition to borrow explanations from physics in presenting the Eucharistic mystery. Evdokimov 2001, 249, 251.

not formal, but a substantial one. It does not belong to the natural kinds of change, and it can be called by a name proper to itself: 'transsubstantiation'.⁸³

Further, Aquinas maintains that the change is supernaturally generated. As the maintainer of everything that exists, God enforces the change since only he can transform one existing entity (*entis*) into something other.⁸⁴ Even though the manner of the change is known, neither imagination nor sight can detect Christ's body, the substance of the Eucharist. Yet, the spiritual eye (*oculus spiritualis*) of the intellect can perceive it.⁸⁵ In order to clarify his argument, Aquinas draws an analogy between the Eucharist and the incarnation. Christ's becoming present in the sacrament corresponds to his conception in the Virgin's womb without seed from a man. When Christ was conceived, God as the first causal agent worked out something regardless of any secondary agents. Similarly, God maintains in the Eucharist the accidents of the bread and the wine, although it is Christ who is then substantially present in the elements.⁸⁶

⁸³ "Nam tota substantia panis convertitur in totam substantiam corporis Christi, et tota substantia vini in totam substantiam sanguinis Christi. Unde haec conversio non est formalis, sed substantialis. Nec continetur inter species motus naturalis, sed proprio nomine potest dici 'transsubstantiatio'." *STh* 3a. 75, 4, res. A parallel definition is given in *Contra gentiles* 63, 4, yet without the term *transsubstantiatio*. Cf. also *STh* 3a. 75, 4, ad. 1. On the difference between natural and substantial change see Ott 1952, 455. In the official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church there has been a tendency towards implementation of a new kind of terminology in explaining the change. In his encyclical *Humani generis* (1950) Pope Pius XII stated that excessive speculation ought to be avoided in explaining the Eucharist. He also recommended that traditional expressions should be revered. Transsubstantiation was, however, again emphasised by Pope Paul VI in 1965 in his encyclical *Mysterium fidei*. Even though the Pope considered it an adequate term in explaining the Eucharistic mystery, in *Mysterium fidei* the change was characterised as ontological. As a consequence, the bread and the wine gain a new kind of meaning. This interpretation of Paul VI is called transsignification. It clearly marks a divergence from Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition and an emphasis on substantiality. Cf. Evdokimov 2001, 246-247; Smolarski 1982, 45. Macquarrie (1966, 473) evaluates *Mysterium fidei* as a positive countermove against the danger of losing some traditional Eucharistic readings and practices caused by renewals made in accordance with the liturgical movement. In CCC the Tridentine definition of transsubstantiation is said to summarize the Catholic faith. In addition to references to "substantial presence" the unique presence of Christ under the Eucharistic species is designated by CCC as "real" and as "presence in the fullest sense". CCC 1995, 1373-1376.

⁸⁴ *Contra gentiles* 63, 6-7; *STh* 3a. 75, 4, ad. 3.

⁸⁵ *STh* 3a. 76, 7, res. Since man cannot fully share in the brightness of the divine intellect, he cannot perceive the divine nature (*visionem divinae essentiae*). Therefore, Aquinas reasons, contemplation of the supernatural reality requires faith. In *Contra gentiles* 61, 3 Aquinas notes that Christ is present in the Eucharist in his substance, unlike in the sacrament of baptism which only contains his power.

⁸⁶ "Cum enim effectus magis dependeat a causa prima quam a causa secunda, potest Deus, qui est prima causa substantiae et accidentis, per suam infinitam virtutem conservare in esse accidentis subtracta substantia, per quam conservabatur in esse sicut per propriam causam [- -], sicut corpus humanum formavit in utero Virginis sine virili semine." *STh* 3a. 77, 1, res. For a specific explanation of the relation between the accidents of the bread and the body of Christ after transsubstantiation see *Contra gentiles* 63, 8-12; 65. Consistent with Aquinas, Macquarrie (1966, 477-479) sets the Eucharist against the Incarnation, calling it an "extension of the incarnation". Since he does not share Aquinas' idea of the change as transsubstantiation he has a different stand as to how 'the Eucharistic incarnation' is to be understood. Macquarrie acknowledges that Aquinas' doctrine of transsubstantiation refutes magical interpretations. Yet, he finds it difficult to agree that there is a metaphysical change that takes place in the Eucharist. Clearly, the Aristotelian-Thomistic categories affiliated with the concept of transsubstantiation embody a philosophical approach which cannot be reconciled with Macquarrie's existential-ontological viewpoint. Macquarrie still approves an interpretation of transsubstantiation, made by some modern Roman Catholic theologians, as a

Compared with the Latin authors, Cabasilas' reasoning about the change is less exact and less analytical. It is true that in his model of the change he discusses the convergence of the two aspects of the sacrifice, thus explicating the Eucharistic mystery. In addition, there is that one reference to the body as ὑποκείμενον of the sacrament. Yet, his approach is more declaratory, less deep in analysis. He seems to be content simply to notice what the Eucharistic event means and how he believes it to come into existence. The Eucharist consists, on the one hand, of the offering of the bread and wine, and on the other hand, actualisation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The corollary of this event is the becoming present of one Christ-reality.⁸⁷

Despite his lack of interest in speculation, Cabasilas still aims to reconstruct a unified picture of the transformation which he believes to exist beneath the Greek and Latin Eucharistic traditions. In so doing, he discusses topics similar to those treated by Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas in their treatises. As was seen, the Latin approach to the question of Christ's presence is more conceptual and more intellectual while Cabasilas remains faithful to his event-centred manner of representation and is not driven to highly analytical reflection. He seems simply to be satisfied with description of the liturgical context of the transformation of the gifts. By contrast, the Latins do not approach the Mass as a Eucharistic event. Instead, their analysis of the Eucharist proceeds along the lines set by the scholastic definition of a sacrament, which sets aside the liturgical dimension of the Eucharist. Consequently, their analyses are based on the precise articulation of the components that make up the sacrament of Eucharist. There is no such abstraction in Cabasilas' thinking, even though he can be seen to implicitly conform to the Latin theological construction of sign and content or *sacramentum* and *res*.

The characteristic differences between Cabasilas and the Latin authors is seen in the tendency of Cabasilas to move around the questions and propose answers as truths of faith, whereas the Latin theologians aim to reach as accurate and exact logical definitions as possible. As a simple example, when Cabasilas speaks of transformation of *the bread* into the body of Christ, Hugh, Lombard and Aquinas speak of transformation of *the substance of the bread*. Despite the different approaches, it is evident that it is the realism of the Eucharist that is most central to Cabasilas and the Latin theologians alike. They share a common conception of the body and blood of Christ as the proper substance of the Eucharist.

Of the three Latin scholars, only Thomas Aquinas appeals to the hypostatic union when explaining the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. He concentrates on two expressions of Christ's presence. Firstly, the presence is manifested through the sign in the sacrament. The body and blood of Christ then are present under the form of the sacrament. Secondly, the presence of Christ's body and blood results from the principle of natural simultaneity. This means, according to Aquinas, that the divinity of Christ cannot be said to be present due to the sacramental sign – the body and blood of Christ.

simple expression of the realism of the change, provided that the classic reading of the term is disclaimed.

⁸⁷ Mantovanis characterizes Cabasilas' approach as follows: "Cabasilas nowhere uses the term transubstantiation (μετουσίωσις) or the Scholastic distinction between substance and accidents, nor does he attempt to offer any explanation concerning the manner of the change. He wants to emphasize the reality of the change, not the manner." Mantovanis 1984, 198.

Instead, the grounds of the presence of Christ' divinity depend on the consistency between his human and divine natures. The unity of natures is so imminent that they can be divided only in theory. Consequently, hypostatic union results in the state in which it can be said that where there is the body of Christ, his divinity is manifested as well. Interestingly enough, Aquinas bases his observations partially on sources from the Eastern Christian tradition.⁸⁸ To conclude, it seems that both Cabasilas and Aquinas understand the unity between humanity and divinity in Christ's divine-human composition in such an intense manner that in the Eucharist it is explicitly God's body and blood that are believed to be communed in.

4.3. SANCTIFYING PRESENCE OF JESUS CHRIST AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

The change of the Eucharistic elements is for Cabasilas an event of utmost realism: past events become present reality, and Christ's presence in the elements is that of corporeal actuality. However, the factors contributing to actualisation of the presence of Christ are not yet clear. Through liturgical symbolism Cabasilas aims to prove that the entire liturgy is permeated by divine grace and manifestation of God's grandeur. Yet, transition from a noetic experience or spiritual vision of God's presence, provided by symbolism, into a remarkably concrete presence of Christ in the Eucharistic gifts on account of consecration calls for further interpretation. What makes the body and blood of Christ become present? Is the presence of Christ in the elements based on noetic and anthropocentric affirmation of God's presence in them or is his presence based on the divine activity? Answering these questions enable us to reach a more particular insight into Cabasilas' understanding of the divine presence.

The dynamics between anthropocentrism and theocentrism – noetic affirmation and real actualisation – is evident in Cabasilas' contradictory statements about the fulfilment of the sacrifice, the climax of the celebration. He maintains that it is accomplished, on the one hand, after the Eucharistic prayer⁸⁹, and, on the other hand, when the Eucharist is communed in⁹⁰. Further, he suggests that the culmination of the sacrifice does not take place until the final doxology.⁹¹ What do these three contradictory statements reveal? Unfortunately Cabasilas does not specify any of these three competing characterisations. Consequently, Cabasilas gives an impression of being paradoxical. Yet, these three points of culmination of the sacrifice may conflict only superficially. In order to make sense of Cabasilas' statements one has to assume that he aspires to an extensive vision of Eucharistic liturgy.

⁸⁸ *StTh* 3a. 76, 1, res., ad. 1. Designated by Aquinas as the creed of the Council in Ephesus (431), is in reality an excerpt from Cyril of Alexandria's letter to Nestorius (*Epistula* XVII. PG 77, col. 113C-D). Citing Cyril and referring also to John of Damascus exemplifies Aquinas' appreciation of Eastern Fathers.

⁸⁹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII; XXXIII, 1.

⁹⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XLI, 1.

⁹¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* LIII, 3.

Hence, the reference to the Eucharistic prayer gives evidence of his agreement with a realistic reading of the transformation: the sacrifice becomes then truly present and is accomplished. The other two phrases give evidence of a different kind of approach to the Eucharist. Mentioning the moment of receiving the sacrament is a reminder of partaking of the body and blood as subjective and mystical anthropological fulfilment of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Further, highlighting the importance of the concluding rites of the liturgy complements his Eucharistic vision: the synaxis is an authentic expression of the Eucharistic event as a whole, even though centralised in the sacrifice. The three references could then be seen as typifications of Cabasilas' liturgical and non-analytical approach to the Eucharist, irrespective of the indisputable incoherence they manifest on first impression. In addition, the conflict between the statements is mitigated even further when cognisance is taken of the apophatic tradition of Eastern Christian Eucharistic theology where the mystery aspect of neither the sacrament nor the actual manner of the change is profoundly explicated.⁹² Three points of consummation could then be seen as expressions based, firstly, on the doxological and anthropological footing of the rite and, secondly, on the theocentric divine operation of the Triune God made evident throughout the synaxis.

With regard to the question of the cause of transformation, it seems that it is yet the consecratory prayer which can provide most accurate information about the divine operation – and consequently, about God's presence. The mystical and spiritual dimension, suggested by Cabasilas' reference to the communion as the culmination of the liturgy, will be addressed in Chapter 5.

The consecratory effect of the Eucharistic prayer culminates in Cabasilas' statement that when the priest "sanctifies the precious gifts, the sacrifice is accomplished."⁹³ He also notes that "the grace carries out the sacrifice invisibly through the consummating prayers of the priest."⁹⁴ There are thus two factors that contribute to the completion of the sacrifice. Firstly, it is the priest who intones the prayer. Secondly, the divine grace effects the sanctification invisibly – through the very prayer pronounced by the priest.

Since Cabasilas is referring to the prayer of consecration as a whole he provides no initial distinctions for naming the operation of the different persons of the Trinity in the consecratory act. In Chapter 3 Cabasilas' observation of the function of addressing the consecratory prayer to the Father was discussed. The results were not very illuminating

⁹² Reluctance to make sharp definitions together with the unquestionable conviction of true presence of Christ in the Eucharist is in proportion to Eastern Orthodox emphasis on Eucharistic fullness and the liturgy as a whole. Zizioulas (2000, 12) takes Cabasilas as an example of the patristic commentaries' approach towards the Eucharist primarily as liturgy, action. The Eucharist thus comprises a synaxis, and its meaning derives from the liturgical entirety. Koumarianos (2000, 15) also finds action as the principal meaning of the liturgy. He, however, critically observes that after the iconoclastic period the influence of dramatic symbolism had grown. He maintains that this has led to a stagnation of the faithful in the liturgy. Koumarinos' stand can therefore be taken as critical towards later liturgical symbolism and to that extent towards Cabasilas as well.

⁹³ "[-] αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν προσφέρει τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ δοξολογήσας αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ ἀγγελῶν ἀνυμνήσας καὶ χάριτας ὁμολογήσας τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον ἡμῶν ἀνεκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας μνησθεῖς, εἶτα ἱερουργεῖ τὰ τίμια δῶρα καὶ ἡ θυσία τελεῖται πᾶσα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

⁹⁴ "Τὴν γὰρ θυσίαν ἀφανῶς ἡ χάρις ἐργάζεται διὰ τῶν τελεστικῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ ἱερέως." *Sacrae liturgiae* L, 8.

when it comes to discerning the respective roles of the Father or the Son in the act of consecration. Cabasilas was shown to be interested in pointing out the divine origin and power of the Son rather than spelling out the manner of his active participation in the consecration. Neither does he explicate if the Father's response to the priest's plea constitutes the consecratory act. There have been, nevertheless, already a number of allusions suggesting that the Spirit has a significant role in the consummation of the Eucharistic mystery. Further, Cabasilas' grounding of the Eucharist on the historical event of the institution of the Eucharist gives weight to the importance of the institution narrative in the Eucharistic prayer. This puts the words of institution, attached to Christ, also at the centre of attention.

4.3.1. The Words of Institution and the Epiclesis

There are particularly two elements in the anaphora with which the consecratory effect is traditionally associated: the words of institution and the epiclesis. The latter directly links the operation of the Spirit with transformation of the gifts which appears to be a consequence of both uttering of the words of institution by the priest and the descent of the Spirit. Besides, the mutual relationship of these consecratory elements and their chronology in the course of the rite appear to be obvious for Cabasilas. In his description of the Eucharistic prayer Cabasilas delineates how the priest, after commemorating both the institution of the sacrament and the words of Christ, bows in front of the holy table. The priest then addresses the words to the Eucharistic elements so that they would transform (μεταβληθῆναι) into the body and blood of Christ after the coming of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁵ Cabasilas' phrases draw attention to his understanding of the significance of the words of institution. He refers to those words twice. On the one hand, the words belong to a narrative recapitulation of past events before the realization of the sacrifice due to the descent of the Spirit upon the elements. On the other hand, the words of the institution are given a resonance as mighty words directly addressed to the bread and wine. As a result, this duplication of the reference creates an impression of the importance of the words of institution, yet in a somewhat incoherent manner.

More light is shed on the status of the words of institution in another passage where Cabasilas further highlights the significance of the words. He states that they have effect as if Christ himself would pronounce them.⁹⁶ This implies that Cabasilas attaches a significant consecratory power to these words. Their notability is additionally supported in a description of the effect of a prayer in connection with the actualisation of the sacrifice. Cabasilas states, in reference to the priest, that "after prayed and intoned like this" the entire celebration is consummated, the elements consecrated and the sacrifice

⁹⁵ "Τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο διηγησάμενος δεῖπνον καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸ παρέδωκε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ὡς ἐδέξατο ποτήριον καὶ ὡς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἠγίασεν· καὶ ὡς εἶπε δι' ὧν ἐδήλωσε τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἀνειπὼν εἶτα προσπίπτει, καὶ εὐχεται καὶ ἱκετεύει τὰς θείας ἐκεῖνας φωνάς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων καὶ δεξάμενα τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδυνάμενον Πνεῦμα μεταβληθῆναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα, τὸν δὲ οἶνον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀχραντὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιον αἷμα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII

⁹⁶ "Τὴν μὲν ὄν φωνὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀφιασι, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐνεργὸς ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖνου κελεύσαντος· «Τοῦτο γάρ, φησί, ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.»" *De vita* V, 22.

brought into effect.⁹⁷ This delineation, along with other references to 'prayers of the priest', could easily be taken as a proof of commitment to the full consecratory effect of the words of institution.

Nonetheless, our earlier investigation has pointed to the fundamental role of the Spirit in the actualization of the sacrifice. Cabasilas associates the operation of the priest firmly with the sanctifying power of the Spirit by surmising that Christ's request or order of Eucharistic remembrance of him actually contains an allusion to the Holy Spirit. According to Cabasilas, Christ could not have advised the apostles to celebrate the Eucharist, had he at the same time not given them the Spirit as the power to fulfil his commandment. As a consequence, the Spirit has ever since Pentecost been in the church to "accomplish the mysteries through the hand and tongue of the priests."⁹⁸ Certainly, the Spirit is not only for Cabasilas some kind of divine guarantor of the consecratory power that would already be fully contained in and working through the words of institution. In maintaining the importance of the Spirit's operation in accomplishing the mysteries, Cabasilas affiliates himself with the prevailing Eastern Christian conception of the Spirit as the sanctifier of the Eucharistic gifts. Traditionally it is the epiclesis that has been understood as the main activator of the Spirit's operation.⁹⁹ Yet, in Cabasilas' references the connection with the actual prayer of epiclesis has not, at least so far, been especially direct.

Despite the firmness of the pneumatological dimension in his presentation of the effective elements of the transformation, the manner of Cabasilas' illustration of the words of institution establishes a clear connection with the presence of Christ's sanctifying power at the very heart of the celebration of the mystery. Thus, Cabasilas' christocentricism dovetails with his views of Christ as the begetter of the Spirit and the original declaimer of the institutive words at the moment of the consecration. The interrelationship between the constitutive elements of the transformation is in some respects unclear. This has puzzled scholars to some degree: is it a sign of Cabasilas' inconsistency. Or should it be read as an attempt to break away from attributing the change just to one or the other of the divine persons, Son or the Spirit, alone?¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ "Τούτων δὲ ἠγόμενων καὶ εἰρημένων, τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἱερουργίας ἦνυσται καὶ τετέλεσται καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἠγιασθή καὶ ἡ θυσία ἀπηρτίσθη καὶ τὸ μέγα θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου σφαγὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱεράς πραπέζης ὁράται κείμενον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

⁹⁸ "Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐκέλευσε καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἀπάση τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. "Τοῦτο γάρ, φησί, ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν", οὐκ ἂν κελύσας τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ δύναμιν ἐνθήσειεν ἐμελλε, ὥστε δύνασθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις; Το Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἡ ἐξ ὕψους τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὀπίσσω δύναμις, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. [- -]. Οὐ γὰρ κατελθὼν ἄπαξ εἶτα ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔστι καὶ ἔσται μεχρὶ παντός. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἵνα μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα [- -]. Τοῦτο [τὸ Πνεῦμα] διὰ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελεσιουργεῖ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 2. [italics mine]

⁹⁹ Although the special role of Spirit-epiclesis in consecration is undeniably emphasised in the Eastern Orthodox Church, the words of institution and importance of parts of Eucharistic canon is not undermined. It follows that the change of Eucharistic elements ensues from the whole Eucharistic prayer, which ends and culminates with the epiclesis. The epiclesis in itself, separated from the totality of the Eucharistic prayer, would not have a consecratory effect.

¹⁰⁰ Dix seems to be to some degree perplexed by Cabasilas' way of thinking: "I confess I do not fully understand this very embarrassed passage." He finds incoherence in Cabasilas' designation of the transformation of the gifts both to the Spirit and Christ. At the same time Dix acknowledges

The question is clarified by justifications Cabasilas presents when he attempts to resolve the differences between Greek and Latin understanding of the change of Eucharistic elements. He grounds his reasoning on certain aspects proposed in John Chrysostom's writings. The reason for commenting on exactly these elements of Chrysostom's ideas results from the fact that certain Latin or Latin-minded theologians used Chrysostom corroborate their criticism of the epiclesis. Cabasilas stands against their views. Who exactly the critics are cannot be detected from Cabasilas' writings. Previous research has not been able to determine with whom Cabasilas had a dispute on the epiclesis' status in the actualisation of the transformation of the gifts.¹⁰¹ In other words, what is known of his opponents is based on what Cabasilas himself tells of their arguments.

Chrysostom's statement on the creative power of God's word (cf. Gen. 1:22; 8:17, 9:7) provides the basis for the criticism of the Latin-minded theologians. After comparing the words of institution to God's fiat of creation, Chrysostom states that Christ himself, through his words repeated by the priest, transforms the Eucharistic gifts into his own body and blood. Thus it is God alone who is the source of transformative power (Σχήμα πληρῶν ἔστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, φησί. Τοῦτο τὸ ῥήμα μεταρρύθμιζει τὰ προκειμένα). Just as God's once spoken commandment to "be fruitful and increase in number" (Gen. 1:28) takes effect in men forever, every Eucharistic sacrifice is accomplished through the power of Christ's once spoken words of institution until his second coming ([- -] ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἐκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται). Hence, based on Chrysostom's conviction, God's mighty word is sufficient to enforce the transformation.¹⁰² Accordingly, those who in addition call for an epiclesis do not have

Cabasilas' attempt as probably the most successful harmonisation of two differently-oriented views of consecration. Dix 1945, 282, 293. Craig finds no problems in consolidating Cabasilas' insights with Western tradition. He points out that Cabasilas does not separate Pentecost from Golgotha, but interprets the Eucharist from the perspective of trinitarian operation. Dix's suggestion of inconsistency is thus incorrect. Craig concludes that Cabasilas plainly explicates Eastern Christian experience in which no distinction is made to discern the difference of Son's operation from the Spirit's work. Craig 1957, 26-27. Tsirpanlis and Mantovanis also find fault in Dix's attitude. Tsirpanlis interprets Dix's difficulty in comprehending Cabasilas as resulting from a Western captivity of mind. According to Tsirpanlis, Cabasilas' way of thinking is alien to Western tradition, and Dix cannot understand Cabasilas' trinitarian approach to the Eucharistic event. Tsirpanlis s.a., 58-59. Mantovanis claims that Dix has underestimated the status given by Cabasilas to the words of institution. Mantovanis 1984, 279.

¹⁰¹ Salaville (1967, 312, 317) observes that the dispute originates from the 13th century. As a consequence of the Fourth Crusade, the Latin theologians confronted Greek liturgical tradition and customs. They were baffled by an emphasis on the epiclesis, characteristic to Eastern Christian tradition, with which they were not familiar. This led to a dispute on the authenticity of certain Eucharistic practices. Salaville assumes that the Greeks opposed Latin conceptualisations, seen, for example, in Thomas Aquinas' writings. The concept of the form and an emphasis on the words of consecration as a central element of sacramental validity may have caused distrust among the Greeks. Salaville presupposes that Cabasilas' presentation follows the lines adopted by the Greeks and Latins respectively in their opposition of the other party.

¹⁰² *In proditionem judae*. PG 49, col. 380. Interestingly, the very same paragraph by Chrysostom is cited in CCC when conversion of the bread and wine is explained. Even though Chrysostom's own words clearly emphasize the power of Christ's words, the citation is introduced with a reference to patristic

faith in the power of God's word but put their trust on themselves instead. Since the epiclesis can be considered equal to faltering human prayer, God does not necessary accept it.¹⁰³

After presenting such logic of the would-be abolitionists of the epiclesis, Cabasilas aims to overturn it. First of all, he does not accept that God's word automatically leads to its consummation. Human actualization is required as well. Therefore, Cabasilas argues, the command to be fruitful and multiply enables marriage, without which God's commandment would not be implemented. When drawing a parallel between God's commandment and the words of institution, he nevertheless assures his reader of his faith in the consummating nature of the words of Christ. Yet, he specifies that the words come into effect only through the prayers and pleas made by the priest (πιστεύομεν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐνεργούντα τὸ μυστήριον τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον· ἀλλ' οὕτω διὰ ἱερέως, δι' ἐντεῦξενος αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐχῆς). Thus, the words of institution as such are not effective in themselves if uttered whenever. In order to prove his point Cabasilas makes a comparison to Christian life. Even though the sacrifice of Christ brought about redemption for the entire world, being saved necessitates prayer and repentance from individual Christians. Delighting in the fruits of atonement is thus enabled by human activity that yearns for communion with God.¹⁰⁴

Cabasilas also contests the idea that praying to God is as a sign of placing reliance on human power. Quite the contrary, says Cabasilas, confidence in a prayer is a sign of faith in God, not in man's power. Unlike the critics maintain, it is precisely the prayer that gives evidence for trusting God rather than man.¹⁰⁵ Cabasilas specifies that men would not even dare to address God unless he had expressed it as his particular wish. In addition, when praying, man confesses his own helplessness to attain temporal things on his own, not to speak of supernatural ones. Hence, justification of the epiclesis is anchored by Cabasilas in man's dependency on God. Believing in "sanctification by

affirmation "in the efficacy of the Word of Christ and of the action of the Holy Spirit to bring about this conversion." CCC 1995, 1375. Taft refers to the very passage by Chrysostom when proving that Roman and Byzantine liturgical expressions are reconcilable in their eucharistic doctrine. Taft 1996, 227.

¹⁰³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 4. Craig states that in Cabasilas' interpretation the words of institution are "the basic instrument of consecration". They, however, call for the epiclesis "to be 'Applied' or 'Adapted'." To quote Craig's analysis on Cabasilas' view, "the Words of institution are the words of predisposing consecration of eucharistic elements in general, and the words of the Invocation are the particular consecration of the elements on the altar." Consummation of the consecration only after the invocation underscores the pneumatological aspect of Cabasilas' eucharistic thinking. Further, Craig maintains that a pneumatological emphasis does not render Christ a passive victim, unlike the manner in which Dix interprets Cabasilas. Craig 1957, 24-26. Taft finds Cabasilas' view to be similar to that of modern (Roman Catholic) understanding of the anaphora: the epiclesis and institution narrative are interdependent in the anaphora. Taft 1996, 230

¹⁰⁵ "Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν εὐχὴν τοῖς εὐχομένοις τὸ μὴ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ μόνῳ πιστεύειν εὐρήσειν αὐτά. Καὶ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ εὐχόμενος, δι' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἀφείς, εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καταφεύγει, ὡς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κατέγνω δυνάμεως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Θεῷ πᾶν ἐπιτρέπει. Οὐκ ἐμόν, φησί, τοῦτο οὐδὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἰσχύος, ἀλλὰ σοῦ δεῖται καὶ σοὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀνατίθημι. Καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν καὶ πάντα νικῶντα λόγον εὐχόμεθα, οἷα τὰ τῶν μυστηρίων." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 5-6.

prayer” does not mean that the Saviour’s words are despised.¹⁰⁶ Cabasilas concludes with the statement that the sanctifying power of “prayer of a priest” (εὐχή τοῦ ἱερέως) consists in God’s authority, not that of man.¹⁰⁷ God will send, according to his promise, the Spirit to all of those who ask him for it (cf. John 14:26).¹⁰⁸ Cabasilas’ conclusion on the transformative power of the epiclesis epitomises his faith in the divine operation *ad extra* as the constituting factor for subjective reception of the grace-filled effects of his presence to the world. Man is not capable of attaining God without God’s help.

To continue, the prayer by the priest and the words of Christ represent different modes of verbal communication: prayer and narration. Identification of the latter with the words of institution becomes evident in Cabasilas’ specification that Christ pronounced them in a narrative sense. Authenticity of this manner of exegesis is, according to Cabasilas, illustrated by the fact that none of the apostles or doctors of the church have considered these words a sufficient condition for consecration of the Eucharist.¹⁰⁹ Hence, the status of the prayer (the epiclesis) is emphasised in the tradition over the words of institution (Καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐχῆ τὰ μυστικά τελεῖν οἱ Πατέρες παρέδωκαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους ἐκδεξαμένων παραλαβόντες [- -]). Cabasilas rather strongly concludes that the mindset of critics of the epiclesis is opposed to right belief, and that maintaining such a view consequently leads to the destruction of Christianity (Καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἄλλο λοιπὸν ἢ πάντα τὸν Χριστιανισμόν ἐκ μέσου ποιῆσαι, ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῶν).¹¹⁰

Having presented such an extreme opinion, Cabasilas is not denouncing Latin Christendom as a whole. He still keeps to his steadfast appreciation of an epiclesis-orientated Eucharistic practice, even regarding it as the factual principle of interpretation in Latin tradition as well. Cabasilas thus ends up arguing that one would err in maintaining that the Latin Church disapproves the practice of praying on behalf of the Eucharistic gifts after the words of institution. A negative stand towards the epiclesis is

¹⁰⁶ “Οὕτως οἱ τῶν ἁγιασμόν τῶν δώρων τῆ εὐχῆ πιστεύοντες οὔτε τοῦ Σωτήρος ταῖς φωναῖς περιορῶσιν [- -].” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 10.

¹⁰⁷ “Τότε γάρ τῷ Θεῷ μόνῃ θαρρεῖν τοὺς εὐχόμενους πάσα ἀνάγκη. Ταῦτα γάρ οὔτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνατὸν ἦν ἀνθρώπων μὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ διδάξαντος, οὔτε ἐπιθυμηθῆναι μὴ ἐκείνου παραινέσαντος· οὔτε προσδοκῆσαι λαβεῖν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ ἀψευδοῦς τοῦτο ἐλπίσαντος [- -]. Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἁγιασμόν τῆ εὐχῆ τοῦ ἱερέως πιστεύομεν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπίνῃ τινὶ ἄλλ’ ὡς Θεοῦ δυνάμει θαρροῦντες.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 6-7. Even though Cabasilas unquestionably aims here to justify usage of the epiclesis, he nevertheless does not use the word epiclesis itself in his argument. Instead he speaks somewhat vaguely of “prayer of a priest”. Designating the epiclesis as “prayer of a priest” can be understood as an attempt to indicate the centrality of the epiclesis in the eucharistic prayer. See Congar (1983, 233-234), who also interprets the phrase “εὐχή τοῦ ἱερέως” as a reference to the epiclesis. In *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 11-14 Cabasilas argues that prayer said by the priest constitutes an essential sanctifying element in the other mysteries as well: chrismation, repentance, anointing of the sick and priesthood.

¹⁰⁸ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 20.

¹⁰⁹ “Τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων λόγον, ἐν εἶδει διηγήσεως λεγόμενον, πρὸς ἁγιασμόν τῶν δώρων ἀρκεῖν οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἀποστόλων οὔτε τῶν διδασκάλων εἰπὼν φαίνεται” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 22.

¹¹⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX 19-21. It is especially on the authority of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom that Cabasilas’ relies in arguing for the epiclesis. This is most probably due to the undisputable status in Eastern Christianity of the anaphoras attached to their names. There are no direct references by Cabasilas to any other specified works of the two fathers.

but a product of individual opinions of harmful innovators, not a genuine representation of the stance of the Latin Church.¹¹¹

To summarize, Cabasilas maintains that the power of the words of institution becomes actualised only after the priest's prayer, just like salvation can be attained by those who aspire to it. In addition, even though Cabasilas demonstrates that the words of institution are not effective by definition, he does not oppose Chrysostom's view – promoted by the Latin-minded opponents – of the creative power of God's commandment. Further, he seems to bind himself strongly to the epiclesis as a central consecratory element in the Eucharistic canon. In maintaining this view he does not, however, completely contest the efficacy of the words of institution, even though he links their validity to the epiclesis. This perception undoubtedly derives from the liturgical and Eucharistic traditions of Eastern Christianity, the very foundation for Cabasilas' conceptualisations. This also explains the manner of his interpretation of the passages in Chrysostom centred on the words of institution. The anaphora of St. John Chrysostom as liturgical witness clearly is for Cabasilas a weightier criterion of epicletic interpretation of the change than selected passages in favour of the words of institution from Chrysostom's writings.

At this point we turn to Cabasilas' statements regarding Latin understanding of the change. In order to evaluate the validity of his interpretation, we will undertake an examination of Hugh of St. Victor's, Peter Lombard's and Thomas Aquinas' conceptions of the relation between the words of institution and the invocation of the Spirit. This will provide some basis for estimating how Cabasilas coheres with the emphases of Scholastic Eucharistic theology of the Late Middle Ages. To start with, there is an uncontested emphasis on the consecratory function of the words of institution in the Scholastic Latin tradition. This is clear already in the three Latin theologians' definitions of sacrament.

¹¹¹ "Φανερόν τοίνυν ὡς τὸ ἀτιμάζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δώρων εὐχήν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον οὐδὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Λατίνων ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐνίων ὀλίγων καὶ νεωτέρων, οἱοὶ καὶ τᾶλλα αὐτὴν ἐλυμήναντο." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 17. Based on his analysis on Cabasilas' and his opponents' argumentation Congar (1983, 234) concludes that the opinions of the two sides do not necessarily overrule the other. Taken together, they rather give a cohesive expression of what the Eucharistic mystery means. To quote Congar, "the consecration of the sacred gifts is the act of Christ, sovereign high priest who is active through his minister *and* through the Holy Spirit." Hardin (1981, 460-462) claims that the Eastern Church explains the change by a term μετουσίωσις. He maintains that μετουσίωσις is used to express the transformation of the elements that takes place after the priest pronounces the words of institution. Further, long before a concept of substantial change or transubstantiation became adopted as an expression of the change, it had become customary in the East to explain the change as change of substance. The term *ousia* was already at an early stage used in referring to the essence of the bread and wine. The *ousia* of Christ was respectively understood to take its place after consecration. Hardin thus claims that the roots of the Scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation are not in Aristotelian philosophy but in the Eastern Christian Eucharistic tradition. Hardin rightly highlights that the Eastern Christian tradition is committed to Eucharistic realism. Yet, not every proposition of his is easily associated with the commonly-held reading of the basic convictions of Eastern Christian Eucharistic doctrine. Both the allegation of the consecratory power of the words of institution and the claim of understanding the change as substantial have a relatively remote point of contact with the doctrine that Orthodox Christians stand for. This is seen e.g. in Ott's (1952, 454-455) delineation of modern Orthodox theology in which exact definitions are refrained from. As an example Ott mentions μετουσίωσις, the Greek equivalent for transubstantiation. Unlike Hardin, Ott maintains that it is not used by the Orthodox themselves in describing the manner of transformation.

According to Hugh, a sacrament consists of three factors. Alongside the *similitudo* between the Eucharistic elements and spiritual contents of the sacrament there is the *institution* and *sanctification* that make the Eucharist a sacrament. Adapting Augustine's definition of sacrament, Hugh defines sanctification as a consequence of the word's merging with matter. Even though Hugh does not list which elements of the rite are the exact equivalent to the factors constituting the sacrament, there is but little doubt that merging word with matter would not be a result of pronouncing the very words of institution.¹¹² This reading is supported by Hugh's other threefold presentation of the composition of the sacrament: contents (*rebus*), action (*factis*) and words (*verba*). Although the liturgical pairs of these elements are not specified here either, it is obvious that the word (of institution) has a central place in Hugh's understanding of the sacrament of Eucharist and its consecration.¹¹³ Such conviction is explicitly stated by Lombard, who proposes that Christ himself gave in the words of institution the form of the sacrament. Pronouncing these words transforms bread and wine into his body and blood.¹¹⁴

The consecratory nature and function of the words of institution are likewise emphasised by Aquinas. He shares Hugh's Augustinian definition of sacrament as a derivative of word conjoining matter. The words of institution are for Aquinas the exclusive constitutive factor in making the Eucharist. This opinion is illustrated in his explanation of how the Eucharist differs from other sacraments. Unlike the rest of the sacraments, the Eucharist is actualised as sacrament at the exact moment of its

¹¹² The exact definition of a sacrament, according to Hugh, is: "[- -] sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum foris sensibiliter propositum ex similitudine repraesentans, et ex institutione significans, et ex sanctificatione continens aliquam invisibilem et spiritalem gratiam. [- -] Hoc autem interesse videtur, quod habet ex prima eruditione, institutionem ex superaddita dispensatione, sanctificationem ex apposita verbi, vel signi benedictione." As an example he mentions baptism, in which water as the material element has a similitudo with both creation and operation of the Holy Spirit. Institution originates from Christ's operation and sanctification from the word's merging with the matter of a sacrament. *De sacramentis* I, 9, ii. PL 176, col. 317D-318D. Even though Hugh does not specify the exact sacramental components of the Eucharist, it can be presumed that the bread and wine have a similitudo of spiritual nourishment. When it comes to institution, there is nothing unclear. Besides, pronouncing the words of institution most probably fulfills the requirement of the word's conjoining matter.

¹¹³ The body and blood of Christ constitute the *res* of the sacrament of the Eucharist. There is no direct reference to practical and verbal dimensions in Hugh's explication of the Eucharist. Yet, he alludes to the words of institution in a statement concerning the utterance of words exposing the sacrament and sanctity. *De sacramentis* I, 9, vi. PL 176, col. 326B-D. Here Hugh connects with the Roman Catholic tradition, derived from Augustine, of highlighting the significance of the word's conjoining with action. Cf. Ott 1952, 393.

¹¹⁴ "Forma vero est, quam ipse ibidem edidit dicens: Hoc est corpus meum; et post: Hic est sanguis meus. Cum enim haec verba proferuntur, conversio fit panis et vini in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi [- -]." *Sententiae* Liber IV, 8, IV. Lombard builds on Ambrose and Augustine in his presentation of transformation due to the power of the words of institution. *Sententiae* Liber IV, 10, II, i-vi. He designates the words as the form of the sacrament (*forma*). In addition, there are elements of institution (*institutio*), sacrament, i.e. the elements (*sacramentum*) and content (*res*). Congar (1983, 238) questions the absoluteness of the consecratory function of the words of institution in Lombard's thought. According to Congar, Lombard stresses the importance of both the communality of the church and the descent of an angel on account of the epicletic *Supplices te rogamus* plea in making the Eucharist. Congar grounds his argument regarding Lombard's statement on an excommunicated priest's incompetence in celebrating a valid Eucharist due to lack of communality and presence of the heavenly host. Thus, the words of institution are not consecratory in isolation from the Eucharistic synaxis.

consecration. A prerequisite for the other sacraments to be accomplished is the use of the physical element typical of them. Hence, they are actualised only when partaken of. What makes the Eucharist so special is that *res* and *sacramentum* are conjoined in its material element. *Res tantum*, the effective grace, lies with the recipient of the sacrament. Consequently, the Eucharist is not an instrumental sacrament. In contrast to other sacraments, it is fully accomplished even if not used or communed in.¹¹⁵ Thus, Aquinas' opinion is very clear: the Eucharist is accomplished when the consecratory words are pronounced. The Eucharist embodies sacramental fullness whether it is distributed to the faithful or not.

Already at this point it can be observed that the three Latin theologians' arguments do not support Cabasilas' claim of existence (and acknowledging) of some other consummating element besides the consecratory words within the Latin tradition. Rather, the Latins strongly emphasize the importance of the words of institution. Pronouncing of the words is seen by them as an exact moment of conversion of the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood. Of the three Latin theologians it is especially Aquinas who carefully takes notice of that liturgical moment. He begins by stating that by the power of words spoken by the priest transsubstantiation takes place. Until that point, the substance of the bread (and allegedly wine as well) exists in the elements. The very last moment of sounding of the words of institution is the first instant of existence of the body (and blood) and non-existence of the substance of the bread (and the wine). Relying on Aristotle's conceptions of time, Aquinas points out that the very last moment of the presence of the bread cannot be strictly demarcated. Time does not consist of separate units of moments that follow one another. However, the last moment of uttering of the words of institution marks the beginning of existence of the substance of Christ's body in the Eucharist. At that point becoming something has turned into having become into something.¹¹⁶ In a word, when the last sound of the words of institution is resounding,

¹¹⁵ "Et ideo sacramentum Eucharistiae perficitur in ipsa consecratione materiae: alia vero sacramenta perficiuntur in applicatione materiae ad hominem sanctificandum. [- -] Nam in sacramento Eucharistiae id quod est res et sacramentum est in ipsa materia; id autem quod est res tantum est in suscipiente, scilicet gratia quae confertur." *STh* 3a. 73, 1, ad. 3; "[- -] sed forma huius sacramenti importat solam consecratione materiae, quae in transsubstantiatione consistit; puta cum dicitur, 'Hoc est corpus meum', vel 'Hic est calix sanguinis mei'." *STh* 3a. 78, 1, res. The mediaeval incident-centred perception of the Eucharist is well expressed in Aquinas' thinking. The focus is thus on celebration or performing of the sacrament or sacrifice. Actual reception of the sacrament is of a subsidiary nature. Pelikan 1978, 79-80.

¹¹⁶ "[- -] conversio [- -] perficitur per verba Christi, quae sacerdote proferuntur, ita quod ultimum instans prolationis verborum est primum instans in quo est in sacramento corpus Christi, in toto autem tempore praecedente est ibi substantia panis. [- -] tempus non componitur ex instantibus consequenter se habentibus ut probatur in *Physic*. Et ideo est quidem dare instans in quo est corpus Christi, non est autem dare ultimum instans in quo sit substantia panis, sed est dare ultimum tempus. [- -] in mutationibus instantaneis simul est fieri et factum esse [- -]." *STh* 3a. 75, 7, ad. 1-2; "[- -] substantia panis vel vini manet usque ad ultimum instans consecrationis. In ultimo autem instanti consecrationis iam est ibi substantia vel corporis vel sanguinis Christi [- -]." *STh* 3a. 75, 3, res. In *Contra gentiles* 63, 3 Aquinas states – in opposing the idea of local change – that consecration does not require time: it takes place at the very instant the words of consecration are uttered. Cf. also *STh* 3a. 78, 2, res. and *STh* 3a. 78, 4, ad. 3. See also Aristotle's *Physics* VI, 1. 231b; VIII, 8. 263b. Aquinas notes that some believe that Christ consecrated the Eucharist without a distinct form, i.e. the words of institution. Others assume that the exact words used by Christ are unknown or that apostles used different variations in celebrating the Eucharist. Aquinas rebuts these opinions and

the substance of the bread has turned into the substance of Christ's body. This event is designated by Aquinas as transubstantiation. Utterance of the words of institution thus marks the exact moment of consummation of the sacrament, despite the fact that the exact instant of conversion of one substance into another cannot be pinpointed.¹¹⁷

Besides, the words of institution do not only signify for Aquinas the moment of the change, but they also are the most fundamental element of the celebration of the Eucharist. Christ's exhortation to "take and eat" is, according to Aquinas, directed to already-consecrated elements. Consequently, these words are not necessary for the formula of the Eucharist.¹¹⁸ The Eucharist is accomplished by the words of institution alone. No matter when or where the priest utters them, they have the power to transform bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. Aquinas boldly concludes that no other part of the canon of the mass constitutes a requirement for celebration of the sacrament of the Eucharist – even though he does not approve of celebration of the Eucharist in such a reduced manner. It is not only the liturgy that Aquinas sees as subsidiary but the distribution of the Eucharist as well (*hoc sacramentum perficitur in consecratione materiae: usus autem fidelium non est de necessitate sacramenti*).¹¹⁹ In a word, the words of institution comprise both the minimum requirement and absolute fullness of the Eucharist.

points out that from the Gospel an exact and valid form of celebration can be reconstructed. *STh* 3a. 78, 1, ad. 1. The views presented – and condemned – by Aquinas are not unfamiliar to modern Eucharistic theology. For example, the linkage between the established liturgical form of the words of institution with the historical reality of the institution narrative has been questioned. More on this see Smolarski 1982, 25-27.

¹¹⁷ Aquinas points out that the body becomes present when the words focused on the bread are said. Correspondingly, the blood becomes present when the words referring to the wine are spoken. Despite the difference in 'timing', i.e. designating the body before the blood, the two substances become present at the same time. Due to natural interconnectedness, the blood can be said already to be present when the body appears. Equally the presence of the body is with the blood. As a result, the fullness of Christ is totally present in both. *STh* 3a. 78, 6, ad. 1. In *Contra gentiles* 63, 9 it is only the effective nature of the words of consecration on the bread that is discussed and the "problem" caused by the words over the wine is not covered. Buxton (1976, 42-43) proposes that in disavowing consecrating bread and wine separately, Aquinas aims to protect the principle of natural interconnectedness. Ott (1952, 393-394) observes that when Aristotelian terminology is adapted to sacramental theology, conjoining of the word with the matter is seen as moral. Therefore the merging cannot be seen as happening at an exact moment of time.

¹¹⁸ *STh* 3a. 78, 1, ad. 2.

¹¹⁹ *STh* 3a. 74, 7, res. Aquinas' opinion about the consecratory nature of the words of institution is shown well in the following: "Unde dicendum est quod, si sacerdos sola verba praedicta profferret cum intentione conficiendi hoc sacramentum, perficeretur hoc sacramentum: quia intentio faceret ut haec verba intelligerentur quasi ex persona Christi prolata, etiam si verbis praecedentibus hoc non recitaretur." *STh* 3a. 78, 1, ad. 4. Buxton (1976, 42) observes that Aquinas' understanding of the consecration is unequivocal: the words of institution are the only indispensable element. The inflexibility of this opinion is, according to Buxton, enhanced by the fact that Aquinas set apart the biblical words from the other words attached to the canon and to the words of institution in particular. He sees them dispensable when it comes to the requirements for consecration. Yet, as opposed to ecclesial practice, an extra-liturgical consecration of the elements is according to Aquinas a sin. There is thus a distinction between the closely connected substance and inalienable liturgical form (i.e. the words of institution) and that of accidental liturgical forms. Thus, the content and the form of the sacrament are unambiguous and stable, but the rite may vary and has diversity. On independence of the content of the sacrament from liturgical forms see Ott 1952, 404-405. On the relation between consummation of the sacrament and the words of institution see *STh* 3a. 75, 7, ad. 3.

The rite or use of the sacrament is for Aquinas separate from the sacramental completeness of the Eucharist. Here we see an evident difference between him and Cabasilas, who is far more liturgically oriented than Aquinas. Cabasilas also highlights the duration of Christ's multi-level presence, which can be detected also elsewhere in the liturgy notwithstanding the centrality of the somatic realism of his presence in the Eucharistic elements. Cabasilas hence emphasizes the overall meaning of the Eucharistic synaxis, while Aquinas scours the least *sine qua non*. In addition, Cabasilas admittedly maintains that the pneumatological aspect has a significant impact on consecration. The Latin scholars, however, strongly hold to an interpretation centred on the words of institution. On these grounds it is not surprising that the Latin authors do not seem to have as strong an interest in the Spirit's role. Yet, this does not mean that they do not link the operation of the Spirit with the Eucharist. Their pneumatological insights into the Eucharistic mystery are therefore now discussed in order to find some balancing views to their word-orientation.

In Lombard's *Sententiae* there are a couple of citations – attributed by him to Augustine and Gregory the Great respectively – in which the active role of the Spirit in the Mass, even a consecratory operation, is referred to. However, these quotations are problematic in two ways. Firstly, Lombard simply presents the citations without any analysis of his own. The other problem is that he does not elucidate the issue of change with the citations at issue. Instead, the context of the quotations is his critique of the validity of a Eucharist celebrated by heretics.¹²⁰ Apparently Lombard is not opposing the views manifested in the citations used by him. Even though he agrees with the views, there are yet very little grounds for making any far-reaching conclusions on his understanding of the Spirit's role in the transformation of the Eucharistic elements.

Aquinas, in turn, opens up a more fruitful discussion. When presenting the foundations of transsubstantiation he cites John of Damascus' pneumatologically-centred description of the change: "Dicit enim Damascenus, Sola virtute Spiritus Sancti fit conversio panis in corpus Christi."¹²¹ Hence, Aquinas is well informed of the traditional epicletic stress in the Eastern Christian explanation of the transformation. Uniting the operation of the Spirit with the event of change does not abolish, according to him, the instrumental power contained in the form of the sacrament. In the Eucharist it is specifically the words of institution that embody *virtus instrumentalis*. The originator of that power is Jesus Christ, to whom the Spirit's operation in the Eucharist is subordinated. In order to make this point clear Aquinas compares Spirit's role to a craftsman who is making a knife. He cannot, however, attain his goal without using a hammer, an instrument.¹²² The lesson of the allegory obviously is that the Spirit is like a

¹²⁰ *Sententiae* Liber IV, 13, I, i-iii. The citation of Augustine actually comes from Paschasius Radbertus. Lombard quotes his passage on the change occurring irrespective of the celebrant. Thus, the change is a corollary of the effect of God's word and operation of the Holy Spirit. The Eucharist is celebrated with Christ's words. Besides, Christ himself, with the Spirit's power, transforms the elements into his body and blood. Cf. Paschasius Radbertus, *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* 12, 1. PL 120, col. 1310B-C. In another passage Lombard builds upon Isidorus of Sevilla's idea of the Spirit as an invisible celebrant and consecrator of the sacraments. This thought Lombard attributes to Gregory the Great. Cf. Isidorus of Sevilla, *Etymologiarum* VI, xviii, 38-42. PL 82, col. 255B-256D.

¹²¹ *STh* 3a. 78, 4. Cf. *Exposito fidei* 86, 76-83.

¹²² *STh* 3a. 78, 4, ad. 1.

craftsman who needs an instrument – consecrative words of Christ – to reach his goal: consummation of the sacrament.

In order to explicate more clearly the instrumental nature of sacraments, Aquinas starts with a definition of a sacrament as being simultaneously an effecting cause and a sign or symbol (*sacramenta simul sunt causae et signa*). Consequently, sacraments effect what they signify (*efficiunt quod figurant*). The presence of divine grace in the sacraments is enacted in a similar manner as a tool or a vessel can be said to be an instrument of a certain operation or work. Aquinas states that defining a sacrament as an instrumental cause of grace necessitates the presence of effect-activating *virtus instrumentalis* in the sacrament. However, an instrument cannot produce its characteristic effect unless it is moved by a prime 'agent'. The efficacy of a sacrament is thus dependent on the power of Christ, the prime agent, and the actualising operation by the priest.¹²³ Aquinas apparently regards the sacraments as instruments of Christ's grace. The sacrament is actualised when the priest pronounces *in persona Christi* the consecratory words. No other plea for God's intervention or effect of his grace is needed. In sum, the Eucharist as a sacrament is for Aquinas a God-given sign, effecting its object of signifying through expression of its unique form (i.e. uttering the words of consecration) without any additional 'activities' such as the consecrating operation of the Spirit.

Nevertheless, in discussing the aspect of ministry in the consecration Aquinas makes a further reference to Spirit's role as well. He begins by stating that since the priest pronounces the words of institution *in persona Christi*, a sinful and worthless priest can also sanctify the gifts. Aquinas then proceeds actually to connect the Spirit's operation with that of Christ. In line with Pope Gelasius, he maintains that it is by Christ's power, not that of the priest, that the Spirit descends at the moment of the consecration.¹²⁴ What does this mean? Upon what does the Spirit descend? Unfortunately Aquinas leaves these questions unanswered. There are no further specifications as to what he actually means by the Spirit's descent at the moment of consecration. It can, however, be concluded that the Spirit's action is somehow connected to the consecration. Since the words of institution incontrovertibly are for Aquinas the centre of Eucharistic activity and

¹²³ "[- -] sicut virtus instrumentalis acquiritur instrumento ex hoc ipso quod movetur ab agente principali, ita et sacramentum consequitur spiritualem virtutem ex benedictione Christi et applicatione ministri ad usum sacramenti." *STh* 3a. 62, 1, ad. 1. See also *STh* 62, 3, ad. 1; 62, 4, res.; 62, 4, ad. 3. The instrumental model of explanation is one of the main elements in Aquinas' theology of the sacraments. Nocke (1992, 201) defines "die Idee der Instrumentalkausalität" as follows: "Die Sakramente sind Werkzeuge (causa instrumentalis = Instrumentalursache) in der Hand Gottes. Gott selbst bleibt das eigentliche Subjekt des Gnadenhandels; aber die Sakramente sind nicht nur aufgrund einer göttliche Anordnung (die auch ebensogut hätte unterbleiben können), sondern von der Sache selbst her notwendig." Similarly, Barden (1965c, 207) stresses the importance of instrumental causality in Aquinas' thought: "The philosophical idea of physical instrumental cause plays a commanding rôle." God is the real *causa*, while man as a part of a creation belongs to the category of secondary cause. With regard to the Eucharist, the priest's operation can be seen as an instrumental, physical cause of divine grace, the primary cause of sacramentality.

¹²⁴ The conception of consecration of the gifts done *in persona Christi* is exemplified in the following: "Sacerdos consecrat hoc sacramentum non virtute propria, sed sicut minister Christi, in cuius persona consecrat hoc sacramentum." *STh* 3a. 82, 5, res. According to Aquinas' reading, Pope Gelasius aims to point out with his reference to the descent of the Spirit that it takes place not due to the priest's merits but by the power of Christ's words (non advenit ex merito sacerdotis, sed ex virtute Christi, cuius verba profert sacerdos). *STh* 3a. 82, 5, ad. 3.

sacramental effectivity, the descent of the Spirit allegedly occurs due to their power. The Spirit is not directly invoked. Given that the words of Christ are pronounced *in persona Christi*, they have a divine efficacy. Christ becomes truly present in the sacrament and the Spirit descends upon the church, filling it with his power. In another passage Aquinas observes that it is the Spirit who begets membership in the Church-Body.¹²⁵ It is noteworthy that despite his emphasis on the consecratory words, Aquinas does not seem to consider the Eastern Christian epicletic tradition as an altogether incorrect interpretation. And yet, in spite of his knowledge of the Eastern tradition, Aquinas' commitment to the consecratory nature of the words of institution is in all respects so clear that there is no room for other kinds of readings of his concept of how the transformation of the Eucharistic gifts takes place.

Now that Lombard's and Aquinas' views regarding the Spirit's rather passive role in the consecration of the Eucharist have been examined, we may reconsider Cabasilas' accusation that it is an actual heresy not to recognise the consecratory function of the epiclesis.¹²⁶ Cabasilas' opinion must, firstly, be viewed against the background of his presuppositions. His thought is patently influenced by a firm tradition in which the role of the epiclesis is emphasised. Therefore, consecration resulting solely from the words of institution may, in effect, seem to him an inadequate explanation. Secondly, despite the force of Cabasilas' declaration, the resonance of pure rhetoric cannot be entirely ignored. By making his allegation he voices his own opinion efficiently and emphatically. Yet, the ultimate concern of Cabasilas seems not to be to point a finger at "infidels" but to demonstrate that certain assertions about the Eucharist do not cohere with either Greek or Latin traditions. In addition, he concludes that the issue of the change is irrefutably connected with theology of ministry:

Our commentators would hardly claim that the Lord's word would be effective if spoken by just anyone, and maybe even without an altar. And the altar, upon which the bread is placed, is also sanctified by myrrh, which is in turn consecrated by prayers. So, who can forgive us our sins with certainty if priests and their supplications are to be suspected?¹²⁷

¹²⁵ According to Aquinas, it is the Spirit who joins the members of Christ's Body to each other with bonds of love. *STh* 3a. 82, 6, ad. 3. As Congar (1983, 261-262) observes, Aquinas follows the general scholastic view when attributing the efficacy of the sacraments to the general operation of the Spirit. Love and faith, engendered by the Spirit, are in the church the means of being in communion with Christ and the other faithful.

¹²⁶ Cf. page 117.

¹²⁷ "Ούτε γάρ παρά ιδιώτου λεγόμενον τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον τελεσιουργὸν εἶναι φαῖεν ἂν οὐδ' αὐτοί, οὔτε χωρὶς θυσιαστηρίου. Καὶ γάρ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τιθέναι τὸν ἄρτον τῷ μύρῳ ἀγιάζεται, ὃ δὴ μύρον διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν τελεσιουργεῖται." Ἐτι δὲ ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν τίς ἡμῖν δώσει βεβαίως, τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δεήσεως ἀμφιβαλλομένων;" *Sacrae liturgiae* XXIX, 16-18. John Chrysostom presents the priest's role in the consecration in a similar manner: "Εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθῆ, καὶ ὁ μὴ πρῶγων τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνων, ἐκβέβληται τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἑτέρου μὲν οὐδενός, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν, τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγω." *De sacerdotio* III, 5. PG 48, col 643. Cabasilas' denial of the absolute consecratory nature of words of consecration authenticates the dispute between Latin and Greek scholars of the day. To quote Salaville, "Cette phrase atteste clairement les outrances de la polémique. Il ne saurait venir à l'idée de personne que l'efficacité de la parole du Sauveur 'Ceci est mon corps' soit telle, en soi, qu'il suffise au de cadre rituel établi par l'Église, pour assurer la consécration." Salaville then cites Aquinas' characterisation of the Eucharist as accomplished by consecration of the matter, brought

Assurance of the importance of ministry in the actualisation of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament indicates that in Cabasilas' understanding it is not only the pneumatological aspect of the Eucharistic miracle that is at stake but, at least to some extent, the authenticity of the ministry as well. The Latin emphasis on the words of institution spoken *in persona Christi* challenges Cabasilas' vision of the sacramental fullness of the Eucharistic event. Yet, he seemingly tries to present his conviction in a positive manner. This is seen in his doubt of the pervasiveness of the word-centred view among the Latins. Besides, he claims that in the Latin Mass there is also a prayer in which the transformation of the gifts is asked of God after the words of institution are pronounced. This leads us to examine Cabasilas' reading of this 'Latin epiclesis'.

4.3.2. Byzantine and Latin Invocation of the Spirit

Cabasilas intends to find a solution to the dispute over the manner and moment of the conversion of the gifts into Christ's body and blood. Congar connects him with the recurrence of the dispute over the epiclesis over 600 years after John of Damascus. Thus, according to Congar, Cabasilas belongs to the first phase of the fourteenth century controversy between the Greek and Latin theologians on the exact moment and causes of change. As Cabasilas' writings indicate, the Latins criticised the Greeks for adding a consecratory prayer into the Eucharistic canon following the narrative of the institution. Focusing on a precise moment unavoidably led to a contention which receded only after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39).¹²⁸ Even though adhering to the traditional explanations of the factors effecting the conversion prepared the way for collision and deadlock, Cabasilas' thinking contains the possibility of taking a more irenic stand in solving the question. He maintains that in the Latin Mass there is a prayer of consecration in addition to the words of institution. Cabasilas' survey on the 'Latin epiclesis' is scarcely referred to in previous research. It is mostly Mantovanis, who acknowledges the importance of the theme, nevertheless without himself engaging in full analysis.¹²⁹

Cabasilas bases this claim of a 'Latin epiclesis' on the prayer *Supplices te rogamus* in the *Missale Romanum*. According to him, the idea of the change and sanctification of the elements of the Eucharist is expressed in that prayer. Hence, it is parallel in meaning to the invocation of the Spirit in the epiclesis of the Byzantine liturgy: both prayers are consecratory in nature.¹³⁰ The prayer in case reads as follows:

about by power of God. This makes the Eucharist distinct from other sacraments, which are consummated, firstly, by priest's blessing and, secondly, when the sacramental matter in case is used. (cf. *STh* 3a, 78, 1, res). After this quotation Salaville attests, that "Cabasilas accepterait certainement cette lucide distinction, qui n'est pas sans apporter des nuances importantes analogies euchologiques indiquées par lui pour les divers rites sacramentels." Salaville 1967, 188-189.
¹²⁸ Congar 1983, 228. Cf. also Cabié 1983, 164; Dix 1945, 293; Meyendorff, J. 1974a, 206. Mantovanis states that Cabasilas was "the first Byzantine author to show clear awareness of the Western Standpoint, and to provide arguments against it." Mantovanis 1984, viii.

¹²⁹ Mantovanis simply summarizes Cabasilas' view without problematizing its inner tensions and considering the Latin point of view. Mantovanis 1984, 285-287.

¹³⁰ "Ο δὲ παντελῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστομίζει, ὅτι καὶ ἡ τῶν Λατίνων Ἐκκλησία, εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρειν δοκοῦσι, μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δώρων οὐ παραιτοῦνται [- -]. Τίς δὲ ἡ εὐχή; «Κέλευσον ἀνευχθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου εἰς τὸ ὑπερουραίνιον σου θυσιαστήριον.»" *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 1-2.

Most humbly we implore you, almighty God, bid these offerings to be brought by the hands of your holy Angel to your altar on high, before the face of your divine majesty; that as many of us as shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of your Son by partaking thereof from this altar, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace. Through the same Christ our Lord.¹³¹

It can be detected at first glance that in *Supplices te rogamus* there is no direct reference to transformation of the gifts whatsoever. Instead, the essential idea of the prayer is a request to be counted worthy of receiving blessings of the sacrament.¹³² The focus is thus on the communion and its effects, in other words, the post-consecratory part of the rite. The epicletic or consecratory nature of the prayer seems very shallow. On what basis does Cabasilas consider this prayer an equivalent to the epiclesis?

The key phrase in Cabasilas' interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* is the reference to the angel bearing the sacrifice. Carrying the offerings and placing them on the heavenly altar can mean but one thing: the offered elements are turned into the body and blood of Christ (Ἀὐτῆ ἡ εὐχὴ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστι δυναμένη τοῖς δόροις ἢ τὴν εἰς τὸ Κυριακὸν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβολῆν).¹³³ Thus, the right interpretation, as Cabasilas sees it, is based on a somewhat free adaptation of the text. While adhering to his own interpretation, Cabasilas opposes his critics by accusing them of misreading the prayer. On the one hand, they are deceived by the indirect formulation of the prayer: although it is the essential intention, the change of the elements is not explicitly asked for. On the other hand, the true significance of *Supplices te rogamus* may be missed, says Cabasilas, due to the fact that it is not said immediately after the words of institution – unlike the epiclesis in the Byzantine liturgy.¹³⁴ The logic of Cabasilas' reasoning is based on the intention he sees in the background of the prayer, rather than on its literal formulation. Since he proposes additional justifications to support the equation of angel's operation with transformation of the Eucharistic elements, he seems to recognise – at least implicitly – the frailty of resorting to such an “allegory” in his reading of the prayer.

Firstly, Cabasilas observes that reference to bearing or ascending cannot be understood locally. It simply is not reasonable to ask for the offerings to be physically elevated into heaven. Moreover, he asks, if the elements had already been transformed into the body and blood of Christ by the power of the words of consecration, why are they then asked to be transformed into something more precious than what they are? One certainly cannot imagine anything more valuable than Christ's body and blood.¹³⁵ Thus, Cabasilas perceives the plea of carrying the offerings onto the heavenly altar as a request that is directly connected with completion of the Eucharistic sacrifice. If this request were to be addressed to an already present body and blood of Christ, the absolute fullness of the sacrament would be challenged. Since the Eucharist cannot

¹³¹ For an ancient canon of Missale Romanum and the place of *Supplices te rogamus* in it see Jasper and Cuming 1975, 162-166.

¹³² E.g. Buxton (1976, 21) understands that in the prayer it is assumed that the Eucharist has been partaken of in order to receive the blessings that then are asked for.

¹³³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 8.

¹³⁴ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 1.

¹³⁵ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 4-6.

become something more than it already is, Cabasilas consequently maintains that the Latins – if they are in keeping with their own liturgical tradition – in actual fact think that the bread and wine are not transformed into the body and blood of Christ before *Supplices te rogamus* is said.¹³⁶ There is, however, a lack of logic in Cabasilas' train of thought. A literal reading of the *Supplices te rogamus* does not necessarily imply that the offerings are asked to become something more precious. The request for both bringing the offering before the face of God and receiving the blessing from the offering can surely be understood without any further change taking place in the offering.

Why does Cabasilas still maintain that *Supplices te rogamus* is actually an epiclesis and consecratory prayer? A possible explanation is that his interpretation is directed by his familiarity with the Byzantine rite. Identifying consecration with bringing the offering onto the heavenly altar is a theme manifested in the prayers of the Byzantine liturgy. As a matter of fact, elevating the gifts onto the altar on high is used in some prayers of the liturgy as an expression of consecration of the offerings. In the liturgies of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom the priest asks before the anaphora that the soon-accomplished offering would be received on the heavenly altar. It is particularly in the wording of St. Basil's liturgy that the emphasis is on the elevation of the offered sacrifice.¹³⁷ Further, after the Eucharistic prayer – and consecration of the elements – the priest refers in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom to "the precious gifts offered and consecrated" and urges the faithful to pray that "our loving God who has received them at His holy, heavenly, and spiritual altar (εις τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν θυσιαστήριον) as an offering of spiritual fragrance, may in return send upon us divine grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit."¹³⁸ Clearly, bringing the offering onto the heavenly altar has in the phraseology of the Byzantine liturgy an undeniable consecratory connotation. Taking note of these prayers makes Cabasilas' reading of *Supplices te rogamus* more intelligible. Actually, he comments on the latter prayer of the Byzantine liturgy and states that the change of the elements is worded as elevation of Eucharistic sacrifice before the face of God. Yet, the primary essence of that prayer is not, according to Cabasilas, to ask for lifting up of the offering but to plead for the grace of the Spirit.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ "Ὅθεν δῆλοι πάντως εἰσὶν ἄρτον ἔτι καὶ οἶνον μῆπω δεξάμενα τὸν ἀγιασμόν εἰδότες αὐτά· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐχονται μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτι δεομένων εὐχῆς, εὐχονται δὲ ἀνευχεθῆναι ὡς ἔτι κείμενα κάτω, καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὡς μῆπω τεθειμένα, ἵνα ἐκεῖ τεθέντα τυθῶσι." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 7.

¹³⁷ The idea of elevating the sacrifice is expressed in the liturgy of St. Basil the Great: "[- -] πρόσδεξαι ἡμᾶς προσεγγίζοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου ἵνα γενώμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν [- -]· ἣν προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας [- -]." In the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom the same idea is mentioned in connection to the sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving instead of the sacrifice of Christ: "[- -] πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς [- -]." Brightman 1896, 319, 380-381.

¹³⁸ Brightman 1896, 390.

¹³⁹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 16. Smolarski (1982, 79) points out that the Eucharistic prayer, the epiclesis included, is future-oriented. The central intention in the epiclesis prayers is thus, firstly, to plead for approval for the offering and, secondly, to ask for the blessings that follow from communing. Cabasilas clearly interprets *Supplices te rogamus* within these boundaries of intention.

This pneumatological feature may have further enhanced Cabasilas' urge to read *Supplices te rogamus* from an epicletic point of view.

In any case, Cabasilas manifestly understands the terminology of the heavenly altar in Byzantine liturgy in an epicletic and consecratory manner. Relying on this interpretation enables him to draw an analogy between *Supplices te rogamus* and Byzantine prayers: bringing the offerings on the heavenly altar is in both cases a petition for change. Thus, the Latin Mass receives in Cabasilas' thinking its true and right interpretation when viewed through the Greek liturgical tradition. Without this medium, his reading of *Supplices te rogamus* would be radically disconnected from the actual text of the prayer. Now that grounds for Cabasilas' interpretation may have become clearer and his reading seen to be more sensible, his conclusions regarding *Supplices te rogamus* still remain unfounded if it is read in the context of Latin theological and liturgical tradition. Consequently, Cabasilas' claim of the true manner of Latin self-understanding of the change is not plausible.

Even though the validity of Cabasilas' interpretation of the 'Latin epiclesis' may fairly be questioned, his theological arguments that follow are still worth further examination. Along with the liturgical phrasings there is another presupposition that directs his thinking and motivates his inference that the altar on high is the image of consecration. It is the christocentric connotation of his understanding of the significance of the altar table, the emphasis that has already been seen when consecration of the holy table was discussed above. Thus, mention of the heavenly altar in *Supplices te rogamus* gives Cabasilas a reason for revealing the consecratory function of the altar. First of all, he identifies Christ with the altar, the priest and the sacrifice. Since Christ is the only mediator between God and man, he is the embodiment of the power of sanctification and intercession. The altar, the priest and the sacrifice are thus real symbols of Christ's power, and are identified with him (μόνος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγιάζων, ὁ μόνος ἄν εἶη ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἱερεῖον, καὶ θυσιαστήριον).¹⁴⁰ Alluding to the prayer at the great entrance of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom¹⁴¹, Cabasilas specifies that "the same One is priest and altar, sacrifice and offerer, the one through whom he offers and that which he offers." It is, thus, the chrism (used in consecration of the altar table) that makes Christ the Altar. In addition, as High Priest he also is the Offerer. Finally, the sacrifice on the cross makes Christ the

¹⁴⁰ "Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον, «εἷς Θεός, εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων Ἰησοῦς Χριστός», πάντα τὰ μεσιτεῖαν δυνάμενα τὸν ἀγιασμὸν ἡμῖν ἔχοντα ὁ μόνος ἐστὶν αὐτός ὁ Σωτὴρ. Τίνα δὲ τὰ μεσιτεῖαν δυνάμενα καὶ ἀγιάζοντα; Ἱερεὺς, ἱερεῖον, θυσιαστήριον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀγιάζει, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον, τὸ θυσιασθῆναι· «Τὸ θυσιαστήριον γὰρ, φησί, τὸ ἀγιάζον τὸ δῶρον». Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ ὁ μόνος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγιάζων, ὁ μόνος ἄν εἶη ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἱερεῖον, καὶ θυσιαστήριον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 8-9.

¹⁴¹ Christ is in the prayer identified with the offering: "[- -] You became man without alteration or change. You have served as our High Priest, and as Lord of all, and have entrusted to us the celebration of this liturgical sacrifice without the shedding of blood. [- -] For You, Christ our God, are the offerer and the offered, the One who receives and is distributed (σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος καὶ προσδεχόμενος καὶ διαδιδόμενος Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν) [- -]." Brightman 1896, 378. This prayer may well have directed Cabasilas' thought regarding Christ's simultaneous role as the offerer and the offering. Cf. Brightman 1896, 318 for alternative phrasing in the 9th century liturgy of St. Basil.

Offering brought on the altar.¹⁴² It follows that Christ himself is the one who sanctifies. He is the priest who brings the offering (i.e. himself) on the altar (i.e. himself) upon which the offering becomes consecrated.

On account of this identification of offerer, offering and sanctifier with Christ, Cabasilas draws a conclusion that connects *Supplices te rogamus* to the epiclesis: since the altar embodies a consecratory power to sanctify the offering, asking the offering to be placed on it equates to asking for its consecration. In justifying his opinion Cabasilas on the one hand appeals to Christ's teaching of the altar in Matt. 23:19: "[- -] the altar is spoken as sanctifying, for He [Christ] says, 'the altar makes the gift sacred'." Further, he recalls Christ's words in the Gospel of John: "For them I sanctify myself, that they too may be truly sanctified" (John 17:19). Thus, Cabasilas' identification of Christ with the altar is the key for understanding the relevance of this verse's value as evidence. In his words, the altars imitate the Saviour's hand (τὰ θυσιαστήρια δὲ τῆν τοῦ Σωτῆρος μιμείται χεῖρα). On the other hand, Cabasilas relies on Pseudo-Dionysius' view of Jesus Christ as the true altar possessing the power of sanctification. Owing to these references, Cabasilas maintains that the three things – priest's sanctifying operation, transformation of προσφορά into θυσία, and asking the offering to be placed on the heavenly altar – actually are expressions of one and the same thing ('Ἐπει γὰρ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀγιάζει τὰ τεθέντα αὐτῷ δῶρα, αὐτόν ἐστιν εὐξασθαι τοῖς δώροις ἀγιασθῆναι καὶ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τεθῆναι).¹⁴³ Christ is not only the offering, but also the offerer and the consecrator. The request for an angel to bring the offering upon the altar before the face of God has the same effect and outcome as the epiclesis in which transformation of the elements is expressed directly. Christ as the true altar sanctifies the offering placed on it.

Despite the inner logic of Cabasilas' argument, there are points that make his reasoning problematic. Firstly, a lack of any reference to a change in *Supplices te rogamus* contradicts both Cabasilas' point of departure and his conclusions. His arguments are to a great extent based on a 'right' interpretation of the prayer which in reality conflicts with the literal form of the prayer. The latter view is maintained only by "Latin innovators", as Cabasilas calls them. Still, denial of the local change as a false interpretation does not necessarily imply that a plea for the change is the primary intention of the prayer. The Latin opponents of Cabasilas themselves hardly perceived *Supplices te rogamus* as a request of transference, not to speak of the true magnitude of the number of adherents of the "innovator's interpretation" among the Latins. There is practically no endorsement for Cabasilas' claim from an examination of Hugh of St. Victor's, Peter Lombard's and Thomas Aquinas' thought on the factors affecting consecration.

Secondly, one can question Cabasilas' interpretation's allegiance to the traditional understanding of the epiclesis in the Eastern Christian tradition. He understands the true meaning of *Supplices te rogamus* in connection with his christocentric thinking. Accordingly, identification of Christ with the altar as the actual consecrator virtually

¹⁴² *De vita* 3, 22. Cabasilas further states (*De vita* 3, 23) that as God Christ cannot undergo any sanctification since sanctification belongs to something lesser. His humanity, assumed in the Incarnation, serves as the offering to be sanctified in the Eucharist. Cabasilas concludes that, in order for men to receive the deified flesh of Christ, he is offered as bread.

¹⁴³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 10-13; *De vita* III, 21. Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius. *De ecclesiastica* IV. Heil & Rittel 103, 4-18 (PG 3, col. 484D-485A).

supersedes the pneumatological dimension in the change of the elements, so dominant in the conventional Eastern Christian explanation of the epiclesis. In Cabasilas' explanation of the significance of *Supplices te rogamus* no attention is paid precisely to the Spirit's operation as the force in executing the transformation. Instead of holding to the pneumatological foundation, Cabasilas diverts from the very idea of the change in his discussion of *Supplices te rogamus'* connection with consecration. He then formulates the idea of change in connection with his christocentric reading of the holy table: Christ is the altar, the offering and the offerer. Owing to this identification, Cabasilas concludes that *Supplices te rogamus* functions as a Latin equivalent of the epiclesis of the Greek liturgy.

Justification for this conclusion is first and foremost clearly founded on the idea of the change. Thus, since there is a prayer, there is a change as well. In other words, it is the change due a prayer that proves to be most relevant to Cabasilas, whereas the generator of the change seems to have a somewhat subsidiary role. As a result, Cabasilas stresses Christ's role as the sanctifier. Conventionally it is the Spirit who, due to his connection with the epiclesis in the Eastern Christian tradition, has been seen as the active agent in accomplishing the consecration. To summarize, Cabasilas' epiclesis-based motive for finding an equivalent to a consecratory prayer in the Latin Mass leads him to a conclusion which ostensibly is in contradiction with the traditional explanation of the change, originating from the epiclesis-based point of departure. Instead of adhering to the pneumatocentric explanation he ends up with a christocentric explanation.

Disregarding the pneumatological agent indicates that there is an internal tension in Cabasilas' understanding of the change. On the one hand, he sees the epiclesis as a manifestation of the Spirit as the begetter of the transformation of the elements into Christ's body and blood. In his equation of the epiclesis with *Supplices te rogamus*, on the other hand, he attributes the change to Christ's high priestly operation alone. It is then Christ, who is the sanctifier and consecrator. Can this latter view be considered genuinely Eastern Orthodox? And further, does Cabasilas' argument lose its foundation if he is unable or unwilling to demonstrate how *Supplices te rogamus* is a Latin equivalent to the pneumatologically-oriented Eastern Christian liturgical expression of the change?

It seems to me that Cabasilas' arguments do not, firstly, diverge from the Eastern tradition, nor, secondly, is his argumentation unsupported. There is enough evidence to claim that, according to his interpretation, *Supplices te rogamus* is a certain kind of Logos-epiclesis. It is Christ, who receives the offering, and as a consecrating altar also transforms it into his body and blood. In the Christian East such a conception of the Eucharistic miracle prevailed during the first Christian centuries. In the early anaphoras the consecrative activity of the Logos was expressed either in connection with the narration of the Last Supper included in the Eucharistic prayer or by the epiclesis, a specific prayer of supplication. The anaphora of Serapion from the latter part of the fourth century is probably the most renowned example of the Logos-epicletic Eucharistic tradition. By the middle of the fourth century more emphasis was, however, put on the operation of the Holy Spirit. As a consequence, the Spirit-epiclesis appeared permanently in the Eucharistic canon.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ One of the early Christian Eucharistic traditions explains the consecration from an incarnational perspective. The Eucharist was then perceived as a continuation of active operation of the Logos.

Even though the Eastern development of liturgical practices and theology of consecration from a Logos-orientated epiclesis to a Spirit-orientated one did permanently affect the interpretation of the transformation of the Eucharistic elements, it was not a case of sudden change. It could rather be described as a process of theological reflection which gradually became established in the liturgy.¹⁴⁵ Although the special role of Spirit-epiclesis in consecration is undeniably emphasised in the Eastern Orthodox Church, the words of institution and the importance of parts of Eucharistic canon are not undermined. It follows that the change of Eucharistic elements ensues from the whole

The stress in the liturgical explication of this view was then put on Christ's words in the institution narrative or on the Logos-centred epiclesis. The homilies of Athanasius and the anaphora of Serapion provide proof of this tradition. The christocentrism of the anaphora of Serapion cannot, nevertheless, be taken as an example of a prevailing trait of early Egyptian liturgical tradition. There are known anaphoras from an earlier date that include a Spirit-epiclesis. By the beginning of the 4th century the trend towards a Spirit-orientated epiclesis gained more stable ground in the Eastern liturgies, and soon became the norm. The process was motivated by contemporary dispute over the doctrine of the Trinity, accelerated by the Arian controversy which then was concentrated on the origin and status of the Spirit in the Godhead. In the classical form of Spirit-epiclesis (as witnessed by Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Alexandria), the Holy Spirit is asked to come and sanctify the elements. Some of the early Spirit-emphasised presentations of the liturgy ignore Christ's role. This is the case with e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Betz 1955, 93-99; 1979, 55, 64-67; Dix 1945, 275-276; Gebremedhin 1977, 62-63; Jungmann 1976, 134; Taft 1992. For more on the anaphora of Serapion see Botte (1964), who puts forward a supposition that the known text is actually an Arian variant of the genuine anaphora. Grisbrooke (1986a, 19) specifies the common elements found in the 4th century epiclesis: 1) supplicating the Spirit to act, 2) describing the function of the prayer as transforming the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; 3) referring to partaking in the blessings of the Eucharist. The same elements are pointed out by Smolarski (1982, 80).

¹⁴⁵ John Chrysostom serves as a case in point of this gradual change. In his writings the two practices exist side by side. Without deserting a traditional Logos-emphasis connected to the words of institution, Chrysostom adopted the current and theologically-reasoned Spirit-epiclesis. Accordingly, he commits himself to both practices without aiming to harmonize them. On the one hand, Christ stands passively aside at the moment of the descent of the Spirit to consecrate the bread and wine. But on the other hand, Chrysostom asserts that Christ himself through the spoken words of institution changes the bread and wine into his own body and blood. On Chrysostom's Spirit-epiclesis see *In coemeterii apellationem*. PG 49, col. 397-398. On the consecrative power of Christ's words see *In proditionem judae*, Hom. 1, 5. PG 49, col. 380. Chrysostom has been recognized as the most significant patristic example of full commitment to interpretation of the change effected by concomitant operation of Jesus Christ and Holy Spirit. Congar 1983, 234. By the 5th century it was evident that the Spirit-epiclesis had assumed the status of the basic model of understanding Christ's becoming-present in the Eucharist. Thus, John of Damascus formulates the Eucharistic mystery according to the fixed patristic understanding: "God said, 'This is My body', and 'This is My blood, and do this in remembrance of Me'. And so it is at His omnipotent command 'until He come', for it was in this sense that He said 'until He come'. And the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit becomes through the invocation the rain to this new tillage. [- -] And now you ask, how the bread became Christ's body and the wine and water Christ's blood. And I say unto thee, 'The Holy Spirit is present and does those things which surpass reason and thought.' [- -]. [- -] the bread of the table and the wine and water are supernaturally changed by the invocation and presence of the Holy Spirit into the body and blood of Christ [- -]." *Expositio fidei* 86, 71-83. This description shows that even if the change is based on God's fiat and Christ's words of institution, the main stress is still on the invocation and descent of the Spirit. The two different approaches are thus brought into harmony, yet special emphasis is laid on the Spirit-epiclesis. Of the earlier patristic definitions Cyril of Jerusalem's compact explication of consecrative nature of Spirit-epiclesis is a good example: "[- -] παρακαλούμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιῆσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ" *Catecheses mystagogicae* V, 7.

Eucharistic prayer, which ends and culminates with the epiclesis. The epiclesis in itself, separated from the totality of the Eucharistic prayer, would not have a consecratory effect.¹⁴⁶

In any event, Cabasilas does not declare being aware of early formulations of the Eucharistic prayer. Even in the likely event of him being totally ignorant of the existence of such an ancient tradition, his synthesis of the Greek and Latin liturgical components still pertains to early Christian Eucharistic tradition. Provided that this early tradition can be taken as authentically Orthodox, Cabasilas can be said to be firmly rooted in the Eastern Christian tradition. He may not yet be situated within the main current of his own age. Nevertheless, his synthesis is in keeping with a traditional approach to the Eucharistic miracle despite the minor historical influence of the Logos-epiclesis when compared to the main current of liturgical and theological thought in Eastern Christianity.¹⁴⁷

The parallel with the early tradition of Logos-epiclesis may make Cabasilas' interpretation of the 'Latin epiclesis' more understandable. Disharmony still prevails: in defending the epicletic tradition he ends up stressing Christ's consecratory role. Since Cabasilas himself is not necessarily even aware of a Logos-centred epicletic tradition, the incongruity of his final conclusions is even more significant. What, then, can be said about the plausibility of his argument? First of all, the foundation of his understanding of the change of the elements is based on the Eastern Christian tradition of the Spirit-epiclesis. This is the basis for his claim that there exists a consecratory prayer in the Latin Mass as well. Thus, the christocentric outcome of his interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* cannot be seen as the key to his understanding of the change. Even though he ends up with a christocentric presentation of the consecratory agent in the context of the Latin Mass, in the sphere of the Byzantine liturgy he nonetheless stands for the Spirit-epiclesis.

Furthermore, even if Cabasilas' suggestion – whether conscious or unintentional – of two agents effecting the transformation seems problematic, it can also be taken as an expression of perceiving the divine operation in a Eucharistic context as trinitarian. Consequently, cooperation between the divine persons is expressed rather than demarcated. In the Byzantine tradition it is emphasised that conversion of the elements is not attributed solely to the Spirit's descent (due to the epiclesis) but to the Holy Trinity as a whole. The Father sends the Spirit, who is asked in the Son's name to make the Son present in the sacrament. Such a trinitarian approach has inspired in modern theology

¹⁴⁶ "[- -] the classical Eastern position is that the epiclesis is necessary to the consecration, and therefore, that its conclusion is the moment when the latter is complete, but this insistence on the necessity of the epiclesis is not exclusive – the narrative of the institution and the anamnesis are equally so." Grisbrooke 1986a, 20. The Orthodox stand is characterised in a similar manner by Congar (1983, 238): "The Orthodox rightly tell us [Roman Catholics] that the anaphora forms a whole, from which one element, the account of the institution, for example, or the epiclesis, cannot be isolated and treated separately. No Orthodox would think of the consecration as taking place simply through the epiclesis." See also Evdokimov 2001, 262.

¹⁴⁷ The theological principles behind the transition in the understanding of the change (from Logos-epiclesis to Spirit-epiclesis) are well illustrated in Cabasilas' thinking. Even though the process that began in the 4th century permanently influenced Eastern Christian Eucharistic thought and practice, Cabasilas yet demonstrates the capacity to acknowledge different approaches. In this he comes close to John Chrysostom, who – to a large degree due to the situation of his age – absorbed two different interpretations without aiming to harmonize them.

some criticism of Roman Catholic Eucharistic theology whose trinitarian dimension has been asserted to be unbalanced due to a lack of the pneumatological element provided by the epiclesis.¹⁴⁸ In spite of Cabasilas' refraining from making precise theological remarks regarding defects in Latin theology, he nevertheless perceives the Latin liturgical practice through a Byzantine lens. This is seen in his accusation that keeping to the words of institution is untraditional.

Interestingly enough, Cabasilas somehow also seems to conform to the Latin approach. His Christ-centred explanation of the *Supplices te rogamus* can be taken as a point of contact with the christocentric word-orientation of the Latin tradition. One is impelled to ask, is Cabasilas consciously influenced by Latin christocentrism so that his conclusion might be more easily accepted by his critics? Although Cabasilas' writings do not reveal any precise answer to this question, the christocentric point of view nevertheless makes his thoughts regarding the consecration quite genuine. This also gives grounds for comparing his train of thought with the Latin scholars. Is Cabasilas' presentation of the 'true and right' Latin doctrine of the epicletic consecration supported by the Latin theologians themselves?

Supplices te rogamus has its own history of interpretation in the tradition of scholastic theology. In the twelfth century Ivo of Chartes had a tremendous impact on the interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* when he associated the Great Angel of Counselling of Isaiah (Isa. 9:6) with the angel mentioned in the prayer. The angel was then taken as the typification of Christ: the Son of God brings the offering on the heavenly altar. Thus,

¹⁴⁸ A trinitarian reading is maintained e.g. by J. Meyendorff (1974a, 207), who designates the epiclesis as a prayer addressed to the Father in Christ, and which comes to its fruition in descent of the Spirit. According to Evdokimov (2001, 258-259), the anaphora of the Orthodox Church "is striking in its Trinitarian structure." The same is observed by Congar (1983, 240-241), who has compared Orthodox and Roman Catholic liturgical traditions. As distinctive characteristics of the two traditions he mentions the trinitarianism of the East and the christocentrism of the West. In addition, he pays attention to the dynamism of the Eastern rite and its eschatological emphasis, which do not emerge very much in the Latin rite. Concerning the differences between Orthodox liturgy and the Roman Catholic Mass before the liturgical renewal of Vatican II, the trinitarian character of the Eucharistic canon is emphasized by J. Meyendorff (1962, 64) and Ware (1979b, 145), with the latter claiming that the pneumatological aspect of Eucharistic consecration and communion have been unduly neglected in the West. The dominant Roman Catholic stand is exemplified in Bouyer's statement that even though the Spirit is actively involved with the Eucharistic act, it is Christ who is the sole sanctifier and generator of consecration. Eucharistic christocentrism illustrates the church' ambition to be directed in everything towards Christ. Bouyer 1968, 467. It needs to be stated that at least in CCC the trinitarian emphasis has been brought to the fore. Schönborn (Ratzinger & Schönborn 1994, 81-84) demonstrates how in CCC a special attention is placed on the role of the anamnesis, the epiclesis and Word of God in the consecration. In these elements the trinitarian foundation of Eucharistic worship is manifested. Schönborn maintains that the Father as the source and goal of the liturgy is thanked and praised in the anamnesis. Further, the Son (i.e. the Word of God) celebrates the mystery and accomplishes the Eucharist. This is, however, made through the Spirit (epiclesis). Taking cognizance of the epiclesis exhibits, according to Schönbornin, great reverence towards the liturgical tradition of the Eastern Church. A motive for this comes from Pope John Paul II's metaphor of the church's breathing with two lungs. The attempt to establish shared elements for both Eastern and Western traditions of the Eucharistic is manifested in CCC's stress on "sacramental economy" (Oeconomiam sacramentalem): "He [Christ] acts through the sacraments in what the common Tradition of the East and the West calls 'the sacramental economy'; this is the communication (or 'dispensation') of the fruits of Christ's Paschal mystery in the celebration of the Church's 'sacramental' liturgy." CCC 1995, 1076.

the prayer is given a certain status of Logos-epiclesis. Some mediaeval Latin theologians, such as the twelfth century Remigius of Auxerre and Isaac of Stella, understood *Supplices te rogamus* as the consummative prayer of the sacrifice. Nevertheless, it cannot be seen as parallel in nature to the Eastern Christian epiclesis. In sum, in the mediaeval sources the plea to bring the gifts to the heavenly altar is understood as an expression of the communion aspect (God receiving the offering of men) of the offering rather than as the completion of the actual consecration.¹⁴⁹

Of the three mediaeval Latin scholars of this study, it is Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas who pay attention to the meaning of *Supplices te rogamus*. Lombard states that when the Eucharistic sacrifice is offered, the angels come down to earth.¹⁵⁰ It seems that Lombard does not see *Supplices te rogamus* in either a consecratory or an epicletic manner. Although *Supplices te rogamus* cannot then be made parallel with the words of institution or even thought of as being an element of consecratory significance, Lombard yet connects it with the idea of safeguarding the validity of the sacrament. It is a remainder of the presence of heavenly powers as the ultimate guarantee of efficacy.

¹⁴⁹ On *Supplices te rogamus'* connection to the consecratory epiclesis Jungmann says: "Schließlich ist unter dem Gesichtspunkt einer Wandlungsepiklese, als welche das *Supplices* bei äußerlicher Parallelisierung mit orientalischen und gallischen Meßformularen erscheinen kann, in dem emportragenden Engel auch der heilige Geist erblickt worden." Jungmann 1949, 282-283. Cf. also Pihkala (1997, 19-20), who points out that angel-christology appeared in Christian theology by the 2nd century. It has its roots in the Jewish Wisdom tradition. According to Jungmann (1949, 281-282, 285), reference to the Holy Spirit was not considered important in the mediaeval interpretations since *Supplices te rogamus* was not understood to be connected to the consecration. Stressing the aspect of communion was seen as the essence of the prayer. Hence, the most substantial content of the prayer is to convince the faithful that God receives men's offering on the heavenly altar and brings them to communion with him. In contrast to Jungmann, Congar and Deiss understand *Supplices te rogamus* as consecratory in its nature. Yet, they deny its outright epicletic meaning. See Congar 1983, 250-251; Deiss 1992, 76. Kotila (1994, 199) conversely maintains that *Supplices te rogamus* can also be seen as an epiclesis. Inconsistency of interpretations of *Supplices te rogamus* results, according to McKenna (1975, 39-41, 92-102), from the invocation aspect of the epiclesis: should there be an explicit mentioning of the Spirit or is it sufficient just to request sanctification of the elements? Grisbrooke (1986a, 19) is associated with the latter view in his argument that an epiclesis does not necessarily have to have a direct reference to the Spirit. Consequently, he reads *Supplices te rogamus* as the epiclesis of Roman Eucharistic canon.

¹⁵⁰ *Sententiae* Liber IV, 11, II, viii. Cf. Gregorius the Great, *Dialogorum* VI, lvii-lviii. PL 77, col. 425D-428A. Also Danielou links the presence of the angels in the Mass with *Supplices te rogamus*. Danielou 1957, 65. Lombard does not actually focus on the prayer itself, but refers to it when presenting evidence for the validity of the sacrifice conducted by an unworthy priest. The unfitness of the priest cannot nullify the presence of heavenly powers, which are present in the Mass regardless of the priest. As a testimony Lombardus refers to *Supplices te rogamus*. In his interpretation of the prayer he relies on an unknown source which he believes to be Augustine. The source maintains that the angels give heavenly authorization for the Mass and therefore guarantee its validity. In the source cited by Lombard "the heavenly messenger", i.e. an angel, is perceived as the agent of consecration. *Sententiae* Liber IV, 13, I, iv. As the critical edition observes (on page 312), the origin of the citation is unknown. Basing his argument on the citation, Lombard proceeds to claim that no celebration outside of ecclesial communion is valid since angels are not assisting in it. *Sententiae* Liber IV, 13, I, vi. Taft interprets Lombard in favour of Cabasilas' interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* as equal to the Byzantine epiclesis. Taft 1996, 232. Aquinas denies that angels are able to conduct the sacraments. Christ's passion as the basis for the sacraments was closely related to his human nature. Men, thus, are of the same nature with him, and therefore only they are enabled to celebrate the mysteries. *STh* 3a. 64, 7, res.

By contrast, Aquinas' references to *Supplices te rogamus* are more clearly connected to the actual consecration. First of all, he pays attention to the idea of local ascent. Just as Cabasilas, he opposes the idea that the priest would ask for the elements or the body of Christ to be taken into heaven. On the contrary, it is the *mystical body* of Christ the priest prays for. It is, then, the prayers of the church as an offering that is petitioned to be carried by an angel to God. Here Aquinas refers to the Book of Revelation's (Rev. 8:4) description of the heavenly liturgy, during which an angel bears prayers of the saints before God. Moreover, the altar mentioned in *Supplices te rogamus* is for Aquinas a metaphor of both the church triumphant and of God. The angel stands for Christ, the mediator between man and God. Hence, Aquinas evidently is in keeping with Ivo of Chartres' Christ-symbolism: the ascending angel is Christ, the Angel of Great Council, who unites the church militant with the church triumphant and brings her to the Father. Lastly, Aquinas specifies his two readings of *Supplices te rogamus* with an analysis of the word *missa*. He maintains that, on the one hand, the verb indicates that the prayers are conveyed. Thus, the operation of the angel as a mediator between priest and God is signified by the prayer. On the other hand, the verb *missa* points to Christ. He was sent to the world by the Father, and in the Eucharist he is sent back to his Father as the sacrificed offering.¹⁵¹

Based on the arguments presented by Lombard and Aquinas, it can be stated that there is not one but several readings of the meaning of *Supplices te rogamus*. Focusing on angelic operation, as Lombard does, highlights the supernatural character of the Mass. Aquinas' two different readings provide grounds to argue that a diversity of interpretations is not seen as a problem. Besides, the foundation of Latin conception of the change, based on the words of institution, cannot be challenged on the basis of Lombard's and Aquinas' readings. Especially Aquinas' focus on the idea of a mediator – either an angel or Christ – suggests that the main essence of the prayer is for him to signify that the church militant is in the Mass connected with divine and heavenly reality. Essential for this study – and for evaluation of Cabasilas' claims – is not whether the connection is established and manifested through operation of Christ or an angel, but to point out that the motion in Aquinas' interpretations is one of ascent to heaven and not

¹⁵¹ "Et proper hoc etiam missa nominatur, quia per angelum sacerdos preces ad Deum mittit, sicut populus per sacerdotem, vel quia Christus est hostia nobis missa a Deo: unde et in fine missae diaconus in festivis diebus populum licentiat, dicens, Ite missa est, scilicet hostia ad Deum per angelum, ut scilicet sit Deo accepta." *STh* 3a, 83, 4, ad. 9. Bouyer's (1956, 139-140) view of *Supplices te rogamus* as an expression of a two-way movement between men and God is highly similar to Aquinas' reading of the prayer: men's offering is brought on high to the celestial altar, and divine grace descends upon men. In parallel with this view, Buxton (1976, 21) points out that *Supplices te rogamus* stresses the unity of the heavenly and earthly liturgy. In addition, the prayer suggests that celebration around the heavenly altar is unceasing. Hugh of St. Victor is also interested in the etymology of the word *missa*. He thinks that the word refers firstly to Christ, who is sent by the Father as a mediator between man and God. Hugh specifies that Christ mediates in both directions: from the Father to men, and from men to the Father. Secondly, he deduces that *missa* derives from the verb *emittendo*, signifying sending away, thus originating from the practice of excluding catechumens from the liturgy of the faithful. *De sacramentis* II, 8, xiv. PL 176, col. 472A-C. By the end of the 5th century the phrase *ite missa est* appears at the end of the Mass. The words originate in a profane Roman context. They were used to announce the conclusion of imperial or other official gatherings. Cf. Jungmann 1959, 129.

descent, as is the case in the epiclesis of the Eastern Christian rite and Cabasilas' reading of *Supplices te rogamus*. To summarize, the Latin authors' interpretations give no support for Cabasilas' assertion.

In Latin Scholastic theology, especially because of the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, it became customary to point out the exact moment of the change of the elements immediately after the words of institution were pronounced – unlike Cabasilas assumes the Latins to think. Cabasilas patently has a strong need to find a nexus of the doctrine of transformation of the two liturgical traditions, the Greek and the Latin. Nevertheless, arguing for the identical meaning of the Eastern epiclesis and the *Missale Romanum's Supplices te rogamus* does not automatically mean that the position would be seen in a similar manner by Roman Catholic Eucharistic theology.¹⁵² Yet, in modern times adherence to the efficacy of the words of institution does have such a commanding status in Roman Catholic teaching. Since Vatican II, the status of the epiclesis has been significantly improved. In the liturgical renewal inspired by the council, the epiclesis was adopted into the Roman Eucharistic canon. Irrespective of the liturgical reforms, the Roman Catholic conception of the consecration is still undeniably centred on the words of institution. What is significant with regard to Cabasilas' insights into these reforms is that the modern Roman Catholic epiclesis is a bipartite prayer inserted into the Eucharistic canon partially both before and after the words of institution. Especially the latter part of the epiclesis can be taken as a point of contact with Cabasilas' comparison between *Supplices te rogamus* and the epiclesis. All the same, it needs to be recognised that the latter part of the epiclesis in the Roman Mass has no consecratory significance. It is a request to receive the Spirit's blessings of fellowship and grace, transmitted through communion.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Modern Roman Catholic interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* is exemplified by Bouyer's discussion. He explicates various aspects of *Supplices te rogamus* in his note on the connection between epiclesis and *Verba consecrationis*, yet without direct references to parallels with the epiclesis: 1) Christian sacrifice is the perfection of all the ancient sacrifices, 2) Christian sacrifice is perfected when man joins the heavenly Eucharistic offering of the angels, 3) Eucharistic sacrifice of man is accepted on high, 4) as a sign of acceptance of the sacrifice of man, the grace of God descends. According to Bouyer, in the benediction of the *Per quem haec* the descending and ascending aspects are also referred to. Bouyer 1955, 139-140.

¹⁵³ In *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the liturgical constitution of Vatican II, the epiclesis was adopted into Roman Catholic rite of the Eucharist. Jungmann (1976, 137-138) points out that the Orthodox practice of the consecratory epiclesis after the words of institution is fully approvable from the Roman Catholic point of view. This is, on the one hand, testified to by the full Eucharistic communion existing between Rome and the Eastern Rite churches. On the other hand, it was precisely Vatican II which fully recognised the value of Orthodox tradition. Due to the Council, the Spirit-epiclesis was in 1968 incorporated into Eucharistic prayers of the Roman Mass. In spite of recognition of the Eastern epicletic tradition Jungmann, nonetheless, reveals his true conviction regarding the effecting liturgical component of the change: "A prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit *even after the actual moment of transubstantiation* is no more extraordinary than [- -] at ordination in the Roman liturgy, of ritually conferring the priestly power upon each individual priest only after the sacramental act." [italics mine]. Provided that there is a Spirit-epiclesis in the Mass, the words of institution still constitute the actual consecratory element. Similarly Deiss (1992, 76-82) speaks of the absoluteness of the words of institution when speaking of the epiclesis' importance in pointing out the trinitarian operation in the Eucharist yet maintains that through the words the Word transforms the bread and wine into the Eucharist. Congar (Congar 1983, 241, 250-257) maintains that in the Roman Catholic tradition references to operation of the Holy Spirit and epicletic nature are associated with the

To conclude, one has to be aware of the fact that the epiclesis of the Byzantine liturgy and *Supplices te rogamus* of Missale Romanum are in Cabasilas' thinking two distinct prayers with different contexts. Nonetheless, he regards their function and effect in the Eucharistic synaxis as identical. In other words, they lead to the same conclusion via different routes; the epiclesis accomplishes the sacrifice through operation of the Spirit, *Supplices te rogamus* through Christ. What is significant in his distinction between the two agents of divine operation is that the categorization itself already indicates that Cabasilas is capable of perceiving the change of the Eucharistic gifts from two different points of view. Even if Cabasilas' harmonization of the two liturgical traditions cannot be seen as totally successful – when compared with each tradition's self-understanding – there is no considerable reason to underestimate his capability to understand and explicate the idiosyncrasies of both the Greek and the Latin teaching of the effective elements of the Eucharistic miracle.

Even though the synthesis by Cabasilas of the two traditions thus does not in all respects represent the Latin tradition of doctrine of the transformation, his thinking has yet been valued among Roman Catholic theologians. Already in the earliest references, in the minutes of the Council of Trent, Cabasilas is characterised as an authorised representative of sound Christian teaching, not as a controversial figure. This is the case even when the passages containing his interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* are cited. In that event it needs to be remembered that the Council of Trent was not primarily focusing on Cabasilas' synthesis but on his stress on a realistic understanding of Christ's presence in the sacrament (attached to the theme of 'Latin epiclesis') as opposed to the Reformed stance.¹⁵⁴

Eucharistic celebration as a whole, not to one prayer as a limited aspect. He, however, emphasizes that the spirit of Orthodox liturgy has been approached since Vatican II. A case in point is the inclusion of the epiclesis in the Mass. Locating the epiclesis in the canon as (partially) preceding the words of consecration has been taken by many Roman Catholic theologians as an emphasis on the consecratory nature of the words. As a result, the epiclesis is abstracted from actual consecration. This effect is also touched on by Grisbrooke (1986a, 19-20), who claims that the new formulas of consecratory prayers with the double epiclesis, i.e. both before and after the words of institution, do not remove the problem of determining the exact moment of the change. Bouyer calls into question the entire problem of the exact moment of consecration. He maintains that the consecration "is the effect of the thanksgiving seen as a single whole." Furthermore, the Eucharist is consecrative due to God's final word ("Take and eat") and a prayer of thanksgiving. Bouyer thus demands a holistic approach where the consecrative action is not reduced to a central prayer or few words, but is seen to result from the entirety of the Eucharistic liturgy. Concerning the epiclesis, Bouyer acknowledges its pivotal place in the Eastern liturgies, yet characterises it as "a later addition which more or less disfigures the primitive shape of the Eucharist." Bouyer 1955, 138. Similarly, Taft questions whether there should be any dispute at all on the place and value of the epiclesis. In his words, the consecration theologies of the Latin and Byzantine traditions "are two distinct but complementary and equally ancient liturgical expressions of what the Church does in the eucharist." There is agreement in the doctrine or teaching on the Eucharist, despite differences in the liturgical expressions of the two traditions. Taft 1996, 224, 234-235.

¹⁵⁴ See e.g. *Concilium Tridentinum* 1974, 516. Of course, the mere existence of citations of Cabasilas in the minutes of the Council does not reveal the attitude of the delegates of Trent towards Cabasilas' interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus*. In modern times the "Roman catholicism" of Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought was stressed in the early 20th century mostly by de la Taille, Bouisse and Salaville. It was precisely the appreciation of Cabasilas at Trent that caused these authors' interest towards him. Cf. Bouëssé 1938, 125-126, 145-146; de la Taille 1921, 273, 276; Salaville 1943a.

4.3.3. Christ-representation and Theology of Ministry

According to Cabasilas, Christ is the priest, who makes the Eucharistic offering of bread and wine. The Eucharistic liturgy is then an operational continuation of Christ's high priestly ministry of self-sacrifice for the salvation of men. When emphasizing the comprehensiveness of Christ's work, Cabasilas makes a clear theological specification regarding the significance of priesthood by stating that there is no doubt about the realism of the Eucharistic sacrifice as long as the liturgy is conducted properly by the priest.¹⁵⁵ Thus, even though it is Christ himself who is the actual minister of the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the sacramental priesthood of the church yet has an important effect on the validity of the sacrifice. It is therefore necessary to investigate the relation between sacramental priesthood and Christ's high priestly action in accomplishing the sacrifice. This opens up a new perspective on Cabasilas' understanding of the divine presence, or more accurately presence of Christ, in the Eucharistic liturgy.

In the first place, Cabasilas grounds sacramental priesthood on the divine cooperation between the Holy Spirit and Christ. This is explicitly illustrated in his statement that celebrating the Eucharist would not be possible if Christ did not send the Spirit according to his promise (Luke 24:49; John 14:17): "Through hand and tongue of the priests he [Holy Spirit] celebrates the mysteries."¹⁵⁶ With this sentence Cabasilas probably refers, on the one hand, to the mystery of sacramental priesthood in general and, on the other hand, to the pneumatological – ultimately Trinitarian – aspect of the Eucharist. The Paraclete acts in the Eucharist invisibly through the priest, using his hand and tongue as his instruments. The Spirit thus manifests his operative presence through the sacramental operation of the priest. The priest is an agent of synergy between theocentric and anthropocentric operations in the Eucharistic synaxis.

Concerning Christ's presence, it has been noted that Cabasilas believes him to be ontologically present in the Eucharistic elements. The same holds true with the holy table as well. Relating the power of the altar to the priesthood Cabasilas states:

We receive the bread from the anointed table as from the immaculate hand, receiving the body of Christ and drinking his blood like those whom the Lord first made partakers of the sacred table giving them the august cup of friendship to drink.¹⁵⁷

Does this analogy of the altar with the hand of Christ mean that the priest is seen by Cabasilas as a concrete sign of Christ's presence? To begin with, the emphasis is here on the altar as the manifestation of the presence of Christ's power. The Eucharist is received

¹⁵⁵ "Καὶ οὐ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα μόνον ἔπεμψεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν, ὥστε μένειν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλατο μένειν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Παράκλητος ἀοράτως πρόσσεται, ὅτι σῶμα αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔφερεσεν. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος καὶ ὁράται καὶ ἀφῆς ἀνέχεται διὰ τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν καὶ δεξάμενος καὶ φέρων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 3; "Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεμία τοῖς πιστοῖς περὶ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τῶν δώρων ἀμφιβολία, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τελετῶν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν ἱερέων ἀποτελοῦνται." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 5. Cf. also *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 8.

¹⁵⁶ "Τοῦτο διὰ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελεσιουργεῖ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 2.

¹⁵⁷ "καὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθιμμένης τραπέζης ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκηράτου χειρὸς ἐκείνης Χριστοῦ κομιζόμεθα σῶμα, καὶ πίνομεν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ οἱς πρώτοις ὁ Δεσπότης τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκoinώνησε τραπέζης, τῆς φρικτῆς γέμουσαν φιλοτησίαν προπίνων." *De vita* III, 21.

as if from the hand of Christ not because it is distributed by the priest but since it is taken from the consecrated table which embodies the sanctifying power of Christ. The argument is based on the chrismatic unity between Christ and the consecrated altar. Consequently, the priest could then be said merely to “serve” the Eucharist from the altar or the hand of Christ, rather than being a physical representative of Christ. Elsewhere Cabasilas further says that Christ does not content himself only with sending the Spirit (an allusion to the epiclesis and pneumatological agent of the change), but is in the Eucharistic liturgy visibly present in two ways: in the holy table and corporeally in the Eucharistic elements. As a sign of continuation of his high priestly ministry (cf. Heb. 7:17) Christ distributes his own body and blood to the faithful.¹⁵⁸ Cabasilas concludes that Christ conducts the liturgy as God, and as God he receives his humanity as the offering of the sacrifice.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, there seems to be a direct linkage between the high priestly ministry of Christ and the sacramental priesthood of man. Since Cabasilas evidently sees Christ as the actual celebrant and distributor of the sacrament, there is a good reason to ask when and how do the function of the High Priest and the role of the priest overlap?

There is certain identification between the human celebrant of the liturgy (the priest), and Christ, the High Priest. This can already be stated based on Cabasilas’ recognition of Christ as the offerer of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In celebrating the Eucharistic mystery the priest officiates within the ministry of Christ the High Priest. The high priestly operation of Christ is the ultimate guarantee that the Eucharistic offering is always pleasing to God. Man is not, therefore, capable of depriving the Eucharist of the efficacy of divine grace. For this reason Cabasilas designates the Eucharist as λογική λατρεία: it is beyond human ability to affect the change of the elements in any way. Consequently, despite the fact that the Eucharistic sacrifice is a true deed and event, it is not accomplished by the priest but

¹⁵⁸ “Ὁ δὲ Κύριος καὶ ὁράται καὶ ἀφῆς ἀνέχεται διὰ τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηριῶν, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν καὶ δεξάμενος καὶ φέρων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [- -] Οὐ γὰρ ἄπαξ ἑαυτὸν προσαγαγὼν καὶ θύσας ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἀλλὰ διηλεκτὴ ταύτην λειτουργεῖ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἡμῖν, καθ’ ἣν καὶ παράκλητός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν δι’ αἰῶνος, οὐ χάριν εἰρηται πρὸς αὐτόν· «Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.» *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVIII, 3-4. “Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο μείζον χριστότητας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας σημεῖον, ἢ [- -] ἐστιῶν δὲ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα παρατιθέντα;” *De vita* I, 26. Cf. also *De vita* I, 13. Jungmann observes that there can be seen in Cabasilas’ presentation of Christ as High Priest a transition from a New Testament emphasis on Christ’s humanity to a one-sided stress of his divinity. Due to this, according to Jungmann, Cabasilas cites Paul (1 Tim. 2:5) intentionally erroneously, leaving out the word ἄνθρωπος: “Ἄλλ’ ἐπεὶ, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον, «εἷς Θεός, εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων [ἀνθρώπος] Ἰησοῦς Χριστός» [- -]” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXX, 8. Omitting ἄνθρωπος comports with Cabasilas’ idea of Christ as the self-sacrificing God (i.e. offerer and consecrator of the offering), who as God receives his own offered humanity. The ministry of the divine High Priest extends from heaven to earth where he offers the Eucharist as an eternal celebrant. Thus, Jungmann maintains that for Cabasilas Christ is not only the founder of the Eucharist but also always the celebrating priest. Jungmann 1925, 214. Grgurevich, for his part, views the sacrifice on the cross as the foundation of Christ’s high priestly ministry: in both instances the same High Priest is offered in sacrifice. Grgurevich 1993, 72.

¹⁵⁹ “Ὅτι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν προσφέρει, διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται εἶναι ὁ αὐτός καὶ «προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος» ὡς θεός· προσφερόμενος δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· ἄρτον δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἔτι ὄντα τὰ δῶρα προσφέρει μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς, προσδέχεται δὲ ὁ Κύριος.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 15. To cite Gouillard, “La consécration enferme toute l’activité sacerdotale du Christ, en même temps qu’elle rend compte de l’acceptation et de la validité du sacrifice. C’est le Christ qui officie et consacre.” Gouillard 1967, 27.

by God. According to Cabasilas' specification, the priest is involved with it only through prayer, thus performing the λογική λατρεία.¹⁶⁰

Therefore, the role of Christ is in the foreground when it comes to conducting the Eucharistic liturgy. Cabasilas appears to attest that it is Christ himself who celebrates the holy liturgy in the Spirit and through the priest.¹⁶¹ However, not every operation in the liturgy falls to Christ. It is only the sacrificial component that is conducted by Christ: he performs the consecration and, through communion, the sanctification of the faithful. The rest falls to the priest.¹⁶² To prove his point, Cabasilas refers to prayers of the liturgy that are addressed to the Father. It would lead to heresy if Christ was considered to be the reciter of these prayers. Prayers and supplications, therefore, are the work of servants, whereas God performs the sanctification.¹⁶³ In addition, Cabasilas examines the respective roles of Christ and the priest with regard to the Eucharistic offering. In the following passage he explicates the roles of the priestly agents in the liturgy regarding the offering:

The Saviour gives and the priest gives thanks for what has been given; the priest offers, and the Lord accepts the offerings. The Lord offers too, but he offers himself to the Father, and also the gifts, when they have become his body and blood. It is because he offers himself that he is described both as offering and as God the offerer and the receiver of the offering; he is the offering as man. The priest offers the bread and wine when they are still bare gifts, and the Lord is the one to receive them. What does he do in receiving them? He sanctifies them, and turns them into his own body and blood. To receive is to appropriate a thing to oneself, as it has been said before. That is how Christ celebrates this sacrifice; in this his priesthood consists.¹⁶⁴

This paragraph is a key text in understanding Cabasilas' thought on the representative nature of sacramental ministry and role of Christ as the truly present High Priest. First of all, here Cabasilas explicates his understanding of the roles and responsibilities of Christ

¹⁶⁰ "Τούτου χάριν καὶ «λογικὴν λατρείαν» αὐτὴν καλεῖ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔργον εἰσάγει, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς τελεστικοῖς ῥήμασι χρώμενος τὴν προσφορὰν ταύτην προσφέρει [- -]. "Ὅθεν εἰ καὶ ἔργον ἔστι καὶ πράγμα ἀληθῶς ἡ θυσία, ἀλλ' αὐτός οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ λέγων μόνον, εἰκότως οὐ πραγματικὴν ἀλλὰ λογικὴν λατρείαν προσάγειν φησί." *Sacrae liturgiae* LI, 1,3.

¹⁶¹ In commenting on the principles of theology of ministry, Behr-Sigel refers to Cabasilas' ideas as a correct interpretation of the priest's role as Christ's representative. In Behr-Sigel's words, the priest is for Cabasilas above all else "spokesman for the Eternal Word." Thus, he gives himself for the use of Christ, and the priest's gender loses its significance. Behr-Sigel 1991, 177-178.

¹⁶² "Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον τῆς μυσταγωγίας καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἦτοι τὸ ἀγιασθῆναι τὰ δῶρα, καὶ ἀγιάσαι τοὺς πιστούς, αὐτός ἐστι μόνος ὁ τελῶν. Αἱ δὲ περὶ τούτων εὐχαὶ καὶ δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίαι τοῦ ἱερέως· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ δεσπότου, ταῦτα δὲ δούλου." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 15.

¹⁶³ *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 17-18.

¹⁶⁴ "καὶ ὁ μὲν Σωτὴρ δίδωσιν, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν δοθέντων εὐχαριστεῖ· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς προσάγει, ὁ δὲ Κύριος δέχεται τὰ δῶρα· προσφέρει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ Πατρί καὶ τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα, ὅταν αὐτός γένωνται, ὅταν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβληθῶσιν." Ὅτι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν προσφέρει, διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται εἶναι ὁ αὐτός καὶ ἑαυτὸν προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος· ὡς θεός· προσφερόμενος δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· ἄρτον δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἔτι ὄντα τὰ δῶρα προσφέρει μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς, προσδέχεται δὲ ὁ Κύριος. Καὶ τί ποιῶν τὰ δῶρα προσδέχεται; Ἀγιάζων αὐτά, εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβάλλων. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δέχεσθαι, τὸ οικειοῦσθαι, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα· οὗτος ὁ τρόπος καθ' ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ταύτην ἱεουργεῖ· ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἅ ἱεροσύνην αὐτῷ ποιεῖ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 15-16. On Cabasilas' reference to the earlier discussion see *Sacrae liturgiae* XLVII, 4.

and the priest. The priest's duty is to bring forward the bread and wine, designated by Cabasilas as "empty gifts", while Christ, for his part, transforms the offering into his body and blood, hence bringing them as a true sacrifice to God. As God, Christ is not only the offerer but also the receiver of the offering he makes. Cabasilas specifies that when Christ receives the offering he does it completely by assuming the offering into himself.¹⁶⁵

Cabasilas' description patently suggests that at some point during the Eucharistic canon an interchange between the priest and Christ takes place. The priest's operation as the offerer of bread is transformed into Christ's consecratory act. The above definition of the dual change coincides with the imagery of the priest bringing forth "empty gifts" which Christ makes "full": in the hands of Christ the προσφορά, offered by the priest, turns into actual θυσία. Moreover, the idea of priest as representative of the High Priest at the culmination of the rite sharply illustrates the radical difference between theocentrism and anthropocentrism in Cabasilas' thought. In the midst of the subjective human turning to God, forcefulness of the divine power is manifested. The power of God – through the sanctifying presence and operation of Christ the High Priest – changes the human offering (προσφορά) into divinely accomplished and received sacrifice (θυσία). It is within the scope of human action to approach God, but there are no other means than those prepared by God in overcoming the gap between the objective realm of God's being and that of his creation.

To put it another way, the presence of God is manifested in his actions. Transformation of the elements (and the real presence of Christ in them as a result) is brought about by a dynamic divine act, which in itself is also a form of the presence of God. Based on Cabasilas' interpretation, it is the Spirit and the Son who can be said to be present in this dynamic manner. However, rather confusingly Cabasilas states elsewhere that it is the priest who commemorates the institution of the sacrament, prays and utters the words of institution.¹⁶⁶ Taking into consideration Cabasilas' understanding of Christ's high priestly operation's linkage with the words of institution, it seems that even though he here attributes the words to the sacramental ministry, there still is a distinct operative ground reserved only for the High Priest.¹⁶⁷ Definition of the distinct roles of Christ and

¹⁶⁵ Mantovanis detects two levels of liturgical celebration in connection with Cabasilas' idea of High Priestly ministry. Firstly, the liturgy is celebrated in time and place in words and gestures by the priest who brings forth the bread and the wine as an offering. Secondly, the liturgy is celebrated eternally by Christ who sacrifices his body and blood. Further, Mantovanis specifies that Christ as the High Priest celebrates the Eucharist "through what he *is*, not what He *does* and *says*. Throughout the consecration these two levels are identified: such, precisely, is the significance of the doctrine of the Real Presence." Furthermore, he concludes that it is clear that for Cabasilas the role of the priest is that of servant. Mantovanis 1984, 204-205.

¹⁶⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVII.

¹⁶⁷ The Eucharistic prayer exemplifies, according to J. Meyendorff (1974a, 206-207), the Orthodox doctrine of synergy: the epiclesis results from a prayer, an expression of human operation. Meyendorff, however, denies that the Eucharistic miracle occurs *ex opere operantis*, and that the priest operates *in persona Christi*. Instead, divine grace entirely permeates the ecclesial communal reality where synergy is manifested in prayer addressed to the Father through the Son and accomplished by descent of the Spirit. Thus, the Holy Spirit respects human will in making Christ present. Cf. Gavin 1923, 305.

of the priest impels one to ask, how are these roles revealed, if they are, in the liturgical texture?

On condition that Christ cannot approach the Father as a servant – Cabasilas is very strict on this matter – his operation surely cannot be manifested by supplicatory prayers. Since most of the Eucharistic canon consists of this kind of material, a fact noticed by Cabasilas also, the liturgical expression of Christ’s operation must therefore be limited to non-petitionary expressions. This puts the words of institution at the centre of concern, even though Cabasilas himself does not specify that they manifest the role of Christ as High Priest.¹⁶⁸ No other element could clearly express Christ’s consecratory operation at the textual level of the rite. Should our earlier remarks on Cabasilas’ understanding of the change-effecting factors be reevaluated based on this observation?

Before jumping to hasty conclusions, association of the consecratory power of Christ with the words of institution has to be measured against both the pneumatological material connected to Cabasilas’ explication of the change and the sacrificial theme prevailing in his reading of the liturgy. Firstly, Cabasilas maintains that it is the Spirit who performs the mysteries through Christ. This traditional Eastern stance forms the basis of his explanation of the change and classification of the operative roles of the divine persons as well. Secondly, Christ himself actively takes part in the celebration of the Eucharist, as Cabasilas’ explanation of *Supplices te rogamus* indicates. Thirdly, Cabasilas’ emphasis on the becoming-present of the sacrifice binds the actualization of Christ to the liturgy in a profound manner, deeper than simply the level of verbal expressions. It has been seen how Cabasilas relates to the sacrifice from the very beginning of the Eucharistic liturgy. The sacrificial theme of the liturgy – re-enactment of the one and unrepeatable sacrifice – binds the entire celebration to Christ in a more profound manner than any itemized analysis of certain precise liturgical verbal expressions can reveal. The entire liturgy is permeated by the sacrificial mystery of the High Priest, made present not only by the utterance of the words of institution. They are the culmination, the last word but not a complete expression and manifestation of Christ’s ministry of being the Offering and the Offerer.

In addition, Cabasilas’ attachment to liturgical symbolism proves that for him the liturgy does not consist merely of the text, but the event in its entirety (including action, movement and the basic fact of the presence of God) makes it a divine celebration. It is not therefore unlikely to think that Cabasilas sees Christ’s presence manifested in the priest and through his operation otherwise than through simply the utterance of certain words. The interfaces between the roles of the priest and Christ would, therefore, be

¹⁶⁸ Interplay between the High Priest and the human minister is presented sharply by Aquinas. He maintains that even though the priest is authorized to pronounce the words of institution, at the moment of their utterance he is only an instrument of Christ by whose power the Eucharistic miracle takes place. Christ is the consecrator, Aquinas states. Acting in and through the priest he transforms the bread and wine into his body and blood. *STh* 3a, 82, 1, res. Following Aquinas, Barden (1965b, 204-205) characterizes the priest’s relation to Christ as instrumental: “Christ uses his subordinate ordained priests and them alone as his instruments in the working of this miracle [transubstantiation].” In CCC Christ’s presence in the liturgy on earth is explained by referring to the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum concilium*) of Vatican II, where Christ is said to be present both *in ministri persona* (in the person of the minister) and especially *sub speciebus eucharisticis* (in the Eucharistic species). CCC 1995, 1088.

flexible. At least, our definitions should not be too radical since Cabasilas, faithful to his style, does not analyze the meaning and conditions for the priest's role as Christ's representative in any clear manner. What can be concluded is that the priest can be said to be a representative of Christ. Through the priest Christ offers himself as the sacrifice to his own Father and distributes himself to the faithful in the communion.¹⁶⁹

Although the priest has a role as the representative of Christ, that function does not include everything done by the priest during the liturgy. As a matter of fact, Cabasilas points out that the majority of the priest's actions consist of being an authorized representative of the people in front of God.¹⁷⁰ The priest intercedes for the faithful: he is turned to God, talks to him and delivers requests in the name of the congregation.¹⁷¹ Cabasilas specifies that the priest enlightens the souls of the faithful and takes them from

¹⁶⁹ The Eucharistic footing of the Eastern Christian perception of the ministry is observed by Jungmann who claims that the identification of the priest with Christ results from the Eastern Christian's refusal to give an autonomous consecratory efficacy to the words of institution. If the words of institution were to be taken as the legitimate authorization for the entire celebration, the focus would then be on the divine power. As a result, the priest fuses, as it were, with the truly present Christ, the latter being the personification of the Eucharistic operation (*ex opere operato*). Inevitably this also means that both the priesthood in general and Christ's humanity are put in the background when it comes to celebration of the Eucharist. Jungmann refers to Chrysostom's view of Christ as the true celebrant of the offering as the originator of this tendency. In addition, opposition to the Arian idea of the Son's subordination to the Father has led to accentuation of Christ's divine operation in the Eucharistic act. Jungmann 1925, 214-217. The Eastern Orthodox stress on the divine supplement to the words of institution is well presented in Tsirpanlis' specification that the words have no creative magical power. They are once-spoken basic elements of the consecration (cf. Jungmann's characterization of the legitimacy of the words), which need to be actualized through invocation of the Spirit. Tsirpanlis s.a., 55-56.

¹⁷⁰ The same idea is voiced by Aquinas, who establishes the priestly ministry from two perspectives: the priest celebrates the Eucharist both *in persona totius Ecclesiae* and *in persona Christi*. These characteristics determine the priest's role in relation to God and the church. When the priest addresses God in prayer he operates as spokesman of the community (*in persona Ecclesiae*) based on the mandate given to him by the church. *STh* 3a. 64, 1, ad. 2. Thus, in the priest's prayers the intention of the church finds expression. Nevertheless, at the moment of the consecration of the Eucharistic elements the priest acts *in persona Christi*. This is the case when he pronounces the words of institution. *STh* 3a. 82, 7, ad. 3. In the Mass the most important duty of the priest is to utter the words of institution, acting *in persona Christi* and pronouncing the words *ex persona ipsius Christi loquentis*. Aquinas specifies that the priest and the sacrifice are one in the Eucharist (*idem est sacerdos et hostia*). For this reason the priest truly represents Christ and pronounces the words in his person and by his power. *STh* 3a. 78, 1; 83, 1, ad.2-3. Consequently, even though the priest is authorised to pronounce the words of institution, at the moment of their utterance he is only an instrument of Christ by whose power the Eucharistic miracle takes place. *STh* 3a. 82, 1, res. Christ's presence in the liturgy on earth is in CCC explained by referring to the *Sacrosanctum concilium* of Vatican II, where Christ is said to be present both *in ministri persona* and especially *sub speciebus eucharisticis*. CCC 1995, 1088.

¹⁷¹ *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXV, 1-3. This function is exemplified in the so-called secret prayers of the liturgy. Cf. e.g. *Sacrae liturgiae* XV, 1, 7. The idea of priest's role as mediatorship for the people is clearly presented by Hugh of St. Victor in an illuminating allegory of God as a physician who prepares a medicine. It is the priest's duty to be an assistant for the physician. The assistant distributes medicine for the sick from a container. The vessel is the sacrament and the medicine the divine grace – the actual content of the sacrament. *De sacramentis* I, 9, iv. PL 176, col. 323B-C. This metaphor, on the one hand, demonstrates the difference between *sacramentum tantum* and *res tantum*. On the other hand, it also explicates the nature of priestly cooperation with God.

the earth to heavenly heights.¹⁷² These views indicate, firstly, that there is a distinct area of priestly operation apart from the role of being a representative of Christ. Secondly, alongside this, the role of the priest in the liturgy consists mostly of being a mediator between men and God; he prepares the faithful to meet Christ in the sacrament.¹⁷³ The priest can be said to operate in Christ's name – *in nomine Christi* – as the above theme of mediator suggests.¹⁷⁴ Understanding of the priest as authorized representative of the worshipping community is clearly presented in his statement that the liturgy is the voicing of the entire people of God, not that of the priest alone. Thus, even though the priest is the spokesman of the people before God, Cabasilas presupposes active involvement of the people in the celebration of the liturgy. It is the people who with their 'amen' confirm the prayers and pleas said by the priest. In other words, through the 'amen' the prayers said by the representative become the property of all the faithful.¹⁷⁵

Consequently, Cabasilas designates the liturgy as common work accomplished by the people, ἔργον τοῦ λαοῦ. It is an action in which the people address God in one voice, intoned out loud by the priest. The idea of the priest acting *in persona Ecclesiae* reflects the anthropocentric stance of the Eucharistic liturgy. In his operation the priest represents collective human subjectivity in its outreach towards the divine. Cabasilas' idea of the bishop as typification of the entire humanity – witnessed through the rite of consecration of the altar table – is here reflected in his presentation of the priest as a mediator between men and God.

¹⁷² "Τοιαύτης δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσας εὐχῆς καὶ οὕτω τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, αἶρει τὰ φρονήματα καὶ φησὶν [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 6.

¹⁷³ In Cabasilas' reasoning about the duties of the priest there is a resemblance to John Chrysostom's characterization of the priest begging the Father to send his Spirit not only upon the Eucharistic gifts but to the souls of the faithful, so that their souls would shine brighter than silver burnished in fire. *De sacerdotio* III, 4. PG 48, col. 642.

¹⁷⁴ The anamnesis of the Eucharistic canon concludes with words of institution, and is followed by the epiclesis. This provides a reason to interpret the words of institution as anamnestic components: on the eve of the descent of the Spirit at the present moment they are pronounced as the culmination of the remembrance of the past events of salvation history. Thus, the structure of the anaphora itself gives a basis for understanding the words of institution as said rather *in nomine Christi* than *in persona Christi* – if the latter involves an interpretation of Christ as the pronouncer of the words instead of the priest. Evdokimov (2001, 257-258) seems to come to this kind of conclusion in maintaining that the priest does not say the words *in persona Christi* but *in nomine Christi*, since he is Christ's *typos*. The efficacy of the words necessitates the Spirit's participation, which transforms anamnestic remembrance into theophany. Similar opinion can also be found in Congar 1983, 235-236. Taft (1984, 93) confidently states that emphasis on *in persona Christi* has no connection with the liturgical thought of the Eastern Church.

¹⁷⁵ "Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν εὐχὴν τελέσας, τὴν αἰτολογίαὶν ταύτην, ὅτι καὶ ἀκροτελεύτιος οὖσα καὶ δοξολογία ἐστίν, εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων ἀναγινώσκει, ἵνα τοῦ ὕμνου κοινωνοὺς ἅπαντας λάβῃ, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ Θεὸς ὑμνηθῇ. Καὶ τοίνυν ἀκούοντες κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕμνου. Εἰπόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ δοξολογήσαντος, οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες τὸ « Ἀμήν » ἐπιλέγουσι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα βοήσαντες οἰκειοῦνται πάσης τὰς ἐκείνου φωνάς." *Sacrae liturgiae* XV, 2.

4.4. CONCLUSION: DIVINE PRESENCE AS CHRISTOCENTRIC REALITY

Transformation of the Eucharistic elements into the body and blood of Christ is for Cabasilas the central act of the entire liturgy. In his conceptualisation of the sacrifice of Christ the objective-subjective suspense in perceiving divine operation is made concrete: in re-enactment of the sacrifice of Christ the divine becomes truly present within the realm of human actuality.

Cabasilas believes Christ to be present in the Eucharist as truly and really as he was on the cross when he sacrificed himself. The unity of these two occasions is expressed by him with the idea of double or dual change: through Eucharistic offering of the bread and wine the elements not only become an offering to God, but they are miraculously transformed into the once-sacrificed Lamb of God. When presenting his insights into the Eucharistic transformation, Cabasilas avoids analytical musing. Instead of rationally describing of the presence of Christ, he tends to prefer descriptive presentation of his beliefs. Due to his conceptually tenuous logical input, Cabasilas can be said to believe in a realistic and true presence of Christ in the Eucharist while an exact reconstruction of his understanding of its nature cannot be attained.

Invocation of the Spirit (the epiclesis) and words of institution are a means of actualizing the sacrifice on the cross and making Christ present in the Eucharist. Consecratory divine operation is channeled through the priest as a human mediator of divine operation. The priest is an embodiment of divine presence, a sacramental representative of both the Spirit and Christ. Cabasilas also portrays the priest as the representative of humanity in front of God, putting the anthropocentric impetus of the Eucharistic synaxis in specific terms. However, at the moment of consecration it is Christ rather than the priest who performs the offering.

Regardless of his commitment to the traditional Eastern Christian emphasis on the epicletic element of the anaphora, there is a distinct christocentric character in his understanding of the transformation. The significance of the words of institution becomes apparent in Cabasilas' description of the consecration as if Christ himself would perform the consecration during the non-petitionary portions of the anaphora (words of institution) by making full the "empty gifts" offered by the priest. As a slightly problematic result, Cabasilas puts emphasis on both the Spirit's (epiclesis) and Christ's (Logos-epicletic outcome of his interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus*) significance in accomplishing the sacrifice. Even though the very idea of co-operation is not emphatically present in Cabasilas' thinking, his understanding of the dual operation of the Spirit and the Son cannot be taken as totally contrary to it either. To summarize, the importance of the two active persons of the Trinity becomes apparent, despite Cabasilas' rather inaccurate presentation of the exact relation of these two operators to each other.

Yet, Cabasilas' prevailing christocentrism is strengthened by his interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus*. Cabasilas perceives this prayer of the Missale Romanum as a certain kind of 'Latin epiclesis'. When explicating his conviction that the prayer is an equivalent to the epiclesis of the Byzantine liturgy, he surprisingly shrinks from the pneumatocentrism traditionally attached to the epiclesis in the Christian East. Instead, he complements Christ (also) as the consecrator of the Eucharistic bread and wine.

Despite its controversial point of departure there is an irenic overtone in Cabasilas' stance. It is extremely remarkable that he clearly aims to reach a harmonized synthesis of the Eastern and Western doctrines of transformation. By capitalizing on christocentrism as an overarching perspective, Cabasilas presents his synthesis of the Greek (Orthodox) and Latin (Roman Catholic) doctrines of transformation of the Eucharistic elements. Although he then crosses the boundaries of the Orthodox teaching of his own era, he nevertheless does not in the end articulate an untraditional solution. He conforms to the early Eastern Christian Logos-epiclesis tradition, drawing at the same time close to the early scholastic reading of *Supplices te rogamus* with its angel-Christ analogy. As a result, in his interpretation of *Supplices te rogamus* as an epicletic prayer, he does not adhere to the pneumatological reading prevailing in the Eastern Christian tradition, but extends his thought into the sphere of the christocentric approach.

However, the final result of his attempt to harmonize the two Eucharistic traditions cannot be considered to be entirely successful. The Eucharistic doctrine formulated by the three Latin theologians, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, accentuates the centrality of the words of institution at the expense of the epiclesis. Further, no proof was found in support of Cabasilas' interpretation of the prayer *Supplices te rogamus* as an epicletic element of the Latin Mass and Scholastic Eucharistic doctrine as well.

5 Presence of the Divine in Man

A balanced picture of Cabasilas' comprehension of the theme of the presence of God in the Eucharistic assembly necessitates an investigation of his understanding of the consequences of Eucharistic communion. So far in this study the focus has been on the *ordo* of the liturgy and on the Eucharistic miracle: how Cabasilas understands God's presence to be revealed and manifested throughout the liturgy itself and especially in the Eucharistic elements. This kind of approach could be described as an objective inspection of the Eucharistic assembly; its realization through action and physical expressions. There is, however, a fundamentally different approach as well, that of subjective contemplation of God's presence within the communicant. As Cabasilas himself determines, Eucharistic participation is one of the culminating points of the liturgy.¹ From the perspective of dialectics between theocentrism and anthropocentrism this chapter introduces the theocentric aspect of the liturgy in relation with the inner experience of man. Thus, the effect of participating in God's presence in man, enabled by Eucharistic communion, is now observed.

This being the case, by what means and manner does Cabasilas explain the realization of God's presence in the communing faithful? Giving an answer to this question demands that we diverge from the liturgical context of the Eucharist. What becomes essential instead is the personal experience of the human-God relationship of the communicant. Consequently, the perspective of this chapter is fundamentally subjective and existential.

God's presence in relation to Cabasilas' understanding of Eucharistic communion will be discussed from three perspectives. Firstly, an investigation of the sacramental and ascetical premises for Eucharistic communion will be made. Secondly, the perspective of communion (*koinonia*) as communal and the personal participation in God, enabled by the partaking of the sacrament, is discussed. Finally, Cabasilas' understanding of mystical union (*henosis*) attained in Eucharistic communion is examined.

5.1. PREMISES OF PARTICIPATION

Briefly, Cabasilas sets a twofold requirement for Eucharistic participation: existence of sacramental ecclesial fellowship through the mysteries of baptism and chrismation², and

¹ Cf. pages 111-112.

² Within the limits of this study it is not possible to give a full presentation of Cabasilas' understanding of baptism and chrismation. For a profound discussion of this topic, cf. Lot-Borodine 1958, 70-101; Spiteris 1996, 113-127; Völker 1977, 51-67.

a active pursuit of the purification of one's soul. These requirements constitute the premises of anthropological condition for receiving the body and blood of Christ.

Cabasilas' idea of the aim of the Eucharist can be designated as the explicator of the meaning or direction of life. He maintains that life on earth is directed toward its consummation in the world to come, thus forming only a part of the process which continues as an everlasting life in Christ. Engaging in this process already here on earth constitutes a requirement for entering the Kingdom of God in the age to come. The mysteries of the church constitute an inalienably important element in reaching the goal in the hereafter. Cabasilas calls the sacramental mysteries the workshop (*ἐργαστήριον*) of life to come.³ Baptism marks the death of the old man and the birth of the new, sinless man. For man it is an event of reconciliation with God and union with him.⁴ In the mystery of chrismation Christ supplies the newly baptised with communion in the Holy Spirit and his blessings.⁵ In order to, firstly, preserve the grace of these two mysteries of initiation and, secondly, be worthy of receiving the Eucharist, man must firmly seek the purification of his soul and stay in close contact with God.⁶

Cabasilas expounds the mysteries through the theme of Christ's condescension. His passion, death and resurrection ushered in a new life which in the present is participable and lived out in the mysteries. In the mysteries Christ's kenosis is, nevertheless, participated in an atmosphere of brightness and perfection of the new life. Passion is set in the background:

Accordingly, through these sacred mysteries, as through windows, the sun of righteousness enters this dark world [- -]. When the sunlight enters a house the lamp no longer attracts the sight of the onlookers, but the brightness of it is overcome by the sunlight. In the same way, when in this life through the mysteries the brightness of the life to come enters our souls and dwells in them; it conquers life in the flesh and the beauty of the world, concealing its brightness.⁷

³ "Ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴ φύεται μὲν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν λαμβάνει· τελειοῦται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἐκείνην ἀφικώμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ βίος οὗτος τελείως δύναται ταύτην ἐνθεῖναι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς, οὔτε ὁ μέλλον μὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν λαβών. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος, τὸ σαρκίον ἐπισκοπεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἐκείθεν νεφέλη καὶ φθορά, «μὴ δυναμένη τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖν». [- -] Καὶ τῶν μὲν μυστηρίων ἕξεστι κοινωνῆσαι τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοὺς «φίλους» κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καὶ «ἃ ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς» ἐκείνος παρ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν αὐτούς, ἀνάγκη δὲ φίλους ὄντας αὐτοῦ καὶ «ὧτα ἔχοντας» ἀφικέσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα φιλίαν συστήναι καὶ οὐδ' ἀνοιγῆναι καὶ ἱμάτιον νυμφικόν κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ τᾶλλα ἐτοιμασθῆναι ὧν ἐκείνῳ δεῖ τῷ νυμφῶνι, ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀπάντων ἐργαστήριον οὗτος ὁ βίος· καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἐγένετο ταῦτα πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν, κοινὸν οὐδὲν εἰς ἐκείνην ἔστι τὴν ζωὴν." *De vita* I, 1-2.

⁴ "Τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ζωὴν τὴν μὲν ἀπόλλυσι, τὴν δὲ ἀναδείκνυσι· καὶ τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπνίγει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀνίστησι." *De vita* II, 30; "Τοῦτο τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ ἔργον· ἀμαρτιῶν ἀπολύσαι, ἀνθρώπων Θεὸν καταλλάξαι, Θεῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰσποιῆσαι [- -]." *De vita* II, 101.

⁵ "Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς τελειῆς ἔργον τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Πνεύματος μεταδίδουσι· τὸ μύρον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσάγει τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἡ σωτηρία, πᾶσα δὲ ἐλπίς ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος μετουσία [- -]." *De vita* III, 8; "Ἄ δε χριστιανοῖς ἐκάστοτε προμνάται τὸ μύρον, καὶ ὧν καιρὸς ἅπας ὁ χρόνος, χάρισμα εὐσεβείας καὶ εὐχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοῖς δεχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἐν καιρῷ." *De vita* III, 10.

⁶ *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 13, XXI, 3; *De vita* IV, 60; VI, 26-31.

⁷ "Καὶ τοίνυν διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὡς περ διὰ θυρίδων, εἰς τὸν σκοτεινὸν τοῦτον κόσμον, ὁ ἥλιος εἰσέρχεται τῆς δικαιοσύνης. [- -] Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ, τῆς ἀκτίνος εἰσελεύσεως, ὁ λύχνος οὐκέτι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν ὁρώντων εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς ἀκτίνος λαμπρότης ὑπερικῶσα κατέχει, τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς

When speaking of the Eucharist, Cabasilas – in line with e.g. Symeon the New Theologian and more generally with the hesychastic tradition – repeatedly refers to the themes of light and brightness. However, it is not the Eucharist alone but the sacramental reality of the mysteries in general that transfigures the soul and transforms man.⁸ This occurs when man in the mysteries partakes of the blessings derived from the work of salvation accomplished by Christ. Cabasilas points out that initiation into these events is in the mysteries done in the reverse order from their actual occurrence in history. Thus, man ascends to communion with God by starting with the last events of Christ’s kenosis and proceeds towards the first ones.⁹ The mysteries are designated by Cabasilas as a ladder through which man climbs spiritually. In baptism he begins with the final works of Christ (death and resurrection), and ascends in the Eucharist to the orbit of deification (blessings of the incarnation).¹⁰ In other words, in the mysteries the descent or *katabasis* (κατάβασις) of Christ enables the ascent or *anabasis* (ἀνάβασις) of man: deification. This perspective seems to be fundamental in Cabasilas’ sacramental theology. Consequently, he is seen to represent conventional Christian teaching regarding both the soteriological nature of the mysteries and the communicative nature of the liturgy. The ascent to God can be taken as a response to Christ’s katabatic descent. This takes place in the liturgy and through the mysteries – and more broadly in the entirety of ecclesial forms of Christian life. A symbolic reading of the liturgy is thus one form of spiritual ascent, which takes place through participatory contemplation of the episodes of Christ’s life

λαμπρότης εισερχομένη και τᾶς ψυχᾶς ἐνοικουῶσα, νικᾷ τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ ζωὴν και τὸ κάλλος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου και τὴν λαμπρότητα ἀποκρύπτει.“ *De vita* I, 21-22.

⁸ E.g. *De vita* I, 3: “[- -] και ὁ ἥλιος ἐκεῖνος και ἡμῖν ἀνέτειλε φιλανθρώπως, και τὸ ὑπερουράνιον μύρον ἐν τοῖς δυσώδεσι χωρίοις ἐξεκενώθη, και «ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄρτος και τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐδόθη».“ Ks. myōs *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 5; XLIII, 7. The hesychastic notion, seemingly found in Cabasilas’ reasoning, is characterized by Bobrinskoy: “The fundamental belief of Palamas and the hesychasts that the Saints might after the manner of the Apostles contemplate the Light of Tabor with the eyes of their transfigured bodies, permits them to safeguard the reality of the divine life which is given us by the Church through its mysteries.” Bobrinskoy 1968, 501. The theme of light, so focal in Symeon the New Theologian’s theology, is in this short citation well expressed in the Eucharistic context: “[- -] ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ σωτὴρ και βασιλεὺς τοῦ παντός, φῶς· ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ἀχράντου σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ φῶς, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ αἵματος φῶς, ἡ ἀναστάσις αὐτοῦ φῶς, τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ φῶς.” *Discours Théologique* III, 150-153. *Traitées théologiques et éthiques* I. 1966, 164. Cf. Krivocheine 1986, 215-238.

⁹ “Δεῖ τοίνυν και τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῷ μεταλαβεῖν και τῆς θεώσεως μετασχεῖν και τοῦ τάφου και τῆς ἀναστάσεως κοινωνῆσαι τὸν συναφθῆναι ζητοῦντα. Και δὴ βαπτιζόμεθα μὲν, ἵνα τὸν θάνατον ἀποθάνωμεν ἐκεῖνον και τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀναστῶμεν· χριστούμεθα δέ, ἵνα τοῦ χρίσματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῆς θεώσεως αὐτῷ γενώμεθα κοινοὶ· σιτούμενοι δέ τὸν ἱερώτατον ἄρτον και τοῦ θειοτάτου πίνοντες ποτηρίου, αὐτῆς μετέχοντες τῆς σαρκὸς, αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος, τῶν τῷ Σωτῆρι προσειλημμένων.” *De vita* II, 2-3. In addition to baptism, chrismation and Eucharist, Cabasilas also refers to other mysteries but does not reveal anything of their soteriological function. Presumably he does not believe them to be as central when it comes to the salvation of man.

¹⁰ “Τί οὖν μὴ και τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνω σώζομεν τάξιν, ἀλλ’ ὅθεν ἐληξεν ἀρχόμενοι ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἤρξατο τελευτῶμεν; Ὅτι κατῆλθεν ἵν’ ἡμεῖς ἀνέλθωμεν, και τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποκειμένης ὁδοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνον πρᾶγμα κάθοδος ἦν, ἡμεῖς δέ ἀνερχόμεθα· οὐκοῦν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ κλίμακος, ὅπερ ἐσχατον ἦν ἐκεῖνω κατερχομένη, τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀνιούσι γίνεται πρῶτον.” *De vita* II, 4; “Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Θεὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατελθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀναγαγεῖν· και τὸ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον θεωθῆναι.” *De vita* IV, 26.

through the rite.¹¹ When taken together, these two modes of ascent (symbolically through the rite and sacramentally through the mysteries), the Eucharistic synaxis can be seen as a spiritual event which involves a transition or an ascent from the level of symbolic participation in the life of Christ to the level of truly spiritually-transforming participation in it. This latter is concretely manifested in sacramental communion in the body and blood of Christ.

Cabasilas' soteriological perspective on the theology of the sacraments culminates in the statement that salvation can be more certainly attained through the mysteries than was provided to the first-created man in paradise. This view is based on the biblical account of paradise as a place with the possibility of exit as the story of the expulsion from paradise indicates. Compared with the sacramental mysteries, the situation is different. Once the mysteries are partaken of, participation in salvation is irreversibly transmitted to man in reality. Cabasilas bases this argument on Christ: the barrier between God and man was demolished once and for all in him, and God does not deny his act of salvation to men. It follows then that the new life in Christ, present in the mysteries, is transmitted to those who sacramentally partake in his passion and death (τὸ διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων τούτων ἐλθόντας, μετασχεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ πάθους). The importance of the role of the mysteries for the salvation of man is exemplified in Cabasilas' statement that unless man enters the new life through baptism and chrismation, and nourishes himself with the body and blood of the Son of God, there is no true life in him.¹² It is specifically the Eucharist that stands for Cabasilas as the primary mystery of bringing people to everlasting life: life in the age to come could not be attained in the first place without the Eucharistic participation in the body and blood of Christ. If the Eucharist was for Pseudo-Dionysius a completion of the other mysteries, the sacrament of the sacraments, it is of even greater importance to Cabasilas: it is the culmination of the Christian faith.¹³

¹¹ Cf. Lossky 1974, 97-98. According to Kilmartin, it is characteristic of Christian liturgy to contain both the anabatic and katabatic elements. He defines the katabatic self-communication of God as "movement 'from above'" and respectively the anabatic self-offering of the worshipping community as "movement 'from below'". Significant from the perspective of Cabasilas' liturgical symbolism is Kilmartin's observation that the anabatic is "externalized in the liturgical rite." Thus, the movement from above is manifested visibly in the rite while the human response from below cannot be directly externalized. Kilmartin 1988, 335.

¹² "Οὔτε γὰρ μὴ βαπτισθέντα ἐν ὕδατι καὶ Πνεύματι δυνατὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν· οὔτε «οἱ μὴ φαγόντες τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνοντες αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, δύνανται ζῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχειν.»" *De vita* I, 40-42.

¹³ Of the complete nature of the Eucharist Cabasilas writes: "Οὕτω τέλειόν ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον, τελετῆς ἀπάσης διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄγει τὴν κορυφὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπιείας σπουδῆς ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὸ ἔσχατον τέλος [- -]. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μυστηρίοις τὸ τελεῖσθαι εἶναι παρέχεται μόνη τελετῶν ἡ Εὐχαριστία. Καὶ βοηθεῖ μὲν αὐτοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τελεῖσθαι, τελέσαι μὴ δυναμένοις χωρὶς αὐτῆς, βοηθεῖ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τελείωσιν ἐν τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἀμαρτιῶν σκότει τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀκτίνα συγχεθεῖσαν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι δεήσει." *De vita* IV, 10-11. The Eucharist is not only the mystery above other mysteries but an expression of the core of Christian faith: "[- -] τὸ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν, τελείους ποιεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ χριστιανισμόν τελετῆς ἀπάσης διαφερόντως." *De vita* IV, 52. Cabasilas' view of the Eucharist's relation to the other mysteries, and through them to the world in general, reflects the Orthodox teaching of transfiguration of the creation in the sacraments.

On what bases is such a strong opinion justified? To begin with, the Eucharist is for Cabasilas a mystery which enables man to truly meet God in an ineffable manner. It is a mystery where a creature enters into an intimate connection with his creator. Thus, the Eucharist makes concrete God's great love towards his beloved creation. Cabasilas suggests that the whole act of creation was made in order that man could come across divine love and, in response to it, turn to his creator. Alongside the theology of creation, the Eucharist derives its meaning from the incarnation, the special expression of divine love. Cabasilas specifies that the incarnation revealed the greatness of God's love. God was not satisfied with leading men into communion with him only through manifestation of the divine nature, but also by assuming humanity.¹⁴

Taking account of the aforementioned characterizations, the Eucharist could be defined as participation in the goal of creation. It may not, therefore, be too much of an exaggeration to say that in Cabasilas' thought the entire creation casts about for its fulfillment in the Eucharist. A case in point is his statement that the ones who depart from this life without Eucharistic communion with Christ cannot expect life everlasting.¹⁵ Consequently, life is set towards its fulfillment in the Eucharist, which is the only way to salvation and eternal life.¹⁶ Designating the sacramental body of Christ in the Eucharist as the treasure chest of God's perfection exemplifies Cabasilas' assurance of the spiritual and soteriological importance of the Eucharist. Furthermore, Cabasilas spells out that the act of creation and Christ's atonement both were accomplished for the sake of glorification of the Father and generating communion between God and men.¹⁷ This communion is now maintained by the Eucharist. It is, therefore, quite natural that such a large-scale vision of the Eucharist causes Cabasilas to be solemnly reverent when he discusses partaking in Christ's body and blood. The Eucharist clearly is for him a sacred and awe-inspiring mystery, *mysterium tremendum*¹⁸, which would be fatal to approach without due preparation.

¹⁴ *De vita* I, 27-28; VI, 41; VII, 6. According to Cabasilas, the connection of incarnation with creation proves the essential goodness of creation. As a consequence, exploring the creation enables man to understand God's love. *De vita* VI, 41. In his characterization of Cabasilas' thought Nellas (1987, 141-143) points out, that the world is created for the incarnation and it is the Eucharist that enables men to be partakers of the blessings of it. In the incarnation, the Logos adopted as his body what earlier was created by him. This results in a radical change in the nature of the universe – the Creator and the created become one. Nellas thus describes Cabasilas' worldview as a christocentric cosmology, in which the new dynamics caused by the incarnation emanate into the world pre-eminently through the Eucharist.

¹⁵ “Ὅθεν τοῖς μὴ μετὰ τούτων ἀπεληλυθόσι τῶν δώρων πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν, ἔσται πλέον οὐδέν. Οἷς δὲ ὑπῆρξε καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ σώσαι, καὶ «εἰς τὴν χαρὰν εἰσῆλθον τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν» [- -].” *De vita* IV, 109.

¹⁶ “Τούτω τοὺς μὴ συννημένους, ὥσπερ οἶδε συνάπτειν ἡ τράπεζα, ἀναπαύσεως τυγχάνειν ἢ τι λαβεῖν ἀγαθόν, ἢ μικρόν ἢ μείζον ἐκεῖ, παντελῶς ἀδύνατον.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIII, 7.

¹⁷ “Καὶ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέστη τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἵνα τὸν Πατέρα δοξάσῃ, καὶ ἡ φησὶν αὐτὸς, ὁ Σωτὴρ, «εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννηται καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον»· καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον, μόνον μὲν τὸ πρὸς τοῦτο φέρον ἅπαν «ἐτέλεσεν ἔργον», μόνον δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου διαφερόντως ὑπομεμένηκε πόνον. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα «τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος» ἐγένετο θησαυρός· καὶ πάσης μὲν ἦν ἄγευστον ἀμαρτίας, ἐπλήρωσε δὲ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην, ἐκήρυξε δὲ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι ἀγνοούμενον τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ οἷς ἐπεδείκνυτο.” *De vita* IV, 20.

¹⁸ The Eucharist is designated by Cabasilas, for example, as a frightful sacrifice and table (ἡ φοικτική θυσία, τράπεζα), which should be approached in the fear of God and in faith (μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως). *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 1; I, 2; XXXIX, 1. The latter is a direct quote from the liturgy, in which

Cabasilas' insistence on spiritual striving for the maintenance of baptismal grace already indicates that he places a strong emphasis on human will and action when it comes to protection of the new life in Christ. He clearly opts for the principle of synergy in his sacramental theology: God and man collaborate in their mutual relation which aims for the salvation of man. Nevertheless, it is the operation of God that forms the basis of this synergy. God gives all the holy things to the people who are unable to add to them anything of their own. This is especially the case with the mysteries of baptism and chrismation, through which God makes an undeserved man a sharer of the divine grace.¹⁹ On the other hand, Cabasilas links human effort with salvation. Even though baptism and chrismation consist of divine grace, recognition of their effect may be significantly postponed to times after the actual event of initiation (διὰ ταῦτα κἂν μὴ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς τελετῆς χρόνον, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῶ πνευματικὴν δυνηθῆ τὶς ἐπιδείξασθαι δωρεάν, οὐ δεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ὄθεν ἡ δύναμις ἀγνοεῖν³).²⁰ This delay is due to the negative expression of the free will of man. It is, thus, to a great extent up to man himself to protect his royal baptismal gown against any stains and keep it pure for the Kingdom. Obedience to this kind of stewardship constitutes the life in Christ transmitted in the mysteries, into which man, by his inclination, has to give his share.²¹ The duty of man is to cultivate the gifts given to him and guard the grace provided by them.

the faithful are exhorted to approach the sacrament in fear of God, in faith and in love. Brightman 1896, 341, 395. The idea of the Eucharist as a dreadful mystery appears in the 4th century. The flow of converts into the church with social rather than religious motives at those times has been mentioned as one of the main reasons for stressing the awe-inspiring nature of the Eucharist. Besides, struggle against heresies, especially Arianism, contributed to stressing Christ's presence in the Eucharist as a frightening act of God himself performing the holy sacrifice. Jungmann 1925, 246-249; Quasten 1951, 66-75; Sove 1984, 60-61.

¹⁹ "Εἰ γὰρ καὶ προῖκα δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἅγια, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προεισφέρομεν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς εἰσι χάριτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε ἐπιτηδείους γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸ δέξασθαι αὐτὰ καὶ φυλάξαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν μεταδοίη τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ μὴ οὕτω διατεθεῖσιν. Οὕτω βαπτίζει, οὕτω χρίει, οὕτως ἐστιᾶ, [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* I, 2. The centrality of the concept of communion in Greek thinking is underlined by Bradshaw, who maintains that if the difference between the Eastern traditions – both pagan and Christian – and Western traditions were to be summarized "in a single word, that word would be 'synergy.' In the East the highest form of communion with the divine is not primarily an intellectual act, but a sharing of life and activity." According to Bradshaw, the concept of communion as synergy led in a Christian theology "to a tendency to think of earthly, bodily existence as capable of being taken up and subsumed within the life of God. Emphasis was placed, not on any sudden transformation at death, but on the ongoing and active appropriation of those aspects of the divine life that are open to participation." Bradshaw 2004, 264-265.

²⁰ *De vita* III, 20. However, Cabasilas also admits that everything relating to the mysteries is founded on the work of God. *De vita* V, 15. Although Cabasilas does not use the word synergy, I find it easy to agree with Mantovanis, who maintains that Cabasilas' emphasis on worthy preparation "is summed up in the word of cooperation." Mantovanis founds his argument on Cabasilas' insistence on personal spiritual struggle and obedience to the will of God. Mantovanis 1984, 218.

²¹ "[- -] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος θεοὶ περὶ Θεόν, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶ κληρονόμοι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῶ βασιλεύοντες βασιλείαν, ἐάν γε μὴ ἐκόντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποτυφλώσωμεν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα διαρρήξωμεν τὸν βασιλικόν [- -]. Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴ, ἣν συνίστησι μὲν τὰ μυστήρια· δοκεῖ δὲ τι δύνασθαι πρὸς ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν σπουδῆν." *De vita* I, 65-66. Thus, the sinful do receive the body and blood of Christ, however without achieving union with Christ. Mantovanis 1984, 227.

The dynamics derived from synergy are connected by Cabasilas especially with due preparation for the Eucharistic communion. He strongly urges his readers to soul-searching in order to become worthy enough to partake in such a noble sacrament. Despite the fact that sanctifying grace is always present in the Eucharist, its influence in man provides human co-operation (τρόπον τὴν χάριν ενεργεῖν [- -] τῆς ἡμετέρας δεῖται σπουδῆς). That is to say, sanctification happens to man only if he is worthy to receive the grace communed. Cabasilas openly declares that indifference obstructs the effects of Eucharistic communion. Man does not then only become devoid of the blessings but faces a fatal loss: his sins are not forgiven. A liturgical justification is given by Cabasilas for his view: in the liturgy the priest prays before the communion that the faithful would be worthy to receive the sacrament.²² The prayer suggests that there is a danger of undeserving participation. Cabasilas points out that even though the priest may give the sacrament to the unworthy also, Christ the High Priest does not make them sharers of himself. Only the ones who have undergone proper preparation and are in a suitable state, truly become partakers in Christ.²³ In an earlier part of this study it was discovered that the liturgy in itself is for Cabasilas a means of preparation for meeting Christ in the Eucharist. The divine rite embodies elements which purify and form the faithful not only to receive sanctification but also to conserve it. Prayers and liturgical action thus guide mind and heart so that man can attain a suitable inner state for receiving the sacrament.

What, then, is considered by Cabasilas to be a requirement for true Eucharistic communion? In short, man has to show "purity of heart, love of God, faith, yearn for mystery and *koinonia*, burning striving and thirst." In so far as the soul has reached this kind of state, it can enter into full *koinonia* through Eucharistic participation.²⁴ The ascetic and penitential character of man's relationship with God, as a prerequisite for attaining purity of the heart, is witnessed by the altar table, the anthropological symbol of the God-

²² "Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τρόπον ἐν τοῖς δώροις τὴν χάριν ενεργεῖν, οὐδὲν δύναται κωλύειν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν. Ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ὁ ἀγιασμός αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς ἔργον, οὕτως οὐδὲν κωλύσθαι δυνατὸν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ κακίας ἀνθρώπων. Ὁ δεύτερος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δεῖται σπουδῆς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμῶν κωλύεται ῥαθυμίας. Ἀγιάζει γὰρ ἡ χάρις διὰ τῶν δώρων ἡμᾶς, εἴν πρὸς τὸν ἀγιασμόν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντας λάβη, ἃ δὲ ἀπαρασκευάστοις ἐμπέσει, οὔτε ὄφελος ἤνεγκεν οὐδὲν καὶ μυρία ἡμῖν ἐνέθηκε βλάβη. Ταύτην τὴν χάριν, εἴτε ἄφεςις ἀμαρτιῶν ἔστι μόνον, εἴτε μετ' ἐκείνης καὶ ἄλλη δωρεὰ διδομένη τοῖς μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότης τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο δεικνύοντων δείπνον, εὐχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ κωλυθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων, ὡς δυναμένην κωλυθῆναι δι' ἀνθρωπίνην κακίαν." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIV, 5-6. Correspondingly, Symeon the New Theologian points out that an unprepared communicant may assume he has received the sacrament, but in reality he did not partake in it nor receive its blessings. Discours Éthique XIV, 271-276. *Traitées théologiques et éthiques* II. 1967, 440.

²³ "Οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἷς δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀληθῶς μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι πάντως οἷς αὐτὸς δίδωσιν ὁ Χριστός. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεὺς πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς προσιοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἀξίοις τοῦ μετασχεῖν. Ὅθεν δῆλον ὡς ὁ τελῶν τὰς ψυχὰς τὸ μυστήριον καὶ ἀγιάζων καὶ ζῶντας καὶ τεθηγκότας μόνος τις αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ Σωτήρ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIII, 4. In Jungmann's opinion Cabasilas explicates here his conception of Christ as both the High Priest and the Mediator. The Father took to men when he saw in them the image of his Son (i.e. Christ the Mediator). In the liturgy the invisibly present Christ the High Priest gives a share of himself in the Eucharist to the faithful who approach him, thus connecting them with the Father. Jungmann 1925, 238.

²⁴ "[- -] καὶ τίνα ἔστιν ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπαιτεῖ; Ψυχῆς καθαρισ, ἀγάπη πρὸς Θεόν, πίστις, ἐπιθυμία τοῦ μυστηρίου, προθυμία πρὸς τὴν μετάληψιν, ὁρμὴ ζέουσα, τὸ διψῶντας δραμεῖν. Ταῦτα ἔστιν ἃ τὸν ἀγιασμόν ἐφέλκεται τοῦτον· καὶ μεθ' ὧν τοὺς προσερχομένους ἀνάγκη τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετασχεῖν καὶ ὧν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 6.

man relationship. Connotative and sensual symbols exposed in the rite of consecration of the altar table explicate Cabasilas' conception of man's spiritual stand in his relation to God. Repentance is the way of all creation to fellowship with God. Cabasilas indeed puts *metanoia* into a cosmic perspective, emphasizing an idea of transfiguration of all the creation. The material elements – wine, water, oil and *myron* – used in the mysteries have a remarkable role in liberating creation from the dominion of evil. Taken together, these elements depict the effect of God's grace in restoring man into life with God.²⁵ Growth in the likeness of God and transfiguration of all creation become real through ascetic striving and repentance. This kind of economical and ascetic perspective coheres well with Cabasilas' general christocentric emphasis on redemption. Besides, the archetypal function of the altar table as a real symbol of the God-man relationship is once again evident.

The emphasis of spiritual preparation for the Eucharist is in Cabasilas' thought linked with an idea that corporeality is of secondary importance when the effects of the Eucharist are discussed. What is important is that man's heart is pure and yearns for God. Cabasilas' conviction of the spiritual effect as the primary consequence of the physically-received sacrament can be seen as an example of this line of thought. From the immaterial soul the effects of the Eucharist spread into the body.²⁶ Cabasilas elaborates this thought further, concluding somewhat surprisingly that the body impedes reception of the Eucharist rather than contributes to it.²⁷ He supplements the statement by adding that in the present age the Eucharist must be received physically. Bodily flabbiness or

²⁵ Despite being clothed in white, a symbol of purity of heart (cf. Ps. 50:9 LXX), the bishop bows down in front of God thus showing his commitment to overcome himself (cf. 1 Tim. 3:2-5). Commemoration of the *kenosis* of Christ and his divine *diakonia* is shown when the bishop lifts the table top with his own hands and sets it. Anointing the table with holy water further refers to baptismal grace which releases man from the tyranny of Satan. *De vita* V, 9-10, 14, 16, 19. The manner of Cabasilas' comparison of baptismal water with that used in dousing the table top indicates that he understands the transfiguration of creation in its material-spiritual entirety. According to Nellas, Cabasilas' interpretation of the rite of consecration exemplifies three organisational axes of the church: altar, bishop, and saints. The altar is the permanent visible sign of God's sacramental presence. It is the hand of Christ upon which the mysteries are celebrated and which in turn hands them to the church. The rite further shows that the bishop is the archetype of God's living altar. It is the bishop who imprints into the altar stone a signet of his inner man-God relation. Finally, holiness as the third organisational dimension is concretely expressed in the relic. Nellas argues that each of these factors requires the other two to be present. Together they both constitute premises for the Eucharist and reach their ultimate fulfillment by it. Nellas 1987, 152-154.

²⁶ "Εἰ τοίνυν αἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον ἐτοιμῶς ἔχουσι καὶ παρεσκευασμένως, ὁ δὲ ἀγίασας καὶ τελέσας Κύριος ἀγιάζειν αἰεὶ βούλεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάστοτε μεταδίδοναι ἐπιθυμεῖ, τί τὸ κωλύσον τὴν μετουσίαν; Πάντως οὐδέν." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 8; "Ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐπι μετὰ σώματος ζῶσι δίδεται μὲν τὸ δῶρον διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν πρῶτον χωρεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα διαβαίνει." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIII, 1.

²⁷ "Ἐχουσι δὲ τι πλεόν εἰς ἀγίασμόν τῶν ἐν σώματι ζώντων αἱ γυμναὶ σωμάτων ψυχῶν· [- -] Ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προστιθέασιν ἐγκλήματα νέα τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔχει τῶν ζώτων, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἢ παντελῶς ἀφίενται πάσης εὐθύνης, ἢ γοῦν ἀφαιροῦσι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰεὶ· καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐτοιμότερον ἔχουσι καὶ κάλλιον οὐ μόνον τῶν πλειόνων ἐν σώματι ζώντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ μετὰ σώματος ἦσαν. Καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ γυμνάς εἶναι σώματος ἐπιτηδειότερας δίδωσιν εἶναι πολλῶ πρὸς τὴν μετουσίαν τῶν μυστηρίων ἢ δυνατόν ἦν τὸ σῶμα περικειμένως." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLV, 1.

indifference, however, should not keep man from communing.²⁸ The importance of spiritual preparation is at the same time accentuated.²⁹ The supplemental nature of physically consuming the body and blood of Christ is according to Cabasilas further witnessed by the fact that while an unworthy participation in the Eucharist may lead to ruination of the soul, bodily limitations do not endanger the depth of Eucharistic communion of an enlightened soul.³⁰ He also warns of avoiding frequent communing and points out the importance of proper preparation for communion. These views give grounds for concluding that Cabasilas is more motivated by pastoral and spiritual concerns than undervaluation of materiality as such. It is his concern for the due respect towards the Eucharist that leads him to maintain that there exists an exceptional form of spiritual communing in the Eucharist.³¹ This is well suited to Cabasilas' definition of the Eucharist as "the final mystery" (τελευταῖον τὸ μυστήριον), the most sacred thing, and there should be no traces of impurity in those who are about to partake in it. In addition, the communicants should not reflect badly when the Bread of Life is received.³²

Are sinners then incapable of approaching the chalice? Cabasilas' rather strict-sounding opinion about worthy preparation is adjusted when he specifies that spiritual perfection is not expected from all of those who yearn for Christ's body and blood. The words pronounced by the priest before the Lamb is broken into the chalice, "Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις", indicate that it is not only the perfect who are called holy but also those who yet aspire to attain holiness. There is nothing to prevent them from partaking in the Bread of Life too and be sanctified by it. Alongside liturgical phrasing Cabasilas leans on the letter to the Hebrews (Heb. 3:1) where the faithful are called holy due to their high vocation. Cabasilas also reasons that the faithful can be considered holy by the virtue of the holiness of the sacrament itself. The holiness of the body and blood of Christ falls to them when the sacrament is distributed.³³ This view is consolidated by the response of the congregation to priest's proclamation: "Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἷς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός." Cabasilas concludes that men can be holy only in and through Christ. His holiness resides in man like a ray of sun in a mirror: Christ is the origin of the brightness of both the ray and its reflection.³⁴ Thus, approaching the sacrament with due

²⁸ "Εἰ δέ τις δυνάμενος οὐ προσέλθοι τῇ τραπέζῃ, τοῦτον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἁγιασμοῦ τυχεῖν παντελῶς ἀδύνατον· οὐχ ὅτι οὐ προσῆλθεν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνάμενος οὐ προσῆλθε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δῆλός ἐστιν ὅτι τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἔρημον ἔχει τὴν ψυχὴν." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 11.

²⁹ "[- -] καὶ τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπαιτεῖ; Ψυχῆς κάθαρσις, ἀγάπη πρὸς Θεόν, πίστις, ἐπιθυμία τοῦ μυστηρίου, προθυμία πρὸς τὴν μετάληψιν, ὁρμὴ ζέουσα, τὸ διψῶντας δραμεῖν. Ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἃ τὸν ἁγιασμόν ἐφέλκεται τοῦτον· καὶ μεθ' ὧν τοὺς προσερχομένους ἀνάγκη τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετασχεῖν καὶ ὧν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα οὐ σωματικά, ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξήρηται μόνης." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 6-7.

³⁰ *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 4-5.

³¹ As an example, Cabasilas mentions the anchorites, highly valued in Eastern Christianity, who led cloistered life for years. Based on a conviction that spiritual life of a hermit cannot flourish without Eucharistic communion, Cabasilas extrapolates that they must have been connected to Christ through a non-physical, invisible Eucharistic communion. *Sacrae liturgiae* XLII, 9-10.

³² *De vita* IV, 3. See also *De vita* IV, 6.

³³ *De vita* IV, 78; *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 1.

³⁴ "Καὶ καθάπερ εἰ πολλὰ κάτοπτρα τεθεῖη ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, πάντα μὲν λάμπει καὶ ἀκτῖνας ἀφίησι, καὶ δόξεις πολλοὺς ἡλίους ὄραν, εἷς δὲ ἀληθῶς ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀστράπτων ἥλιος· οὕτω καὶ ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, εἷς τοὺς πιστοὺς χεόμενος, ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν φαίνεται ψυχαῖς καὶ πολλοὺς δείκνυσιν ἁγίους, ἐστὶ δὲ εἷς καὶ μόνος ἅγιος· οὐδὲν ἦρτον εἷς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 5.

reverence and correct understanding of its grandness seems to be one qualification of worthiness.

For another thing, a look at a statement of the fulfilling effect of the Eucharist only in those who approach it without any stain (καὶ οὔτε δειπνοῦντες πονηρὸν οὐδὲν εἶχον) sheds more light on Cabasilas' understanding of worthiness.³⁵ He apparently does not intend to ban sinners from communion. In them the blessings of the Eucharist, nevertheless, cannot fully flourish and be brought to completion. Yet, partaking in Christ's body and blood is of great help to them. This attests that Cabasilas does not attach any magical connotations to the Eucharist. It is not an act that provides salvation as an automaton. Cabasilas thus proceeds to specify that even though communion would bring along sanctification, the communicant may soon end up acting against the will of God. This shows that the recipient was not after all in a condition suitable for receiving the complete blessings of the sacrament.³⁶ In consequence, the nature of the effect of the Eucharist in man seems to be determined by the degree of spiritual purity of the recipient. Cabasilas for instance describes the Eucharist as whiteness to those who are pure, a means of purification for those who need to cleanse themselves, and a protection for those who battle with their desires.³⁷ Besides, Cabasilas refers to remission of sins by the power of the Spirit for those who partake in Christ's body and blood.³⁸

To conclude, the Eucharist can be approached even by the sinful. Yet, Cabasilas clearly assumes that they nevertheless actively try to suppress their iniquities. The Eucharist is always a needful nourishment to all Christians despite their prevailing situation. The extent of the effect of the Eucharist, however, depends on the recipient's spiritual state.³⁹ How else could one understand Cabasilas' insistence of frequent communion particularly for the reason that men so easily and frequently sin against God and their neighbours? A tension caused, on the one hand, by a demand of purity of heart from those who approach the Eucharist and, on the other hand, presumption of recurrent communing of those Christians who strive with their sins, is settled by Cabasilas by linking the problem of worthy preparation to confession of sins.

If man falls after communing or when preparing himself for it, Cabasilas posits that he must go to confession, the mystery provided for liberation from guilt. The latter, however, does not happen mechanically but through real repentance, pursuit of

³⁵ *De vita* IV, 6.

³⁶ *De vita* IV, 4-6; VII, 4.

³⁷ "Τούτο τὸ μυστήριον φῶς μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἤδη κεκαθαρμένοις, καθάρσιον δὲ τοῖς ἐτι καθαιρομένοις, ἀλείπτῃς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Πονηροῦ καὶ τῶν παθῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο λοιπὸν ἢ καθάπερ ὀφθαλμῶ τὴν λήμην ἀποθεμένου «τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου» δέξασθαι· τοῖς δὲ δεομένοις ἐτι τοῦ καθάραι δυναμένου, καθάρσιον, τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἄλλο; «Τὸ γὰρ αἷμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας» [- -]." *De vita* IV, 31.; "Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὸ μυστήριον τέλειον ἕνεκα πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὧν δεῖ τοῖς τελουμένοις, ὃ μὴ παρέχει διαφερόντως." *De vita* IV, 34. Cf. also *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 3-4. In the liturgy it is prayed that the blessings of the Eucharist would meet the cravings of the faithful. Brightman 1896, 340, 392.

³⁸ "Ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν δίδωσι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς τούτων κοινωνοῦσι τῶν δώρων." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXIV, 4.

³⁹ Repeatability is an aspect that Macquarrie (1966, 471) takes notice of when comparing the Eucharist with other sacraments. He also points out that one of the characteristics of Christian life in general is a repeated renewal of commitment to God. This aspect can be said to be present in Cabasilas thought.

regeneration and striving for overcoming sin. In order to be successful in these efforts, man has to, according to Cabasilas, commune frequently.⁴⁰ Despite the seeming incongruity of Cabasilas reasoning he evidently aims to propose that even though confession prior to the liturgy cleanses man from sin (thus enabling him to receive the sacrament), true repentance and penitence ultimately are conditional on active Eucharistic life. Only an Eucharistic rhythm of life can provide spiritual strengthening and purification. Hence, Cabasilas highlights – if only implicitly – sincere intention as one of the requirements for Eucharistic communion. At the same time the status of the Eucharist as the mystery of the mysteries is emphasized since it is not subordinated to confession.

Observed from the perspective of the theocentrism-anthropocentrism dynamics, the above discussion indicates that Cabasilas understands man to be in a state of spiritual imperfection. It is difficult for man to establish his mode of being in accordance with the will of God. However, human effort in attaining spiritual purity is still emphasized. Repentance, confession and other expressions of willful turning to God highlight the importance of human activity in manifesting man's relation with God. Thus, emphasis on anthropocentric approach gives grounds to claim that for Cabasilas God-man relationship consists in a real interaction within the scope of human reality.

5.2. ECCLESIOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF *KOINONIA* – COMMUNION IN CHRIST

For Cabasilas, the Eucharist is an act of concrete realization of and participation in the incarnational reality. Just like the incarnation of the Son of God sanctified the entire human race, Eucharistic communion with Christ also has a collective impact on man. From the perspective of dynamics of theocentrism and anthropocentrism, in the Eucharistic synaxis realization of objective divine operation can be said to come into fruition in humanity as whole. Cabasilas maintains that it is the church as the body of

⁴⁰ “[-] άλλως τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν καὶ τοῦτο μυστηρίων τοὺς περὶ ὧν ἐξήμαρτον μεταγνόντας καὶ προσαγγειλάντας ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πάσης ἀπολύεσθαι δίκης παρὰ Θεοῦ δικαστῆ. Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τούτου γένοιτ’ ἂν τυχεῖν ἐνεργοῦ, μὴ τὸ ἱερὸν δειπνήσαντας δειπνον. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λούμεθα μὲν ἅπαξ, πρόσμιεν δὲ τῇ πρατέζῃ πολλάκις, ὅτι συμβαίνει μὲν ἐκάστοτε Θεῷ προσκρούειν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, λύειν δὲ τὸ ἔγκλημα πειρωμένοις μετανοίας χρειαὶ καὶ πόνων καὶ τοῦ θριαμβεῦσαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· ταῦτα δὲ δρᾶσειεν ἂν κατὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἣν τὸ μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακῶν φάρμακον προστεθῆ.” *De vita* IV, 22-23. See also VI, 102-104. Here it is seen how Cabasilas maintains that other mysteries find their completion in relation to the Eucharist. Cabasilas' insights find an interesting comparison in the practices of the Finnish Orthodox Church. As a consequence of the liturgical renewal movement, the Finnish church has ceased to require mandatory confession before communing. Yet, one needs to have permission from father confessor to do so. This alteration was justified, on the one hand, by the loose interdependence of these two sacraments in the early Christian era. On the other hand, the naturalness and necessity of frequent communion is said to enable exemption from the strict rule of mandatory confession before receiving the Eucharist. *Piispojen paimenkirje ehtoolliskysymyksestä* 1970, 262-263. Even though Cabasilas does not here speak for the “ancient practice of the church”, as the Finnish Orthodox bishops designate it, his reasoning nevertheless give support for the idea of frequent communion as a Christian ideal. Emphasis on the importance of confession is not in conflict with the idea of recurrent communing. On confession in the Orthodox Church see Chryssavgis 1990, 3-18.

Christ which is in communion with Christ. Thus, through communion man is taken within a broadened sphere of influence of the true presence of Christ – initially actualized in the Eucharistic bread and wine.

Cabasilas purports that the body and blood of Christ bring the greatest blessing for those who approach the sacrament cleansed and without iniquity. In his explication of its utmost blessing, the complete effect of the final mystery, he begins with a communal construction. Leaning on the Pauline imagery of nuptial union (Eph. 5:22-32) as a portrayal of ideal state of communion with Christ, Cabasilas compares the Eucharist with wedlock between the church-Bride and Christ. Compounded with the account of creation of man (Gen. 2:23) he further explains the Eucharist as a mystical union in which the Bride becomes one flesh with Christ the Groom.⁴¹ Cabasilas thus proposes that Christ assumed into himself the collective human nature. This incarnation-based *communicatio idiomatum* between the divine and human natures has an overarching, communal effect on all humanity. It was precisely humanity as such, common to each individual human being, that Christ renewed. By assuming human nature Christ liberated the entire human race from the oppression of sin.⁴² As a result, the bases of personal relationship with God for each individual are formed by human nature rehabilitated by Christ. Furthermore, it is in the church that the renewed humanity is in constant communion with Christ.

The idea of ecclesial *koinonia*, derived from the Eucharistic communion, is constructed by Cabasilas according to Pauline metaphor of the church: Christ is the head of the church, the faithful being her members. This ecclesial dimension of Eucharistic *koinonia* rests on the christological foundation laid in the incarnation. Consequently, Cabasilas formulates the ecclesiological bases of the Eucharist as a sacramental re-enactment of the collectiveness and integrity of humanity derived from the incarnation of the Son of God. When celebrating the Eucharist the church enters into communion with Christ on account of receiving his sacramental body and blood. The church then manifests its divine essence as the body of Christ.⁴³ It is primarily as this communal event

⁴¹ “Τοιαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ χάριν τοῖς τετελεσμένοις τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰάν γε καθαροὶ προσελθόντες κακίας ἀπόσης, μηδὲν ἐπεισαγάγωμεν ἐπειτα πονηρὸν· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχουσι καὶ παρασκευασμένοις, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὸν Χριστὸν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἡμῖν ἐνωθῆναι. «Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστί», τὴν ἐνωσιν ταύτην ἐξαίρων ὁ μακάριος ἔφη Παῦλος. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος ὁ πολυύμνητος, καθ’ ὃν ὁ πάνταγονος νυμφίος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὡς παρθένον ἀγαταὶ νύμφην. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς «ἐκτρέφει» τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν χορὸν, ταύτῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῶν μυστηρίων «σάρκες ἐσμὲν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ». Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν, οἷς ὁ ἀπόστολος ὀριζόμενος τὸν γάμον, νυμφίον ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, καὶ «τὴν νύμφην ἔχειν» ὁ νυμφαγωγὸς φησὶν Ἰωάννης.” *De vita* IV, 29-30. According to Lot-Borodine, Cabasilas’ presentation of the nuptial mystery indicates that Eucharistic *koinonia* with Christ leads to love-filled *henosis* between the Groom and the soul of the faithful. This interaction takes place on the plane of divinity. She also reminds her reader that the nuptial spirituality in the West originates from Eastern authors (e.g. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa). Cabasilas is then seen to represent this line of mystical tradition. In addition, Lot-Borodine sees in Cabasilas an innovator who rewrote the preceding mystical tradition. What became central to him was namely *henosis* as charismatic love continuing endlessly in eternity. Lot-Borodine 1958, 105-106.

⁴² Kenosis and atonement as communal recapitulation of humanity is a recurrent theme in *De vita*. See e.g. I, 30-31; 43-53; IV, 12-18.

⁴³ “Καὶ γὰρ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ τὰ μυστήρια· ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ ταῦτα βρώσις ἐστὶ καὶ πόσις ἀληθινή· καὶ τούτων μετέχουσα οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπινον αὐτὰ μεταβάλλει σῶμα, καθάπερ ἄλλο τι σιτίον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ μεταβάλλεται πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπερνεκρῶτων.” *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVIII, 2.

that Cabasilas seems to understand the nature of the Eucharistic *koinonia*. It is, therefore, the church that communes with Christ, not individual Christians. He stresses this point when comparing the church to Christ's body, the idea expressed by the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 12:27). Cabasilas sees no room for rhetorics in the apostle's phrasings: the church and the body of Christ are one and the same thing. "There is no mere sharing of a name or resemblance by analogy, but an actual identity", he attests. When Eucharistic *koinonia* between the church and Christ is established, the human aspect of the church becomes divine. The faithful, through the blood, live in Christ truly dependent on their head and clothed with his body. The church is Christ's body for real.⁴⁴ Cabasilas obviously understands Paul's words in their full concreteness and reality, thus identifying sacramentally transmitted membership in the church with membership in Christ's body. In other words, actualisation of membership of the mystical Body of the Christ is generated by partaking in the sacramental body and blood of Christ.

Since Cabasilas seemingly maintains that it is the church who is the actual celebrant of the mystery, one may assume that a sacramental relation with Eucharistic body of Christ is enabled only if one has a part in the mystical body. This reading is supported by Cabasilas' understanding of the consequences of the incarnation as a collective event in the first place. Communal realization of the Logos-reality forms the basis of personal communion with Christ. Personal association with the Saviour takes place within the larger alliance of entire humanity with God.⁴⁵ To put it another way, Christ's presence in the church-body is materialized in a similar manner as he appeared in his human body at the incarnation. Owing to the possibilities of communion opened up in renewal of humanity in his incarnation, individual Christians may enter sacramentally into close association with Christ.⁴⁶ As a result, alliance with the mystical body of Christ (the church) and partaking in his sacramental body (the Eucharist) are simultaneous events.

On the other hand, cognizance needs to be taken of the fact that from the beginning Cabasilas does not conceive membership in the church as possible without proper sacramental initiation thorough the mysteries of baptism and chrismation. The Eucharist is for Cabasilas the highest and most perfect expression of the membership of the church. This gives grounds to maintain that in Cabasilas' image of the highest union there is a

⁴⁴ "Σημαίνεται δὲ ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐχ ὡς ἐν συμβόλοις [- -]. Οὐ γὰρ ὀνόματος ἐνταῦθα κοινωνία μόνον ἢ ἀναλογίας ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ πράγματος ταυτότης [- -]. Διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον· « Ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ» γράφει Παῦλος, «καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους». Οὐ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν καὶ παιδαγωγίαν καὶ νοουθεσίαν καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ὑποταγὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν δηλῶσαι βουλόμενος, τὸν μὲν κεφαλὴν, ἡμᾶς δὲ σῶμα προσεῖπεν, ὡς περ οὐς καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων μέλη καλοῦμεν ὑπερβολῇ χρώμενοι· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο σημαίνων ὅπερ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τοὺς πιστοὺς ἤδη διὰ τὸ αἶμα τοῦτο ζῶντας τὴν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ζῶην καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνης ἐξηρτημένους, καὶ τοῦτο περικειμένους τὸ σῶμα." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVIII, 1-2.

⁴⁵ "Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Θεὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταλθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀναγαγεῖν· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον θεωθῆναι· καὶ τὸ μὲν τὴν φύσιν ἀπλῶς τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἀπαλλάττει, ἐφ' ἐνὶ σῶματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν νικήσασαν, τὸ δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτιῶν ἀπολύει καὶ Θεῷ συνίστησι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐκεῖνων φιλανθρωπότερα." *De vita* IV, 26. Similarly in *De vita* VI, 17: "Καὶ οὐ τὴν φύσιν μὲν τοσοῦτων ἤξιώσε, τοὺς καθ' ἕνα δὲ περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ διὰ δῆμα τοῦτο πάντα καλεῖ, δουλείας ἀφήκεν, υἱοὺς ἐποίησε."

⁴⁶ The collective reading of the Eucharist as the primary aspect of the Incarnation in Cabasilas' thinking is also observed by Lot-Borodine, who states: "Incarnation seconde, l'Eucharistie signifie la déification de ses participants *singuliers*, tout comme l'Incarnation première a été notre déification *générique*." Lot-Borodine 1958, 117.

pronouncedly ecclesiological emphasis. Even though the process of becoming one flesh with Christ comes true in the essence of individual members of the church, the culmination of the Eucharistic union is communal. Consequently, the Eucharist is an event of realization of collectively lived and shared communion with Christ, which opens up through humanity renewed by him. In the Eucharist the renewed humanity is shared by the communicants – the people – and the communed – Jesus Christ.

The two aspects of *koinonia* with Christ – based, firstly, on common humanity shared by Christ and men and, secondly, on personal communion with him – stand out clearly in two athlete metaphors used by Cabasilas. The first one features a victorious athlete. Together with the cheerful crowd he is feted by his close friend. For the athlete the victory itself is a sufficient reward. He does not need the garland but rather rejoices in his friend, garlanding him with his trophy. For this reason the crowd celebrates the friend as if he himself would be the victorious athlete. Cabasilas maintains that due to the affection shown by the athlete, his friend then essentially becomes a triumphant winner as well. The latter's victory was nevertheless achieved without efforts.⁴⁷ The idea of this parable is to show that Christ is like a victorious athlete who through kenosis and passion has reached the goal: reconciled men with God. The faithful are his friend whom Christ garlands with the renewed humanity as his trophy, thus making men sharers of the blessing of atonement. The victory of Christ is in the mysteries freely attainable for the faithful, the friends of Christ.⁴⁸

The other metaphor also includes two main characters: an athlete and his trainer. The athlete accomplishes the concrete performance, when the trainer takes care of the athlete's bodybuilding and workout. Cabasilas points out that the trainer actually could make a better performance than his trainee, but he is not willing to win the contest for the other. The victory would then be based on somebody else's power, courage and excellency. Instead, the trainer then contends with the contestant as a co-rival, yet letting his trainee make the necessary efforts to achieve the garland.⁴⁹ The trainer is Christ and the actual athlete a Christian. Does this latter metaphor collide with the former one? Are not the fruits of Christ's victory then freely attainable for all without an effort?

This nominal conflict disappears when the principle of synergy is added to the metaphors. The trainer-Christ of the latter account has equipped men for Christian life through the mysteries of initiation, given freely to every one who wants them. The garland and rewarding of the friend with an unmerited victory in the first metaphor point out the magnitude of the flow of the mercy from Christ's victory over death and sin.⁵⁰ What a Christian still needs to do is to fight the good fight of faith (cf. 1 Tim. 6:12),

⁴⁷ *De vita* I, 57-58. Cabasilas establishes the athlete metaphor In *De vita* I, 55 where he designates the mysteries as a praise and celebration of victory of Christ and veneration of his trophy.

⁴⁸ *De vita* I, 60.

⁴⁹ *De vita* IV, 63-65.

⁵⁰ "Αὐτός γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἑκαστῷ τῶν μυστηρίων, πάντα γίνεται, πλάστης, ἀλείπτῃς, συναγωνιστής, τὸ μὲν λούων, τὸ δὲ χρίων, τὸ δὲ τρέφων. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ μέλη δημιουργεῖ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι ῥώννυσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης σύνεστιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ συνδιαφέρει τὸν ἄθλον. [- -] Πρὸς τοίνυν τὸ θαρρῆσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἀγῶνας καὶ διενεγκεῖν δυνηθῆναι, πλάττων μὲν καὶ ἀλείφων, πάντα δίδωσι· συναγωνιζόμενος δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν ἄθλων οὐδέν." *De vita* IV, 63, 64. "Διὰ τί καὶ κατὰ τίνα τοῦ γινομένου λόγον ἀπὸ λουτροῦ καὶ μύρων καὶ τραπέζης νίκη καὶ στέφανος, ἃ πόνων καὶ ἰδρώτων ἐστὶ καρπός; [- -] Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ

which aims for eternal glory, *koinonia* with the saints and being garlanded by Christ.⁵¹ Thus, Cabasilas strongly emphasizes the importance of human effort in leading a Christian life which is fed by the Eucharist. The Eucharist could then be characterized as synergic *koinonia* in which Christ becomes the co-contester with a Christian in his struggle for spiritual victory. *Koinonia* with Christ in the Eucharist is then both a fortifier and the goal of striving.

Furthermore, Cabasilas presents *koinonia* as a communion uniting the faithful with each other. This can be taken as a natural reflection of his references to the communality of *koinonia* and to the overarching results of Christ's assumed humanity. The alliance of the faithful is generated by the Holy Spirit whose hypostatic quality in the liturgy, alongside his epicletic operation, is to be the generator of the bond of fellowship (*κοινωνία*) and unity of faith (*ἐνότης τῆς πίστεως*) among the believers. The Spirit thus contributes to Eucharistic *koinonia* in the sacramental meal.⁵² United by the Spirit's bond, men are both one spirit with him and connected by faith to each other. Pentecost serves for Cabasilas as the pneumatological (and historical) starting point for *koinonia* in the Spirit. The Spirit has ever since operated in the church as a mediator between men and God. On the other hand, the pneumatological dimension of *koinonia* is founded on the atonement of Christ, which in the first place enabled the Spirit to build a bond of unity among men.⁵³ Thus, in a manner similar to the question of consecration, Christ is here

λουτρόν τοῦτο δύναται καί τὸ δεῖπνον καί ἡ σάφρων τοῦ μύρου τρυφή. Μνούμενοι γάρ, τὸν μὲν τύραννον κακίζομεν καὶ καταπτύομεν καὶ ἀποστρεφόμεθα, τὸν ἀρίστεα δὲ ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ φιλοῦμεν ὅλη ψυχῇ, ὥστε τῷ περιόντι τοῦ φίλτρον ὡς ἄρτον σιτούμεθα καὶ ὡς μύρον χριόμεθα καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ περιβαλλόμεθα." *De vita* I, 55, 59.

⁵¹ "Οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἀλείπτῃν καὶ πλάστῃν εὐλογον παραλιπεῖν τι τῶν διαθεῖναι τὸν ἀγωνιστῆν δυναμένων· οὔτε τὸν συναγωνιστῆν ὁ τοῦ κοινοῦ δίδωσι λόγος, εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸ πᾶν ἀνελέσθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν τρυφᾶν, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον ἀποδύεσθαι· καὶ μὴ οὐδὲ τὸν ἀθλοθέτην ἢ τὸν στέφανον αὐτόν, ἀλείφειν εἰκὸς ἢ πλάττειν ἢ τὰ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ποιεῖν, οὐδέ τι προστιθέναι νίκης, ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ ρώμης ἢ ἀρετῆς ἡστυνοῦν ἄλλῃς τοῖς ἀθληταῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν μόνον καὶ φαεῖσαν εἶδεναι κομμεῖν." Ἔστι δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεύσιν ἀμεινον μὲν τὸ στεφανοῦσθαι τοῦ νικᾶν ἀγωνιζομένους, ἀμεινον δὲ τὸ νικητὰς εἶναι τοῦ πλάττεσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικᾶν, ἡ νίκη δὲ τῶν στεφάνων ἔνεκα [- -]. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μυστηρίοις ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῷ λαβεῖν παρασκευασθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δυνηθῆναι συνεῖναι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὥστε ἤδη καθαρῶς λαβεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι. Ποῦ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ μένειν μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ μένοντα δὲ ἔχειν αὐτόν; ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ δοκᾷ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς τὴν μακαριότητα τῶν δικαίων, δεῖπνον εἶναι φησίν, αὐτὸν ἔχον διακονοῦντα." *De vita* IV, 64, 68.

⁵² "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς μηδὲν εἰσενεγκοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἔτι δίκας Σωτῆρα παρέσχεον ἡμῖν ἑαυτὸν· Καὶ γὰρ ἀσεβῶν ὄντων ἔτι, φησίν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε· ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ πρόνοια χάρις ἐστίν." Ὅτι δὲ ὁ Πατὴρ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ παθῶν διηλλάγη τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἠγάπησε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐκείνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπη καλεῖται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς φιλωθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἔδει κοινωνῆσαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν τὸν πλοῦσιον ἐν ἐλέει, τοῦτο ποιεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιδημήσαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χρηστότης κοινωνία λέγεται." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 4; XXXIV, 11-12.

⁵³ "« Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κοινωνία » τὴν ἐκείνου σημαίνει χάριν. Λέγεται δὲ κοινωνία ὅτι, τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ « τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ », τὸ μεταξὺ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν καθελόντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς τέως δισταμένους καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας κοινὸν συνίεναι καὶ κοινοῦν ἐδει λοιπόν, ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐπιδημία τοῦτο ποιεῖ [- -]. Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ πίστεως βεβαίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος βοηθείας τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς ἑαυτὸν παρατίθεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ." *Sacrae liturgiae* XIV, 5-6. "Τί γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀποτελεσμα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθῶν καὶ ἔργων καὶ λόγων; Εἰ τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὰ θεωρεῖ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιδημία." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVII, 3. The parallelism of Christology and pneumatology is seen by Lossky as an expression of the fundamental essence of unity and communion in the church: "This is the

seen to promote the process of Spirit-created *koinonia*. Since it is the Spirit who is the actual begetter of *koinonia*, the pneumatocentrism of the Eucharistic synaxis is here given a specific expression. In sum, the Spirit's effect in the synaxis is not chiefly revealed only at the time of transformation of the gifts, but is subjectively and personally experienced as *koinonia* that manifests the unity of the church. Yet, the majority of liturgical action serves for Cabasilas to promote Christ's role as the Saviour and manifestor of the Father's love towards mankind.

Concerning the theme of the presence of God, the reasoning of Cabasilas gives grounds to make the following conclusions. Firstly, communion or *koinonia* can clearly be seen as a form of the presence of God. *Koinonia* is an expression of presence of Christ in human reality through his relationship with men in general. The basis for such a *koinonia* was established in the incarnation of Christ, which serves as the foundation of his communion with men as collective humanity. This general association of Christ with humanity is, however, personally established in the church as a communion between Christ and all the individual faithful. There is then a personally experienced presence of Christ due to his collective engagement with humanity. Secondly, Cabasilas refers to the role of the Spirit as the generator of communion. This Spirit-engendered *koinonia* is expressed as an ecclesial fellowship of faith between the faithful. The faithful are affected through the Spirit – thus being under the influence of his transformative presence. Even though Cabasilas does specify the manner of *koinonia* provided by the Spirit, it can, however, still be seen as a specific expression of the presence of God. Thirdly, *koinonia* between the faithful points to a slightly different approach to the presence of God. If the faithful are said to form the human element in the mystical Church-Body of Christ, founded in the Incarnation, they become co-participants of the God-man relationship in their very essence. In other words, being a member of the Body of Christ necessitates that the limbs of the body are at least to some degree participatory in the divine presence that permeates the entire church by definition. In short, Cabasilas' description of *koinonia* suggests that if a true *koinonia* takes place, it includes genuine interaction between the parties of communion (men, Christ, the Spirit). This involves true presence from the active participants of *koinonia*. Consequently, true presence can be taken as a prerequisite for authentic *koinonia*.

5.3. MYSTICAL DIMENSION OF KOINONIA – COMMUNION WITH CHRIST

According to Cabasilas, "the true *koinonia* is this: that one owns the same as the other at the same time."⁵⁴ In expressing this mutual sharing he uses words such as *μετάληψις*, *μεταλαμβάνω* and *μετέχω*, which also lay bare the idea of being part of or becoming a sharer of something. The idea is exemplified by applying a verse from the Genesis

unconferred mystery of the Church, the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit; one in Christ, multiple through the Spirit, a *single human nature* in the hypostasis of Christ, *many human hypostases* in the grace of the Holy Spirit." Lossky 1976, 183.

⁵⁴ "Τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθῆς κοινωνία, ὅταν ἀμφοῖν τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον παρῆ [- -]." *De vita* IV, 45.

narrative of the creation of woman to the context of *koinonia* between the faithful and Christ: the faithful become flesh of Christ's flesh and bone of his bones (cf. Gen. 23).⁵⁵ *Koinonia* is manifestly based on the very idea of coexistent mutual possession.⁵⁶ Cabasilas specifies that if possession does not take place coexistently, the preconditions for *koinonia* are not fulfilled even if both parties would still consider the one and the same thing as their own. It is then rather sharing at issue than true *koinonia*.⁵⁷ What, then, forms the bases for a true Eucharist-based *koinonia*?

First of all, christology serves as the foundation for understanding the *koinonia*-aspect of the Eucharist. Once again Cabasilas is seen to ground his reasoning on the mutual sharing of the two natures, *communication idiomatum*, in the one hypostasis of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the two natures of Christ reciprocally assume the properties of the other nature, thus being in the state of true *koinonia* in the sense in which Cabasilas understands the phenomenon: both natures coexistently own the properties of the other. The divine nature of Christ transfigured the humanity assumed by him at the incarnation, making it perfect through sharing of the divine nature (cf. 2 Pet. 1: 4). God became man in order to feed man with divinity.⁵⁸ The object of the incarnation consequently forms the goal of Eucharistic *koinonia*: both prepare the way for deification of man.

To continue, the christological perichoresis is manifested as a mutual sharing of the properties of the two natures of Christ. In the Eucharistic setting the sharing of the properties also takes place on the level of natures, but unlike at the event of incarnation, it is now actualized in the meeting of two hypostases: divine Logos and human person. Through this meeting man comes into the sphere of influence of the deified humanity of Christ. In Cabasilas' presentation the promise of Christ that through eating his body and drinking his blood the communicant "remains in me, and I in him" (cf. John 6:57) expresses the culmination of Eucharistic *koinonia*.⁵⁹ In the Eucharistic bread and wine Christ gives himself back to men in his corporeality, as something he once assumed (δι'

⁵⁵ *De vita* IV,

⁵⁶ The principal idea is expressed in *Sacrae liturgiae* XLVII, 4. The focus is on the idea of full appropriation, which is presented in the context of God's acceptance of the Eucharistic offering. The culmination of such reception is defined by Cabasilas as making the gift (i.e. the offering) as one's own through total acceptance. Once the offering is fully received by God, he gives back what he received, thus making men to share divine properties.

⁵⁷ "[-] ὡς ἐπειδὴν ἑκάτερος ἔχη, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὗτος, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ κοινωνεῖν ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ διεστάναι." *De vita* IV, 45.

⁵⁸ "Ἀγιάζων αὐτά, εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβάλλον. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δέχεσθαι, τὸ οἰκειοῦσθαι [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 16. Because the Eucharist links man with the centre of human life Lot-Borodine claims that it transcends all other aspects of Cabasilas' theology. In other words, the Eucharist enables man to come into possession of Christ himself. This becomes apparent in three ways: (1) in *koinonia* with Christ, human nature does not only receive the divine properties but also makes them as its own, (2) *koinonia* with Christ is realized at a personal level – two beings are in intimate contact with each other, and (3) *koinonia* gives rise to ascent to the highest form of blessedness. Besides, Cabasilas' Eucharistic thinking witnesses to the Eastern Christian theocentric anthropological reading of the doctrine of the Incarnation. The basis of Eucharistic effectiveness for man is set by the deification of Christ's human nature through the hypostatic union with the Logos. Lot-Borodine 1958, 108-110.

⁵⁹ "Ἡ γὰρ τῆς τραπέζης ἐπαγγελία τῷ Χριστῷ μὲν ἡμᾶς, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνοικίξει. «Ἐν ἐμοὶ γάρ, φησί, μένει, καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ.»" *De vita* IV, 6.

ὦν ἡμῖν, ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν, ἑαυτοῦ μεταδίδωσι). However, in the Eucharist the human body and blood of Christ are, due to *communicatio idiomatum*, God's body and God's blood.⁶⁰ When these are received the human properties of the communicant undergo mystical transformation: deification of his human properties. From the anthropological point of view, the fullness of humanity in Jesus Christ therefore serves as bases of partaking into his divinity through Eucharistic communing.

Cabasilas relies on the familiar patristic soteriological phase in maintaining that the motive behind Christ's assuming of human nature was to enable man to become god: "Because he himself took human nature though he was God, we should become gods instead of men."⁶¹ Here Cabasilas clearly echoes Eastern Christian doctrine of deification, which is based on a soteriological rendering of the incarnation. As a correlative of the incarnation, human nature was deified due to communion between divine and human natures in Christ. Traditionally deification is explained as the sanctifying effect of divine grace on humanity.⁶² Furthermore, the results of the incarnation become attainable in the Eucharist as an actualisation of the reality of deification. The consubstantiality between the human nature of a communicant and the actuality of Christ's body and blood in the transformed elements serve as the connecting element. Accordingly, the sanctifying grace of Christ's body and blood provides for deification to take place in the nature of the communing faithful.⁶³

Notably, Cabasilas designates the Eucharist as the actual realisation of this amazing transaction of properties. What is noble and divine conquers meritless humanity. Christ makes man his dwelling place dispelling all evil and filth from man, and furthermore, prevents anything sinful from entering from the outside. What used to be human, weak and corrupted is perfected by Christ.⁶⁴ Earthly is traded with heavenly, slavery with domain, degradation with glory.⁶⁵ Deification of man, his "becoming god" through Eucharistic communion, is further confirmed by Cabasilas' specification that Christ did not become man just to assume human nature and make it divine, but also to give his body and blood for nourishment to men.⁶⁶ Thus, re-enactment of Christ's incarnation and historical theophany in the liturgy aims at true spiritual transformation of man into

⁶⁰ "[- -] και οὕτως ἀκριβῶς οἷς ἔλαβε συνεφύη, ὥστε δι' ὦν ἡμῖν, ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν, ἑαυτοῦ μεταδίδωσι, και σαρκός και αἵματος μετέχοντες ἀνθρωπέου τον Θεόν αὐτόν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δεχόμεθα, και σώμα Θεοῦ και αἷμα και ψυχὴν Θεοῦ και νοῦν και θέλησιν οὐδέν ἑλάττων ἢ ἀνθρώπινα." *De vita* IV, 26. See also *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 16.

⁶¹ "ἀνθ' ὦν ἀνθρώπου Θεός ὦν αὐτός ἐδέξατο φύσιν, γενέσθαι θεοῦς ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων [- -]." *De vita* VI, 64.

⁶² See Russell, N. 2004 for a sound presentation on the doctrine of deification in the Greek tradition. For the significance of deification in different Christian soteriologies see *Partakers of the Divine Nature* 2007.

⁶³ Cf. Lossky 1976, 181.

⁶⁴ "Νῦν δὲ τὸ συναμφοτέρον· οὕτω μὲν ὡς ὁμογενέσιν ἐνοῦται και συμφύεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐκείνως δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἄραι δύναται και κινήσαι και πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταστήσαι. Τῶν γὰρ δυνάμεων τὰς ἐλάττους αἱ μείζους ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένουν, ἐπειδὴν και αὐταῖς συνενεχθῶσιν, οὐ συγχωροῦσι." *De vita* IV, 27. "Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντα βέλη κωλύει ψαύειν ἡμῶν, πανταχόθεν προβεβλημένος· οἰκία γὰρ ἐστίν. Εἴ τι δ' ἐστὶν φαῦλον, διωθόμενος ἀπελάυνει· ἐνοικος γὰρ ἐστί, πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ πληρῶν τὴν οἰκίαν." *De vita* IV. 7.

⁶⁵ *De vita* VI, 64.

⁶⁶ "[- -] οὐκ ἡγάπησεν ἡμῖν ὁμόφυλος ὦν τῷ φύσεως μεταλαβεῖν τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ και ταυτοῦ σώματος και αἵματος και πνεύματος ἡμῖν κοινωνήσας [- -]." *De vita* VI, 58.

likeness of God through Eucharistic communion. The idea of subjective participation with God is strongly promoted by such a view.

While describing the effects of Eucharistic *koinonia* Cabasilas bursts into exaltation which articulates his conception of the depth of Eucharist-engendered *communicatio idiomatum*:

Oh, the grandness of the mysteries! How is it possible that the mind of Christ is mingled with our minds, his will with our will, his body with our body and his blood with our blood? What is our mind when the divine mind captivates it, what is our will when the blessed will overcomes it, what is our dust when it is overpowered by his fire!⁶⁷

Koinonia with Christ transforms man into the likeness of Christ. Reference to both elementary spiritual organ (νοῦς) and natural human will (θέλημα) of man, together with a holistic notion of the essence of man as body and soul, exemplifies the completeness of Cabasilas' understanding of mystical change of humanity in the likeness of God. The subjective existence of man in its spiritual and corporeal integrity is permeated by the transformative presence of God. This is evident in Cabasilas' description of such a union as being filled up (ἐγχέω) by Christ and mingled (ἀναμίγνυμι) with him. In an Eucharistic communion with Christ, human nature is like a drop of water which turns into a fragrant oil when dripped into the oil; the same happens when deified humanity of Christ comes into communion with man in the Eucharist ([- - ὁ Χριστός] ἀμείβει δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλει, καθάπερ ῥανίδα μικρὰν ὕδατος ἐγγεθεῖσαν ἀπείρω μύρου πελάγει.)⁶⁸ As another allegory, Cabasilas states that communion with Christ takes place as if the vessel of alabaster would turn into the very chrism it contains. The chrism would then no longer be separated from the vessel or remain aloof, but is imparted to all. Overriding the physical boundary between the vessel and its content is an imagery of deification of human nature in the body of the Saviour.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ "Ὁ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν μυστηρίων! Οἷον γὰρ ἔστι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ νοῦν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ συμμίξει νῶ, καὶ θελήσει θέλησιν ἐκείνην καὶ σῶμα σώματι καὶ αἷμα αἵματι κερασθῆναι· οἷος μὲν ὁ νοῦς ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρατήσαντος νοῦ, οἷα δὲ ἡ θέλησις τῆς μακαρίας θελήσεως περιγενομένης, οἷος δὲ ὁ χοῦς τοῦ πυρός ὑπερνεκικτότος ἐκείνου!" *De vita* IV, 9. I have translated νοῦς here as "mind". The word has various subtle meanings. Other potential translation equivalents would be "soul" or "eye of the soul". On the various meanings of νοῦς see Vlachos 1994, 118-132.

⁶⁸ *De vita* IV, 28. The concept of perichoresis, adopted by Cabasilas, is based on the effect of divine influence on human nature. In the Eastern Christian interpretation perichoresis is seen to lead to a reciprocal process. Wolfson accentuates the significance of reciprocity. Even though the process begins with a divine impetus, it ends up in a mutual penetration of the divine and human natures into each other. Wolfson 1956, 424-425. Perichoresis is understood similarly by Lossky (1976, 145). Thunberg, in turn, has detected that in the Byzantine tradition alongside the concept of the reciprocal penetration the divine can also be seen to unilaterally penetrate into the human or vice versa. Thunberg 1965, 27-30.

⁶⁹ "Καθάπερ τοῖνον, εἰ τὸ ἀλάβαστρον μηχανῆ τι γένοιτο μύρον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ μετασταίη, ἀκοινώνητον οὐκέτι τοῖς ἔξω τὸ μύρον, οὐδ' ἔνδον οὐδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μένον· τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου σώματος θεωθεΐσεως, τὸ διεῖργον ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐδέν, ὅθεν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μετέχειν χαρίτων ἐμποδῶν ἡμῖν οὐδέν ἢ πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας." *De vita* III, 5. The context of this allegory is broader than that of the Eucharist. In *De vita* III, 6-7 Cabasilas expounds his understanding of the deifying communion by referring to the incarnation and resurrection as the prerequisites for mingling the 'divine alabaster' with its 'human vessel'.

The above imageries indicate how intimate and strong Cabasilas understands the Eucharistic communion between God and man to be. The two substances – divinity and humanity – are fused. As a consequence, human nature is transformed into the likeness of the divine nature. Cabasilas was earlier seen to adopt the christological definition of the Council of Chalcedon in his explication of the mystery of the incarnation. When he is now describing the high point of spiritual or mystical communion, it is essential to perceive the mystical context of his phrasings. The confusion or mingling mentioned does not take place between the two natures of Christ, but in a confluence of personal communion between God and man, the Creator and the created one.⁷⁰ The concept of perichoresis is emphasized by Cabasilas in order to establish that *koinonia* with Christ surpasses in intimacy and closeness all other conceivable associations with anyone else. In order to prove his point Cabasilas compares Eucharistic *koinonia* with birth and adoption.⁷¹

In birth the parents give life to their child. Nevertheless, there exists no true *koinonia* (as Cabasilas defines it) in an alliance of life between them: the child has a separate life of his own, independent of his parents' life. This is not the case with the Eucharist, which is an event of true *koinonia*. When partaking in the Eucharist man comes into communion with Life himself, and is born again in him. This new birth rests on union and sharing, not on dividing, as in bodily birth. Cabasilas claims that union and integration with the parturient in 'Eucharistic birth' through Christ absolutely repeals human kinship inherited at birth to flesh.⁷² It thus seems that Cabasilas does not only perceive it to be of greater importance for man to be born spiritually anew in Christ than to have a biological origin, but that the spiritual union with Christ is more intense than the biological connection between a parent and a child.

Furthermore, basing his reasoning on the definition of true *koinonia* Cabasilas supposes that man's spiritual birth in the Eucharist must be identical with the nativity of Christ. Both births are spiritual in their nature.⁷³ Unfortunately Cabasilas abstains from any clarifications. The claim of Christ's nativity as a spiritual birth leaves room for speculation. There is at least a slight docetic overtone when Christ's birth is labeled as spiritual. When compared with Cabasilas' otherwise traditionally phrased christology, his utterance here sounds a bit strange. When the context of the statement is observed, the characterization may not be that radical after all. Cabasilas is clearly speaking from a

⁷⁰ Cabasilas' commitment to a doctrinally orthodox christology becomes apparent when he defines Christ as being one person in two natures (*De vita* IV, 19; *Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 14), and in his condemnation of "Nestorian madness" (*Sacrae liturgiae* XLIX, 18) and Apollinarian docetism (*De vita* IV, 26). Cabasilas also maintains that Christ has two wills, divine and human (*Sacrae liturgiae* XXXI, 3). Finally, when denying that divinity would have suffered, he nonetheless maintains that Christ hypostatically tasted death as God (*De vita* VI, 13).

⁷¹ Eucharist-originated kinship with Christ is a theme appearing in other patristic authors. For example, Symeon the New Theologian recounts how Christ became a relative to men in order for them to become kinsfolk of God. Krivocheine 1986, 104.

⁷² *De vita* IV, 46, 48.

⁷³ "[-] γέννησιν δὲ τὰ μέλη γεννηθῆναι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν αὐτήν, ἀκόλουθον ἦν. «Οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων» ἡ σὰρξ ἐκεῖνη «οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ» τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· «Τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέν, φησὶν, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἐστὶν Ἁγίου». Εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦτον γεννηθῆναι τὸν τρόπον, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ γέννησις τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν μελῶν τούτων τῶν μακαρίων γέννησις ἦν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν συστήναι τὰ μέλη, τὸ γεννηθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν." *De vita* IV, 50.

sacramental and mystical viewpoint, aiming to show identity between Christ and communicant. Thus, his characterization is not that of christology as such. Probably Cabasilas is primarily referring to the revelation of Christ's having been conceived from the Spirit rather than to the event of actual birth from the Virgin. His intention would then be to show that since Christ is of spiritual origin, man spiritually born in him becomes a creation with divine origin through work of the Spirit.⁷⁴

The spiritual birth leads to a spiritual adoption (υιοθεσία). The adoption takes place when the image of the Son, imprinted on the man in the spiritual birth, is recognized by the Father. Consistent with the spiritual birth, the spiritual adoption differs essentially from its human model. When human adoption practically means unity in name, the divine adoption leads to true *koinonia* and new birth of man. Christ truly shares his blood, body, and life with the adopted man (ένταῦθα δὲ καὶ γέννησις ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς καὶ κοινωνία πρὸς τὸν μονογενῆ, οὐ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ζωῆς). In terms of simultaneous possession of properties, spiritual adoption leads man to the likeness of the Son of God (Rom. 8:29).⁷⁵ Similarly to the spiritual birth, Cabasilas maintains that spiritual adoption makes men closer to God than they are to their human parents.

The Eucharistic body and blood are concurrently the property of Christ and the communicants alike. This is not the case in human kinship. The child leads the life of an individual, independent from the physical linkage of his parents – despite the fact that his bodily origin lies with them.⁷⁶ Similarly, the Eucharist as nourishment differs from earthly food. When the latter is consumed it becomes one with man. The Eucharist, however, changes man into the likeness of God, thus making man one with the nourishment and not the other way around. Through the humanity of Christ, corporeally present in the bread and wine, the Eucharist provides man a real communion with the divinised humanity of Christ, making possible a real participation in Christ, the giver of life.⁷⁷ In other words, the principle of coexistent possession is well in view in Cabasilas' discussion of the Eucharist as nourishment.

⁷⁴ The divine Logos has existed from eternity. In the Incarnation he is born as Logos-Christ, conceived by the Spirit in the Virgin. Consequently, Cabasilas clearly is not supporting an adoptionist christology either, as his statement on the divine essence of Christ makes clear: "φύσει δὲ ὢν Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς." *De vita* II, 2. Within the Eastern Christian Eucharistic tradition it is emphasized that the Holy Spirit acts during the liturgy in a similar manner as in the incarnation. Consequently, the transformation of the elements into the body and blood of Christ is attributed to the Spirit. Besides, the spiritual inner birth of man through Eucharistic communion is also believed to occur with the Spirit's assistance. Brock 1987, xxvi-xxvii.

⁷⁵ *De vita* IV, 42.

⁷⁶ "Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν φυσικῶν τὸ νῦν αἷμα τῶν παιδῶν, οὐκέτι καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκείνων πρὶν ἢ τῶν παιδῶν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ τὸ γένος, ὅτι ὁ νῦν τούτων, ἐκείνων πρότερον ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῆς τελετῆς ἔργον, τὸ αἷμα ᾧ ζῶμεν, νῦν ἐστὶν αἷμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἦν πῆγνυσι ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον, σῶμα ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κοιναὶ ἔτι τὰ μέλη καὶ κοινὴ ἡ ζωή." *De vita* IV, 44.

⁷⁷ "Ζῆ μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὴν τροφήν· ἡ τελετὴ δὲ οὐ τούτου ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Ἡ τροφή μὲν γὰρ ἄτε μηδὲ αὐτὴ ζῶσα, ζῶν μὲν παρ' ἐαυτῆς οὐκ ἂν εἰσενέγκοι· τῷ δὲ τῆ προσούση τῷ σώματι βοηθεῖν, αἰτία ζωῆς τοῖς προσιεμένοις εἶναι δοκεῖ. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτος αὐτὸς ἐστὶ ζῶν, καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ὡς ἀληθῶς ζῶσιν, οἷς ἂν αὐτοῦ μεταδοίη. Ὅθεν ἡ μὲν τροφή πρὸς τὸν σιτούμενον μεταβάλλει, καὶ ἰχθὺς καὶ ἄρτος καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἄλλο στίον αἷμα ἀνθρώπειον, ένταῦθα δὲ τούναντίον ἅπαν. Ὁ γὰρ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτος αὐτὸς κινεῖ τὸν σιτούμενον καὶ μεθίστησι καὶ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν μεταβάλλει [- -]." *De vita* IV, 37.

The idea of exchange and mutual possession is dealt with by Cabasilas in connection with the question of why it is precisely bread and wine, the natural elements of man's sustenance, that are used in the Eucharist. He begins by noting that even though food sustains life, food actually is nothing but a symbol of life whereas the Eucharistic communion with Christ provides true life. Thus, in the Eucharistic liturgy the bread and wine, made of the first fruits of man's toil, are offered to God as a gift. God, in turn, gives them back to men, at the same time donating true life to men through the elements.⁷⁸ The gift and reward are in Cabasilas' interpretation closely connected to each other: since the reward bestowed by God is life, the gift offered by men must also be life. Only then may the offering and sacrificing of temporal life to the Giver of Life beget life everlasting. The same principle of correspondence is witnessed in the transformations, on the one hand, of the fishermen into fishers of men (Matt. 4:18-20; Luke 5:1-11) and, on the other hand, of worldly poverty into heavenly treasures (Matt. 6:20; Luke 18:22). Cabasilas deduces that God's action makes grace to look as trade-off, and infinite mercy as justice.⁷⁹ In sum, transition through the symbol into the reality signified by it betokens that the Eucharistic communion is an event of transformation of the life of the world into the everlasting true life.

It is, then, considered notable by Cabasilas that it is especially such natural elements as bread and wine that are used in the Eucharist. When transformed into the body and blood of Christ these elements create a linkage with the Giver of Life, and supply the faithful with eternal life. This function can be designated as the fulfilment of the symbolism of the bread and wine. When this natural food is elevated and transformed into mediators of eternal life, it also reflects fulfillment of human life.⁸⁰ Seen in this way the wine and the bread can be said to have a similar relation to the to-be-realized reality of the mysteries as Cabasilas' interpretation of the holy table was seen to have. The process of establishing an altar as the holy table is based on the already existing God-man

⁷⁸ Perceiving the Eucharist as the offering of first fruits to God is one of the most original theological interpretations of the Eucharist where thanksgiving and offering are seen to constitute one wholeness. Cf. Young 1979, 258. Cabasilas' reading evidently adopts the idea, expressed already in the 2nd century *Didache*, of the bread as the symbol of communion: "As this piece was once scattered over the mountains and then was brought together and made one, so let your Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into your Kingdom." *Didache* IX. The idea of bringing the offerings of the earth to God is also found in *Didache* XIV and in a well-defined form in Irenaeus who claims that Christ wished his disciples to bring first fruits forth in the liturgy as an expression of gratitude of all the good things given by God. *Adversus Haereses* IV, 17.5.

⁷⁹ *Sacrae liturgiae* IV, 1-4; *De vita* I, 19. Cabasilas' stress on the significance of the bread and wine as Eucharistic components has been seen as a sign of awareness of man's role as the treasurer of God's creation: "Nicholas Cabasilas [- -] called attention to the 'human' character of the food consumed at the Eucharist. Jesus Christ ordered His disciples to eat bread and drink wine, and by doing so He sanctified the whole process of civilization, for these two products require long preparation and much labor. They are result of careful study and observation of nature combined with technical inventiveness. In Christian worship man comes to meet his Creator, not empty-handed. It is not enough for him to praise his Maker; he is ordered to appear before Him with the fruits of the earth transformed and uplifted by his work." Zernov 1961, 245. Food as an instrument of connecting with God is discussed by Schmemmann (1973, 14), who highlights the idea of transmitting divine providence through material nourishment.

⁸⁰ The idea of offering the Eucharistic elements as the fruits of the earth, and perceiving them as symbols of human life and work, is liturgically phrased from the end of the 3rd century onwards, e.g. in the *offertorium* hymn. Jungmann 1976, 117.

relation. However, this relationship cannot be fulfilled unless the mystery of Christ's body and blood is celebrated on the altar. Similarly the 'natural life' sustained by the bread and wine precedes spiritual nourishment and consummation in the Eucharistic communion. Even unoffered bread is bread of life. As offered, consecrated and received it becomes the bread of Life everlasting.

Accordingly, it is no wonder that Cabasilas urges his readers to commune frequently. Refusal of *koinonia* with Christ, engendered by partaking in his body and blood, indicates that man refuses to maintain an alliance with Life. In the event of turning down the Eucharist, man chooses the state of non-life.⁸¹ Such a statement shows that the Eucharist evidently is for Cabasilas a prerequisite for full human existence as a sovereign being. This opinion is clearly manifest in his claim that through Eucharistic *koinonia* Christ becomes the heart and the head of man, and men live their lives in him.⁸² The Eucharist, therefore, marks a concrete union with Christ, a partaking in his renewed humanity. Parallel to the effects of the incarnation – restoration and exaltation of humanity to its original state – the Eucharist changes the communicant both in his relation to his very own being and in relation to God. Cabasilas states that through *koinonia* the properties of Christ are for man now more of his own than the qualities of his original human nature had been.⁸³ Such a forceful conception explains why Cabasilas perceives the sacramentally engendered relation between man and Christ as deeper than family ties.

Based on the above opinions of Cabasilas, the Eucharistic communion with Christ is, firstly, seen hold fast to the soteriological function of the incarnation: the divine and human natures entered in Christ into an interaction for the restoration and salvation of mankind. The same takes place in the Eucharist, albeit now between the divine and human hypostases. Secondly, alongside the christological bases of the concept of *koinonia* there is a notable ecclesiological dimension in Cabasilas' thought. The church as a community is for him the reality which makes salvation in Christ partakable for individuals through Eucharistic communion. Furthermore, in his descriptions of the relationship between God and man Cabasilas makes use of tangible expressions such as spiritual birth and spiritual adoption. These expressions create an impression of corporeal *koinonia* which makes man a partaker in the divine nature of Christ. These and other delineations lead the way towards the mystical centre of Cabasilas' Eucharistic

⁸¹ *De vita* IV, 38. Cabasilas' thinking promotes the idea of consubstantiality of Christ and man: they share nature, body and blood with each other. Based on connaturality, the Eucharist provides for man communion with his own true blood. This is the reason Cabasilas exhorts his readers to frequent communion with Christ. Lot-Borodine 1958, 112.

⁸² "Ὁ γὰρ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτος αὐτὸς κινεῖ τὸν σιτούμενον καὶ μεθίστησι καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλει, καὶ ὁ τῆς καρδίας ἐπεικῶς ἐστι καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, κινούμεθα καὶ ζῶμεν τὸ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκον, ὡς ἔχει ζωῆς ἐκεῖνος." *De vita* IV, 37.

⁸³ "Καθάπερ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἕξωθὲν ἐσμεν ἐπώνυμοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἄπερ ἡμῶν ἐνεστι τῇ φύσει καὶ διατίθεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι συμβαίνει, οὐ γὰρ ἡ οἰκία καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον πρὸς τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἦλθος πλάσειεν ἄν, οὐδ' ἄν πονηρίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ὀνόματος μεταδοῖεν, οὕτω τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα διατίθησι μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεῖται κοινήν, ἢ μᾶλλον ἡμέτερα· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμέτερα μᾶλλον ἢπερ τὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Οἰκεία μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι μέλη καὶ υἱοὶ καθέσταμεν καὶ σαρκῶς καὶ αἵματος καὶ Πνεύματος αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦμεν· ἕγγιον δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως περιγενομένων, ὅτι συγγενέστερος ἡμῖν ἐδείχθη καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων αὐτῶν." *De vita* IV, 79.

thought. The birth is but a beginning of life. The same holds true with Cabasilas' reasoning with regard to the effects of Christ's presence in the communicant, the spiritually newborn man.

5.4. MYSTICAL UNION OF THE DIVINE AND THE HUMANE

Eucharistically engendered new life becomes evident as a dynamic union or *henosis* (ἔνωσις) with Christ. Cabasilas' understanding of the fellowship of life as union with Christ is built upon the above-noted effects of *koinonia*. With the concept of *henosis* Cabasilas points out an even greater and intimate, if possible, realization of the God-man relationship due to the presence of Christ in the communicant. The aim of the Eucharistic liturgy can be said to have been reached when man comes into such an intimate relation with God that he is totally united with him (Θεοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνομεν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Θεός ἡμῖν ἐνοῦται τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν τελεωτάτην.) This unification finds its highest expression in Christ becoming one with his saint who, therefore, enters into a continuous, unbroken Christ-relation.⁸⁴ The presence of God is established as the presence of the divine within man.

The decisive agent behind *henosis* is the philanthropy of Christ towards mankind. It is his love that leads man to a union with him beyond all descriptions. Cabasilas explicitly remarks that words cannot express the depth of such a connection.⁸⁵ Divine love (θεῖος ἔρωσ) is so powerful that it totally transcends human comprehension. Therefore, within the sphere of human experience there does not exist any point of comparison whatsoever to *henosis*.⁸⁶ Cabasilas finds even the biblical metaphors wanting. Such allegories as the inhabitant and the dwelling place, the tree and its branches, the bride and the groom, the body and its head cannot adequately reveal what *henosis* ultimately is all about (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβῶς ἐφικέσθαι). These portrayals simply just cannot capture the depth of henotic reality.⁸⁷ Consequently, there is an evident apophatic dimension in Cabasilas' conception of *henosis*. If the words

⁸⁴ "Οὕτω τέλειόν ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον, τελετῆς ἀπάσης διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄγει τὴν κορυφὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπείας σπουδῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ ἔσχατον τέλος. Θεοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνομεν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Θεός ἡμῖν ἐνοῦται τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν τελεωτάτην· τοῦ γὰρ ἐν πνεῦμα μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τίς ἂν ἀκριβεστέρα γένοιτο συναφή;" *De vita* IV, 10.

⁸⁵ "Καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἄρρητος, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ὑπερβαίνει καὶ τῆ θεία ἀγαθότητι μόνῃ προσῆκεν, αὕτη γὰρ ἔστιν «ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν», τὸν ἴσον τρόπον ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φιλομένους ἔνωσιν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἔνωσιν εἶναι ἢν ἂν τις δύναται λογίσασθαι, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν παράδειγμα φέρειν." *De vita* I, 7.

⁸⁶ "Εἰ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φίλτρον τοσοῦτον, τὸ θεῖον οὐδ' ἔστι λογίσασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ οἱ πονηροὶ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην, τί χρὴ περὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐκείνης εἰπεῖν; Οὕτω δὲ ὑπερφυοῦς ὄντος τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν συνάφειαν πρὸς ἢν συνήλασε τοὺς ἐρώντας, τὴν δianoian τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην κάτω τιθέναι, ὥστε μηδὲ πρὸς παράδειγμα ἀνενεχθῆναι δυνατὴν εἶναι. Σκοπόμεν δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον." *De vita* I, 11; "Τί τοῦ φίλτρον τοῦτου γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσον; τί τοσοῦτον ἐφίλησεν ἀνθρώπος; τίς οὕτω μήτηρ φιλόστοργος ἢ πατήρ φιλότεκνος; ἢ τίς τῶν καλῶν οὐτινοσοῦν οὕτως ἔλαβεν ἔρωτα μανικόν [- -]." *De vita* VI, 16.

⁸⁷ *De vita* I, 8-9.

cannot express the incomprehensible reality that they attempt to describe, in what manner does Cabasilas himself speak of the unspeakable or depict the indescribable?

Despite the linguistic and notional limitations, he does not entirely abandon words as a means of expression. The negative or apophatic stance simply betokens that it is not possible to express the totality of *henosis* verbally. As an apophatic specification Cabasilas points out that, for example, it cannot be attempted to convey *henosis* as a relationship between two partners.⁸⁸ Instead, he prefers to speak of one, not of two, when delineating this union. If *henosis* were to be described as a form of interaction between two subjects, something essential of the primal unificative nature of *henosis* would be totally overlooked. Furthermore, when describing *henosis*, Cabasilas prefers to concentrate on the inner experience of its subject(s). He claims that sanctified man experiences *henosis* as a union which in its intimacy surpasses the experience of the entirety and oneness of his very own human being.⁸⁹ To sum up, even though verbal expressions of the union with Christ are insufficient, they still can somehow indicate central aspects of *henosis*. Yet, the limitations of language in describing such a union should constantly be borne in mind.

Cabasilas' understanding of the effects of *henosis* with Christ can be outlined as a development in which man's unification with God is realized as an ever deepening process into the innermost of man. There are two central aspects which embody this mystical process: conjoining of the human will and heart of man with Christ. To begin with, Cabasilas understands the will of man as the prime mover of all human activity. The will directs both physical and psychic functions. Consequently, the fall of man was inflicted by the human will. Therefore it is specifically man's will (θέλημα, γνώμη) that was influenced by the renewal of humanity through Christ's kenosis. Yet, Cabasilas specifies that the entirety of human nature was commandeered by Christ (1 Cor. 6:19-20) and not the will alone.⁹⁰ When becoming a partaker in Christ's body and blood in the

⁸⁸ *De vita* I, 9-10.

⁸⁹ "Καὶ οὕτω λέγω τὸ καινότατον. Τί γάρ ἂν ἄλλο συναίπτοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῶ; Ἄλλα καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐνόησις τῆς συναφείας ἐκεῖνης ἔλαττον ἔχει. Τῶν γὰρ πνευμάτων τῶν μακαρίων ἕκαστον, ἔστι μὲν ἐν καὶ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῶ, συνήπται δὲ τῷ Σωτῆρι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῶ." *De vita* I, 10-11. There is a distinct christological footing in Cabasilas' understanding of union as an experience of oneness. Christ is for Cabasilas the point of contact between humanity and divinity which were set apart from each other prior to the Incarnation. The incarnation did not only set the basis for mutual sharing of the properties of the two natures (due to the hypostatic union) but also for intimacy or oneness resulting from the appearance of a point of contact between the natures. Cabasilas states that if the two natures were still separate in Christ there could not have been a point of contact for them to meet. Accordingly, Eucharistic communion deifies humanity to the extent that nothing prevents man from fully participating in divine grace. Cf. *De vita* III, 4-5.

⁹⁰ "Καὶ οὕτως ὅλον δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὅλον ὠνεῖται τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν θέλησιν ἐπρίατο καὶ μάλιστα ταύτην. Ταῦτά μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα δεσπότης ἦν καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀπάσης ἐκράτει· ᾧ δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἐφεύγομεν ἢ θέλησις ἦν, καὶ ἵνα ταύτην ἔλοι πάντα εἰργάσατο. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὅτι γνώμην ἐζήτηε βίαιον οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν οὐδ' ἤρπασεν ἀλλ' ἠγόρασεν." Ὄθεν τῶν πεπραμένων οὐδεὶς εἰς ἑαυτὸν χρώμενος τῇ θελήσει τὰ δίκαια ποιήσει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐωνημένον ἀδικήσει, τοῦ κτήματος ἀποστερών· χρώτο δ' ἂν τις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῇ θελήσει ἑαυτὸν θέλων καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χαίρων." *De vita* VII, 79; "Καὶ πάντα λόγῳ βραχεῖ δηλῶν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, «Οὐκ ἔστε, φησίν, ἑαυτῶν, ἠγόρασθητε γὰρ τιμῆς». Ὁ δὲ πεπραμένος οὐ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐωνημένον ὄρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ζῆ γνώμην. Καίτοι τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὁ δουλεύων τὸ σῶμα δέδεται μόνον πρὸς τὸ τῷ δεσπότη δοκοῦν, τὴν δὲ γνώμην καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἐλευθερός ἐστιν ὅτι αὐν βούλοιο χρῆσθαι." Ὁν δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγόρασεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀλόκληρον, ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς ὠνήσατο οὐδ' ἔστιν οὗ τιμῆματος ψυχὴν λαβεῖν δυνατόν ἀνθρωπίνην· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἔλυσεν ἄνθρωπον ἢ ἐδουλώσατο τοῦ

Eucharist, man participates in the effects of kenosis. Purportedly the communion with Christ also effects the bending of human will to Christ's divine will.

In addition, the union of wills provides man with a life in continuous communion with Christ. Cabasilas thus connects the will with soteriology and fulfillment of the divine economy. This becomes especially evident in the life of Mary, the Mother of God. The importance of human potential is highlighted by Cabasilas in his statement that the divine economy would not been completed without Mary's assent. Thus, the incarnation of Christ was not only accomplished by the Father and the Holy Spirit, but "also by the will and faith of the Virgin."⁹¹ The soteriological implication of the free will of man – exemplified by the Virgin Mary – is brightly expressed in the following: "Even before coming of the day when God was to descend from the heavens on the earth, she [Mary] collaborated with God for salvation."⁹² The concept of synergy is again restated here with a notable soteriological corollary.

The potential of the human will, transpired through Mary the Mother of God at the very beginning of the economy of Jesus Christ, is put into effect in humanity as a whole through the consummation of the history of salvation: the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ. The possibility of submitting the human will to the will of God is therefore one of the main consequences of the divine economy. In one of his delineations of the kenosis of Christ, Cabasilas focuses specifically on its effect on the will. Through the kenosis of Christ men became the inheritance (κληρονομία) of the Lord. This surpasses the relation between man and God set in creation. Through inheritance, the Son of God gained dominion over man's nature and possession of the human mind (λόγος) and will (θέλημα). Thus, due to the kenosis of Christ – especially through recognition of Christ as true God crucified for the salvation of mankind – the will of man became subjected to him: "[- -] we submitted our will in giving him our love, accepting his rule, and taking with joy his yoke upon our shoulders."⁹³ It is noteworthy that Christ's dominion over the human will results from voluntary submission to him. Adapting the human will to God is an active expression of the human capacity to turn towards God.

After a conscious submission of will to Christ, he works for the sanctification of man. For Cabasilas this is what *henosis* consists of: submission of the will is one of the indicators of *henosis*, which can be described as life in Christ consisting in the imitation of him (τὸν Χριστὸν μιμησασθαι ἐν Χριστῷ ζῆν ἐστι). Cabasilas' idea of submission of the will (γνώμη) parallels Maximus the Confessor's distinction between the natural will and

σώματος περαιτέρω. Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ἅπαντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τυγχάνει πριάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου χρήματα καταβάλλουσι μόνον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὸ σῶμα προὔδωκε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐλευθερίας· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀφείλετο σῶμα.“ *De vita* VII, 78. Cf. *De vita* IV, 97-98.

⁹¹ “Καὶ ἦν ἔργον ἢ τοῦ Λόγου σάρκωσις, οὐ μόνον Πατρός, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ μὲν εὐδοκούντος, τοῦ δ' ἐπιδημούντος, ἐκείνης δὲ ἐπισκιαζούσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θελήσεως καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς παρθένου.“ *Homélies Mariales* II, 4. 488, 13-17. Cf. also II, 4. 487, 29-35.

⁹² “Καὶ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἐκείνην ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τὸν Θεὸν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔδει κλίναντα κατελθεῖν, τῇ κοινῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦτον συνετέλει τὸν τρόπον.“ *Homélies Mariales* II, 3. 487, 4-6. Based on mariological homilies, Cabasilas is seen to give Mary an essential place in the salvation of man. More on Cabasilas' mariology see Jugie 1926, 456-465; Nellas 1974, 18-36; Veniamin 1995.

⁹³ *De vita* XL, 4-6. Cf. also *De vita* VI, 95 where Cabasilas states that incorruptible life is the goal of life set by God. Purification of free will from all sin – made possible by the achievements of Christ – is a precondition for reaching the ultimate goal of human life.

conscious will. The latter is a product of the Fall, thus having the potential of misdirection as its essential quality.⁹⁴ Cabasilas grounds the idea of submission on the conviction that there cannot be two wills presiding in a faithful person's heart.⁹⁵ Authentic, transfigured humanity expresses itself through a pure and good will that conforms to the will of God.⁹⁶

The idea of the human heart's close relation to Christ is even more salient in Cabasilas' teaching of *henosis* than the idea of submission of the will to God. As observed above, Cabasilas sees *koinonia* as a physical and organic communion between Christ and man. Communion is an event that shakes the entire existence of man; Christ is in contact with the innermost man in an extremely intimate manner. It follows that *koinonia* can be designated as taking place in the spiritual centre of man; in a place that establishes the very being of man. This deep and innermost point within man is the heart. It is also the primary ground of divine operation in man.

The centrality of the heart is illustrated in Cabasilas' conception of reshaping of man (*ανάπλασις*), which originates from the spiritual birth. He states that birth in the flesh is totally subsidiary and irrelevant compared with the spiritual birth engendered in the Eucharistic communion. According to Cabasilas, the spiritual birth occurs when the body

⁹⁴ "Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν μιμησασθαι καὶ ζῆν κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν Χριστῷ ζῆν ἔστι, καὶ τούτο τῆς γνώμης ἔργον ὅταν τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήμασι ὑπακούσῃ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θελήσεων ὑπέταξε τῇ θεῖα τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ· καὶ ἵνα τούτο διδάξῃ καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς ζωῆς παράδειγμα ἡμῖν καταλίποι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου θάνατον ὅτε μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδέξασεν οὐ παρητήσατο." *De vita* VII, 99. In his teaching on the will Maximus distinguishes natural will (θέλημα φύσικον) from considerate will or gnomic will (γνώμη). The latter has its origin in the fall of man, when the free natural will became distorted. After the fall the freedom of will is therefore manifested as conscious will to imitate God. The problem of two wills is approached by Maximus through the agony of Christ in Gethsemane. He interprets the words of Christ "not as I will, but as you will" (Matt 26:39) as a prayer which unveils the human will of the Saviour. Alongside the human will, there is in Christ the divine will, common to the Father and the Holy Spirit, which forms the operational basis for Christ. There is thus a noteworthy christological importance in the difference and contrast between the two wills of Christ: even though the wills are dissimilar, they are not opposed to each other. Nichols 1993, 95-100. It may not be just a coincidence that Cabasilas also refers to Christ's agony in Gethsemane when explicating the relation of the wills in Christ. Cf. *De vita* VII, 99. On Maximus' treatment of the agony in Gethsemane see *Opuscula theologica et polemica ad Marinum*. PG 91, 65A-68D.

⁹⁵ "[- -] τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν δυναθῆναι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένους, ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θέλησιν τὴν γνώμην καθόσον οἷόν τε ἀνθρώποις ἀσκήσαι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνῳ χαίρειν παρασκευάσαι. Τὰς γὰρ ἐναντίας ἐπιθυμίας μιᾶς ἀνίσχεν καρδίας τῶν ἀμηχάνων· ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φησί, προσφέρει οἶδεν ἢ πονηρόν, καὶ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθόν." *De vita* VI, 7.

⁹⁶ "Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ἡ γνώμη καὶ τὸ λογίζεσθαι, ὧν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖ, τούτο μὲν ἀρετὴν ἀνθρώπου, τούτο δὲ κακίαν δύναται φέρειν· καὶ τὸ δυστυχεῖν ἂν εἴη κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν καλῶς καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ στένοντα ζῆν καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν, τὰ μὲν παρατραπέτων ἐκείνων, τὰ δ' ἐν οἷς ἔδει μενόντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρατροπὴ μὲν λογισμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τὸ πονηρόν, ζητεῖν ὑπόλοιπον τίτι τούτῳ σαφεῖ τεκμηρίῳ ἑκατέρας εἰσόμεθα τὴν παρατροπὴν. Πολλῶν δὲ γενομένων, τὸ πάντων ἱκανώτατον, ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἀγαθόν μὲν καὶ ἀληθές ὅπερ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ, φαῦλον δὲ καὶ ψεῦδος ὁ μὴ τῶν ἐκείθεν ἔτυχε ψήφων· καὶ ἂ μὲν ἐκεῖνος μανθάνειν ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ· ἂ δὲ βούλεσθαι κελεῖν, ταῦτα χρῆσθαι." *De vita* VII, 20-21. The idea of conforming human will to the will of God is one of the motives for Lot-Borodine's characterisation of Cabasilas' spirituality as existential mysticism. By means of their renewed will, God's creatures (i.e. men) are in connection with their Creator-Archetype. Lot-Borodine 1958, 175-176.

and blood of God, communed in the Eucharist, enter man's heart. There they transform humanity made of dust in accordance with divinity. Along with the effect caused by the Eucharistic elements, the Holy Spirit also descends to the heart, accomplishing in cooperation with Christ the birth of new humanity.⁹⁷ Hence, the heart is the place of accomplishment of Eucharistic *koinonia*. It is also the place of the spiritual birth of man. In sum, the heart is the place from where the presence of Christ in man affects transfiguring re-creation of the very nature of man.

It seems that Cabasilas considers man to be genuinely human only when he has subjugated his will to Christ. This process of becoming authentically human when attaining the likeness of God could be thus described as *anthropopoiesis*. Reading of Cabasilas' description of *henosis* as *anthropopoiesis* is further witnessed by his anthropological reflections of the effect of *henosis* on the heart. On the other hand, he discusses the mysticism of the heart from a christological-ecclesiological standpoint. Thus, the personal and communal are again linked to each other when the consequences of Eucharistic communion are investigated.

Cabasilas compares the heart to a consecrated church and a communion cup, both of which are embodiments of God. When Christ has settled into man's heart, and man has dedicated his soul to God, man is more holy than any other of God's dwelling places.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Cabasilas states that in the Eucharist man is united with Christ through his body and blood, and further, sanctified by the power coming from the heart and the head of Christ.⁹⁹ Here Cabasilas appears to find his opinion on the Pauline reading of the

⁹⁷ "Οὐ γὰρ ὄθεν ἐπλασεν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνεπλάσθημεν ὕλης· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐποίησε «χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς», ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔδωκε σῶμα. Καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἀνακτώμενος, οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐστῶσαν ποιεῖ καλλίω, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἶμα ἐγγέειν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν μεμνημένων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωὴν αὐτοῖς ἀνατέλλει· τότε μὲν γὰρ «ἐνεφύσησε, φησί, πνοὴν ζωῆς», νῦν δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ κοινωνεῖ. Καὶ γὰρ· «Ἐξαπέστειλε, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν κράζον· Ἀββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ.»" *De vita* IV, 89.

⁹⁸ "Διὰ ταῦτα τὴν μέριμναν οἱ σπουδαῖοι φυλάττονται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἴστανται τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τῷ Θεῷ μόνῳ τηροῦσι καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τέμενος, τὴν μνήμην ἐξελόντες αὐτῷ. Καὶ γὰρ ἴσασι τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν οἰκῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐδὲ ψαύειν ἐξεῖναι καὶ σκευῶν καὶ πέπλων τοῖς οὕτως ἀφορισμένοις πρὸς ἄλλο τι χρῆσθαι τῶν ἀθεμίτων εἶναι· ψυχῆς δὲ Θεῷ καθιερωθείσης οὐδὲν ἴσον εἶναι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὄθεν καὶ χρῆναι παντός μᾶλλον ἄδυντον εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγοράζουσι καὶ τραπεζῶν καὶ κολυβιστῶν καὶ τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων. Εἰ γὰρ τὸν τῆς προσευχῆς οἶκον οὕτως ἔχειν ἐχρῆν, ὅπως δεῖ νομίζειν αὐτὸν τὸν εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο καθαρεῖν ἔδει θορύβου;" *De vita* VII, 30. For Cabasilas the foundation of communion with Christ in the Eucharist is set on the fundamental relation of Christ and church. Christ is present in the church until the end of time, thus giving the church an entitlement to divine things. *Sacrae liturgiae* XVIII, 7.

⁹⁹ "Ἀνάγκη γὰρ κοινωνῆσαι γνώμης ᾧ κοινωνοῦμεν αἱμάτων, καὶ μὴ τὰ μὲν συνημμένους, τὰ δὲ διηρημένους, οὕτω μὲν φιλεῖν, ἐκείως δὲ πολεμεῖν, καὶ τέκνα μὲν εἶναι, μομητὰ δὲ, καὶ μέλη μὲν, ἀλλὰ νεκρά, οἷς ὄφελος οὐδὲν τὸ συμφύναι καὶ γεννηθῆναι, καθάπερ τὸ κλῆμα τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου διαιρεθεῖσιν, οὐ τέλος ἔξω βληθῆναι καὶ ξηρανθῆναι καὶ προσριφῆναι πυρί. Διὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἐν Χριστῷ ζῆν προηρημένον ἀκόλουθον μὲν τῆς καρδίας καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης ἐξῆφθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρωθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ζωὴ." *De vita* VI, 6-7; "Μέλη γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ὄντες ἐκεῖνου, σάρκες ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἔσμεν αὐτῷ συνημμένοι καὶ τὴν ἀρμονίαν φυλάττομεν, ζῶμεν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν ἔλκοντες διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς καρδίας. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποτιμηθῶμεν καὶ τῆς ὀλότητος ἐκπέσωμεν τοῦ παναγίου σώματος, μάτην τῶν ἱερῶν γεγόμεθα μυστηρίων· οὐ γὰρ διαβήσεται ἡ ζωὴ πρὸς τὰ νεκρά καὶ ἀποκοπέντα μέλη." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVI, 1.

description of the early Christian community in the Acts where ecclesial life is characterized as sharing one heart (Acts 4:32).

Before a more exact analysis of the human heart as the place of *henosis* is made, it needs to be clarified what Cabasilas means by the concepts of 'heart of Christ' and 'head of Christ'.¹⁰⁰ The two terms appear in parallel in several passages. Cabasilas discusses these concepts more from the perspective of man's experience of being in contact with the heart and head of the Christ, rather than as isolated christological concepts. Thus, there is a mystical, not a doctrinal approach to these terms prevailing in Cabasilas' approach. From an anthropological standpoint, the heart clearly signifies for Cabasilas the centre of humanity: it is both the foundation of bodily existence and the constitutive principle of human being. The body is represented in the heart as the root of a tree embodies the branches.¹⁰¹ Consequently, the heart shares with the head the function of being the unifying element, for it maintains the unity of the body. The head, in turn, can be seen as the origin of *koinonia* within human being. The head is a sort of coordinative and constructive organ of the body. These anthropological investigations serve for Cabasilas as a basis for understanding the nature of the corresponding christological terms. As the Head of the Church Christ aggregates his members, who ultimately are dependent on his heart, the sustainer of life. The heart of Christ, then, bears a deeper meaning for unity than the head.¹⁰² Cabasilas notes that in the Eucharist it is from the heart of Christ that life emanates into the members of his body: "True life is engendered to us from the power of the holy table by the blessed heart."¹⁰³ In other words, it is from the heart of Christ that the transfiguring power of Eucharistic grace flows into a man's heart.

Cabasilas evidently equates the spiritually and existentially emphasized concept of 'heart of Christ' with the ecclesiological adjusted Pauline term 'head of Christ'. Taken in their christological and ecclesiological meanings, the concepts suggest that the *henosis* of man's heart with the heart of Christ takes place within an ecclesial communion: the Eucharistic mystery has a communal subtext. The union with the life-pulsating heart of Christ unfolds in the church, and her members partake in the life of that heart.¹⁰⁴ Emphasis on the heart can also be seen to indicate that Cabasilas understands meeting

¹⁰⁰ Bobrinskoy considers Cabasilas' conception of the heart of Christ as one of the most original features of his thought. Bobrinskoy 1968, 494-495.

¹⁰¹ "Σημαίνεται [- -] ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν καρδίᾳ μέλη καὶ ὡς ἐν ῥίζῃ τοῦ φυτοῦ κλάδοι [- -]." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXXVIII, 1.

¹⁰² "Καὶ οὕτω τὸ μείζον εἶπον· οὐ γὰρ μέχρι τοσοῦτου τοῖς δούλοις σύνεστιν ὁ Δεσπότης καὶ κοινωνεῖ τῶν αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ χεῖρα δίδωσι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν ὅλον παρέσχευεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ «νεῶς ἐσμεν Θεοῦ» ζῶντος. Χριστοῦ μέλη ταῦτα τὰ μέλη· τούτων τῶν μελῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν τὰ χερουβὶμ προσκυνεῖ· οἱ πόδες οὗτοι, αἱ χεῖρες αὐταὶ ἐκείνης ἐξήρτηνται τῆς καρδίας." *De vita* VI, 18; "Καθάπερ γὰρ «ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει, θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει», οὕτω τὰ Χριστοῦ μέλη «θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα»· πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ γεύσασαι θανάτου τῆς ζωῆς αἰεὶ καρδίας ἐξηρτημένα;" *De vita* IV, 100; "Μέλη γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ὄντες ἐκείνου, σάρκες ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν ὁσῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἐσμεν αὐτῷ συνημμένοι καὶ τὴν ἀρμονίαν φυλάττομεν, ζῶμεν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἔλκομεν διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς καρδίας." *Sacrae liturgiae* XXVI, 1. Bobrinskoy (1968, 495) observes: "It is from the heart of Jesus and not from any natural cause that this vital principle of life is infused into the veins and blood of the communicants."

¹⁰³ "Τὴν τε γὰρ ἀληθινὴν ζωὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡ τῆς ἱεράς τραπέζης δύναμις ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης ἔλκει καρδίας [- -]." *De vita* IV, 36

¹⁰⁴ Bobrinskoy 1968, 496; Salaville 1943a, 44-45, 59-60.

with God to occur on the level of hearts, i.e. persons, not that much between the 'head' and a 'limb'.¹⁰⁵ It is the heart as the ontological centre of man that constitutes the surface for contact with the life-giving heart of Christ.

Stress on personal communion as communal or ecclesial in its essence, also gives evidence on Maximus the Confessor's conceivable influence on Cabasilas. Dialectical connection between individual and communal – both on the level of humanity and, more importantly, in communion with God – resemble Maximus' idea of man as microcosm. It is precisely in the Eucharistic liturgy that man, according to Maximus, manifests his universal composition as microcosm within the creation: when man orientates his devotion towards God and comes into communion with him, the elemental pairs of the creation – joined in the composition of man – are manifested according to their right order.¹⁰⁶ Even though Cabasilas does not conceptualise his thoughts in an exactly like manner, his emphasis on the personal-communal dynamics, as well as the evident cosmological aspects of his thought throughout his reading of the rite (e.g. in connection with the symbolism of the altar table), is quite similar to that of Maximus.

What, then, results from the life-giving communion with Christ, this *henosis* of the human heart with the heart of Christ? In a word: a union of utmost intimacy. The interplay with Christ gradually imprints his image onto the heart of man. Consequently, the permanent presence of Christ in the heart eventually makes him closer to man than man is to his own heart.¹⁰⁷ This intimacy of Christ with man within the human heart represents Cabasilas' perception of a personally-experienced culmination of the plan of salvation as a Eucharistic reality. The Eucharistic retelling of salvation in Christ is illustrated in Cabasilas' description of Christ becoming "the other self" (ἄλλος αὐτός) for man. This results, firstly, from Christ's philanthropy towards mankind, established in the history of salvation. Cabasilas maintains that since man loves himself more than his neighbours, Christ reached the most suitable position for receiving the love of men: becoming the other self for human beings. Christ's *kenosis* is designated by Cabasilas as

¹⁰⁵ Lot-Borodine stresses the importance of the concept of the heart of Christ in understanding Cabasilas' thinking. Lot-Borodine 1958, 115. Tsirpanlis argues that distinguishing the heart of Christ as a distinct concept highlights the idea of Christ as the source of life for his mystical body. Tsirpanlis specifies that the conceptual distinction of Cabasilas is not scholastic but comes from the mystical tradition of the Eastern Church. Tsirpanlis s.a. 83-84. Along with Tsirpanlis Salaville (1936, 154-157) and Völker (1977, 74-75) also conclude that the heart of Christ conveys how he understands life to be transmitted into the church-body.

¹⁰⁶ The Eucharistic liturgy is for Maximus an event with cosmic magnitude: eternal resonances of creation are pulled together in man when he exposes his microcosmic nature in the worship. See e.g. chapters 4, 5 and 7 of his *Mystagogia*. PG 91, 672A-684A; 684D-688B.

¹⁰⁷ "Ὁὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐ μὴ πάρεστιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅπως μὴ σύνεστιν ἡμῖν, ὅς γε τοῖς ζητοῦσι καὶ αὐτῆς ἔγγιον ἔστι τῆς καρδίας." *De vita* VI, 98. Preserving love towards Christ in the depths of the heart through active contemplation is the way to maintain permanent contact with Christ: "Ἐπει δ' ἐξήρηται μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἢ χαρίτων γέμουσα λύπη, ἀγάπη δὲ τῶν ἐννοιῶν αἰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίαν, ταύτας ἂν εἴη προὔργου τῆ μνήμη κατέχειν καὶ σπρέφειν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῆς διατριβῆς ταυτησί μηδέποτε σχολὴν ἀγειν· ἀλλ' ἐπίτηδες τοῦτο μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὺς ταυτί μελετᾶν καὶ λογιζεσθαι, τοῦτο δ' ἐν ταῖς συνοουσίαις γλώσσης τρυφήν καὶ συλλόγων ὕλην ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς γε πειράσθαι μηδενὶ διακοπτομένους συνεχῆ ταύτην ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν, εἰ μὲν οἷον τε διὰ βίου, εἰ δ' οὐν συχνόν τινα χρόνον, ὡς ἂν ἐντακῆναι δυναθῆ καὶ κατάσχη παντάπασιν τὴν καρδίαν. Οὕτε γὰρ πῦρ δράσειεν ἂν οὐδὲν οἷς ἂν ἐπέλθοι μὴ συνεχῶς ὁμιλῆσαν, οὔτε λογισμὸς διαλείπων πρὸς ὅτιοῦν πάθος ἂν διάθοιτο τὴν καρδίαν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ χρόνου συχνοῦ τινοῦ ἐφεξῆς." *De vita* VI, 32.

“taking the place of our very selves.” Thus, what influenced humankind as a whole had not only collective but also personal consequences. Secondly, the personal actualisation of Christ as the second self becomes materialized when his body and blood are partaken of. In other words, Eucharistic communion makes Christ concretely the other self for a man. For another thing, Cabasilas couples pneumatological fulfillment with Eucharistic realization of intimacy with Christ: in the Eucharist man receives the Spirit along with Christ.¹⁰⁸

If the Eucharistic communing enables man to receive the fruits of salvation in Christ, thus becoming a participant in the reality of divine philanthropy, Cabasilas yet requires an active cleaving to Christ in order to maintain such a union. There is, therefore, a practical aspect of adoration that Cabasilas derives from the above rationalizations of union between hearts. Basing his views on Paul’s call for unceasing prayer (1 Thess. 5:17) Cabasilas introduces the idea of firm communion with Christ along the lines of hesychastic spirituality. For Cabasilas unceasing prayer is constituted of a repeated remembering of Christ and calling on him by his name. Ultimately, the prayer culminates with a sigh “Lord have mercy!”, which is uninterruptedly repeated aloud, quietly and in thoughts. Through a life-long incessant praying the above-mentioned imprinting of the image of Christ in the heart becomes reality. There are two essential accentuations in Cabasilas’ delineation of an unceasing prayer. Firstly, he does not expect withdrawal from the world as a requirement for achieving such prayer. On the contrary, he maintains that it is possible for everyone to pray in that manner. A person can devote himself to such an uninterrupted communion with Christ anywhere; in solitude, while performing everyday tasks, or when being in the company of other people. Secondly, even if Cabasilas clearly speaks of the prayer along the lines of hesychastic spirituality, there are no signs of any specific psycho-physical method of prayer he adheres to, nor is he clearly committed to the classical formulation of the Jesus prayer, “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me.”¹⁰⁹ Besides, Cabasilas stresses the importance of meditation,

¹⁰⁸ *De vita* VI, 57-59. The dictum ἄλλος αὐτός is most probably a reference to Aristotle. In *Nicomachean Ethics* (IX, 4, 1166a) Aristotle claims that a good man “is related to his friend as to himself (for his friend is another self).” In addition, the qualities of a friend described in the first half of Chapter IX, 4 of *Nicomachean Ethics* are depicted in a similar manner as Cabasilas characterises Christ as a friend of men.

¹⁰⁹ *De vita* VI, 42, 98, 101. In his insistence on the possibility of full spiritual life regardless of condition of life Cabasilas, perhaps unconventionally, denies the superiority of monastic life over ordinary life in the world. He maintains that there is no need to cease from practising one’s profession, move to a remote place or eat uncustomary food in order to live full spiritual life. Furthermore, no special formulations or times of prayer are particularly important if attention is always intensively on Christ. Evidently Cabasilas proposes that maintaining inner quietude and peace do not require radical exterior solitude or radical asceticism. There is no difference for Cabasilas in how Christianity obliges the faithful. Whether a man is young or old, monk or a layman, rich or poor, he must aspire to fulfil the commandments of Christ in all things. Any cause consequent on life circumstances should not affect the intensity of spiritual striving. *De vita* VI, 4-6. The strength of monasticism in the mainstream of Byzantine spirituality, in 14th century hesychasm as well, does not mean that Cabasilas’ opinion of comprehensive spiritual life in the world is extremely radical. For example, John Chrysostom in his later works promoted an idea of non-monastic spirituality as an exalted Christian vocation, equal to that of monastic life. He even recommended that after some years of seclusion the monks should live among other Christians. Such tendencies are plainly visible e.g. in *De sacerdotio*, *Homiliae in Matthaem*, *In epistulam i ad Corinthios* and *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*.

which, however, is for him closely linked with prayer in the customary manner of the hesychastic tradition.¹¹⁰

The idea (and practice) of unceasing prayer points to the very centre, or rather to the culminating point, of Cabasilas' theological thinking.¹¹¹ Affiliation with the conventions of the Eastern Christian tradition of prayer is manifested in Cabasilas' observation that unless man mourns for his sins and keeps his soul vigilant, he cannot progress in prayer. He also points out that mere knowledge about Christ and the prayer of the heart is not enough, but man must actively engage with praying and strive to keep hold of God.¹¹² These latter remarks cohere with hesychastic emphases. Cabasilas clearly calls for *nepsis*, an attentive observation of impulses of soul both from within and without. Along with inner attentiveness repentance is strongly promoted in hesychastic spirituality. Cabasilas evidently concurs with the customary conviction of repentance as a prerequisite for achieving closeness to God in prayer.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ E.g. *De vita* VI, 10, 36, 38, 79; VII, 6; *Sacrae liturgiae* XLI, 4. According to Lot-Borodine, Cabasilas offers two methods for knowing God. On the one hand, there is prayer as an unceasing intoning of the name of Jesus. On the other hand, Cabasilas quite exceptionally speaks for utilising imagination in contemplation, a trait of mysticism that is rare in the Eastern Christian tradition. Lot-Borodine defines Cabasilas' contemplation as action inspired by will that has turned towards Christ and love of Christ. In its ideal form, contemplation turns into imitation of Christ (*mimēsis Christi*). Lot-Borodine 1958, 129-132. Cf. also Bobrinskoy 1968, 498-499. In the archetypical presentation of the hesychastic "method" of prayer the physical practice serves the spiritual aim: "Controlled breathing and bodily posture consisting of a bowed head and eyes fixed on the heart of body's center were recommended to facilitate this constant prayer. Thereby the hesychasts strove to make the mind (*nous*) descend into the heart in order to attain divinization (*theosis*)." Egan 1991, 311. There are three main periods in the history of hesychasm: Sinaitic hesychasm, 11th century hesychasm and 14th century Athonite hesychasm. A commanding feature of Athonite hesychasm, influential during Cabasilas' life, is restricting prayer to a fixed formula with a certain psycho-physiological technique practised in solitude. See Meyendorff, J. 1974b; *A Monk of the Eastern Church* 1987, 53-54. J. Meyendorff (1964, 140) observes that even Palamas does not focus on breathing and other methods of prayer. Even though he discusses them it is done only in the works written against Barlaam. In his spiritual teaching, however, no certain method or technique is emphasized.

¹¹¹ "χριστιανούς δὲ τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνουσία προσκεῖσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, ἀδιαλείπτως προσευχομένους" ὁ τοῦ Παύλου καλεῖται νόμος." *De vita* VII, 30.

¹¹² "Ἔστι τοίνυν πράξεως μὲν ἐπιθυμία πάσης ἀρχῆ, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ λογισμός· οὐκοῦν πειρατέον πρό γε πάντων, τῶν ματαίων ἀπάγειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμόν, ἐννοιῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστήν ἔχοντας ἐκάστοτε τὴν καρδίαν, ὥστε μηδαμοῦ κενὴν οὖσαν χώραν εἶναι ταῖς πονηραῖς." *De vita* VI, 9; "Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐννοίαις τὴν ψυχὴν κατασχεθῆναι συμβαίνει μὲν τῶν πονηρῶν σχολῆν ἄγειν, τούτῳ δὲ ἀκόλουθον καθαρὰν ἀρρωστίας τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων φέρειν ἀκτῖνα, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει σωρὸν μηδὲν πραγματευσαμένοις· ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη τοὺς λογισμοὺς τοῖς παρ' ἑαυτῶν φαρμάκοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πάντων ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν· καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐννοιῶν τὰ πονηρὰ πάθη φύεται, τὸν γὰρ ἴσον τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνίσχειν εἰκὸς ἐστίν." Ὀλωσ γὰρ ταύτην ἢ ἐκείνην τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ πάσχοντα φέρειν ἢ ὅτιοῦν τῶν πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι, λογισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι τὸ πείθον εἰσι πανταχοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐντίθενται λογισμοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸναντίον οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες πονηροὺς εἰσάγοντες τύπους, ὡς οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν ἀποπωτῶτων τεχνίτας, οἱ δὲ τῶν δεόντων ἀπεργασόμενοι πρακτικούς." *De vita* VI, 46-47. Cf. also *De vita* VI, 25-28; VII, 45.

¹¹³ On the role of repentance and vigilance in Eastern Christian spirituality see Hausherr 1982, 17-21; Špidlík 1986 (esp. Chapters 7 and 9); Vlachos 1994, 138-139, 319. In his description of asceticism Vlachos shares the spirit of Cabasilas: "It is not advice or medicines that heal the sick soul, that give life to the dead nous, that purify the impure heart, but the ascetic method of the Church, self control, love, prayer and guarding the nous [- -]." Vlachos 1994, 118.

Can Cabasilas' description of the Eucharist, then, be designated as a stepping stone to a lastingly felt presence of Christ in the heart, achieved through an unceasing prayer? The answer is negative. Firstly, union with Christ through and in prayer does not displace the sacraments. Cabasilas plainly understands the mysteries to be an unseparable part of life in communion with God, manifested and sustained partially by prayer. This conviction is expressed in his statement that partaking in the Eucharist yields a soul with grace which cries out to the Father.¹¹⁴ Secondly, Cabasilas was seen to presume that life as a Christian necessitates regular communing in the body and blood of Christ. The Eucharist is a source of life-giving communion with God. In sum, in keeping with hesychastic tradition, the Eucharist and prayer form for Cabasilas a bipolar unity in which the soul is nourished both by prayer and contemplation and by Christ's body and blood.¹¹⁵ The true presence of Christ becomes in Cabasilas' thought materialised both through intoning the name of Jesus Christ and in Eucharistic communion.

The above characterizations suggest that through *henosis* man is exposed to a revolutionary redefinition of his inner integrity, the oneness of human being, and a realization of the possibilities of interaction between two self-governing subjects. The heart, the spiritual centre of man, is the stage for this upheaval which results in the human heart becoming one with the heart of Jesus Christ. Christ's heart symbolizes for Cabasilas the source of life of the church. The heart of Christ is both the ecclesiological and existential principle of unity and communion between man and God. Respectively, the human heart is the centre of life for each Christian. Heart is the place where union with Christ, through Eucharistic participation, becomes subjectively real within a man. In addition, *henosis* also transpires as unification of the will of man with divine will. Unity of wills enables comprehensive life in Christ. Unceasing prayer of the heart both manifests and maintains the mystical *henosis* experienced in the Eucharist. Alongside this inner spiritual transformation, Eucharistic *henosis* becomes evident in practical expressions of transfigured humanity. Thus, the consequences of the inner presence of Christ in man are also manifested as something seen from the outside of man.

5.5. PRACTICAL UNION – LIFE IN LOVE

The presence of Christ felt within oneself forces man to come out from his inner chamber of the heart and give outward operational expression to *henosis*. Actually, the union-

¹¹⁴ "Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται κλήσιν τινα συνεχῆ καὶ διηκεῖ διατῆς ἐνσημανθείσης ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων τῆ ψυχῆ χάριτος, ἥτις ἐστὶ, Παῦλος εἶπε, «τὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν κράζον· Ἄββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ». Καὶ οὕτως ἐκάστοτε πάντων ὑπερορῶσιν ἴν' ἐκάστοτε τῷ Χριστῷ δυνηθῶσιν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅτι «οὐ καλὸν ἐστὶ, γησίν, ἀφέντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ διακοινεῖν τραπέζαις.» *De vita* VII, 33-34. Cf. also *De vita* VI, 102.

¹¹⁵ "Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἅ μελέτης ὕλην καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργον καὶ νοῦ τρυφήν καὶ διατριβὴν ποιεῖσθαι προσῆκε, τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον καὶ λυσιτελέστατον καὶ φθέγγασθαι καὶ λογίσασθαι, τῶν μυστηρίων ὁ λόγος καὶ ὃν ἐνθένδεν ἔσχομεν πλοῦτον· [- -] Τούτων γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν προκατεληφτότων καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κατασχόντων, οὐ ρᾶδιον ἐπ' ἄλλο βλέψαι τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μετενεγκεῖν ἐτέρωσε, οὕτω μὲν καλῶν ὄντων, οὕτω δὲ ἐπαγωγῶν· αἱ τε γὰρ εὐεργεσίαι πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει νικῶσι, τὸ τε φίλτρον ὄθεν ἐπὶ ταύτας προήχθη, μείζον ἢ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπων ὑποπεσεῖν." *De vita* VI, 10-11. Cf. also *De vita* VI, 48.

inspired operation of man constitutes life in Christ *par excellence*. The most natural manifestation of that life is love.¹¹⁶ Being in God is defined by Cabasilas as the form of perfect love (cf. 1 John 4:16). When man loves perfectly, his will is completely and solely directed to God. Cabasilas states that works of love are conducted by the will (cf. John 15:10). Unless the will is motivated by love alone, the works of man cannot bear good fruits. He cannot be united with God if his strivings are, for example, motivated by fear or pursuit of reward.¹¹⁷ The only direct way towards God is love (Τούτο γάρ ἐστι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὀρθῶς βαδίζειν, τὸ σὺν ἀγάπῃ βαδίζειν).¹¹⁸

With his emphasis on love, Cabasilas explicates the outward outgrowth of inner spiritual experience. This love is not satisfied with dedication to God and experiencing love's torridness. The flame of love must be fuelled by works of love since "[- -] love towards others and love of God go together, and love of God is not found without faith in his vivacity and perfection [- -]."¹¹⁹ Cabasilas thus links *henosis* with charity and social responsibility. Regardless of the emphasis on unceasing prayer, union with God is not for him restricted to ecstatic contemplation. Even at the high point of experiencing nearness of God man cannot lock himself up in the inner chamber of his heart, but is expected to open up the chamber and act.¹²⁰

The idea of communal responsibility engendered by *henosis* is justified by Cabasilas as follows. To begin with, love of one's neighbour authenticates the union of human will with that of God's. This justification openly exemplifies Cabasilas' understanding of *henosis* as deification. Love – an active living out of it – makes man a sharer of the properties of the divine nature, consequently transforming him into the likeness of God.¹²¹ The bases of Cabasilas' concept of *henosis*-derived deification, expressed in

¹¹⁶ "Τούτο γάρ καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ μελέτης ἔργον ἀνθρώπου, τὴν γνώμην μόνου γενέσθαι τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τὸ γένος ἐπιμελείας ἀπάσης, ἐκεῖνο μόνον τέλος ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν. [- -] Καὶ μαρτυροῦσι μὲν ἐντολαὶ πᾶσαι, μαρτυροῦσι δὲ παραινέσεις, καὶ ἀπλῶς λόγος ἅπας ἀνθρώποις ὄφελος ἔχων εἰς τοῦτο φέρων. Καὶ γὰρ πλεονεξίαν ἀναρῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἐπιθυμίαν κολάζων καὶ θυμὸν ἀγχων καὶ μνησικακίαν ἐκβάλλων, οὐδὲν ἢ γνώμης χρηστότητα καὶ ἐπέκειαν ἀπαιτεῖ. Καὶ αὐθις ἢ ἐν πνεύματι πτωχεῖα καὶ τὸ πενθεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἂ τοὺς κατορθούντας ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκάλεσε μακαρίους, ἀτεχνῶς ἔργα θελήσεως. [- -] καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἀγάπης ἕνεκα πάντα φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς τεθῆναι τὸν νόμον, ἢ δὲ ἀγάπῃ τῆς γνώμης ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ." *De vita* VII, 6-8.

¹¹⁷ "Καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν κατορθούντων τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχουσι τάξιν οἷς οὔτε φόβος κακῶν οὔτε μισθῶν ἐλπίδες ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνον ἔρωσ τούς περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰργάσατο πόνους, οὕτω τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κοπτομένων, οἷς τὸ πένθος τὸ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐξέκαυσε φίλτρον, οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἄλλων εἰσιν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς τὸ πάθος ἐργάζονται καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πενθεῖν ἔρχονται καὶ ὅτι σφᾶς αὐτούς φιλοῦσι δακρύουσι." *De vita* VII, 44. See also *De vita* VII, 11, 94-95.

¹¹⁸ *De vita* VII, 46.

¹¹⁹ "[- -] δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ ἀκολουθεῖ, τῇ δὲ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν τελεία καὶ ζῶσα πίστις ἔπεται [- -]" *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 2; "Τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ διασώσαι τὴν ἀγάπην. Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ φιλεῖν μόνον καὶ δεξασθαι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ συντηρῆσαι καὶ τῷ πυρὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν ὕλην ὥστε κατασχεῖν." *De vita* VII, 93.

¹²⁰ Together with issues relating to the content of faith, Cabasilas is interested in social and ethical questions. Orientation towards social issues can be seen as an embodiment of his basic theological convictions which culminate in love and care for one's neighbour. Cabasilas' social input is evident, for example, in his works *Sermo contra feneratoros* and *Περὶ τῶν πολυωμῶνων*.

¹²¹ "Ὁ τοῖνον σπουδαῖος φιλητὸν μόνον ἐπιστάμενος τάγαθόν δι' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἑαυτῷ χαίρει, δι' ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. τοῦτο μὲν εἰ τοὺς τρόπους εὐόκασι, τοῦτο δὲ εἰ πρὸς τάγαθόν βοηθοῦσι [- -]. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὑπερβαίνει καὶ Θεῷ ἐνοικεῖ ὡς κοινόν ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν." *De vita* VII, 50-51; "τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ φθόνου μὲν καὶ βασκανίας ἀπάσης ἀπηλλαγμένον ἀνδρῶν, ἀγάπην δὲ

charitable and social activities, are laid by the exchange that takes place between Christ and man: Christ totally gives himself to man, thus shifting divinity for humanity. Consequently, Christ sets the essence of life in the soul; he is the breath for those who are one with him, he is their nourishment, light and life. In a word, Christ is the be-all and end-all. He rejoices of himself in men, and men rejoice of him (cf. John 15:11, Col. 3:3).¹²² Deification appears to be for Cabasilas a joyful *christification*, which highlights love and compassion for one's neighbours as the highest expression of joy.

Further, taking care of others is acting in accordance with divine love. Since God is the Lord of all creation, the highest form of his veneration consists in taking care of his other created beings. Thereby, looking after one's neighbours actually enables man to surpass himself and the limitations of human nature: it is an expression of being in the likeness of God (τὴν φύσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπερβαίνει καὶ Θεῷ ἔοικεν). In the background there is a personally felt experience of being loved by God. This encounter gives birth in a man to an urge to distribute to others and make them share of the goodness that has been bestowed on him. Cabasilas points out that perfect love is characterized by a will to share, not by a fear of loss.¹²³

Finally, love of one's neighbour manifests life in Christ, which Cabasilas considers to be the highest form of the life of a Christian. Emphasis on practical love as the most pursuable thing is explicated in his view on pure prayer, the fulfillment of contemplative life, which men are unable to attain here on earth. Thus, perfection of contemplative life belongs to eternity whereas love, transpired by virtues, can be fully practised already here and now.¹²⁴

πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον εἰλικρινῆ καὶ τελείαν παρασχομένων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐπιλαβέσθαι φιλοσοφίας [- -]. Ἀκόλουθον γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μετασχόντας τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεικνύει φύσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσις, ἐκχεῖσθαι καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι [- -]. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡσπερ ἑαυτῷ οὕτω καὶ πᾶσι παρέχειν ἑαυτόν, ὁ τῆς χρηστότητος ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος, καὶ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ ἡδεσθαι καὶ ὁποῦν πάσχειν τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦτον ἢ τὰ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλτρον αὐτὸν ἐργάζεται τὴν χαράν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ φιλουμένῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς χαίρει χαίρειν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἑραστήν.“ *De vita* VII, 54.

¹²² *De vita* I, 13; VII, 74-77.

¹²³ “« Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης γάρ, φησί, τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.» Μάλιστα μὲν ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτῶν Δεσπότην ἴσασι κοινὸν ἀπάντων Δεσπότην ὄντα, καὶ ὅτι μέλει πάντων αὐτῷ ὡς δημιουργῷ τῶν δημιουργημάτων· κἂν τις αὐτῶν κήδηται θεραπεύει αὐτόν μᾶλλον ἢ θύων.“ *Sacrae liturgiae* XII, 11; “Καὶ δὴ χαίρομεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καθόσον φιλοῦμεν καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν χάριν. Εἰσι δὲ οἱ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦς ἡδέϊς εἰσὶν ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ τε ἀγαθοὶ ὧσι τοὺς τρόπους καὶ εὐγνωμόνων τύχῃσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ὁ τοίνυν σπουδαῖος φιλητὸν μόνον ἐπιστάμενος τάγαθόν, δι' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἑαυτῷ χαίρει, δι' ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις· τοῦτο μὲν εἰ τοὺς τρόπους εὐοικασί, τοῦτο δὲ εἰ πρὸς τάγαθόν βοηθοῦσι. Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τούτων χωρὶς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος χαίρει, καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τοῦτο πέρας εἰ τις εὖ πράττει. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ ἐλευθεριώτατος τῆς ἡδονῆς τρόπος· ὅταν κοινῇ ποιῆται τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδονὴν καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θέλησιν οὐδὲ φιλοτιμηταί τοῖς αὐτοῦ μόνον οὐδ' ἀγαπᾷ κερδαίνων, ἀλλ' ἡγήται στεφανοῦσθαι νικῶντων ἑτέρων. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπερβαίνει καὶ Θεῷ ἔοικεν ὡς κοινόν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν.“ *De vita* VII, 50-51. See also *De vita* VII, 54.

¹²⁴ “Ἄνοις γὰρ ὄντων ἐν οἷς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς γνώμης, ἀνάγκη μὲν κατ' ἄμφω ταῦτα συνελθεῖν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ συναφθῆναι τὸν ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου μέλλοντα μακάριον εἶναι τῷ μὲν νῷ καθαρῶς αὐτόν θεωροῦντα, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ τελείως φιλοῦντα. Συμβαίνει δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν φθαρτῷ σώματι ζώντων δι' ἑκατέρων εὐδαιμονεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους μόνος ὁ φθορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένος δέξεται βίος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος τῆς μὲν θελήσεως ἕνεκα τέλειοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν οἱ μακάριοι, τῆς κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείας οὐκέτι. Ἀγάπην μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τελείαν εὐρήσεις, Θεοῦ δὲ θεωρίαν καθαρὰν οὐδαμῶς.“ *De vita* VII, 100-101. In his presentation of the essentials of Eastern Christian spirituality,

In the conventional Eastern Christian presentation, the spiritual life is portrayed as a three-pronged way. The first step consists of *praksis*, which means striving in the practice of the virtues. Reflection and meditation upon natural phenomena (*fysike*) forms the middle phase of the spiritual ascent. The third and the highest form of commitment to God develops into *theoria* or an immediate beholding of God in transcendent contemplation. The stages do not form a static model of progression, but the three levels may be lived in a parallel fashion.¹²⁵ Cabasilas' observations regarding the beholding of God indicate that the last phase, *theoria*, is reserved by him for the afterlife only. On the other hand, his emphasis is on *praksis*. Since the perfection of spiritual life (culminating in unceasing prayer) is in its fullness unattainable in this life, love towards one's neighbour and works of love are the more substantial element of Cabasilas' idea of the ideal Christian way of life – even if he strongly encourages his reader to aspire to perfect prayer. It is active love that makes life in Christ truly obvious. Furthermore, the love-engendered connection with Christ equals life.¹²⁶ Cabasilas maintains that the one who loves lives in God, and God is in him, since by love he has received life from God and God has given life in him (Καί ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ μένει καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, ᾧ ταυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μένει καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐν αὐτῷ). Because life in Christ means making one's way truly in the footsteps of Christ, a Christian cannot remain deaf and blind to the exigencies of horizontal love.¹²⁷ It is, however, love towards God that grants man the highest and most pure joy. Cabasilas states that since the lover of God is in a constant communion with him, he becomes a sharer of the properties of God, the object of his love. It is therefore love of Christ that makes human love perfect.¹²⁸

Špidlík attests that love is understood as the perfection of Christian life. On the basis of biblical, Early Christian and later patristic sources love is given an overriding place as the culmination of spiritual life. Furthermore, love of God as the highest expression of perfection cannot be separated from love of one's neighbours; the two overlap. Špidlík 1986, 295-300. Thomas Aquinas also connects spiritual perfection and union with God with love. *STh* 2a. 184, 1, res.. Yet, none of the three Latin scholars discusses love in direct connection with the mystical dimension opened up by Eucharistic communion.

¹²⁵ For further reading on the stages of spiritual progress see Louth 1981; Špidlík 1986.

¹²⁶ *De vita* VII, 101-102.

¹²⁷ “Τοιαύτη ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴ καὶ οὕτω κρύπτεται καὶ οὕτω φαίνεται τῷ φωτὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη. Ἐν ταύτῃ γάρ ἡ λαμπρότης ἀπάσης ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴν ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φέρει σπουδὴν ἐκείνη συνίστησιν. Ὅθεν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι ζωὴν αὐτὴν προσειπῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἕνωσίς ἐστι πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, τοῦτο δὲ ζωὴ, καθάπερ θάνατον ἴσμεν τὸν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ χωρισμόν. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ «ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτοῦ, φησί, ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐστὶ», τὴν ἀγάπην λέγων. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ· «Τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ ὑμῖν Πνεῦμά εἰσι καὶ ζωὴ εἰσιν», ὧν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡ ἀγάπη. Καὶ «ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ μένει καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ», ᾧ ταυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μένει καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐν αὐτῷ· «Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι, φησὶν ἡ ζωή».” *De vita* VII, 107. Emphasis on “works of faith” finds expression e.g. in the manner Cabasilas discusses proper preparation for communion. According to Cabasilas, the liturgy itself educates the faithful that the Eucharist is to be received in faith that is manifested as good works and compassion towards one's neighbour. *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 1. cf. also *Sacrae liturgiae* XXV, 2.

¹²⁸ “Ἦκομεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τελεωτάτην καὶ καθαρὰν ἡδονήν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν φιλεῖ πρὸ πάντων ὁ ζῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ χαιρεῖ τὴν ἀκόλουθον τσαῶδε φίλτρῳ χαρὰν [- -].” *De vita* VII, 55; “Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εὐγνώμονα αὐτὸν εἰκὸς εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον καὶ σοφόν, ἀνάγκη καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν Θεόν καὶ χαιρεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριστον τρόπον. Ἐπειτα συνεχῆ καὶ βεβαίαν τὴν χαρὰν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑπερφύα τινα θαυμαστὴν ἀκόλουθον εἶναι. Συνεχῆ μὲν ὅτι τοῖς τοῦ ποθομένου σύνεστιν ἐκάστοτε καὶ οἷς ἐντυγχάνει τὸν αἰετὸν χρόνον καὶ ἃ τῷ σώματι χρῆται καὶ ἃ λογίζεται καὶ δι' ὧν ὑφέστηκε καὶ οἷς ζῆ καὶ περίεστι καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἔχει καὶ γίνεται. Πάντα μὲν οἶδεν ἔργα Θεοῦ, πάντα δὲ αὐτῷ συνεχῆ· ὅθεν

As examples of henotic consummation with God, Cabasilas mentions the saints, who are perfect embodiments of charity. Cabasilas describes their perfection in ecstatic tones: in their love of God and neighbour the saints have, as it were, stepped out of themselves and overpassed their own needs and desires up to the point of letting go of consciousness of themselves (καθάπαξ ἑαυτῶν ἐξεληλυθότες καὶ μετενεγκόντες ἐτέρωθι τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἠγνόησαν). In a word, they have given themselves to God entirely.¹²⁹ Despite this mystical notion of “transcending oneself”, Cabasilas seems to promote the idea of intimacy of *henosis* rather than to highlight its profoundly ecstatic character. His intention is, firstly, illustrated in a comparison of the saint’s soul with a tool. By using the powers and faculties of his soul in an instrumental manner, man directs himself to the goal of life: living in a loving relationship with God. Thus, it is active love in itself that authenticates the process of becoming like God. Secondly, the non-ecstatic character of holiness and perfection is suggested by Cabasilas when he proposes the martyrs as the models of Christian ideal. Even in their sufferings they steadfastly remained in Christ. In other words, their example gives evidence of the inmost nature of Eucharistic *henosis*: man becoming more firmly attached to Christ than to himself.¹³⁰

πάντα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκείνου συντηρεῖ μνήμην, πάντα δὲ τὸ φίλτρον ἄσβεστον φυλάττει, πάντα δὲ τέρπει.” *De vita* VII, 56-57; “Διὰ ταῦτα τῷ φιλοθέῳ τῆς μὲν φύσεως πρὸς τὰ θεῖα μὴ μετασκευασθείσης μηδ’ ἀμειψθείσης ὥστε αὐτῷ φύσει ταῦτα προσγενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ θελήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μετενεχθείσης, οὐδὲν κωλύει τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χαρὰν ὀλόκληρον εἶναι καὶ ὡσπερ εἰ μετεσκευάσαστο.” *De vita* VII, 71; “χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὀρθοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων διαιτητάς, οὐς εἶναι χρὴ νομίσαι τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ ζῶντας, μὴ τὸν Θεὸν τῶν αὐτῶ προσηκόντων ἀποστερεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν εἰ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν ὃν ἀτελεῖ τῆ παρ’ ἡμῖν φιλοῦμεν ἀγάπη· ἀτελῶς δ’ ἂν φιλοῦμεν εἶ τι καὶ ἄλλο φιλοῦμεν, τὸ φίλτρον μερίζοντες. Ἐπει καὶ ὁ νόμος «Ἐξ ὅλης, φησί, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπήσεις».” *De vita* VII, 68.

¹²⁹ “Ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀγάπης δύναμις τοῖς ἐρώσιν οἰκεία τὰ τῶν φιλομένων οἶδε ποιεῖν· ἐπει δὲ ἡ τῆς θελήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας δύναμις τοῖς ἀγίοις εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνάλωται πᾶσα, μόνον ἐκείνον ἀγαθὸν οἰκείον ἠγοῦνται. Καὶ οὔτε σῶμα αὐτοὺς δύναται τέρπειν οὔτε ψυχὴ οὔτε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὰ, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν φύσει συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ δι’ ἑαυτοὺ φιλητὸν ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν καθάπαξ ἑαυτῶν ἐξεληλυθότες καὶ μετενεγκόντες ἐτέρωθι τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἠγνόησαν.” *De vita* VII, 63. Ks. myōs *De vita* VII, 41. The ethical and spiritual perfection of a saint culminates in likeness to God and conforming to his will. This becomes evident in the features Cabasilas stresses when describing the life of St. Theodora. Cf. *Laudatio sanctae myroblytidae Theodora* 16-19. PG 150, 768C-769C. Holiness of man is for Cabasilas the highest form of the life of the entire creation, both visible and invisible. The angels are thus inferior to men since as bodiless creatures they have no possibility to prove their moral perfection in the same way as men who battle with their physicality. *Epistula* 8, 36, 1-20. Here Cabasilas differs from Pseudo-Dionysius, who sees angelic purity as superior to that of men. Cabasilas can therefore be seen to be in line with Palamas, whose understanding of the incarnation gives a positive emphasis on materiality in general and points to its deification. Cf. J. Meyendorff 1964, 191.

¹³⁰ “[- -] ὁ φιλόθεος πᾶσαν ψυχῆς ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐνεγκῶν καὶ μηδὲν τῆ ψυχῆ καταλείψας, εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὅπως εὐ ἔχει ποιεῖται λόγον, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῷ ζῆτειν ἐκείνην καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἀγαθὰ ἀλλὰ τῷ φιλεῖν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου κηδεσθαι νόμων ὅπως σφίζονται· καθάπερ καὶ ὄργανον ποιούμενοι λόγον διὰ τὸ ἔργον, τῆς περιγίας διὰ τὴν ἄμαξαν, οὐ τὴν περιγίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄμαξαν ζητοῦμεν.” *De vita* VII, 65; “[- -] οὐκ ἀνοίξομεν τὸ στόμα πονηρᾶ γλώσσης, ἂν ἐν τῷ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχομεν καὶ οἶον τὸ τὴν γλώσσαν ταύτην φοιῖξαν αἷμα. Πῶς χρῆσόμεθα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφ’ ἃ μὴ δεῖ, μυστηρίων οὕτω φρικτῶν ἀπολελαυκόσιν; Οὐ κινήσομεν τοὺς πόδας, οὐκ ἐκτενοῦμεν χεῖρας ἐπὶ τι πονηρὸν, ἂν ἐνεργὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν περὶ τούτων ἔχομεν λόγον ὡς ἄρα Χριστοῦ μέλη ταῦτα καὶ ἱερά καὶ καθάπερ φιάλη τὸ ἐκείνου φέρουσιν αἷμα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλον αὐτὸν ἐνδεδυμένοι τὸν Σωτῆρα, οὐ καθάπερ ἱμάτιον οὐδ’ ὡσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ σύμφυτον δέρμα, ἀκείβεστερον δὲ τοσούτον ὅσον καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρμονιῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀστέων τὸ ἐνδυμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδεδυμένοις πολὺ συμπέφυκε μᾶλλον. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ δύναται ἂν τις καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἀποτεμῆν, τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς οὐχ

Cabasilas' understanding of mystical union with Christ is thus quite parallel with his description of *koinonia*. Unlike *koinonia*, however, he characterizes henotic union with Christ as more intense than man's connection to his limbs or bones. Can it then be deduced that *henosis* – or life in Christ – becomes ultimately true as an immaterial relation where the bodily essence of man loses its significance?

There are several reasons supporting the fundamental concreteness of the physical realism of Cabasilas' understanding of *henosis*. To begin with, one should not forget that his discussion of *henosis* is firmly anchored in Eucharistic corporealism. Cabasilas presumes that there is an act of physical consuming of the elements, which actually are the true body and blood of Christ. The connection between Christ and the faithful is grounded on the fact that the faithful Christian becomes a concrete vessel of the divine body and blood. Furthermore, the significance of physical communion is accentuated by Cabasilas' rhetorical question: what could be more holy than the body of man physically united with Christ?¹³¹ In addition, a number of insights in the past chapters have given evidence for the strong christological foundation of Cabasilas' thinking. Consequently, his understanding of *henosis* is grounded on the principle of *communicatio idiomatum*. This gives yet another proof for the importance of the physical aspect of becoming united with Christ. Deification is realized through participation in the divinized humanity of Christ. As a result, man becomes personally the embodiment of Christ's body and blood.¹³²

Briefly put, the Eucharistic meal provides man with the blessings of being in communion with God, bestowing divine love and blessings of grace on man.¹³³ This process is characterized by Cabasilas in the concepts of *koinonia* and *henosis*. In addition, Cabasilas' characterizations of *koinonia* and *henosis* are grounded on a Pauline heritage (e.g. symbolism of the head and the body, corporeal understanding of the *koinonia*). Interestingly, even though Cabasilas repeatedly relies on Pseudo-Dionysius in his liturgical symbolism, the same is not the case with his mystical Eucharistic thought. This

έκόντας είναι περιδύσαι τούς άπαξ ένδυσσάμενους, ού τών άνθρώπων, ού τών δαιμόνων. «ού τά ένεστώτα, φησι Παύλος, ού τά μέλλοντα, ούτε ύψωμα ούτε βάθος, ούτ' άλλη κτίσις έτέρα», καν όπωσούν δυνάμει κρατή. Τών γάρ του Χριστού μαρτύρων την μέν δοράν άποσύραι και περιελείν ό Ποιητός ίσχυσε ταις τών τυράννων χειρί, και κατατεμείν τά μέλη και όστά συντρίψαι και τάνδον έκχέαι και άνασπάσαι τά σαλλάγγνα· τό δ' ίμάτιον τούτο συλήσαι και του Χριστού γυμνώσαι τούς μακαρίους, τοσούτον έδέησε ταις έπινοίαις, ώστε πολύ μάλλον ή πρόσθεν δι' ών ήήθη περιδύσαι περιβαλών έλαθε.“ *De vita* VI, 20-21. Cf. *De vita* VI, 24. See also Chapter 3.2.2. where the *henosis* of the martyr and Christ, made evident in the relic, is discussed. Along with the martyrs, Cabasilas singles out the Apostle Paul and John the Baptist as exemplary people who fully carried out the will of God in their lives. *De vita* VII, 87-91.

¹³¹ “Τί ούν ίερώτερον γένοιτ' άν του σώματος τούτου, φ φυσικής συμφύιας άπάσης ό Χριστός έντέτηκε μάλλον;“ *De vita* VI, 22.

¹³² “Δεί τοίνυν και της σαρκός αυτόω μεταλαβείν και της θεώσεως μετασχείν [- -] κοινωνήσαι τον συναφθηναι ζητούνα.“ *De vita* II, 2; “[- -] και σώμα αυτούς και αίμα και Πνεύμα και τά αυτού πάντα κοινά ποιείται· τούτον γάρ τον τρόπον και άνέπλασε και ήλευθέρωσε και έθέωσε, τό ύγιά και έλευθρον και άληθινόν Θεόν έαυτόν ήμίν άναμίξας.“ *De vita* IV, 83.

¹³³ There are six focal points, according to Mantovanis, where Cabasilas' realistic understanding of the presence of Christ becomes evident, one of them being the corporealism of Christ in the communicant. The other points are: denial of the symbolic nature of Eucharistic elements, emphasis on the high-priestly ministry of Christ, emphasis on the importance of due preparation to communion, reference to the immediate presence of Christ in the bread and wine after the consecration, and an idea of physically transmitted sanctification from the priest's right hand after it has touched the consecrated elements. Mantovanis 1984, 191, 200.

indicates that Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought, especially the idea of real communion with Christ, is more influenced by biblical traditions and Early Christian sacramental realism than by neo-platonic tradition represented by Pseudo-Dionysius.¹³⁴ In addition, Cabasilas' descriptions of both *henosis* and its eschatological fullness evoke Gregory of Palamas' and Symeon the New Theologian's language of light and brightness as the main vision of union with God.¹³⁵

To summarize, Cabasilas does not, firstly, present *henosis* nor *koinonia* so much as a spiritual process – ascesis, purification and illumination – but instead he focuses on describing the nature of communion with Christ. This he calls life in Christ, which is expressed through the concepts of *koinonia* and *henosis*. Through these concepts Cabasilas explicates what he understands the renewed Christ-reality to be all about. Secondly, it can therefore be observed that Cabasilas' understanding of *henosis* and *koinonia* does not form a systematic construction where components would be chronologically or causally connected to each other. The constructive elements rather take effect simultaneously as a whole. Cabasilas then delineates the highest plane of spiritual life which synthesizes the various aspects of henotic *koinonia* with and in Christ. Due to this non-systematic

¹³⁴ Nellas observes: "The doctrine of Deification subsequently saw a great and distinguished development as a genuine expression of Orthodox Christianity, and St Gregory Palamas upheld it most clearly and developed it admirably in confronting the Arianising heresy that man is united with created grace. Kavasilas was in complete agreement with Palamas, but at the same time he brought the Apostle Paul's terminology back to the forefront of theology and, taking it further, interpreted deification as true and real *Christification*." Nellas 1996, 13. Similarly, Lot-Borodine sees that Cabasilas reconstructs the Pauline tenet of the mystical body, a teaching that had been in oblivion for some time. In addition to his emphasis on communality, Cabasilas highlights the importance for each Christian to personally experience union with Christ. Lot-Borodine 1958, 113. Even though Cabasilas clearly is not closely connected with Pseudo-Dionysius' neo-platonic symbolism, he nonetheless repeatedly refers to his great predecessor. Relying on Pseudo-Dionysius might, at least partly, result from a conviction that the author in case is the Dionysius mentioned in the Acts. Consequently, together with the Pauline writings the *Corpus Dionysiaca* would then belong to the most ancient – practically New Testamental – material on the liturgy known to Cabasilas. Apart from Pseudo-Dionysius, there are very few patristic references in Cabasilas' writings. He once refers to Ignatius of Antioch (*De vita* I, 4) and a few times to John Chrysostom and Basil the Great. References to the two last-mentioned fathers are in all likelihood explained by their traditional status as the authors of the Divine Liturgy. Due to his connection to the apostolic age, Ignatius is for Cabasilas an indisputable early Christian authority. The fact that Cabasilas builds upon the oldest authorities known by him coheres with the supposition that he is intentionally cautious about explicitly associating himself with the protagonists (e.g. Gregory Palamas) of the theological disputes of his time.

¹³⁵ The theme of light in hesychastic mysticism is connected by Palamas to eschatology by an analogy of the light of Tabor with the inner illumination of man through prayer. Both of these are identified with eschatological transfiguration. Therefore, the perfect eternal light is already partaken of in the present age. The day of full revelation of the divine light and brightness is characterised by Palamas in a similar manner to Cabasilas. According to Palamas, Christ descends on earth brightly like a shining sun. The righteous also shine like suns. Christ then deifies the children of the resurrection, bringing them into eternal *koinonia* with him. J. Meyendorff observes that it is typical of Palamas' eschatology that there is in this life a realized eschatology, which is transmitted through the mysteries – and the Eucharist especially – as real, sanctifying grace which concretely changes man. Thus, the Eucharist provides participation in the Kingdom of God, even though in a veiled experience. J. Meyendorff 1964, 194-195. Cf. also Lossky 1974, 45-69. Experience of uncreated divine light forms the basis also for the 11th century Symeon the New Theologian's entire spirituality. The theme of light, which he connects with theology of the sacraments, prayer and eschatology alike, is the dominant feature in his mystical writings. Hussey 1972, 135-136; Krivocheine 1986, 215-238.

approach, Cabasilas does not analytically define and specify *koinonia* and *henosis*. Their description consists in shifting from features belonging to one conceptual category to features of the other category. In a word, his rationalizations are not very clear. Such approach may well be a result of the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition in which aspects of communion with Christ are not very much theoretically reconstructed but rather seen as signs of the integral process of deification.¹³⁶

Even though concepts such as *henosis* and *koinonia* can be used to express essential aspects of man's spiritual progress and relation with God, they remain but partial and imperfect expressions of the full scope of God-man relationship. The life in Christ – experienced as communion and union with the divine – is defined by Cabasilas as a temporal reality. What it longs for is the future perfection of heavenly banquet pictured in Cabasilas' eschatological vision.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, communion with God through Eucharistic participation in the present is a prerequisite for receiving an invitation to the feast in God's Kingdom in the future. The Eucharist then truly turns out to be the final mystery, since its full effect takes place in the age to come when man is crowned as Christ's co-ruler of the Kingdom of God.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Lot-Borodine has also observed that the overall picture of Cabasilas' mystical thinking is blurred. She argues that this results from the incoherence of Cabasilas' mystical writings which aim to cover a vast number of aspects at the same time. Lot-Borodine 1958, 108. Instead of considering the blurriness of Cabasilas as a fault of logic, it can also be taken as a natural consequence of an Eastern Christian non-conceptual approach to spirituality. For example, teaching on deification is generally presented in a holistic manner. Consequently, even if theosis can be seen both as *koinonia* and *henosis*, there is no sharp distinction between between these aspects. More than distinct categories of spiritual stages, they rather are natural consequences of the effect of grace in man due to the process of deification. Besides, *henosis* and *koinonia* are used as synonyms for theosis. A Monk of the Eastern Church 1945, 22; J. Meyendorff 1962, 71; Ware 1963, 236-237.

¹³⁷ “βασιλείαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν ἀκτίνα καλῶν ἐκείνην, καθ’ ἣν ὠφθη μὲν αὐτὸς λάμπων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, «τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ», καθάπερ αὐτὸς φησί, «ἐηλυθυϊαν ἐν δυνάμει» θεασαμένοις [- -]. Ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος οὗτος, τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐνθένδεν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ταύτης, ἐκεῖ κομίζοντες ἤξουσι, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τότε φανείται πᾶσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ δεῖξει τὴν ὄραν ἀνατολῆ καὶ δύσει δίκην ἀστραπῆς ἐν μιᾷ χρόνου ῥοπῇ.” *De vita* IV, 102; “Μία μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῆς τραπέζης δύναμις, εἰς δὲ ὁ ἐστιῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν κόσμων· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ νυμφῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὸν νυμφῶνα παρασκευή, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ νυμφίος [- -]. Οἷς δὲ ὑπῆρξε καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ σῶσαι, καὶ «εἰς τὴν χαρὰν εἰσηλθόν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν» καὶ τῷ νυμφίῳ συνεισηλθόν εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπῆλυσαν τῆς ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ τρυφῆς, οὐ τηνικαῦτα τυχόντες, ἀλλ’ ὁ κομίζοντες ἦλθον, τοῦτου διαδειχθέντος καθαρώτερον αἰσθανόμενοι. Καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος, καθ’ ὃν «ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν.» *De vita* IV, 109. See also *Sacrae liturgiae* XIII, 6. Orientation towards the age to come is according to Lot-Borodine (1958, 116-117) characteristic to Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought. The Eucharist is a foretaste of final consummation. Nellas describes Cabasilas' thought in a similar manner: “The true axis on which all truths of faith, spiritual life and all ecclesial realities are positioned by the Orthodox tradition is the axis of Creation-Deification (or 'Kingdom of God', or 'fulfillment of the purpose of creation', or whatever else we may call it).” Nellas 1996, 11. See also Tsirpanlis s.a., 86.

¹³⁸ “[- -] οὐ βασκαίνοντα τοῖς δούλοις εἰ τῆς λαμπρότητος κοινωνήσει, οὐδ’ ἡγούμενον ἐλάττω τὴν δόξαν ἐαντῷ ποιήσῃ εἰ τῆς βασιλείας πολλοὺς λήψαιτο μερίτας· καθάπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ κρατοῦντες τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα κἀν πάντα δῶσι, τῶν σκήπτρων οὐδ’ ὄναρ ἀνέχονται κοινωνεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς δούλοις προσέχει, οὐδὲ τιμᾷ δούλων τιμαῖς· φίλους δὲ ἡγούμενος καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς φιλίας σφῶζων, ὁ γε θεὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα ποιεῖται καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντήν, αὐτὸ δίδοσι τὸ διάδημα. Καὶ πρὸς τί γὰρ ἄλλο βλέπων ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος «κληρονόμους μὲν εἶναι φησὶ Θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμους δὲ Χριστοῦ» καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ «συμβασιλεύειν» τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν δυσχερῶν;” *De vita* VI, 23-24.

5.6. CONCLUSION: MAN BECOMES GOD

In Cabasilas, the spiritual zenith in the Eucharist is reached through personal participation in the consequences of the mystery of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Based on a Eucharistic reading of christological perichoresis, Cabasilas maintains that Christ bestows sanctifying divine grace on those who receive his sacramental body and blood. The mutual interchange of properties that took place between the two natures in Christ is in the Eucharist taken to the level of personal encounter between Christ and the faithful. In other words, the effect of the redemptive theocentric operation on the whole human race in the incarnation is laid bare in its full impact in the Eucharistic mystery. Communing the true body and blood of Christ transforms the human nature of the recipient into the likeness of the divine nature of Christ.

In actual fact, Cabasilas understands deification to equal christification. Becoming Christ-like is depicted by him by means of two central concepts: communion (*koinonia*) and union (*henosis*) with Christ. Furthermore, Cabasilas describes deification as unification of will and heart of man with the divine will and heart of Christ. The result of such unification is “life in Christ”, as Cabasilas calls it. Life in Christ as the most perfect expression of life of a Christian reaches its climax in unqualified love of God and one’s neighbours. In keeping with hesychastic spirituality, Cabasilas stresses that incessant prayer is a salient maintainer and deepener of the communion with God established in the Eucharist. The themes of preparation and spiritual growth enhance the realism of Cabasilas’ Eucharistic thought.

There are three focal perspectives in the above delineation of the spiritual culmination of the Eucharist that illuminate the theme of the presence of God. Firstly, sacramental and ascetic life is understood by Cabasilas as prerequisites for Eucharistic communion with Christ, and for the spiritual perfection that may follow from it. The realism of the transformative effect of the sacraments of initiation speaks to the sacramental and practical Christian life as being permeated by the influence and, consequently, presence of God. Except for the true participation in the divine grace of the mysteries of baptism and chrismation as concrete grace-transmitting acts, the manner of this form of presence is realised more on the noetic rather than on the concrete level.

Secondly, based on an incarnational reading of the effects of the Eucharist, Cabasilas describes the divine presence in collective or ecclesial terms. He maintains that it is humanity as a whole that was adopted by Christ in his nativity. Understanding of collective assumption of humanity in Christ thus prevails in the Eucharistic liturgy. As members of the Body of Christ, the faithful are impregnated by the presence of Christ, the Head of his mystical Body who transmits life to the members of his body.

Thirdly, Cabasilas’ description of *koinonia* between men and God inevitably points to the divine presence, namely that of Christ, in man. This manner of presence is manifested not only collectively, but also personally, each member of the faithful being introduced to communion with Christ through Eucharistic participation in his body and blood. Eucharistic communion takes place as a dynamic *koinonia*, in which properties of the divine nature of Christ and the human nature of the faithful interchange. As a result, the very being of the faithful is changed and transformed into the likeness of God. This

clearly could not take place without Christ concretely working in man through his grace, for example, by being vividly present in man through reception of his body and and blood.

Through communion man becomes so closely united with Christ that Christ is actually closer to man than man to his own heart. The intimacy of such a relationship is, firstly, depicted by Cabasilas as an adoption and spiritual birth, through which Christ makes men children of God the Father. Secondly, the presence of Christ in man leads to unification of man's heart and will to those of Christ. Consequently, divine life is transmitted from the heart of Christ to the heart of man. This imagery of sharing of life serves as a profound vision of the depth of presence of Christ in man. Furthermore, these kinds of mystical – yet realistic – portrayals of the Eucharist-engendered relationship between man and Christ show how concretely Cabasilas understands the effect of *henosis*, union with Christ.

Cabasilas' explications of the mystical reality of the Eucharist, the inner personal experience of joint synaxis, provide a foundation for our remarks concerning liturgical symbolism. Symbolism provides for Cabasilas the means to re-enact the life of Christ through liturgical representation. Based on the information gathered in Chapters 4 and 5 it can be concluded that representative symbolism does not necessarily blur the vision of the Eucharistic nucleus of the liturgy, unlike the critics of liturgical symbolism claim. Like meditation and prayer, as Cabasilas speaks of them in relation to Eucharistic mystical experience, liturgical symbolism can be understood to function as a means of orienting man towards God: to realisation of his presence in the first place and, finally, to communion and union with Christ. In conjunction with symbolism, the mystical depiction of the effects of Eucharistic communion leads to a deeply experienced transformative meeting with God as the outcome of Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought.

In addition, mystical delineations seem to strengthen, not diffuse, the current of realism in Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought. Through partaking in the Eucharistic elements, the divinised humanity of Christ is concretely participated in. As a consequence, man becomes like Christ and is made into the likeness of God. Life in Christ as the spiritual culmination of man is in this age most perfectly expressed as concretely serving and loving other people. Determining that loving activity as the deepest form of mystical christification epitomises the concreteness of Cabasilas' perception of the Eucharist: if man truly partakes of the body and blood of Christ and becomes like Christ, he surely lives and acts like Christ. In other words, man as a concrete expression of the anthropocentric element becomes wholly penetrated by the theocentric, thus manifesting in himself presence of the divine objective of human existence. Consequently, the Eucharistic experience of partaking in the divine is most fully lived in a true manner by extending the experience beyond the boundaries of celebration of the holy rite. Experiences of God's presence and communion with him turn into concrete manifestations of love. The Eucharistic liturgy paves the way for the "liturgy after liturgy", living the love-filled life in Christ.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, firstly, the general features of the Eucharistic teaching of Nicholas Cabasilas are laid bare. Secondly, different aspects seen in his understanding of the manifestations of the divine presence in the liturgy are summarised. Further, the outcomes of the investigation of the interconnections between the Greek and Latin Eucharistic doctrines and practices will be presented. Finally, Cabasilas' contribution to the modern discussion on Orthodox liturgical understanding will be evaluated.

6.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF NICHOLAS CABASILAS

Liturgical reading of the Eucharist

Cabasilas perceives the Eucharist primarily through its liturgical context. It is the Eucharistic synaxis as an entirety that provides the framework for his Eucharistic theology. Linkage with the synaxis is so crucial to Cabasilas that his Eucharistic theology cannot be comprehended apart from the liturgical setting of the Eucharist. He presents Eucharistic doctrine not by basing it on conceptualisations of sacramental theology but by “reading” it from the bountiful fabric of the Byzantine liturgy – texts, hymns, operation, gestures.

Such an orientation explains the importance of liturgical symbolism in Cabasilas' thought. For him the representation of life of Christ through liturgical symbols provides in the present a transition to the orbit of the great events of the history of salvation. Furthermore, the re-enactment of the past culminates in actualisation of the unequalled sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross.

Cabasilas affiliates with the mystagogical tradition of the Christian East. This alliance becomes evident especially in his emphasis on the representative relation of the outward form of the rite with the past events of the history of salvation.

Realism pointed out by symbolism

Symbolic interpretation of the liturgy is not for Cabasilas an element of divergence from the realism of sacrifice as the Eucharistic nucleus of the liturgy. Quite the opposite, the symbolism *de facto* points to the truly-present Christ as the heart of the Eucharist. Transformation of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ is identified by Cabasilas as the main act of the liturgy. The transformation demonstrates that Christ is present in reality; his precious body and blood are truly on the altar table. In experiencing the presence of Christ, Cabasilas prioritises concrete participation in him: partaking of the body and blood of Christ.

It is only in connection with the actualisation of the sacrifice of Christ as the main act of the Eucharistic synaxis that the liturgical symbolism of Cabasilas becomes comprehensible. Therefore, symbolism functions as a stretching out towards the real presence of Christ and, finally, participation in him. Figure 5 portrays the interconnection of representation and participation in Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought.

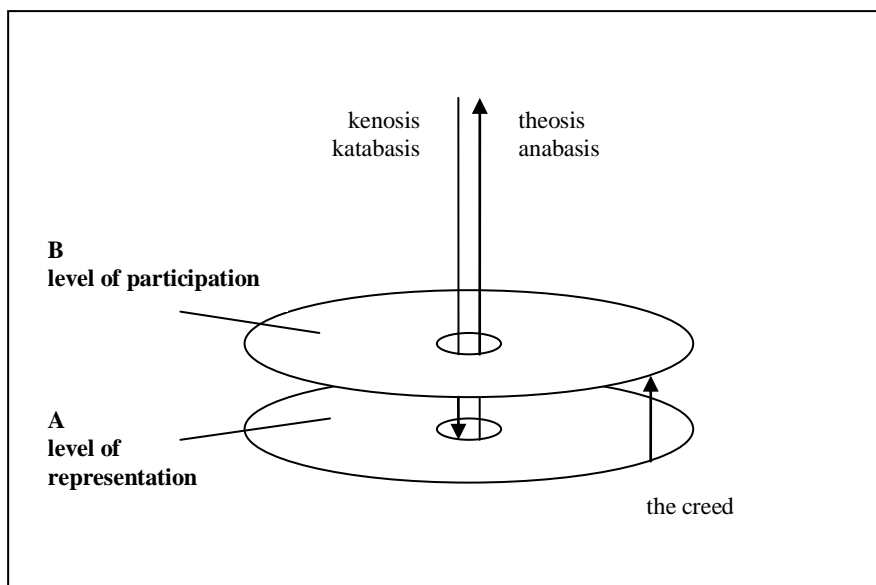


FIGURE 5: Relation of representation and participation in the liturgy

Concretely, the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist actualises within the representative overall construction of the liturgy, manifested by the prevailing liturgical symbolism. The creed represents for Cabasilas the hermeneutical turning point from which point forward the liturgical experience is no longer centred around representative symbolism (level A), but attention is now directed towards actualisation of the true presence of Christ and becoming a participant in it (level B). In short, what was represented by symbolism becomes present; Jesus Christ is on the altar as sacrificed Lamb of God, and as such is distributed to the faithful.

The two arrows piercing levels A and B in Figure 5 indicate, firstly, actualisation of Christ's presence in the Eucharist and, secondly, the effects of participating in him. The actualisation of the consequences of Christ's kenosis in the liturgy, his katabatic Eucharistic descent, provides the basis of theosis and anabasis for man.

Incarnation as the model of the Eucharistic presence of Christ

In his explanation of the manner of transformation of the elements Cabasilas adumbrates the soteriological implications of the kenosis of Christ. He adapts a christological

standpoint in explicating the manner of the change: the Eucharistic miracle takes place in a similar manner as the coalescence of the two natures of Christ in the incarnation, the divine nature perfecting the human one. Likewise, when the bread and the wine (as typifications of humanity) are consecrated, they turn into the body and blood of Christ. Furthermore, partaking of the consecrated elements leads into the sanctifying and mystical presence of Christ in man.

Consecrative words of institution and Epiclesis

When presenting his views on the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic bread and wine, Cabasilas resorts to traditional conceptions and terminology of the Christian East. He understands the sacrifice on Golgotha as a unique sacrifice which, however, is in the Eucharistic liturgy made present. The becoming present of the sacrifice is bound by him to the act of transformation, which he identifies as the work, in co-operation, of the Son and the Holy Spirit. While he emphasises the centrality of the epiclesis, thus committing to the pneumatocentric understanding of the consecration, he nevertheless stresses the influence of the High Priestly ministry of Christ on the consecration as well. A christocentric understanding of the change is most plainly articulated in connection with his interpretation of the prayer *Supplices te rogamus* of Missale Romanum.

Cabasilas ends up claiming that in the liturgy Jesus Christ is the officiating minister, the altar upon which the offering is made and the sacrifice itself. Thus, Christ offers himself, receives the offering and distributes himself to the faithful. Consequently, both Christ and the Spirit are actively involved in the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. However, from the perspective of distributing assignments between the two divine agents, it remains somewhat unclear exactly how they contribute to the change. Evidently Cabasilas keeps to the Eastern conviction of the epiclesis as an essential element of consecration. At the same time his christocentric statements suggest that there are significant points of convergence with both the Latin understanding of the change (centred on the words of institution) and the Logos-epiclesis tradition of the early Christian liturgical ethos.

Communion as christification

Eucharistic participation in Christ occurs by receiving the consecrated elements, and his presence becomes manifested within man. In his descriptions of the inner presence of Christ in man, Cabasilas relies on the doctrine of deification. He particularly takes advantage of the concepts of *koinonia* and *henosis*. *Koinonia* is defined by him as “sharing of the one and the same thing.” In the context of the Eucharist the one thing shared is, of course, the divine nature of Christ. This is illustrated in Cabasilas’ clarification of *koinonia* on the grounds of christological perichoresis: the idea of mutual interchange of properties of the two natures. When it comes to *henosis*, Cabasilas perceives it as mystical union in which man is united with Christ in such intimacy that Christ is more close to man than man is to himself. In the depths of *henosis* the human will and heart unite with those of Christ. Cabasilas’ understanding of *henosis* can be classified as *christification*: through Eucharistic communion man becomes like Christ, sharing his life and operation. Additionally, in his emphasis on the heart as the spiritual centre of man and the main

point of contact with God, Cabasilas unites himself with the patristic tradition of mysticism of the heart. It is possible to maintain the state of christification if one's heart is in constant communion with Christ through unceasing prayer.

In his descriptions of participation in Christ, Cabasilas stresses the idea of the concreteness of corporeal communion. The Eucharist takes effect in man in a highly realistic manner. The bases of sacramental and mystical realism are established by Cabasilas, on the one hand, on his conviction regarding the holy table as the premise of the sacramentality of the Eucharistic synaxis. The altar as an authentically existent symbol is a physical reminder of the continuous presence of Christ in a church. The altar embodies Christ's sanctifying grace and power to make men divine. On the other hand, the significance Cabasilas attaches to the relic within the holy altar truly enables us to understand Cabasilas' realistic implications of Eucharistic *koinonia*. The relic is a corporeal sign and evidence of union between man and God, the very culmination offered for man for partaking of the Eucharist. Furthermore, the status of the holy table as *topos* of the permanent presence of Christ is emphasised by observation of Cabasilas' thought on the thanksgiving on behalf of the saints. In the saints, deification has become concrete. A relic of a saint witnesses to the ultimate perfection of man and makes it concretely present in the church. In other words, men are in the Eucharistic synaxis invited to partake in the reality which at the same time is constantly present in the church due to the relic embedded in the altar.

Even though *henosis* clearly means for Cabasilas the culmination of man's spiritual life, he does not understand *henosis* to be so much an ecstatic and mystic state (despite the fact that it evidently is experienced in that manner also), as an expression of active love which is oriented outward toward the neighbour. Love towards one's fellow men is a sign and consequence of the most perfect union with Christ. Orthopraxis thus unites the premises of spiritual culmination of Eucharistic communion with *henosis*. The practical phase of spiritual life (*praksis*) is traditionally characterised by obligation and necessity. Cabasilas, however, associates *praksis* with spiritual perfection, characterised by free acts of perfect love. To put it in conventional terminology, *praksis* is for Cabasilas penetrated by *theoria*.

Therefore, a spiritually and existentially experienced intimate relation with Christ finds an expression in charitable activity, inspired by love of God. It could even be claimed that Cabasilas suggests that Christ enters man and establishes a union with him in order to make men more closely connected with each other. This idea is supported by the ecclesiological implications of Cabasilas' understanding of the Eucharistic *koinonia*. In addition to union with Christ, the Eucharistic banquet comes to fruition also as a communion of the faithful of all times.

Eucharist as recapitulation of God's outreach to man

The Eucharist proves to be for Cabasilas the heart of Christian spirituality and the centre of the life of the church. Human life and fulfilment of human spiritual ambition are given meaning by the Eucharist. Consequently, the liturgy could be characterised as an event of the conclusive meeting point between man and God. Everyone is invited to be included in the renewed humanity brought about by Jesus Christ through Eucharistic communion.

The liturgy is not, based on Cabasilas' thought, a springboard to mystical ecstasy exclusively for the purified and enlightened, but an inclusive synaxis of the entire Body of Christ, the holy and the sinful alike. Cabasilas is a spokesman for "lay mysticism". In the Eucharist Christ gives himself for those who come to meet him and unites men to himself – if they only have earnestly pursued communion with him and want to be saved.

Cabasilas anchors the Eucharist both in history and in eschatology. The incarnation of the Logos, institution of the Eucharist, crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the morning of resurrection are the central landmarks in history. The Eucharistic liturgy re-enacts the historical realities of those events, thus enabling human beings to fully partake of their spiritual, soteriological and cosmic resonance. Even though the Eucharistic synaxis takes place in time, it surpasses it and provides participation in the great events of history of salvation. It is not, therefore, an overstatement to say that the liturgy is for Cabasilas a comprehensive Christ-Event which is filled to the core by his presence and operation. This is exemplified in the following figure.

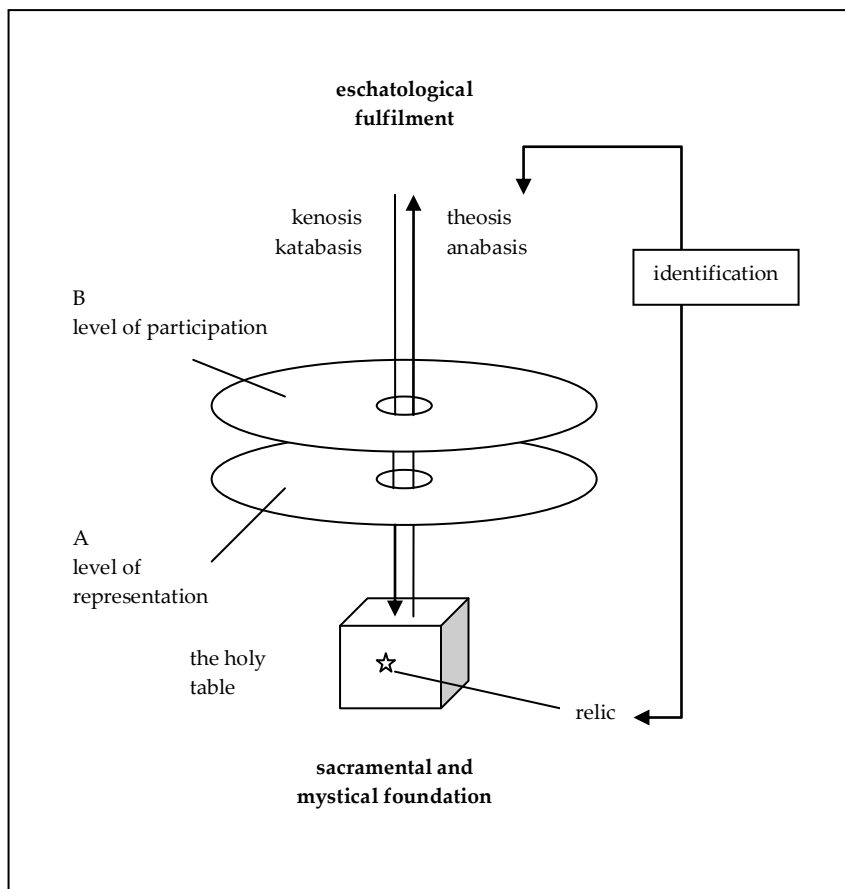


FIGURE 6: Liturgy as manifestation of deification

The arrows in the figure depict the kenosis of Christ and the deification of man. The representative (A) and participatory (B) levels of the liturgy are pierced by the arrows which begin and end at the spiritual and sacramental foundations of the Eucharistic synaxis. The relic in the altar table, on the one hand, forms a sacramental and mystical foundation for the spiritual yearning of man for communion with God, participation in him through the body and blood of Christ. On the other hand, the eschatological fullness is the ultimate end of the anabasis of man, thus serving as an overriding principle for the liturgy. As a matter of fact, the relic of a saint speaks to the eschatological reality, already present in the community that celebrates the Eucharist. Therefore, the two ends of the arrows actually are expressions of the one and the same reality, yet at different levels of realisation.

The above summary of the findings of the present study can be considered from the perspective of the dynamic interdependence between God's manifestation and its human reception. The dynamics of anthropocentric affirmation of theocentrism was taken as a guiding perspective in structuring Cabasilas' thought on the divine presence. From the perspective of creation, the theocentric principle becomes expressed in God's outreach from his extra-temporal being to the temporal, from the sphere of uncreatedness to the creation. Such movement is represented and actualised in the Eucharistic synaxis as Cabasilas understands it. He clearly maintains that man is called to subjectively react to the divine impetus. In other words, a complete manifestation of humanity necessitates that the objective manifestation of God is subjectively received. Consequently, the energy of God *ad extra* finds its ultimate purpose in human response which enables the encountering of anthropocentrism with theocentrism. Cabasilas' mystical Eucharistic depictions strongly speak for fundamentality of such an encounter: God approaches man so that man can become god. The human mode of being is then accustomed to the divine mode of being. The objective becomes subjectively assimilated when man configures his being on the theocentric bases. A tendency towards personal and subjective anthropocentric affirmation of theocentrism of reality is a prevailing underlying trend in Cabasilas' explications on the theme of presence of God.

6.2. THE THEME OF DIVINE PRESENCE IN NICHOLAS CABASILAS

The theme of divine presence is manifested in the Eucharistic theology of Cabasilas in different ways. Two central expressions of the divine presence are, firstly, the level of representative presence of the life of Jesus Christ in liturgical symbolism and, secondly, a belief in the true somatic presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements. These levels constitute in Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought the primary perspectives on the theme of the divine presence. Yet, in liturgical symbolism there are several classes of manifestations of the presence of God. These modes can be presented in the following eight classes:

1. Liturgy as general manifestation of presence of the divine
2. Anamnetic presence of God
3. Symbolic presence of God

4. Sacramental presence of Christ in the *myron* and in the holy table
5. Presence of Christ in the celebrant
6. Real presence of Christ in the elements of Eucharist
7. Operational presence of God
8. Presence of Christ within man

The classification is based on the specific descriptions in the concluding remarks of chapters three, four and five. Instead of repeating here what has already been said, a compact analysis of the essentials of each of the groups is given, with a special emphasis on their relation to the other groups.

Classes 1, 2 and 3 reveal the nature and task of the liturgical symbolism of Cabasilas. For him the liturgy as a whole aims to promote in man an awareness of God. This takes place by a person's awakening to the basic atmosphere of the Divine Liturgy: it is an event permeated by divine presence. Becoming "liturgically" and "eucharistically" conscious in this manner, however, needs to be supported by sacramental and practical Christian life. Without this, man is not capable of either reaching full communion with God or realising in full the manifested presence of God in the liturgy.

Classes 2, 3 and 4 of the divine presence (anamnetic, symbolic and sacramental) are visible and in some cases even concretised forms of manifestations of the presence of the divine in the Eucharistic synaxis. Cabasilas maintains that the great redemptive deeds of God in history are re-enacted in the liturgy, which then becomes an anamnetic event of commemoration and representation of the divine economy. The focus of the liturgy (with regard to the economy of salvation) is on Jesus Christ. Despite his strong christocentric stress, Cabasilas also pays attention to trinitarian and pneumatological symbolism (e.g. doxologies and epiclesis).

The chants, liturgical actions (e.g. entrances) and concrete elements or objects (e.g. *zeon* and the spear) serve to make the past present for the faithful gathered in the liturgy. Cabasilas gives the textual element of the rite priority over other measures of symbolic re-enactment. The majority of textual interpretations are supported by various operational or other symbols. There are, however, occasional non-textual symbols as well (e.g. *zeon*) which exist so that the fullness of the revelation of Christ can be manifested. Regarding the divine presence, neither the text nor liturgical actions and gestures make God present by definition. They serve to create an environment of closeness to God by arousing the faithful to bring God and his operation to mind.

In addition to creating an atmosphere of the presence of the divine by representational and anamnetic symbols, the liturgy embodies more concrete manifestations of the presence of God as well. These manifestations reveal the sacramental presence of Christ as an expression of the divine presence. Distinct from the anamnetic and symbolic presence (classes 2 and 3), the sacramental presence of Christ can be classified as an ontologically identical symbol. The *myron* used in consecration of the altar table is a symbol belonging to this category. Further, the presence of Christ is ontologically identified and concretely manifested through the consecrated altar table.

Class 5 introduces man, represented by the priest, as an agent of manifestation of the divine presence. Consecration of the Eucharistic elements is, according to Cabasilas,

accomplished by the Spirit through the hand and tongue of the priest. For the most part, the divine operation funnelled by the priest is explained by Cabasilas as taking place due to the identification of the priest with Jesus Christ. Consequently, it is not the priest but Christ himself who actually performs the consecration of the gifts. Due to a double linkage of the priestly ministry with divine operation, the priest can be said to be a sacramental representative of both the Spirit and Christ whose transformative presence is expressed through him.

In the latter part of Cabasilas' interpretation of the rite of the liturgy, symbolism fades and the realism of the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements receives more attention. It can be stated in conclusion, without exaggeration, that divine presence is tangibly expressed as the complete presence of Christ. The rite culminates with the transformation of the Eucharistic gifts into the true body and blood of Christ. There is a radical difference between symbolic representation of the life of Christ and the ontological presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements. It can be clearly seen that Cabasilas understands the Eucharistic miracle as a factual event, unlike the various liturgical symbolic representations included in the rite.

This aspect of the concrete, if not corporeal, the presence of Christ allows for a clarifying distinction in the category of "true presence of God" in Cabasilas' understanding of the Eucharist. There can be seen, on the one hand, an aspect of non-ontological, yet true, presence attached to his interpretation (exemplified mainly by the categories of anamnestic and symbolic presence of God, and to some extent by sacramental presence as well). True presence is manifested by Cabasilas mainly through his liturgical symbolism, which makes God an object of commemoration, prayers and inner spiritual striving of man. Through the symbols, the presence of the divine is circumscribed and communion for man to partake. Despite the actuality of the presence of God in and through those expressions and other non-ontological but true manifestations, the divine presence is then true rather in the inner experience of the faithful. That is, the presence of God is felt and experienced but is not objectively demarcated. The other kind of presence becomes manifest through transformation of the gifts into the body and blood of Christ. This change alters the nature of the entire synaxis: Christ's presence is revealed in a realistic manner. Immaterial layers of anamnesis and symbolism are then permeated with the real presence of Christ in the concrete elements of bread and wine. In other words, Christ becoming present through the transformation of the gifts is not a portrayal of his historical sacrifice. It is a repetition of the very sacrifice on the cross itself. If this were not the case, the liturgy would be nothing but a religious play.

The substantiality of the manner of presence in class 7, divine operation in the liturgy, is evident in relation to results in classes 4, 5 and 6. After all, it is the grace of Christ in the chrism that enables man to consecrate the altar; the Spirit generates the ecclesial fellowship between the members of the Body of Christ; the Spirit and Christ fulfil the Eucharistic offering; and it is Christ himself who expresses his presence through identification with the bread and the wine on the altar. Thus, the presence of God is manifested in the thought of Cabasilas as operational divine presence. Consequently, the transformation of the elements (and the real presence of Christ in them as a result) is

brought about by a dynamic divine act. In no uncertain terms Cabasilas claims that there is nothing that man can contribute to this and other divine acts.

So far the classes of the divine presence have made the theme evident mainly as an objective reality for man. God's presence is manifested and detected in the Eucharistic synaxis as something that man can relate with outside himself. Perception of the priest as embodiment of divine presence, however, gives another perspective on the central theme: man being the container of the divine presence. The same is true with class 8, that of the presence of Christ within man. As a consequence of Eucharistic communion with Christ, man becomes in himself a form of manifestation of divinity. The relic within the altar table already witnesses to that reality even before the opening doxology of the liturgy is proclaimed. One could even say that Cabasilas bases the entire Eucharistic liturgy on the mystical union between man and Christ. The presence of Christ in man as "his second self", as Cabasilas puts it, is described as dynamic *koinonia*: the properties of the divine nature of Christ and the human nature of the communicant interchange. As a result, the faithful communicant is transformed into the likeness of God.

Cabasilas understands the presence of Christ in man to take place so intimately that Christ can be said to be closer to man than man is to his own heart. This union is depicted by Cabasilas, firstly, as an adoption and spiritual birth, and, secondly, as unification of the heart and the will of man with the heart and the will of Christ. In other words, through partaking of the body and blood of Christ man is led into incorporation with Christ. The mystical culmination of the Eucharistic rite thus ends with *christification*.

In the following figure the different classes of the divine presence are situated according to intensity of presence they manifest and in relation to the dynamics of separation-identification.

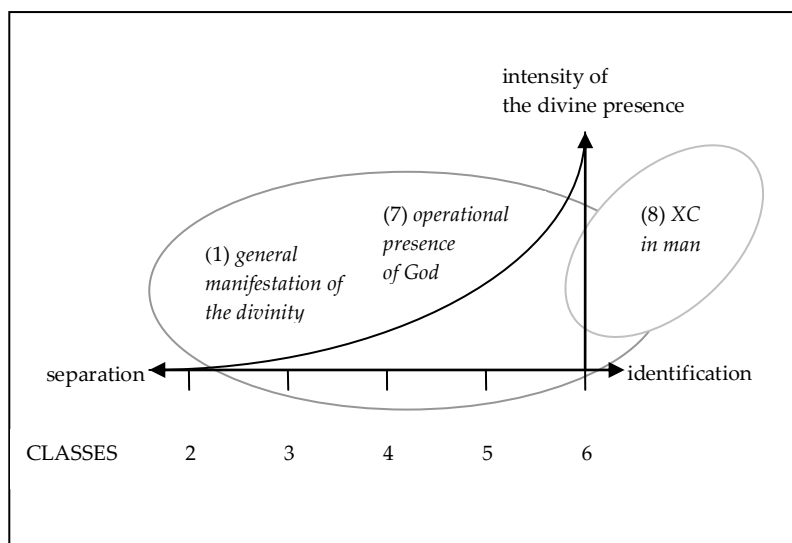


FIGURE 7: Intensity of manifestation of the divine presence

The point of Figure 7 is to put in graphic terms the point that the stronger the identification with the divine is, the more intense is the capability to manifest the presence of the divine. Presence manifested by sensual and connotative symbols that fall into the categories of anamnetic (2) and symbolic (3) presence are situated close to the separation end of the separation-identification span. The sacramental presence of Christ (4) and the divine presence embodied in the priest (5) are more intense expressions of the presence of God, located closer to the identification end of the spectrum. The Eucharistic elements as the embodiment of presence of Christ (6) are the most intense symbol from the aspect of ontological identification with its reference. Consequently, divine presence is emphatically manifested through the Eucharistic bread and wine.

The two ovals explicate the noetic and mystical aspects of presence of the divine in the Eucharistic liturgy. Together with the general manifestation of divinity (1), the operational presence of God (7) can be said to permeate the entire synaxis. The liturgy is an event of divine presence and makes the divine operation evident for the participants. These two classes of the divine presence cannot be assigned to specific symbols or parts of the rite. Conversely, they are the necessity that fundamentally constitutes the liturgy as an event of divine-human dynamics. Despite their character as noetic foundations, certain symbols or other manifestations of the presence of the divine may well highlight these aspects of presence during the liturgy. For instance, the presence of Christ and the Spirit in the priest manifests the divine operation.

The mystical aspect of the experienced presence of God is typified by the other oval, which situates the presence of Christ in man (8). Man becomes personally an ontological base for experiencing the presence of the divine. The dynamics of the separation and identification spectrum can be taken as analogous to the tension between *koinonia* and *henosis*. In the mystical union man can be said to be assimilated into God (*henosis*). Yet, Cabasilas does not suggest that the deified human characteristics would abolish the ontological boundary between God and man. Consequently, the mystical presence of Christ in man ultimately takes place as true *koinonia*, sharing of one and the same thing by two subjects.

When the findings on the theme of the divine presence are viewed against the background of the general view of the Eucharistic theology of Cabasilas, his thought can be characterised as symbolic and realistic. Such definition, firstly, expresses his predilection for symbolic interpretation of the liturgy and its prevalence. Secondly, the description conveys his realistic approach to the sacramental nucleus of the Eucharist: Christ being present in reality in the Eucharistic bread and wine. Finally, the definition reveals the inner dynamics of the thought of Cabasilas on the Eucharist. In spiritual and liturgical terms there prevails in his thought the inner tendency from symbolic towards the content, from the objective representation towards subjective participation in God. This spiritual journey comes to its conclusion in a transformation of perspective. Man no longer is an observer, but lives God's presence personally through in his very being. Setting symbolism in such a context enables to understand the symbolism of Cabasilas not as antagonistic to real presence but in connection with it. Consequently, symbols with different level of intensity enable man to experience God, thus fashioning him for its culmination in *koinonia* and *henosis*.

Further, differences in the mode of presence – non-realistic as opposed to realistic – are reminiscent of the tension between ‘already’ and ‘not yet’, expressed in experiencing the fullness of the expected Kingdom in the liturgical setting. In the liturgy the church reaches out to the Kingdom of God. It is revealed and expressed in the Eucharistic mystery, which provides deifying communion with the resurrected Christ. Liturgical symbolism seems to be for Cabasilas a means to represent the meaning of the Eucharistic mystery to some extent even before it becomes actually accomplished in the liturgy. Yet, Cabasilas clearly distinguishes the actual and complete presence of Christ’s body and blood in the Eucharist from the symbolism preceding it. The realisation of the Eucharistic mystery is like a fulfilment of the anticipation of the former parts of the liturgy. What is sought after and portrayed through symbolism becomes really present and partakable. As has been seen, Cabasilas understands the Kingdom of God as the ultimate goal for men. Even though full citizenship in God’s Kingdom can only be realized in the age to come, communion with Christ in the Eucharist enables us to attain it even at this time. The liturgy is an entirety in which symbolism functions as preparation and inspiration for directing attention towards the central act: meeting with Christ in the Eucharist.

6.3. ECUMENICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NICHOLAS CABASILAS

In the present study the ecumenical value of Cabasilas’ thought was explored by investigating his connection with the principles of Eucharistic doctrine of Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas.

Probably the most essential feature in the thought of the Latin theologians is the conceptual distinction in the sacrament between the outward *sacramentum* and the inner content *res*. The distinction enables them to define and differentiate the constitutive elements of the sacrament of the Eucharist: the bread and the wine as *sacramentum* and the body and blood of Christ as *res*. Even though there is no analogous philosophical template to be found in Cabasilas’ thought, he yet makes a fundamental distinction between the outward appearance of the sacrament and its inner contents as a spiritual inevitability. Thus, although the Greek and Latin traditions have explicated Eucharistic theology using different conceptual means and rational emphases, one should not too rigidly separate philosophy and spirituality in the theological traditions of the West and the East respectively. The methodological and conceptual differences revealed by this study should not therefore be dogmatized. However, it must be pointed out that the findings of this study still establish the characteristics of two different theological traditions. Although significant parallels can be found between the thought of the Greek Cabasilas and the three Latins on the Eucharist, differences in perspectives of dissection are evident. Even though there is also some difference in views among the three Latin theologians, these differences are fairly insignificant in relation to this study as a whole.

This study produced evidence of Cabasilas’ intention to harmonise Greek and Latin doctrines of transformation of the Eucharistic elements. He sees an identity of content and effect between the epiclesis of the Byzantine rite and *Supplices te rogamus* of the *Missale Romanum*. In his defence of *Supplices te rogamus* as an epicletic prayer of the

Mass, Cabasilas associates himself with the christocentrism of the Latin doctrine of Eucharistic change. Instead of attributing the change to operation of the Spirit, he connects *Supplices te rogamus* with the consecratory power of Christ. When the outcome of Cabasilas' reading is juxtaposed with his pneumatocentric presentation of epiclesis of the Byzantine liturgy, the seemingly contradictory results could be taken as a sign of his capability, on the one hand, to identify specific traits of the Greek and Latin traditions and, on the other hand, to evaluate them quite fairly. Such a view is prone to criticism since there is no exact evidence to be found in favour of Cabasilas' interpretation of the "Latin epiclesis" from the texts of Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas. Nevertheless, Cabasilas' "ecumenical intention" in his (mis)interpretation of the Latin view of the Eucharistic transformation bears ecumenical significance. Yet, the common elements of the Greek Cabasilas and the Latin scholars witness to general Christian Eucharistic doctrine, not to conformity with Greek and Latin traditions as such.

However, the breadth of Cabasilas' Eucharistic thought reveals another kind of ecumenical status to his thinking. The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is at the heart of his theology. For Cabasilas, the Eucharist clearly is at the same time the starting point for and the aim of Christianity. Especially the diaconic implications of his understanding of participation in God could be of broad ecumenical interest, not to mention his significance for a communal, liturgical and mystical vision of the Eucharist.

6.4. EVALUATION OF THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF NICHOLAS CABASILAS

To assess the place of Nicholas Cabasilas in the context of modern Orthodox theology, I will briefly highlight two perspectives: his role in the tradition of symbolic interpretation of the liturgy, and his contribution to the modern Eucharistic theology.

In relation to the rather heterogeneous tradition of symbolic interpretation of the liturgy, Cabasilas further promotes the already existing diversity. He does not appear to think that his exact construction of the symbolic meaning of the rite of the Eucharistic liturgy would be the most authentic and comprehensive interpretation of the *forma* of the rite. His objective is to give a harmonious and comprehensive construction of the rite which stands alone as a whole. Thus, the symbolic construction of Cabasilas should not be so much set against the background of the preceding tradition of interpretation, as it should be evaluated on its own right. The unique value of his construction, therefore, is based on his hermeneutical foundations: Eucharistic realism and the centrality of Eucharistic communion in Christian faith and spirituality.

Naturally, Cabasilas can and should also be placed on the continuum of the literary genre of liturgical interpretation. He definitely is a representative of liturgical symbolism in its fully developed form, even though he is not fettered by the idiosyncrasies of that tradition. When the different interpretations are compared, one notices that while certain elements have been transmitted through the centuries, there is an abundance of interpretations within the one tradition. Such proliferation leads to inconsistency when different interpreters give different meanings to one and the same symbols.

Consequently, there is not one established version of the meaning of the liturgy but a variety of interpretations is conveyed by the symbolic tradition.

Cabasilas' contribution to Eucharistic theology is closely connected to the manner in which the symbolic tradition is appreciated. Orthodox representatives of the liturgical renewal movement have begun to find criteria for evaluating the various expressions of the liturgical commentaries. The discussion about Cabasilas' role within the liturgical tradition is but one example of the prevailing *ad fontes* atmosphere of modern Orthodox theology since the 1930s. A return to the patristic sources, practices and mentality has proved to be a challenge, as is shown by the dispute on the value of the liturgical symbolism of Cabasilas and his predecessors. The needs of modern theology of liturgical hermeneutics are not necessarily easily satisfied by the Byzantine representatives of the liturgical tradition. What can be said about Cabasilas' linkage with modern liturgical theology and its questions? Is there anything valuable in his symbolic reading of the rite, or should he be ignored as a representative of a school of unoriginal liturgical understanding of the Middle Ages?

Even if the interest shown by this work in Cabasilas' thought were only a result of the growing interest towards liturgical commentaries, my analysis provides grounds for commenting on Cabasilas' relation to the topical themes of the modern discussion. Despite criticism, some scholars view Cabasilas in a favourable light when it comes to his Eucharistic thought. I cannot but agree with them, when Cabasilas' clarity regarding the essence of the liturgy is evaluated. Regardless of the use of symbolism in his theology, Eucharistic realism is still solidly grounded. Besides, his focus on the participant or the communicant is an important contribution to modern theology. The perspective is on man, his soul and spiritual pursuits that are expressed and nourished in the liturgy. The entire rite is harnessed to drive man to meet his God and Lord. Even though the Eucharistic mystery is at the centre, Cabasilas nevertheless highlights the sense of the entirety of the rite. This kind of attention to the whole does not threaten the Eucharistic centrality of the liturgy, but rather enhances the Eucharistic significance of each part of liturgical entirety.

As an observation based on this research, Cabasilas' interest in liturgical symbolism cannot be said to conflict with the demand of the liturgical renewal movement in its aim to perceive more clearly the Eucharist as the heart of the liturgy and spiritual life. The focal points that define Orthodox worship, determined by the pan-Orthodox liturgical commission¹, are strikingly identical with the central elements of Cabasilas' Eucharistic reasoning. *Theocentrism* and a *dialogical perspective* form an axiomatic foundation for Cabasilas' understanding of the liturgy: it is an event of manifestation of God to men and an expression of reciprocal communion. Moreover, based on the observations of Cabasilas' view on the effects of Eucharistic communion, the liturgy is for him an existentially shaking and comprehensive event in which man enters into a *transformative* contact with God. Besides, the *communal* and *cosmic* dimensions of the liturgy are explicitly mentioned by Cabasilas. For him, the divine liturgy clearly is not an end in itself, but he perceives it explicitly as *instrumental*: it is a gateway rather than an end

¹ Cf. page 9, n. 49.

point. Illumination of the intellect and purification of the heart, set by the Liturgical Commission as the goal of the liturgy, are parallel with Cabasilas' idea of sanctification as the highest expression of Eucharistic participation. The liturgy is for Cabasilas a *formative* expression and event in experiencing Christian faith. Consistent with the principles of the Commission's declaration, Cabasilas also has a clear *eschatological* emphasis. In conclusion, the substantial interconnections between Cabasilas and the liturgical principles set forth by the pan-Orthodox consultation establish the fact that in the modern Orthodox liturgical theology there are tendencies that advocate such an ideal of the Eucharistic liturgy which in its essentials is found in Cabasilas.

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PEKKA METSO
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This work focuses on the Eucharistic theology of the 14th century Byzantine theologian Nicholas Cabasilas and his understanding of the presence of the divine in the Eucharistic Liturgy. According to Cabasilas' symbolic reading of the liturgy, the presence of God permeates the entire rite. Encountering divine presence in the liturgy, especially in the Eucharistic bread and wine, ultimately leads man to a transformative and mystical communion and union with God.



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