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### The Correspondence of the Tübingen Theologians and Jeremiah II on the Augsburg Confession and Translation of the First Answer of the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II to the Lutheran Theologians of Tübingen in 1576

George Mastrantonis

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TUBINGEN THEOLOGIANS AND  
JEREMIAH II ON THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND TRANSLATION  
OF THE FIRST ANSWER OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH JEREMIAH II  
TO THE LUTHERAN THEOLOGIANS OF TUBINGEN IN 1576

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Systematic Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

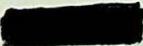
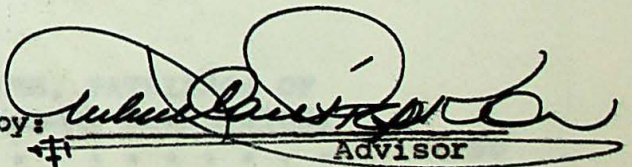
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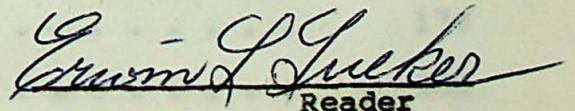
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June 1969

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## CHAPTER I

### CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO CONTACT BETWEEN LUTHERANISM AND EASTERN ORTHODOXY

The sixteenth century western reforming movements and their literature are significant because they brought to the attention of the people the demoralizing characteristics of the western Church of that time. This movement started as an internal attempt to renovate the Western Church. Its outcome was the Lutheran Reformation, whose leadership was forced out from the Roman Church and developed a theology based primarily on the scriptures. It disavowed the sources of ecclesiastical tradition and the innovations of the Roman Catholic Church, especially the dogma of the primacy of the pope. The prophecies of this movement vigorously reconstructed

#### PART I

In a letter to George Spalatin (1484-1545), a German humanist, on July 20, 1519, after the debate with Roman Catholic theologians at the Diet of Leipsic, Luther wrote that he vigorously defended the teaching of the Orthodox Church against Eck's slanderous remarks that the Greek Church lost the Christian faith after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Martin Luther, *In Martin Luther's Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Hermann Böhme, 1883), II, 127 (also 1:2-73). Mentioned by John Torrance, *Orthodoxy and Protestantism* (Athens: S. S. Clark, 1937), (in Greek), p. 25. Ernst Benz, *Die Reformation in Light of Protestantische Geschichtsschreibung von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Verlag Karl Albrecht Pöhlmann, 1937), pp. 10-14. Luther stressed that the ancient fathers never held the idea of the primacy of any church leader.

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The sixteenth century Western reforming movements and their literature are significant because they brought to the attention of the people the demoralizing characteristics of the Western Church of that time. This movement started as an internal attempt to renovate the Western Church. Its outcome was the Lutheran Reformation, whose leadership was forced out from the Roman Church and developed a theology based primarily on the Scriptures. It disavowed the source of ecclesiastical tradition and the innovations of the Roman Catholic Church, especially the dogma of the primacy of the pope.<sup>1</sup> The proponents of this movement vigorously reconstructed

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their teachings and practices. They also organized a movement for expansion of their principle methods and theology to other Christians. They attempted to achieve this goal despite internal problems and struggles against the Calvinistic and Zwinglian movements, which arose shortly afterward.

The mission of this movement, which afterward became known as the Lutheran Church, was that of spreading its doctrines to others. An outgrowth of this mission was its desire to establish cordial relations with the Orthodox Church, which was known to Lutherans as an ancient Church. This desire materialized late in the sixteenth century in contact between the Lutheran Church and the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was and still is the primary spiritual see of all the autocephalous branches of the Orthodox Church.<sup>2</sup>

The first fruitful contact between Orthodox and Lutherans was an exchange of personal letters and discourses between

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in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, XXII,4, asserting that the clergy as well as the laity should receive both Elements of the Eucharist, according to the practice of the undivided Church. Furthermore, the Apology, XXIV,6 refers to the Greek Church as being against the practice of private liturgies, that is to say, without anyone in attendance. Again, in XXIV, 78-83,88,93 Lutherans, on the substance of the Divine Liturgy, state that the Greek Church teaches that the Eucharist is only for a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but not a sacrifice of propitiation.

<sup>2</sup> Although Melanchthon, in his letter in 1559 to Patriarch Joasaph, was not aware of the condition of the Greek Church at that time, which was under the domination of the Turks, nevertheless the Lutherans were aware of the teachings of the Greek Church in the writings of the Fathers.

Lutheran theologians at the University of Tübingen and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, with his theologian-advisers.<sup>3</sup> This correspondence, which occurred between 1573-1581, is the subject matter of this paper. To understand fully the correspondence, an understanding of the era during which it occurred is necessary. During the fifteenth century there emerged a movement for free expression in science, philosophy, art, and religion. This freedom broke the bonds of religious domination. With the awakening of this spirit, the religious movement--both within the Church and from without--blossomed. In this spirit of religious freedom an opportunity presented itself for an approach between East and West, and it materialized in the aforementioned correspondence.

#### Background

The first part of this paper is, therefore, concerned with the setting, while the second is an introduction to the correspondence dealing especially with its translation from the Greek into English.

The classic studies which began in the thirteenth century in Europe, flourished in the fifteenth century as "handmaids"

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<sup>3</sup>The answers of Jeremiah include large segments of the writings of many of the Fathers. It seems that his theologian-advisers acted merely as researchers in locating the proper passages of the Fathers used by Jeremiah. Jeremiah composed the answers on the basis of the writings of the Fathers, and stated that he was not presenting new thoughts and interpretations.

to Christian theology. Contributing to this intellectual awakening were some learned persons who fled from Constantinople after its fall in 1453.<sup>4</sup> The spirit of the classics sowed the "seeds of truth" for the fruits of growing freedom in men. This spirit of freedom encouraged philosophy and sciences to grow free of ecclesiastical domination. This trend also had a dramatic impact in religion and art. The classic studies and spirit cultivated the soil on which civilization blossomed and improved.

This freedom from ecclesiastical dominance penetrated the spirit of man, liberating it from its bondage. For hundreds of years, darkness shadowed the human mind, preventing man from undertaking the disciplined research of the potentialities of nature as well as his own spirit. This movement in the middle of the fifteenth century was an awakening of the whole man in every facet of his life. This spirit of freedom was a rebirth of the human mind, opening the avenues of direct communion with nature and God.

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<sup>4</sup>John Herman Randall, Making of the Modern Mind (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926), p. 119. The dawn of the renaissance appears before the 15th century with personalities such as Petrarch (1304-1374), Boccaccio (1313-1375), and Dante (1265-1321). It flourished after three generations, for "glorious was the day when a learned Byzantine, Chrysoloras, accepted a chair at Florence," as Bruni stated in his book, History of His Own Times in Italy, quoted in H. O. Taylor, Thought and Expression in the 16th Century (2nd edition; New York: Ungar, 1959), I, 36. Bruni wrote: "At the coming of Chrysoloras, I was torn in mind . . . I gave myself to Chrysoloras, with such zeal to learn that what through the wakeful day I gathered, I followed after in night, even when asleep"!



In this era of the renaissance and humanism which characterized the Christian religion in its awakening, there were many who contributed to the spiritual liberation of man. Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), a learned leader in the humanities; his grandnephew Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), a prominent humanist and theologian of the Lutheran movement; and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), a noted humanist who taught in various cities of England, Italy and the Netherlands, and gained the title, a "citizen of all Europe," were among the many illuminators of humanism who emancipated the mind from the darkness of superstition, corruption and error often perpetuated by church and state as well as the monastic life.

There are many men who at various times raised their voices for the reformation of the church in reaction to this spirit of freedom which was kindled in their hearts. William of Occam (c.1349), John Huss (1369-1415), and others were punished because they dared to set forth new concepts consistent with the evangelical spirit. The development of this spirit of freedom occupied the hearts and minds of devout laymen. They were prepared to accept and cultivate such an evangelical spirit against the deviating teachings of the established church of Rome. Rome's power of excommunication was a strong weapon which seldom failed to burn at the stake leaders of such new teaching and intimidated devout laymen who adhered to them. Most of those subjected to such pressures

did not intend to separate themselves from the Roman Church; they intended only to restore the teachings and practices of the Ancient Church.

### Luther's Reaction to Ecclesiastical Freedom

One of these personalities who set forth various renovations and restorations to update the Roman Church according to the Scriptures and practices of the early church, was the renown Martin Luther. Luther's attitude reflected his personal experiences within the Roman Church where he was a monk of the Order of Augustinian Hermits of strict observance. He proposed his renovations as would a member of a family who looked for the betterment of his own house. He was not against the foundation of the Church. On the contrary, he sought to reinforce this foundation. What initially motivated his thoughtful renovations for the Church was his opposition to the theory and practice of indulgences, especially the manner in which they were sold. But the heart of his discontentment was justification, that is the forgiveness of sins before God.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Indulgences were given to the faithful primarily to collect funds for the programs of the popes. The worst aspect of selling indulgences was the false teaching of the existence of a state of purgatory. Also false was the teaching that the Pope's Church was the depository of the abundance of divine grace through the sale of indulgences. See "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," The Book of Concord, edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), Article XXI, 232, #23-24. See also Roland H. Bainton, Here I Stand. A Life of Martin Luther (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), chapters 4 and 5.

Luther was well-learned in the spirit of the Scriptures. He was sincere in complying with the strictness of the monastic life, which never became for him a mere routine. The meaning of this strict manner of life was rather the object of a dialogue within himself. It seems that he was not alone in his thoughts and feelings. They were shared by other monks of the Augustinian Order. The difference between Luther and the others was that he followed his conscience and raised the question with his superiors. Luther presented ninety-five theses, that is to say topics for discussion, on indulgences. He also sent informative letters to various persons. Whether or not Luther affixed or nailed to the doors of the church a scroll containing his ninety-five theses is debated.

October 31, 1517, is counted as the beginning of a new era of the Western Church. It was a protest against the unjust and unbecoming actions of the popes; a protest spread among a large number of Roman Catholics; a protest which embodied the frustrations of the conscientious, devout believer. Within a short time word of his protest spread throughout Germany, which welcomed it. The reaction of the hierarchy of the Roman Church was an immediate attempt to prevent him from spreading his rebellious attitude and innovations. Luther was officially rebuked by the Pope and warned against the consequences of his action. However, Luther was not to be intimidated and stressed his position all the more strongly. Luther was confronted by John Eck, a renowned Papalist professor

in Ingolstadt, Germany, in a disputation which resulted in Luther winning many to his cause. Luther's movement soon became a reality despite his trial in Rome in absentia. He was accused of spreading heretical doctrines. He refused the demand of Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg to recant. In 1519 at Leipzig, Luther denied the primacy of the pope and the infallibility of the general councils. He later dramatized his position by burning the book of canon law in 1520 at Wittenberg. Before an imperial court which summoned him in 1521 in Worms, Luther once more refused to recant. In 1529 the supporters of the Lutheran movement affirmed their right to reform their territories according to the word of God, and were called "Protestants" in consequence.

#### Formulation and Presentation of the Augsburg Confession

A Confession of Faith, later known as the Augsburg Confession, was read to the Diet summoned by Emperor Charles V.<sup>6</sup> The writer of this Confession was Philip Melancthon. It was presented in an inoffensive manner, at the Emperor's request,

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<sup>6</sup> Preface of The Book of Concord, p. 5, n. 5. This preface explains that the confession is being offered because the emperor had invited both the Lutheran theologians and those in communion with the bishop of Rome to present their respective views on the controversy broken out. Unfortunately, neither the German nor the Latin text is extant in the exact forms officially submitted. However, more than 50 copies dating from 1530 have been found, including drafts which represent various stages in the preparation of it before June 25, 1530.

and, therefore, its language is moderate. It was presented on June 25, 1530, in Augsburg. Apart from an introduction this document is presented in two parts. One includes the first twenty-one Articles which refer to doctrines. The second part of this Confession refers to practical views on abuses. These abuses include communion in one element for the laity, clerical celibacy, private masses, monastic vows and compulsory confession, among others. The Augsburg Confession originally was written in Latin, but it was translated and read in German.<sup>7</sup> The representatives of the Papalist party, headed by the theologian John Eck, were expected to present their views following the presentation of the Augsburg Confession. But, having secured a copy of the Confession, they sought to reconstruct their thoughts, and postponed their presentation until August 3. The Papalist party during this time composed their views in confutatio pontificia. Melancthon, foreseeing that the Papalist representative would receive permission to delay their answer, wrote the Apology of the Augsburg Confession in order to answer their confutation, but the Emperor refused to receive it.

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<sup>7</sup>Augsburg Confession, Introduction of Part II. Articles XXII-XXVIII and the Conclusion. The Augsburg Confession consists of an introduction, two sections and a conclusion. The first part, 1-21, includes the Lutheran doctrines; the second part discusses the abuses that have been corrected in the Lutheran Imperial cities and territories.

## Lutheranism Organized

The forces of Lutheranism were strong convictions and expanding missions. Their convictions of the truths, as stated in the Scriptures, disregarded the traditions of the Roman Church, which consisted of customs, arbitrariness, and external habits rather than genuine Apostolic Sacred Tradition. The Lutherans' mission also was an effort to spread the truths, as they interpreted them in the Scriptures, in order to win over adherents and to provide spiritual guidance for the leaders of the new movement, which later became a great church. Nevertheless, Lutheranism was confronted with confusion on the part of its own leaders and some of their own teachings. Luther found himself both fighting the Roman Church and mediating among leaders of the Lutheran Church. This Church created its own house by studying, teaching, preaching, consulting, guiding, and formulating a whole spiritual movement in the new life through its interpretation of Christian truths. Luther was a gifted person armed with courage, an inspiring preacher and prolific writer, a worthy leader of the new movement. He translated the Scriptures into German so that the people would have the opportunity to read them for themselves. Among his most gifted colleagues was Philip Melanchthon, the writer of the Augusburg Confession (and its Apology). Lutheran leaders of a later generation include Jacob Andreae, who wrote and arranged with Martin Chemnitz and

four other theologians<sup>8</sup> the Formula of Concord, and its Preface, which later was adopted as the Preface of the whole Book of Concord.

#### Unforeseen Prominence of Augsburg Confession

The Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church is the expression of the main beliefs and practices of the Lutheran Church. It is considered the basic confession from which all the rest of the writings in The Book of Concord sprang.<sup>9</sup> It is the basic exposition of the beliefs of the Lutheran movement. During the fiftieth anniversary of its presentation to Emperor Charles V, the closing of The Book of Concord took place, and an era of expansion began. In this spirit the contact between the Lutherans and the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople took place. The Augsburg Confession was translated into Greek in the hope of eventual establishment of cordial relations with the ancient Church in the East. ✓

The Lutherans pursued their relationship with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, first through Melancthon, who in 1559 is believed to have sent a personal letter to Patriarch ✓

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<sup>8</sup> Preface of The Book of Concord, p. 3, n. 1. The translation of the Formula into English was made by Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn.

<sup>9</sup> J. L. Neve, Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church (2nd edition; Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Press, 1956).

Joasaph II (1555-1565).<sup>10</sup> Later, the Tübingen theologians followed a well-planned approach to the same Patriarchate. This latter communication resulted in an exchange of correspondence that is highly appraised for its theological insights and discourses. This literature was written in Latin and Greek and issued later under the title of Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae. These writings, now translated from the Greek into English, are the subject of this paper.

The translation of the Augsburg Confession into the Greek language reflects the hope of the Lutherans to illuminate other people with Lutheran scriptural theology. Lutheranism as a reforming religious movement had zeal and vigor. This church established its own definitions and theology, both in theory and practice. The leaders of this church were members of the old, intending at first to correct the misdoings of the old church, initially without any plan to separate themselves from the Roman Church. They fought against the mishandling of the practical and personal affairs of the old church. This church created a spirit of mission and expansion among some members of the old church and others.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> It is doubtful that Melanchthon sent the Augsburg Confession in Greek to the Patriarch.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Melanchthon sent to Patriarch Joasaph II, a letter in 1559, in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 33. See also Gerlach in Martin Crusius, Turcograecia (Basileae: Leonardus Ostenius, per Sebastiani Henricpetri Impensa, 1684), p. 559.



It was logical, then, that the leaders of the Lutheran movement would approach the Eastern Orthodox Church. The concept of mission caused Lutheran leaders to strive to spread their doctrines, and to establish cordial relations with the Ancient Eastern Church,<sup>12</sup> which had its beginning with Christ and His Apostles. That church was the Orthodox Church, whose Ecumenical See has been in Constantinople since the fourth century. The Lutheran leaders made a special effort to present their own views in such a way as to convince the venerable ancient Church to accept them. The fact that they were approaching a Greek-speaking Church which at that time had been under Turkish domination for about one hundred years, made the mission all the more momentous. Most of the Lutheran theologians involved were scholars in the Greek language and versed in both New Testament Greek<sup>13</sup> and that of the sixteenth century.

#### Contact Between Lutheranism and Orthodoxy

First contact between Lutheran theologians and the Orthodox Church took place when the Patriarch of Constantinople,

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<sup>12</sup>Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae; quae utrique ab Anno MDLXXVI usque ad Annum MDLXXXI de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt; Graece & Latine ab iisdem Theologis edita (Wittemberg: n. p., 1584), First Reply of Tübingen theologians, pp. 148-49. In the Latin text the whole paragraph is underlined and numbered from 1-19, tabulating subjects in agreement, according to their opinion.

<sup>13</sup>Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 20.

Joasaph II (1555-1565), sent Deacon Demetrios Mysos to meet the leaders of the Lutheran movement so he could study their teachings, but also of the personalities behind the movement. Mysos spent approximately six months as Melanchthon's guest in Wittenberg. From the beginning, a warm, sincere friendship was established between the two. During this short period of time, it is believed that the translation of the Augsburg Confession into the Greek language was completed and a copy supposedly given to Deacon Mysos to present to Patriarch Joasaph. Melanchthon sent a personal letter in which he expressed his delight in his friendship with Mysos and his respect and reverence for the Patriarch in Constantinople.<sup>14</sup> It is surprising to note that before the arrival of Mysos, Melanchthon was unaware that the ancient Church in Constantinople had survived one hundred-odd years under Turkish domination. It was natural that Mysos be prepared for the encounter with instructions from Patriarch Joasaph, and also with his own keen knowledge of theology and a knowledge of the language used in the dialogue. It is probable that Melanchthon could have used the spoken Greek language, as he was fluent in writing Greek.

It seems that Melanchthon and Mysos decided to present to Patriarch Joasaph the original Augsburg Confession, which contained the Lutheran teaching as it was accepted by all the

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

leaders and adherents of the Lutheran church at that time. The Augsburg Confession was written originally in Latin and German. It also seems, that they decided to translate the Augsburg Confession into Greek. Melanchthon was capable of this task and Mysos probably helped him in its literal composition into Greek. The translation of the Augsburg Confession into Greek is a free translation, but without a change of meaning. The assumption that the Augsburg Confession was translated into Greek by Paul Dolscius, whose name appeared on the Greek text, is not substantiated. Dolscius may have assisted in copying the translation as a secretary or copyist. It is doubtful that a third person translated it while Melanchthon and Mysos were studying its content together. The claim that the Augsburg Confession was a free translation into Greek, without changing its meaning tends to support the belief that Melanchthon was the translator. Only the original writer of this document could be prepared to translate it freely into Greek.<sup>15</sup> Because Melanchthon was subsequently (although unjustly) accused of being a crypto-Calvinist, his name may have been replaced by that of one who assisted him as a copyist. It is not the intent of this paper to review the controversy on this matter of the translator.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> So Benz.

<sup>16</sup> Georges Florovsky, "The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession," in Lutheran World, VI (1959), 153: "There are strong reasons for believing that the actual initiative belongs to no lesser than Melanchthon."

After the completion of Mysos' mission, he left Melanchthon, who gave him a warm personal letter for Patriarch Joasaph. But there is no evidence that Mysos returned to Constantinople and presented the Patriarch with the documents. The silence of Patriarch Joasaph was interpreted by Professor John Karmires to mean that the Patriarch received the letter and the Greek Augsburg Confession, discussed the matter with Mysos and found that the Lutherans accepted many interpretations foreign to the ecumenical teaching of the ancient Church. But this interpretation concerning Mysos has no historical basis. On the contrary, Professor Ernst Benz traced the return journey of Mysos and showed that Mysos did not return to Constantinople nor did he give the Patriarch the Augsburg Confession in Greek. During the time that Mysos was with Melanchthon (1558) in Wittenberg, he became acquainted with a Dr. Peucer, the son-in-law of Melanchthon, a Slavophile, who was able to converse in Slavic. Previously, Hans von Ungnad had approached Mysos and promised him a position as a translator of the writings of the reformers into the Slavic language. Meanwhile, Prince Heraclides had retaken Romania from the Turks and established a Christian kingdom, reforming it after the pattern of the reformation. Professor Benz established that Mysos decided to serve Prince Heraclides, and remained there after the Prince's death. Therefore, Melanchthon's letter never reached Constantinople.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Berthold F. Korte, "Early Lutheran Relations with

The leaders of the Lutheran Church had some knowledge of the teachings of the Orthodox Church, although they had no knowledge of contemporary Orthodoxy because of the conquest of Greece and surrounding countries by the Ottoman Empire from 1453 with the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Luther invoked the teachings of the Orthodox Church in his discussion with theologian Eck in Leipzig (in 1519), and elsewhere. Also, the Greek Church was mentioned in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession in 1530 and in 1537 in the Smalcald Articles.

After the first endeavor in 1559 to establish cordial relations between the Lutheran movement and the Orthodox Church, a silence prevailed between the two. The death of Melanchthon in 1560, and Mysos' failure to return to Constantinople to complete his mission were events which contributed to this silence. With the death of Melanchthon, the Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession vanished, and its fate is unknown; it is not to be found in the archives of the Patriarchate. Nor are there any traces of its existence in the hands of other clergymen or laymen who shared the responsibility of the Patriarchate in Constantinople at

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Eastern Orthodoxy," Lutheran Quarterly, IX (February 1959), 55-56. This article attempts to summarize the findings of Ernst Benz, Wittenberg und Byzanz (Morbung: Elwert-Gräfe und Unzer Verlag, 1949).

that time. Even Martin Crusius had a difficult time in locating a copy of the Augsburg Confession in Greek.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>An investigation has been made by the present writer of both the Greek Version and the Latin original (not the Latin text in Acta et Scripta) of the Augsburg Confession which has resulted in some observations and comments. For this investigation a thorough study and comparison of both texts has been made. A literal translation into English of the original Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession as it appears in Acta et Scripta has been made. A separate list of additions and omissions in the Greek Version also has been made. There are many additions; some are very lengthy, but do not introduce new doctrines or ideas leading to new doctrines. These additions in the Greek Version are explanatory in nature. The translator introduces examples and forms to verify the point in question in the original Latin.

## CHAPTER II

### LUTHERANISM'S SECOND MISSION TO ESTABLISH CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH EASTERN ORTHODOXY

#### New Mission Well Organized

Fourteen years after the unsuccessful first attempt at unity between the Lutheran Church and the Orthodox Church another effort was made. It also sought relations of the Lutheran Church with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This endeavor was undertaken with greater originality, interest, and preparation and more consistent method of contact. It resulted in a friendly dialogue of personal letters and discourses. This monumental mission took place while an involved group of theologians at the University of Tübingen was headed by Jacob Andreae, Professor of Theology and Chancellor of the University, assisted by Martin Crusius, Professor of Classics. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, shared the dialogue with the German theologians of Tübingen.<sup>1</sup> The events and correspondence of a decade are presented herein.

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<sup>1</sup>Persons who served as advisers to Patriarch Jeremiah II were John Zygomalas, Theodosios Zygomalas, Physician Leonardos Mindonios from Chios, Bishop Damascene Stoudites of Naupaktos and Arta, Bishop Metrophanes of Berroias, Ordained-monk Matthew, Patriarchal Officio of Archieve Hierax, probably Gabriel Severos. Jeremiah II himself was the principle composer of the Answers.

On the other hand, the persons who wrote the Replies to the Answers of Patriarch Jeremiah II and whose signatures

In 1583, a book was published in Wittenberg under the title, Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae. It consists of the correspondence between the Lutheran theologians of the University of Tübingen and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II. This correspondence of personal letters and discourses took place between 1574 through 1582. The purpose of this new effort had in view the unity and cordial relations between these two churches: the one the church of the Lutherans, who had achieved autonomy from the Roman Catholic Church fifty years previously, with the ancient Eastern Orthodox Church, which had its beginning at the start of the Christian era. The editor of this book was Martin Crusius. He also was the translator of the correspondence therein (Latin into Greek and Greek into Latin), and wrote the preface of this book.

In the year 1584 another book was published in Basel, titled Turcograecia, written by Martin Crusius. This book, which contains valuable information about the contents of Acta et Scripta, is as rare as Acta et Scripta itself; a copy was located at the Newberry Library, Chicago. A chronological order of all the events and correspondence between the Lutheran theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah follows for a concise picture of this effort for unity.

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appeared on one or more of the Replies and letters of the Tübingen theologians were Jacob Heerbrand, Lucas Osiander, Eberhard Bidembach, Johannes Magirus, Theodore Schnepf, Johannes Brenz, Stefan Gerlach, Gulielmus Holderer, Johannes Schnepf and Martinus Crusius, all under the leadership of Jacob Andreae.



Chronological Order of Events and Correspondence  
Between the Lutheran Theologians  
and Patriarch Jeremiah

The chronology of the correspondence and related events in the dialogue between the Lutheran theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople follows:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>In the chronological order the points are drawn from the following sources:

- Martin Crusius, Turcograecia (Basileae: Leonardus Ostenius, per Sebastiani Henricpetri Impensa, 1584).
- Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae: quae utrique ab Anno MDLXXVI usque ad Annum MDLXXXI de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt: Graece & Latine ab iisdem Theologis edita (Wittenberg: n. p., 1584).
- Phillip Meyer, Die theologische Literatur der Griechischen Kirche, im 16. Jahrhundert, in Bonwetsch-Seeberg, Studien (Leipzig, 1899), III, 6.
- P. Renaudin, Luthériens et Grecs-Orthodoxes (Paris: Les Erreurs du Protestantisme, 1903).
- John N. Karmires, Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos (Athens: A. Z. Dialesma, 1937). (In Greek).
- W. Gäß and E. Conrad, editors, Diarium 1596-1597 et 1598-1599 (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1927-1931).
- Martin Crusius, Annales Suevici, Dodekas Tertia (n. p.: n. p., 1596).
- Stefan Gerlach, Senior, Türckisches Tagebuch aus seinen eigenhändig aufgesetzten und nachgelassenen Schriften, herfürgegeber durch seinen Enkel M. Samuel Gerlach (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Fries für Jon. David Zunner, 1674).
- A. Pichler, Geschichte des Protestantismus in der Orientalischen Kirche (n. p.: n. p., 1862).
- J. Schall, "Tübingen und Konstantinopel, Ein theologischer Briefwechsel aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation," Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte, VII (1892).
- K. Satha, Biographikon Schēdiasma peri tou Patriarchou Ieremiou, B' (1572-1594) (Athens: n. p., 1870). (In Greek).
- John N. Karmires, "Epistolai tou Jacob Parkethyme anaferomenai eis ton Patriarchen Ieremian B," in Ekklesia, XV (1937).
- B. Mystakides, "O Patriarchēs Ieremias B o Tranos kai ai pros tous Diarmartyromenous scheseis kata ton IST aiona," Ekklesiastike Alátheia. (In Greek).
- M. I. Gedeon, Patriarchikoi Pinakes, Constantinople 1885-1890 (Athens: n. p., n. d.). (In Greek).

1. 1573, David Ungnad, as Ambassador, and Stephen Gerlach, as chaplain, were appointed and sent to Constantinople.
2. April 7, 1573, the initial personal letter of Martin Crusius was written to Patriarch Jeremiah II (Turcograecia, pp. 410-11).
3. April 8, 1573, a personal letter was written by Jacob Andreae to Patriarch Jeremiah (Turcograecia, pp. 414-15), and the first short homily by Andreae on John 10:11 concerning the Good Shepherd (Turcograecia, pp. 411-14), was written.
4. August 6, 1573, Stephen Gerlach arrived in Constantinople as the chaplain of the Embassy.
5. October 15, 1573, Gerlach presented the two letters and the homily (above) to Patriarch Jeremiah.
6. October 19, 1573, Patriarch Jeremiah II started on a long journey that lasted nine months.
7. March 4, 1574, Crusius sent another letter (Turcograecia, pp. 415-16) to the Patriarch with a short homily by Andreae on Luke 10:9 concerning the Kingdom of God (Turcograecia, pp. 416-19). Andreae also sent another letter to the Patriarch (Turcograecia, p. 488).
8. September 15, 1574, Tübingen theologians sent the Augsburg Confession in Greek to Gerlach to deliver to Patriarch Jeremiah (Acta et Scripta, pp. 6-53). An accompanying letter to the Augsburg Confession was sent by Crusius and Andreae (Acta et Scripta, p. 5). In the accompanying letter Andreae said, "I am sending you a book which contains the articles of our faith. If we agree with the teaching of your church it is good. We would not wish to disagree."
9. December, 1574, the Patriarch answered Andreae's and Crusius' initial letters and the short homilies on John and Luke, interpreting these passages according to the Orthodox belief (Turcograecia, pp. 420-22; Schelstrate, Acta Orientalis, pp. 141-45). Here is recorded the reaction of Patriarch Jeremiah at the time of his contact with Lutheranism (Turcograecia, p. 422). The Patriarch gave the impressions that he was aware of the principles of Lutheranism (Ph. Meyer, Die theologische Litteratur, p. 91); (Renaudin, Luthériens et Grecs-orthodoxes, cited in Orthodoxia kai Protestanismos, p. 91, n. 2).

10. January, 1575, the Tübingen theologians received the answer from the Patriarch to their initial letters and to the two short homilies on John and Luke.
11. March 20, 1575, Andreae and Crusius wrote again to the Patriarch, describing his answer to their first letters and the two short homilies on John and Luke "as wise and paternal for salvation" (Turcograecia, pp. 423-24; Acta et Scripta, pp. 2-4).
12. May, 1575, the second personal letter of Jeremiah to the theologians (Acta et Scripta, p. 54).
13. Crusius wrote often to many persons in Constantinople until his death in 1607 (Turcograecia and Diarium Martini Crusii; also cited in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 91, n. 3).
14. May 24, 1575, Gerlach presented the Augsburg Confession in Greek, to Patriarch Jeremiah (Acta et Scripta, pp. 6-53) on the events that took place at the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the Patriarch (see Crusii, Annales Suevici, pp. 752-55).
15. After reading the first five articles of the Augsburg Confession, the Patriarch engaged in a lengthy discussion with Gerlach.
16. Gerlach immediately notified the Tübingen theologians that the Patriarch would answer the Augsburg Confession (Gerlach, Türkisches Tagebuch, pp. 94-95, 100-1).
17. August 18, 1575, Gerlach received five copies of the Augsburg Confession (in Greek), and distributed to the advisers of the Patriarch (Annales Suevici, pp. 752-55; Harboe, quoted in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 90, n. 2; p. 18).
18. November 16, 1575, the Patriarch sent a second letter to the theologians saying that he was writing the (first) Answer to the Augsburg Confession, mentioning, in advance, some of his views (Turcograecia, pp. 440-41; see Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 92, n. 1, n. 2; p. 93, n. 1; see also Meyer, pp. 97-100).
19. May 15, 1576, the First Answer of the Patriarch to the Augsburg Confession was sent to the Tübingen theologians through the German Embassy (Acta et

- Scripta, pp. 57-163). This answer was dispatched to the theologians by Ambassador Ungnad by special messenger Wolff Weiss. He left Constantinople, May 20, 1576, and arrived in Tübingen, June 18, 1576 (Gerlach, Tagebuch, p. 198; Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 94, n. 1).
20. A letter accompanied the First Answer (Acta et Scripta, p. 56). A summary of the First Answer is in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, pp. 95-96.
  21. The Answer to the Augsburg Confession was correct from the Orthodox view (Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 97, n. 1; Renaudin, Luthériens, pp. 407-9, 417; Pichler, Geschichte des Protestantismus, p. 35).
  22. June 18, 1576, the Tübingen theologians received the First Answer from Patriarch Jeremiah (Acta et Scripta, pp. 56-143; see also Schall, Tübingen and Constantinople, 1892, p. 51, cited in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 97, n. 2).
  23. September 27, 1576, Gerlach delivered two letters from Crusius to the Patriarch and other letters to the Patriarch's adviser (Turcograecia, p. 441; see Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 97, n. 4).
  24. June 18, 1577, the First Reply of the Tübingen theologians to the First Answer of the Patriarch was written; it was signed by Crusius and Lucas Osiander, who substituted for Andreae (Acta et Scripta, pp. 147-99), who was working on the Formula of Concord at that time. An accompanying letter was signed by Crusius and Osiander (Acta et Scripta, pp. 144-46).
  25. At the end of 1577 the ambassador was replaced by Joachim von Sintzendorf, and Gerlach by Solomon Schweigger, a professor at the Tübingen University. Gerlach, however, did not leave Constantinople until June 4, 1578; he later requested the Patriarch to answer (Second Answer) the First Reply of the Tübingen theologians (Gerlach, Tagebuch, pp. 500, 502). With this First Reply and the accompanying personal letter, the theologians also sent to the Patriarch the Compendium Theologiae by Heerbrand (it was translated into Greek by Crusius) (see Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 98). They also sent eight letters, written by various theologians, to various persons at the Patriarchate.

26. January 8, 1578, the First Reply of the Tübingen theologians was presented to Metropolitan Metrophanis of Berea in Constantinople. He sent it on January 25, 1578, to the Patriarch, who was abroad.
27. May 22, 1578, the Patriarch, having returned to Constantinople, began his Second Answer, but first sent letters to Andreae, Crusius, Osiander and Heerbrand (letters, Acta et Scripta, pp. 384; Turcograecia, p. 464). Gerlach (Tagebuch, p. 502) wrote to D. Chytraeus in Rostock that the Patriarch had promised to answer the First Reply of the theologians.
28. August 15, 1578, Theodosios Zygomalas wrote to Gerlach explaining to him the reason for the delay of the Second Answer of the Patriarch to the theologians (Karmires, "Epistolai tou Jacob Parkothyme," XV, 303).
29. May, 1579, the Patriarch sent his Second Answer to the Tübingen theologians through the new chaplain, Schweigger (Acta et Scripta, pp. 200-60).
30. May 21, 1579, the Second Answer of Patriarch Jeremiah was received by the Tübingen theologians (Crusii, Annales, p. 767; Commentaries in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, pp. 99-100).
31. June 24, 1580, the Second Reply of the Tübingen theologians was sent to Patriarch Jeremiah (Acta et Scripta, pp. 264-346). Most of the theologians signed this Second Reply. A personal letter from the theologians accompanied it (Acta et Scripta, pp. 261-63; Schall, Tübingen and Constantinople, p. 67).
32. June 6, 1581, the Patriarch sent the Third and Last Answer to the Tübingen theologians (Acta et Scripta, pp. 349-70). A personal letter from the Patriarch accompanied it (Acta et Scripta, pp. 347-48; Commentaries in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, pp. 101-2).
33. December 15, 1581, after exchanges of personal and friendly letters by both sides, the Tübingen theologians, by command of Elector Ludwig von Württemberg, sent the Third Reply to those close to the Patriarch, but not directly to the Patriarch himself, in reply to his Third Answer (Acta et Scripta, pp. 371-80). No answer was sent by

the Patriarch to this Third Reply of the theologians. Crusius and others continued to correspond.

34. June, 1588, Patriarch Jeremiah wrote from Lithuania friendly letters to the Tübingen theologians (Satha, Biographhikon Schēdiasma, pp. 52-53; parts of some letters are cited in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, pp. 103-4).
35. September, 1589, Patriarch Jeremiah, enroute to Constantinople, wrote another letter to the Tübingen theologians, refuting the rumor started by Jesuit Anthony Possevinus, that the Patriarch had accepted the Gregorian calendar (Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 104, n. 1; other letters are also cited).
36. October 7, 1589, the Tübingen theologians sent replies to Jeremiah while he was in Russia establishing the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate (Mystakidou, "O Patriarchēs Ieremias B," p. 311). A letter contained the thought that, "we rejoice that your holiness refers to us with sweet words. And, I, Crusius, hope that we will never be thought of by you as heretic."
37. 1593, Patriarch Jeremiah summoned two synods in Constantinople for matters concerning the Russian Patriarchate, and in regard to the correspondence between the Lutheran theologians and the Patriarchate (Gedeon, Patriarchikoi Pinakes, pp. 531, 535).
38. March 17, 1597, the Tübingen theologians, unaware of Patriarch Jeremiah's death, sent additional letters (Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 105, n. 2; Diarium, pp. 300-1).
39. July 18, 1597, Martin Crusius sent another letter to Patriarch Jeremiah, still unaware of his death (Diarium, p. 369). Crusius continued to write to many other persons at the Patriarchate (see references in Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos, p. 106, n. 2 and n. 3).

Jeremiah II and Andreae as Leading Personalities  
and Their Efforts for Unity

Patriarch Jeremiah II is considered an extraordinary personality whose activities were decisive both in the administration of the church and in the confession of the Christian faith. His nickname was Tranos (meaning a person of penetrating intellect). He was elected and re-elected Patriarch of Constantinople three times, 1572-1579, 1580-1584, 1586-1595. He was well-versed in theology and revitalized the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in inter-ecclesiastical affairs in the sphere of pan-Orthodox activities, and with the Lutheran church. He protested against Pope Gregory XIII over the change of the calendar (1582) from the Julian to the "new" Gregorian. As Ecumenical Patriarch, Jeremiah journeyed to Russia in 1589 to install the first Patriarch of Russia, who was the last archbishop sent from Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Principal writer of the Answers is Patriarch Jeremiah II himself, contrary to the theory that the writers were subordinate theologians, especially Theodosios Zygomalas, who was the Protonotarios (the first of the ecclesiastics of the Synod). In Turcograecia appears a letter written by Theodosios to Crusius dated November 15, 1575, saying that the Patriarch is studying "your book which has been sent [to him], [and] which contains the articles of faith, and, as you say, the catechisms. When he [the Patriarch] so desired, he called upon me, my lord father and some wise-men Chion. . . ." Theodosios Zygomalas, in reference to the third Answer, wrote to Gerlach that "the Patriarch Jeremiah composes the answer. . . ." Turcograecia, p. 103. The Patriarch would hardly had entrusted to his subordinates, especially John Zygomalas who was not a theologian, the presentation of such theological answers. Theodosios Zygomalas in his letter to Gerlach (March, 1581) wrote the Patriarch "composes the answer which, as I see and as I read it continuously, does not agree with

Jacob Andreae (1528-1590), German Lutheran reformer and theologian, was ordained at the age of 18, and had a Masters of Arts degree from Tübingen University. In 1553 Andreae received a theological doctor's degree, and became special superintendent. In 1561 he became Professor of theology, provost and chancellor of Tübingen University, a post which he held for thirty years, until his death. In 1568 he joined Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586) in order to restore unity to the Lutheran movement. In 1572 Andreae helped to draft the theologians' statement against the supposed cryptocalvinistic christology.

Andreae took a leading role in the correspondence of the Lutheran theologians of Tübingen with Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II (1536-1595). His famous six sermons became the basis of the Swabian Concordia. He extensively occupied with the negotiations for the unity of Lutherans which resulted in the Formula of Concord (1577), wrote its Epitome and, later, its Preface.<sup>4</sup>

At this time Tübingen became one of the theological centers of Lutheranism where many teachers in theology and the classics elevated the academic status of this university to a high

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your people," Turcograecia, p. 432. Patriarch Jeremiah II "was one of the great personalities of the Greek Orthodox Church in the 16th century," Vergilius Ferm, ed., Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, c.1945), p. 389.

<sup>4</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Andreae, Jacob," Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, I, 73.



plane. It is certain that both centers, the Patriarchate and the University of Tübingen, with their activities and scholars, were known to one another, even without a direct line of communication such as Gerlach later provided.

The German embassy in Constantinople asked the theologians of the University of Tübingen to send a theologian to Constantinople to serve as embassy chaplain. Undoubtedly the ambassador himself, David Ungnad, reported to the theologians in Tübingen concerning the conditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Constantinople, and also probably explained the role a chaplain would play. The Tübingen theologians sent to Constantinople a distinguished young colleague to hold this new position of chaplain and to act as liaison between them and the Patriarch, with the goal of winning over the Eastern Church "to the Gospel."<sup>5</sup>

This mission was entrusted to the well-known theologian Stephen Gerlach. He promptly established friendly relations with the theologians of the Patriarchate and with the Patriarch himself. The theologians in Tübingen were represented by Jacob Andreae and Martin Crusius, who dispatched letters of recommendation for Gerlach. The letters of recommendation were handed to Patriarch Jeremiah by Gerlach on October 15,

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<sup>5</sup> A. Landenberger, Die Reise zweier württembergischer Gesandtschaftsprediger nach Constantinopel im Jahre 1573 und 1577, nach ihrem Tagebuche erzählt (Württemberg: n. p., 1888), p. 194, cited by Karmires, p. 88, n. 2.

1573.<sup>6</sup> Crusius sent another letter with a short homily by Andreae on Luke 10:9 concerning the Kingdom of God. While Patriarch Jeremiah II was making an extensive pastoral journey which lasted nine months (starting October 19, 1573), letters from the theologians arrived. Unaware of the Patriarch's absence from Constantinople, Andreae and Crusius sent the Patriarch on September 15, 1574, the Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, which they called a Confession of the Orthodox Faith. This copy was accompanied by a letter written by Andreae and Crusius, sent through Stephen Gerlach. Gerlach handed the copy of the Augsburg Confession, in Greek, and the letters to the Patriarch on May 24, 1575.

This copy of the Augsburg Confession in Greek seems to be the same translation as that of Melanchthon. Patriarch Jeremiah had already received the two letters previously sent to him by Andreae and Crusius, and the two short homilies on John 10:11 and Luke 10:9 were well-received by him.<sup>7</sup> The Patriarch answered those two homilies with kindness and paternal love. However, he properly rejected their interpretations, stating the Orthodox views on the verses from John and Luke.<sup>8</sup> The Patriarch's Answer to these two homilies was sent to the

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<sup>6</sup>Turcograecia, pp. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup>Turcograecia, short homilies of Andreae on John 10:11 and Luke 10:9, pp. 416-19; Andreae's letter, March 4, 1574, p. 488.

<sup>8</sup>Turcograecia, p. 422.

theologians before he wrote the first discourse (First Answer) on the Augsburg Confession, stating that no other foundation of the Father is acceptable than that which is the cornerstone, Christ the self-truth.

Andreae and Crusius answered this letter of the Patriarch by stating that they accepted his admonition as wise and paternal. However, they stated that some innovations had been made, though not in the main articles pertaining to salvation. On the contrary, they claimed that they had followed the teachings of the Apostles, Prophets, Fathers, and Seven Ecumenical Synods, which they cherished and kept.<sup>9</sup> The Patriarch sent a second letter on November 16, 1575, saying that he was preparing the answer to the Augsburg Confession, asserting that he would depend upon Scripture and Tradition especially regarding the subject of justification by faith and good works.<sup>10</sup>

Patriarch Jeremiah's knowledge of the main sections of Lutheran theology was extensive because of the letters he received from Andreae and Crusius, and their personal explanation by Gerlach. With such a background Jeremiah accepted

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<sup>9</sup>This reply was received by the Patriarch on March 20, 1575; cf. Turcograecia, pp. 423-24, and Acta et Scripta, pp. 2-4.

<sup>10</sup>Turcograecia, pp. 440-41. References to these letters are to be found in Acta et Scripta, p. 56; and in Gedēon Kypriou, Biblion Kaloumenon Kritēs tes Alētheias (Lipsiae: n. p., 1758), I, 8; I. Mesolora, Symbolikē tes Orthodoxou Anatolikēs Ekklēsiās (Athens: n. p., 1883-1901), I, 124. (In Greek).

the text of the Augsburg Confession in Greek, which was presented to him by Gerlach, with explanations as the first serious step in his dialogue.

The Patriarch in his First Answer to the theologians of Tübingen pertaining to the Augsburg Confession answered its articles one by one. Jeremiah's Answer was very extensive and written with clarity and paternal admonition to the theologians. He urged them to accept the doctrines of the Eastern Orthodox Church. In his Answer, Patriarch Jeremiah followed the enumeration of the articles of the Augsburg Confession (without the titles, which were a later addition). He answered not only the first twenty-one articles pertaining to the faith and doctrine, but also all the articles concerning matters in dispute (Articles 22-28 and the conclusion). There were many points of agreement, but also points of disagreement, such as the filioque phrase in the Nicene Creed, the original sin, the priesthood, the confession of sins, free will, justification through faith and good works, invocation of the saints. In the second part of the Augsburg Confession, starting with the 22nd Article, the Patriarch touched upon the disagreements on Holy Communion, fasting (distinction of foods), monastic vows, and the power of the bishops.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Acta et Scripta, pp. 148-49. The most accurate text and fullest critical apparatus of the Augsburg Confession and the other writings in The Book of Concord in the original languages (Latin and German) from which the other translations were derived, is to be found in the second (1952) and later editions of the Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (4th edition; Göttingen; Vandenhoeck &

Publication of Acta et Scripta and its Description

The publication of the Acta et Scripta was made necessary because the opponents of the Lutheran theologians made public the First Answer of Jeremiah without their knowledge.<sup>12</sup> This First Answer was translated into German and had a wide circulation. Even the Romans through Pope Gregory himself interfered by sending a special messenger to congratulate Patriarch Jeremiah for his answer to the Lutherans. This was the reason that the Lutherans in all sincerity published all the correspondence between Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Tübingen theologians. This correspondence, discourses, and letters, were published in two languages (Greek and Latin) in Wittenberg in 1582, with a preface in Latin by Martin Crusius. It was titled Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani. The Roman Catholics attempted to use this document against the Lutherans. Nevertheless, this document was an important step which broke

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Ruprecht, 1959). These symbolic writings have been translated into English many times.

The last translation of the Symbolic writings of the Lutheran Church into English, which appears in the Book of Concord, has been translated directly from the original languages, Latin and German. The Book of Concord, edited by T. G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959).

<sup>12</sup>Georges Florovsky, "An Early Ecumenical Correspondence of Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines," in World Lutheranism of Today, A Tribute to Anders Nygren (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokforlag, 1950), p. 99. Florovsky states: "A copy of the first Patriarchal reply . . . came into the hands of a Polish priest, Stanislaus Socolovius, and he published it with his comments under an offensive title in Latin" (1582). "The Lutherans, to vindicate their cause, published all the documents, the Greek replies in full and their own letters," in the Acta et Scripta.

the silence between the Eastern Church and the West. A detailed description of the Acta et Scripta appears in the Appendix.

In the Latin text of Acta et Scripta there are many words and phrases in Greek which were not translated into Latin.

No titles appeared in any articles of the original Augsburg Confession. Titles of some of the articles were inserted in 1533, but were not printed in the Acta et Scripta. However, the articles were enumerated and followed by Jeremiah as he answered each. The correspondence in Acta et Scripta follows the Articles of the Augsburg Confession and are the subject matters of this correspondence. A Chart of the Articles in the Answers and Replies are listed in harmony in the Appendix.

Passages from the Fathers and Scriptures are quoted by both sides. The selection of verses of the Scriptures on the same subject used by both sides varied through emphasis of their own points of view. Frequently, they appear to be in disagreement, although in reality they are not, or not as much as it might appear. It seems each had special techniques and presuppositions for interpreting the Scriptures which governed their minds for the interpretation of a variety of subjects.<sup>13</sup> Passages of the Fathers used by Jeremiah, both direct and indirect, are numerous.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Acta et Scripta, pp. 200, 301. Patriarch Jeremiah points out that there are many aspects upon which they agree and discusses the point of disagreement.

<sup>14</sup> Philip Meyer, Die Theologische Literatur der Griechischen im 16 Jahrhundert, in Bonwetsch-Seeberg, Studien (Leipzig,

Throughout the correspondence marginal notes on the pages appear, pertaining to paragraph titles, scriptural verses and to the Fathers, in both the Latin and Greek text, but they are not complete.

Some pages are incorrectly numbered with some duplicate numbers appearing, but the sequence of the text is correct. References are made to the original and incorrect pages.

The style of writing used in both Latin and Greek produces lengthy sentences. For this reason the writers used the colon sign to break up the lengthy phrases. The abbreviations and ligatures that appear in the text are the usual ones for the Greek language at that time.

There are underlined words and phrases in both texts which do not always correspond with each other.

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1899), III, 6, 97-100, discerns passages of the Fathers in Jeremiah's First Answer in Acta et Scripta, pp. 56-57, introduction; pp. 57-58 concerning the Nicene Creed; pp. 58-64 (chs. 2 and 3) according to Symeon Thessalonikes; pp. 64-65, according to St. Basil; pp. 65-71 according to Basil and Chrysostom; pp. 71-77, in part, according to Chrysostom; pp. 77-81, according to Gabriel Severon; pp. 78-79 again according to Symeon Thessalonikes; pp. 81-85, in part, according to Chrysostom; pp. 85-89, independent statement by Jeremiah and, in part, according to Basil; pp. 89-95 according to Joseph Bryennios, in part; pp. 95-104, according to Nicholas Kabasilas; pp. 104-19 independent statement by Jeremiah with patristic references; pp. 119-27, according to Basil; pp. 127-43, independent statement by Jeremiah with patristic references. In the Second and Third Answers of Jeremiah independent statements are contained with much less passages from the Fathers, except from Joseph Vryennion, pp. 200-24, 229-37, 350-64 (cf. G. Steitz, "Die Abendmahlslehre der Griechischen Kirche in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," in Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 13 [1868], 679. The dependence of Jeremiah on the Fathers of the Church does not diminish the validity of his Answers, because the Orthodox conception especially in dogmas holds that the genuine teaching of the Eastern Orthodox Church depends upon Scriptures and Tradition. Cf. Karmires, pp. 93-94, n. 1.

The writers of the Acta et Scripta refer to their own previous writings or those of the others. But many times the passages they quote are not literally the same as the original. Therefore, these passages should not be accepted as exact quotations from the original.

It seems that this correspondence was created by individuals.<sup>15</sup> Patriarch Jeremiah II did not act in response to a synodical decree, but as the spokesman of the Orthodox Faith, he claims unoriginality as a virtue. In fact, the Patriarch used the advice and scholarly assistance of a group of theologians of whom the most noted was Theodosius Zygomalas, Protonotarius. On the other side, the German theologians, of whom Jacob Andreae was the most noted, do not appear to represent officially the Lutheran Church.<sup>16</sup> For this reason they tried to keep the correspondence private and confidential. But it is obvious that had the correspondence borne fruit, ways would have been found to bring this to the attention of the Lutheran Church for its approval.

The real promoter of this correspondence seems to be Martin Crusius who took it upon himself to contact, as an individual,

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<sup>15</sup> Florovsky, An Early Ecumenical Correspondence of Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines, p. 98. The correspondence "are ecumenical documents of great importance and interest."

<sup>16</sup> Supra, p. 17.



the Patriarchate of Constantinople (letters in Turcograecia).<sup>17</sup> Crusius' name is the only one that is officially mentioned in connection with the translation of the Latin text of the Lutherans into Greek, and the Greek text of the Patriarchate into Latin.

This correspondence started at the time when both sides were occupied with many internal problems. The Lutherans were involved in the restoration of unity to the various factions that had developed in the Lutheran community after the death of Martin Luther, while Jeremiah was occupied with problems of the Orthodox Church in Poland and the archbishopric in Russia while under constant pressure from the Turks. ✓

The Lutherans appealed to the Orthodox Church because the latter held the doctrines of the Undivided Ecumenical Church intact without the many innovations of the Roman Church. Luther himself referred often to the Orthodox Church as keeping the faith and orders in their original function, although he attributed infallibility neither to the Fathers nor to the Councils as such. ✓

The Lutheran theologians exclusively maintained the respected Augustana of 1530 as their main confession. They apparently regarded this Augsburg Confession as sufficient and self-explanatory, especially with the presence of the

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<sup>17</sup> Martin Crusius, Turcograecia (April 7, 1573), p. 410.

theologian Stephen Gerlach at the embassy of the Holy Roman Empire in Constantinople as a liaison officer who would be able to explain any passage that might require comment.

In reality, the Patriarch's Answers are considered the last Byzantine patristic presentation of the Eastern Orthodox Church to be succeeded by the scholastic method. The correspondence constituted a dialogue between an ancient traditional church and a newly autonomous church.

As a matter of fact, this translation into Greek, as noted by Professor Ernst Benz and cited by Georges Florovsky, "was not an accurate rendering of the final and official text of the Augustana, but a document of a very peculiar character."<sup>18</sup> According to Florovsky, this Greek translation was not the later revision but a special version of the Variata, the altered Augsburg Confession of 1540.<sup>19</sup> A comparison of the Greek translation on hand with the original languages indicates that the translation was made from the Latin text; there are some omissions and additions, but apparently without substantially changing its meaning. Also, there are differences in the Latin text between Acta et Scripta and the Book of Concord.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Florovsky, An Early Ecumenical Correspondence of Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines, p. 104. A comparison of the Augsburg Confession in Greek with the accepted text in Latin proves this claim.

<sup>19</sup> Supra, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> The differences between the Greek and Latin text of the Augsburg Confession is difficult to analyze because there are differences in the Latin text itself. For instance, in Article II of the Latin text in Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-

Were there actually many differences--essential differences--which caused the termination of this dialogue? Or was it a misunderstood emphasis which hammered a particular side of the discussion, and not the whole discussion itself? Was the Patriarch's loyalty to Sacred Tradition and the Lutheran's to Sola Scriptura the real cause of disagreement and termination of the correspondence? It appears that the Orthodox underestimated the importance of Scriptures and that the Lutherans underestimated Sacred Tradition.

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Lutherischen Kirche (4th edition; Göttingen; Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1959), p. 53. The original Latin text of the Augsburg Confession consists of 79 words. The Acta et Scripta text has 185 words in the Latin and 305 words in the Greek.

## CHAPTER III

### BELIEFS IN COMMON, ADIAPHORA, AND MATTERS IN DISPUTE

#### Areas of Agreements and Disagreements

There were many beliefs in common among Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Tübingen theologians. It is interesting to note that on the vital beliefs of the Christian faith, on which both sides were in agreement, only a few lines were written to confirm their common belief. Points of disagreement were stressed by each side's emphasis on its own claim. For instance, Tradition, one of the most disputed subjects, was given heavy emphasis by Jeremiah, giving the misimpression that the Scriptures are on a secondary level. He emphasized Tradition because it was in dispute, while the Scriptures, not in dispute, were taken for granted as being the first and main source of Christian belief. On the other hand, the Lutheran theologians claim they used the Tradition of the Orthodox Church (Nicene Creed and utterances of the Synods and the Fathers of the Church) in such a manner as to indicate their acceptance of Tradition. Of special importance was the qualifying clause that the theologians used in connection with Tradition, "if tradition agrees with the Scriptures," as (probably) Martin Crusius later noted in the margin of Jeremiah's First Answer concerning Tradition.

Another subject in disagreement was the Filioque phrase in the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed. This phrase was a

later Western insertion into the Creed, and constituted a vital disagreement between the Eastern Orthodox and the Western churches.<sup>1</sup>

Another disagreement was over the spiritual and ethical state of man after the fall of Adam. According to Patriarch Jeremiah, following the opinions of the Fathers, man did not lose entirely his free will, and thus the absolute predestination of man is rejected. According to the Lutheran theologians, man after Adam's fall lost his free will in spiritual and divine things, and while he retains a passive capacity for freedom, he can accept the redemption obtained by Christ only through the operation of the Holy Spirit.

One of the main subjects of disagreement was over the means of justification. The Lutherans taught that justification is wrought by faith alone, and not by faith and good works; but they emphatically stated that good works are indispensable as fruits of the life-giving faith. According to Jeremiah, good works contribute to justification, although they are not in themselves absolutely worthy of salvation;

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<sup>1</sup>Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Encyclical; "To the Archieratical Thrones of the East, 866," in Ta Dogmatika kai Symbolika Mnêmeia tês Orthodoxou Katholikês Ekkêsias, edited by John Karmires (Athens: Aster, 1953), I, 271. (In Greek). This Encyclical is the first symbolic book after the decrees of the Ecumenical Synods and the first official protest against the Western Church. Patriarch Photius used the incident of the insertion into the Nicene Creed of the "filioque" phrase by the Western Church to protest against its interference in the missionary activities of the Eastern Church, especially in Bulgaria, while also touching on theological and philosophical disagreements in reference to the Holy Trinity.

and therefore salvation does not depend upon them, but only in faith in God.

As for the sacraments, the theologians disagreed first on the number of sacraments and second on their effect. Jeremiah stated the Orthodox belief that the sacraments are seven in number, and the Lutherans claimed only two, Baptism and Eucharist. They stressed the point that only these two are recorded in Scripture and also that Chrysostom and other Fathers mention only these two. For the sacrament of Baptism, Jeremiah stressed the point of immersion, a very ancient practice of the early Church which the Lutherans of the period still followed, thus rejecting the method of pouring, although the Orthodox Church accepts the validity of baptism by pouring provided that the churches confess and baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity. Concerning the Eucharist, Jeremiah stressed the point that in substance the Eucharist is both a sacrament and a sacrifice; also he stated the belief in the metabolē, change of the two elements, bread and wine, into the very Body and Blood of Christ, an awesome and miraculous change of the elements. The Lutheran belief is that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah mentioned also the use of the leavened bread for Holy Communion, and the giving of the Eucharist to infants, after

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<sup>2</sup>The Book of Concord, edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), p. 311.

baptism. On the sacrament of repentance (penance) both sides agreed to the rejection of indulgences (as practiced in the Roman Church), purgatory, and the theory that the saints left to the Church the excess of Grace by which the Pope could free souls from purgatory. Points of disagreement were penances as a remedy, and confession to the priest in detail. In general, Orthodox and Lutherans agree that the absolution of sins is the act of Almighty God who has empowered the sacrament of penance.

There were differences in detail with the Lutherans on the priesthood as a sacrament; also on the Orthodox teaching concerning the Church and also Holy Eucharist as a sacrifice. Nevertheless, the Lutherans accepted the general idea that the administrator of the word and the sacraments has to be "called," which implies ordination. The Lutherans held that when no bishop was available any pastor could ordain, and justified their position by pointing out that the Sacred Scriptures and the primitive church did not differentiate between bishops and priests. Jeremiah stated that "all the officiations are wrought and there is nothing sacred without (the office of) the priest."

The sacraments of Chrismation and unction were not accepted as such by the Lutherans. Celibacy of the clergy was rejected by both the Orthodox and Lutherans; although the Orthodox requires that bishops be unmarried, by ethos pending an official change. Marriage is allowed before ordination by the Orthodox.

However, Jeremiah defended the monastic life, which the Lutherans accepted only with many reservations.

The Lutherans agreed that the head of the Church is Christ. Therefore, both sides rejected the primacy of the Pope and other innovations of the Roman Church. The Patriarch stressed the infallibility of the Church as a whole, as the interpreter of the Divine Revelation, stating that Supreme authority is bestowed to the "Conscience of the Church." While the Lutherans accepted the principle, they balked at the Orthodox formulation.

Concerning eschatology, both sides agreed on the second coming of Christ, the last judgment and divine reward in the future life.

Ceremonies, the epiklesis in the Holy Eucharist, the invocation of the saints, icons, relics, fasting and other customs and traditions received some attention in the first part of the Augsburg Confession (Articles 15,20,21) and especially in the second part on the disputed subjects. In the statement concerning the above mentioned beliefs, Jeremiah stressed the teaching of the Orthodox Church in substance and the manner of practice. The Lutherans appear to have misinterpreted the Orthodox Church's position as being that of the Roman Church; this resulted in disagreement between the Lutherans and the Orthodox.



### Enumeration of Subjects in Agreement and Disagreement

It seems that both sides, Jeremiah and the theologians, were in agreement, as a whole, on the following: a) the truth, and inspiration of the Scriptures; b) God, Holy Trinity; c) ancestors' sin and its transmission to all men; d) evil as caused by creatures and not God; e) Christ's two natures in a single person; f) Jesus Christ as Head of the church; g) second coming of Christ, last judgment, future life, endless reward, endless punishment; h) Eucharist, two species, bread and wine (the Body and Blood) given to the faithful; i) the rejection of indulgences, the excess of Grace from the saints and Christ which an individual can bestow on other Christians, purgatory and obligatory celibacy of the clergy.

Points of disagreement as a whole or in part were the following: a) Sacred Tradition; b) the insertion of the filioque in the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan Creed; c) the free will of man; d) the question of predestination; e) justification, in substance and means; sacraments, their substance and number; the propriety of pouring in baptism, chrismation and the age at which the Eucharist was taken; f) the meaning of "change" in the Holy Eucharist leavened bread, and the nature of Eucharistic Sacrifice; g) the infallibility of the Church and of the ecumenical synods; h) celebration; invocation of saints; icons; relics; fasts, and other ecclesiastical traditions and customs. There are many subjects that were not treated at all. Some subjects were only partially touched on.

## Renewal of Discussions Imperative

This correspondence between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the theologians of the University of Tübingen should not be accepted as final. Negative factors were the confusion at that particular time regarding the split of the Christian Church in the West; the barrier of language and lack of personal experience with each other's worship and convictions; the confusion over some terms and definitions; certain political and ecclesiastical circumstances, and especially the emphasis upon points of disagreement rather than agreement. There is the opportunity for both parties to reopen again the discussion in the light of today's perspective, without the external forces and influences which prevailed at that time between the Patriarch and the Lutheran theologians.

A prominent Orthodox theologian, Rev. Georges Florovsky, has stated:

An extensive study of this friendly exchange of convictions between the Eastern Church and the emerging world of the Reformation yields more than matter for historical curiosity. There was an attempt to discover some common ground and to adopt a common idiom. . . . And all controversial points, dividing the East and the non-Roman West, should be analysed again in the larger perspective of Patristic tradition.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Georges Florovsky, "An Early Ecumenical Correspondence of Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines," in World Lutheranism of Today, A Tribute to Anders Nygren (Stockholm: Svenska Kyakans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1950), p. 110.

The movement toward unity of the Church of Christ, dating from the turn of the century, is an unprecedented phenomenon. This effort is fostered by an understanding of the destructive scandal of separation within the Church and especially by an approach to unity filled with humility by the leaders of the various Christian bodies. Some recent steps that have been taken toward this goal are the establishment of the World Council of Churches, the merging of some Protestant churches, the creative efforts through dialogue for future mergers, the new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church started by Pope John XXIII and continued by Paul VI, culminating in the Vatican II Council and the personal meetings of various church leaders, especially the meetings between Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I and Pope Paul VI.

This personal communication between Pope Paul and Patriarch Athenagoras in Jerusalem and their "embracing of peace," which led to the lifting of the anathemas and excommunications by both sides, the visit of Pope Paul with Patriarch Athenagoras in Constantinople and the return visit of Patriarch Athenagoras to the Vatican are the most significant events in recent times. The vision of unity of the churches has been strengthened by the Patriarchate of Constantinople through its Encyclical Letter of 1920 to all Christian churches urging the creation of a League of Churches on the basis of sincere fellowship and love. The spirit by Patriarch Athenagoras, who initiated the first step toward unity in practical terms, and his exchanges

of brotherly affection with other church leaders provide preparation for ultimate union and are the lightposts that shine bright toward the accomplishment of God's Will.

The unity of all Christians should be the first and foremost objective and should be fostered by the spiritual insight of Christians. It is in the nature of the Christian Church to be one entity, for it was founded to be One, as its Founder and Head is One, remaining forever its Lord and Savior. "Oneness" is the life of the Church and is worthy of the Lord's calling for the awakening of Christians to this need for unity. The attainment of this unity of the Church depends upon the attitude of the people "with all lowliness and meekness" and

with patience, forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all (Eph. 4:2-6).

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**PART II**

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In answer, then we will not say anything of our own [inven-  
tion], but will speak from the holy and apostolic words, which,  
as you have written, you love and respect. In doing that,  
you do very well. We will also speak according to the opinion  
of the Divine teachers and interpreters of the inspired Scrip-  
ture, whom the Catholic Church of Christ received by common  
consent, for their words and miracles illuminate the whole  
world like another sun. For the Holy Spirit was breathing on  
them and was speaking through them. Their statements will re-  
main unshaken forever, because they are founded on the word of  
the Lord.

THE FIRST ANSWER OF JEREMIAH, PATRIARCH OF  
CONSTANTINOPLE, TO THE AUGSBURG  
CONFESSION, SENT TO TUBINGEN, 1576

We have received the letters which were sent to us by your love, and the booklet containing the articles of your faith. We accept your love, and according to your request we will make clear that which agrees with us and that which disagrees. For the exercise of love is the fulfillment of the law and prophets. It should be fulfilled not only in empty words, but should be well attested by these deeds and works. The most precious stones do not need the appraisal of words, but they are admired because of their own intrinsic worth by the men who know them. You have shown us such a love, most wise German men, and pride is absent in those things which you have communicated to us.

In answer, then we will not say anything of our own [invention], but will speak from the holy and ecumenical seven synods, which, as you have written, you love and accept. In doing that, you do very well. We will also speak according to the opinion of the divine teachers and interpreters of the inspired Scripture, whom the Catholic Church of Christ receives by common opinion, for their words and miracles illuminate the whole world like another sun. For the Holy Spirit was breathing on them and was speaking through them. Their statements will remain unshaken forever, because they are founded on the Word of the Lord.

The church of Christ according to St. Paul is the "pillar and bulwark of the truth" (1 Tim 3:15). According to the divine promise of the Lord, the gates of Hades "shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16:18). And although some are carried away thinking strange things, this church nevertheless stands secure and steadfast, solidly supported on the Rock and on the other teachings on which the truth has been established. For all who are of the church of Christ are of the truth, and those who are not completely of the truth, are not of the church of Christ. Therefore, we follow in the truth and offer the sound word for the upbuilding of the true faith. In it we ask for the prayers of those who love the Lord, so that our mind may be led by His divine Grace in the path of peace.

[I. GOD]

So then we affirm that your first article, which cites the dogmas, or sacred symbol, of the holy Synod of Nicaea, concerning the one essence and the three persons of God, is correct and has been piously proclaimed by you.

But this synod of Nicaea and the others which agree with it declare that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. The confession of the salutary faith of Christians, the most sacred symbol (which was first drawn up by the 318 God-bearing holy fathers at Nicaea, and completed by the 150 in Constantinople, and ratified by the rest of the five ecumenical synods, without adding or subtracting anything, since they agreed with

it, as the enlightened holy men who lived between those holy synods distinctly confess, and as we by the Grace of God also confess with them), clearly shows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.

This excellent confession reads as follows:

I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of everything visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father; through whom all things were made, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary, and became man. And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried. And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures. And ascended into Heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets. In one holy, catholic and apostolic church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. I look for the resurrection of the dead; and the life of the ages to come. Amen.

This is the treasure of the true faith, sealed by divine Spirit, in order that no one will omit anything or add something spurious. This divine, most sacred, and wholly perfect symbol of our reverence, the confession of all the holy fathers; the standards [oros] of Christianity, we love and receive, confessing it with boldness, and we preserve it to the end, undamaged and unadulterated as the divine deposit of the God-bearing holy fathers: so that by the intercessions of those who drew up this [symbol] and preserved it, we may



bring our pure and sound confession as a gift to the Trinity, in order to be delivered from everlasting punishment, and enjoy with Christ the divine, eternal kingdom, receiving it by the grace of Christ. Amen.

But now, coming to your third article, the article concerning the faith, we say the following: That the true and only divine faith of Christians, above mind and reason, the most true confession of the Triune God is included in these articles in brief, which he who wants to believe correctly and to be saved should confess.

These subjects, which are also called articles of faith, because they are principles and foundations, are twelve in number, according to the pattern of the twelve holy Apostles of Christ. Thus three of them concern the blessed Trinity, six concern the incarnation of the Son and Logos, and three concern the consummation.

A. The first of the articles: that the deity is by nature one and not many, and also one in power and rule and omnipotence and lordship.

B. Second, that this deity is three, and not one in person, although it is one and undivided in the Godhead; the first is unbegotten, the second begotten, and the third proceeds. They are called the Father, Son, and Spirit by the theologians.

C. Third, that this Trinity is the Creator of all, who

brought them forth out of nothing and placed them in time, things intelligible and sensible, visible and invisible.

D. Fourth, by the providence of the Triune God for us, by the good will of the Father and the cooperation of the Spirit, the Logos, being invariable and unchangeable according to His Godhead, became flesh for us without passion or change, receiving our perfect nature in a moment of time.

E. Fifth, He was born from a virgin, who had had no experience of a man, who was preserved as a virgin by Him before His birth, in His birth, and after His birth.

F. Sixth, He suffered in the flesh for us and was crucified and died voluntarily, but not according to His Godhead, because this [Godhead] is not capable of suffering.

G. Seventh, He rose by His own power the third day, and appeared many times to His disciples.

H. Eighth, on the fortieth day after His resurrection He ascended to the heavens, while the disciples were looking on, He sat down on the right of the Father, of the same glory and worship with Him, proving that His body is inseparable and is like God.

I. Ninth, He will come again on earth from heaven in the glory of the Father, and He will give His kingdom to His servants: He will give the impious to suffering.

J. Tenth, He will resurrect our whole nature, uniting the souls with the original bodies with which they lived in the same age, for the reward of their manner of life. The bodies will be uncorruptible.

K. Eleventh, He will judge the living and the dead. He will punish the unfaithful ones, and He will glorify the pious and those who have followed in the steps of His commandment.

L. Twelfth, the life hereafter will be eternal, because the nature is incorruptible.

Thus in these articles is included the following:

In the first [article], that there is one God, one Lord, the Father with the Son and the Spirit. For the first article calls the Father God; the Son, God from God; the Holy Spirit, Lord. It says that the Trinity is of one essence, the Father, the Son and the Spirit are adored alike, and are alike Eternal, Almighty, and Maker, as the prophets said concerning God, the Logos and the Spirit. And the angels sang to the one God the thrice-holy hymn.

In the second [article], that this is the only God, a Trinity in three persons and one in Godhead: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Father is unbegotten [and] without cause; He alone is the cause of those who proceed from Him. The Son, on the other hand, is begotten, God from God; and the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-giver, proceeds from the Father. Belonging to these three is one nature and eternal

glory, one power and worship. For it [the article] says: with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified.

In the third [article], it teaches that the Trinity is Creator, making all things from nothing. For that reason [it speaks of] the Father, Maker of heaven and earth and all things; the Son, through whom all things were made; and the Spirit, the Life-giver.

In the fourth [article], it proclaims the incarnation, that the Logos was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Mother of God (theoto Kos).

In the fifth [article it teaches] that Mary remained ever-virgin. From her the Logos received a living body, with a rational and volitional soul. He, being simple, became two-fold for us, one out of two perfect natures.

In the sixth [article], that [the Logos] has been crucified in the flesh for us, suffered, and was buried. He rose again and ascended and will come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. And the other six [articles] include the following, that there will be a resurrection and punishment and an everlasting kingdom.

These articles or chapters which are seen to be included in the sacred symbol pertain to those things which have to do with Christ, not only according to theoretical philosophy, but they also speak about moral activity, teaching us and leading us to salvation. For they say that our Lord descended for our salvation, in order that we might imitate His life and

be saved. He both suffered and died for us. He rose again to give us hope. His coming in the future to judge the living and the dead prompts us to expectation and preparation. Life eternal prompts us to the hope of fruition and to the fear of punishment. Through these our three-fold soul is cleansed: [our] rational [soul] by the pious confession of the Holy Trinity, [our] spirit by remembrance of the incarnation, and [our] desires by the declaration of the resurrection. As we long for these things, let us run according to the commandment.

Just as the all-embracing virtues are seven in number, humility, modesty, poverty, fasting, chastity, patience, and forbearance, so the opposite [vices] are seven in number, pride, ambition, greed, gluttony, fornication, sloth, and anger. The sacred symbol rejects the vices and promotes the virtues. Humility is awakened by the descent of God the Logos from the heavens; modesty, by the incarnation; poverty, fasting and purity, in that He was like that; patience and forbearance, since He suffered all things, and, at last, the cross and death. The Lord has suppressed every iniquity; by humility He suppressed pride, from which comes unbelief and blasphemy against God; by lowliness, He suppressed ambition, from which grow madness, envy and murder; by poverty [He suppressed] greed, the source of stealing, deceit, lying, treachery against God and the brethren; by fasting [He suppressed] gluttony, the source of drunkenness, waste, disorder and every wicked lust; by virginity [He suppressed] fornication,

the source of every pollution and departure from the holy God; by patience [He suppressed] sloth and meanness of spirit, the source of hopelessness, ingratitude, confusion of mind, and despair of soul; finally, by forbearance He destroys anger and demonic madness against the brethren, the source of fury, wrath, hostility, envy and murder, which exclude the highest and chief virtues, that is, hope, faith and love. These are three in honor of the Trinity and wholly unite the person who has them with the Triune God. And through grace they make him God. Thus, brethren, let us cleanse our mind with the correct faith; and having cleansed ourselves by the virtues--primarily the general ones, courage, temperance, justice and prudence, which include the rest--let us come as far as possible to the condition of being unmoved by desire. Let us live wholly according to Christ, by bearing in ourselves the true faith in Christ and His life. Let us love Christ and fulfill His commandments. Let us become temples of Christ, a sweet-smelling savor, His holy ones, so that we may attain the eternal life and glory and kingdom of Christ in eternity by His grace, according to His unfailing promise and not only through our works of righteousness.

## [II. ORIGINAL SIN]

Your second article contains the assertion that every man is guilty through original sin. We ourselves affirm the same; this is indeed the truth. The psalmist says in Psalm 51,

[5]: "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." And the Lord says in the Gospels: "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit"--clearly for the purging away of such original sin--"he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven" (John 3:5).

However, in connection with that rebirth by holy baptism which is included in the confession of the symbol that says "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins," we, on our part baptize by a three-fold immersion. The Latins are not correct in baptizing with one immersion. For it is necessary to proclaim the three hypostases in the one Godhead, and by three immersions and emmersions, pronouncing aloud the [name of the] Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, according to the ancient custom which has been handed down by the church. At the same time, the three immersions and emmersions signify the three-day burial and resurrection of the Lord [who] was crucified for us in the flesh and rose again.

One should immediately anoint with myron the one who has been baptized. For this chrism is the seal and the mark of Christ. We receive grace from it. By virtue of the chrismation, we are called Christians and are the anointed ones of the Lord. For the Lord does not deem us unworthy to be named after Him, because He calls us sons of God and gods by His Grace. When the priest anoints the baptized one, he says "The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit, Amen." Thus it is reasonable that chrismation follows baptism and is not

postponed for a time. It also follows, therefore, that the baptized ones should be given the awesome communion. For that is the [completion] of entire mystery, that having been freed of error and the filth of sin, being cleansed anew and sealed by the divine chrism, we receive the communion of His Body and Blood, and are united firmly with Him. Then Christ will live in us, walk with us, and remain with us forever.

#### [IV. JUSTIFICATION]

The fourth [article] concerns the remission of sins; you affirm that the remission of sins is given mainly by faith only, as it seems to you. But the catholic church demands living faith, which is made evident by good works, for as Paul<sup>JAMES</sup> says, faith without works, is dead (see James 2:17). Hence Basil the Great also says:

The grace from above does not come to the one who is not striving. But both of them, the human endeavor and the assistance descending from above through faith, must be mixed together for the perfection of virtue. Therefore the authority of forgiveness has not been given unconditionally, but only if the repentant one is obedient and in harmony with what pertains to the care of his soul. It is written concerning these things: "If two of you agree on earth about anything they ask, it will be done for them by my Father in heaven" (Matt. 18:19). One cannot ask about which sins this refers to, as if the New Testament has not declared any difference: for it promises absolution of every sin to those who have repented worthily. That one repents worthily who has adopted the intention of the one who said "I hate and abhor unrighteousness" (Ps. 119:163, LXX) and who does those things which are said in the 6th [7th?] Psalm and in others concerning works, and like Zacchaeus does many virtuous deeds.



In every respect, let us commend ourselves to God, [that we be] kept pure by Him in [our] works. Let us hold fast to the confession. The great High Priest demands these things from us. Let us believe that there is a resurrection, that there are rewards, that there are abundant good things, that Christ is God, that the faith is correct. Let us confess these things. Let us hold fast to these things; let us show our faith by works. He does not ignore our deeds. Therefore we should do good works according to our ability, and not plead the excuse of human weakness; for our High Priest first underwent these things, and therefore He is well able to sympathize with us. If then we are sinning in some thing, let us approach sinlessness through sincere repentance and confession, and let us demonstrate complete abstinence from evil things. Let us boldly come to repentance, in order to receive mercy and anything else we ask. There is no sin which has conquered God's love for mankind. If we approach properly, the deed furthers the divine honor, the kingly gift. But when the consummation takes place, then He will rise for judgment. Let us then come in repentance and with all boldness to the merciful Jesus, not with a bad conscience nor doubting in anyway. For he who doubts cannot approach with boldness. Therefore the Scriptures say: "In an acceptable time have I heard you, and in a day of salvation I have helped you" (Is. 49:8, LXX). But now, when we sin after baptism and find repentance, let us control our passions and

attack them by repentance and confession. Let us become kings greater than those who have the royal robe. Let us conquer our passions like body-guards. There is no excuse at all for those who remain in sin, as it is written in many passages of the divine Scriptures.

[V. THE OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY]

The fifth [article] is similar to the fourth one, which concerns repentance and forgiveness: that one is saved not because of any satisfactions, but only by faith and grace. The catholic church thinks in this way: A man receives the remission of his sins, if by repentance he truly comes back to God, [and] if he has a living faith, which clearly involves good works, as we said above and will never cease ever to say. For the Lord says: "Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father" (Matt. 7:21). And again: "For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God, but the doers of the law will be justified" (Rom. 2:13). And again: "You are my friends if you do what I command you" (John 15:14). As also Basil the Great, writing in relation to our subject, says:

Let us be mindful of the kingdom of heaven. Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended the mountain and started His teaching, said "Blessed are the poor in spirit" (Matt. 5:3), and the rest of the beatitudes. And again at the time of retribution, in the parable of the shepherd, He says "Come, O blessed of my Father" (Matt. 25:34) and the following. And again: "Sell

your possessions, and give alms; provide yourselves with purses that do not grow old, with a treasure in the heavens" (Luke 12:33).

Through these and similar things one is worthy of the kingdom of heaven, and without them it is impossible to enter the kingdom. In the Gospel according to Matthew, the Lord said: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20). And also: "Unless you turn and become like little children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 18:3). Also in the Gospel according to John He says to Nicodemus: "Unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (John 3:3). And also: "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit" (John 3:5). On all of these a single verdict is pronounced; the danger is the same in each case if a single condition is omitted. For if it says, "Not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished" (Matt. 5:18), how much more is this true of the Gospel. The Lord Himself says: "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words shall not pass away" (Matt. 24:35). For that reason James also said: "For whoever keeps the whole law and but fails in one point has become guilty of all of it" (James 2:10). He learned to say it from that which the Lord threatened after [His] blessings and promises to Peter: "If I do not wash you, you have no part in Me" (John 13:8). Paul, speaking in Christ, testifies concerning those things because of which one is deemed unworthy of the kingdom of heaven, and falls under the

judgment of death. At one time he definitely says that "those who do such things deserve to die" (Rom. 1:32), and at another time that "the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 6:9). And the Lord [says]: "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62).

From these, then, and similar things we are taught that all to whom the promise of the kingdom of heaven is proclaimed must fulfill everything, perfectly and legitimately, and without [it] that it will be denied. Whoever has kept them [the commandments] should expect to be deemed worthy to expect the promise. It is necessary that in the struggle to be well-pleasing God one should not only be free from every evil, but also be unblemished and blameless in every word of God. For Paul teaches on the basis of [his] contemplation of the great and indescribable love of God and Christ Himself for us: "We put no obstacle in any one's way, so that no fault be found with our ministry" (2 Cor. 6:3), but in everything let us present ourselves as servants of God. For it is written: "That he might present the church to himself in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish" (Eph. 5:27). And which the diligent student will find much like this, as Paul also teaches: "But thanks be to God, that you who were once slaves of sin have become obedient from the heart to the standard of teaching" (Rom. 6:17). For as the wax given to the seal is conformed

accurately to the form of the seal, so we also, having given ourselves to the pattern of the teaching according to the Gospel, will be shaped in the inner man, fulfilling that which is said by him [Paul]: "You have put off the old nature with its practices and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator" (Col. 3:9-10). As Christ rose from the dead, let us walk in the newness of life; so that, grace having anticipated us, we may contribute those things which we should, that in this way the good will of God may be fulfilled in us. There is need of a struggle, and this struggle must be great and according to the law, that we may not accept in vain such great grace of the love of God in Christ. We pray for help from above so that we may be led to virtue. Having walked this path, we need a divine influence. One ought not to have confidence at all in our righteousness, which in itself is worthless and incomplete, but we should trust in the divine righteousness and harmony, in order to be led unerringly to heaven. The present life is a way, which needs the leading of the hand from above. For when we want enter a city, we need someone who will show us the way; much more then do we need the guidance from above for our pilgrimage into heaven, to show us the way, to support us, and to lead us by hand. There are many narrow paths which lead us astray, and for this reason we grasp the right hand of God. The leading is God's work, but to be worthy to be held by His hand depends on our zealous effort. If we are

unclean, that hand will not hold us. Good works and purity are necessary in order to acquire divine help.

In godly Chrysostom's interpretation of the passage in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, "Working together with him, then, we entreat you not to accept the grace of God in vain" (2 Cor. 6:1), he says: "The love of God constrains us, that is, presses hard on us, drives us, urges us. Thus let us not lose the opportunity, but let us display a zealous concern worthy of grace. Let us not throw away the gift. One must not only believe in the reconciliation, but must also demonstrate earnest concern in life. To strive after this is right. To have been freed from sins and to have become [God's] friend, and then to become involved again in the previous manner of life, is the same thing as returning to hostility and receiving grace in vain. We do not benefit from grace when we live unworthily. We rather hurt ourselves all the more, for in spite of such a knowledge and gift, we return to the previous evil ways. Thus, as long as we are in the struggle, as long as we are working in the vineyard, as long as the eleventh [hour] continues, let us go forward and show a correct and virtuous life, in order that we may attain the joy of the everlasting benefits. If we when we were laden with evils, He both received and freed us, should he not all the more accept us when we have been delivered from [our] old [ways] and are contributing our part? If we live in sins, sin will give birth to unbelief. For just as unbelief produces an evil life, so the soul, when

it has come to the abyss of evils, becomes disdainful, and when it becomes disdainful, it does not continue to believe. For it says: "The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob understand" (Ps. 93 [94]:7, LXX). And again: "Our lips are our own: who is Lord over us?" (Ps. 11 [12]:4, LXX). And again: "The fool has said in his heart, 'There is no God'" (Ps. 13 [14]:1, LXX). And the Lord said: "For every one who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light" (John 3:20). As long as time of grace continues, no one ought to despair. The time for despair is when the bride-chamber closes, when those who will be worthy are received into the bosom of the patriarchs and receive the good things to come. But not yet. The arena is still arranged, the contest continues and the rewards [are] uncertain. Let us then be eager to contend. One must run and run hard. Let us strive for perfection. Let us acquire an excellent life with true faith and have a correct life according to the commandment. If some one has faith but does evil, he disgraces the teaching and is evidently a child. One must not always dwell on the basic elements, nor only lay a foundation, but one must also complete the rest of the building, and the roof, the perfecting of good deeds. If one is always dwelling on the basic elements, or the foundation, where there is nothing more for him to do, he will not complete the house, nor hold fast the foundation of wisdom, nor become wise. If then we love Christ as we ought to love Him, we will grow in virtue,

and will punish ourselves when we sin. We will not fear hell, but we will fear offending God. The latter when, being angry, He turns away, is worse than the former. And if you want to learn how great it is, consider this [analogy]. One might see a bandit or criminal being punished, and the king himself gave His beloved, only-begotten, and legitimate son to be put to death, and transferred the guilt from the wicked man to the son, who was not like that, in order to save the condemned one and set him free from an evil reputation. If then after these things the son were raised up to great authority after he had saved [the offender] then were insulted in his unspeakable glory by the one on whose behalf he had suffered such things, would the latter not prefer to die a thousand times, if he had any intelligence, than to be evidently responsible for such great ingratitude? Let us also now think about this, and groan bitterly for those things [by which] we have provoked [our] Benefactor. Because He bears the insult with patience we should not for that reason be falsely confident, but on the contrary we should feel ourselves seriously wounded on that account. It has happened among men that when someone who has been wounded on his right cheek turns his left as well, he defends himself much better than if he were to inflict ten thousand times over [the wounds he received] (see Matt. 5:39). Also, when one has been abused, he should not only not abuse in return but bless; in this manner he has wounded [his abusers] more severely than



if he were to reproach them ten thousand times, and he frees them from the impurity of sin. If then this happens among men, that we feel ashamed when, having abused others, we encounter long-suffering much more with regard to God should those be afraid who are sinning continuously and suffering nothing bad. For unspeakable punishment has been stored up over their head for evil. If we understand these things, let us by all means be afraid of sin. This is hell, this is gehenna, this is ten thousand evils. We have not only to fear it, but to run away from it, and try always to please God. This is the kingdom, this is life, these are ten thousand good things. Thus by the grace and mercy of God we will attain here already the kingdom and the good things to come--may we all receive them! Although God desires and wills that all men be saved, but He also asks that as suppliants they be reconciled with God. Let us not turn back to the same sins, but always to be upright, lest we receive grace in vain. Should we be idle because of the fact that God has sent ambassadors? Should we not rather exactly for this reason be anxious to please God and to acquire spiritual gain? Even if salvation is by grace, man himself also is the cause who by his achievements and the sweat of his brow attracts the grace of God. If one were to say that according to what has been stated it appears that in the grace of the Spirit no one gives offense, he would not err in understanding. For those who have received [the gift of] tongues and have been arrogant [as a

result] have been severely criticized. This also happens in the case of one who has received a spiritual talent, but has not used it in the proper manner. Let us be blameless in those gifts, in toil, in vigilance, in fasting, in purity. And as long as we are still around, let us attend to spiritual things by using our time on this earth in fear, living well and godly according to the commandment, in sincere love, in the word of truth, and in the power of God. Let us commit all that is ours to God, ascribing all the good that we do to Him.

#### [VI. THE NEW OBEDIENCE]

The sixth [article] gives the assurance, that it is necessary to do good works, but not to be dependent on them, according to the passage: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant" (Ps. 143:2). With regard to this we say, that faith precedes, and then the works follow and are necessary according to the commandment of God. The one who fulfills them, as he must receives reward and honor in everlasting life. Good works are necessary for true faith. One should not trust in works nor be boastful in a Pharisaic manner. Even if we have fulfilled everything, according to the word of the Lord "we are unworthy servants" (Luke 17:10). All things should be referred to the righteousness of God, because those things which have been offered by us are small or nothing. According to Chrysostom it has been established, that God does not lead us idle to His kingdom. The Lord "opposes the proud, but he gives grace to the humble" (1 Peter 5:5; see James 4:6;

Prov. 3:24). One should not be arrogant concerning [his] works. But to do and fulfill them is most necessary. For without divine works it is impossible to be saved. If then we are convinced by the Lord who says, "If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them" (John 13:17), it will be for our benefit.

It is necessary to join our good works with the mercy from above. If we excuse ourselves because of our weakness or the goodness of God and do not add something of our own, it is of no benefit for us. How can we invoke the mercy for the cure of our iniquities, if we do nothing to appease the divine One? Let us hear how Chrysostom explained the [words of the] 129th [130th] Psalm, "Out of the depths have I cried to thee, O Lord, Lord, hear my voice" (Ps. 129:1-2, LXX). From this, he says, we learn two things: that one cannot merely expect something from God if there is nothing of ourselves: for first it says "I cry," and then follows "hearken to my voice." Also, the lengthy prayer, full of tears, has more power to convince God to hearken to those words which have been said. But in order that no one can say that since he is sinner and full of ten thousand evils, "I cannot come or pray and call upon God," He takes away all doubt in saying: "If thou, O Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, Lord, who shall stand?" (Ps. 129:3, LXX). Here the word "who" should be replaced by the word "no one," because there is no one, no one who according to a strict account of his works should ever attain mercy and

benevolence. If you withdraw the mercy, and God justly takes sins under consideration, and measures out punishments for sins, who will be able to bear the judgment? All would have of necessity to submit to destruction. We say these things not to put souls into a condition of carelessness, but only to console those who have fallen in despair. Because who can boast that he had pure heart? Or who can openly say that he is clean from sins? And what shall I say of others? For if I lead St. Paul into our midst and ask him to give an accurate account of things which happened [in his case], he could not hold his ground. For what can he say? He read the prophets. He was a zealot with regard to the strictness of the law of the fathers. He saw signs. Nevertheless, he had not yet ascended to that awesome sight which he enjoyed, nor had he heard that awesome voice. Before that he was in all things put to shame. Furthermore does not [God] accuse Peter, the chief of all, of suffering that grievous fall [of his] after so many tens of thousands of miracles and such an exhortation? If then, He will not judge by mercy and compassion, but will pronounce an accurate judgment, then [the Lord] will find all of us guilty. Therefore the Apostle Paul said: "I am not aware of anything against myself, but I am not thereby acquitted. It is the Lord who judges me" (1 Cor. 4:4). And the prophet said: "If thou, O Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, [Lord, who shall stand?]" (Ps. 129 [130]:3, LXX). [Lord, Lord,] is not merely said twice, but [the prophet] wondered

at and was surprised by the greatness of God's mercy, His endless majesty, and the fathomless sea of His all-goodness. He knew and knew explicitly, that we are responsible to God for many debts, and that even the smallest of our sins are deserving of great punishment. "For with thee is forgiveness" (Ps. 129 [130]:4, LXX). This means that our escape from hell depends not on our achievements but on Thy all-goodness. If we do not enjoy Thy mercy, our achievements alone do not suffice to save us from the future wrath. But now you have bound mercy and justice together, and according to your nature you use the former rather than the latter. And the Lord has plainly said this through the prophet: "I, I, am He who blots out your transgressions" (Is. 43:25, LXX), that is, it is My work, it springs from My all-goodness, because those things which are yours, if indeed they are good, will never be sufficient to free you from punishment, if the work of my mercy toward men were not added. And [the Lord] also [said]: "I carry you" (Is. 46:4, LXX). Atonement belongs properly to God, the truly merciful One. Therefore He examines with moderation. "For Thy name's sake I have waited for Thee, O Lord" (Ps. 129 [130]:5, LXX). Because of Thy name, which is merciful, I have awaited salvation. While I looked at those things which are mine, I was long in despair; but now, paying attention to Thy law and fulfilling Thy words, I have good hope. Thou art He who said "as the heaven is . . . from the earth" (Is 55:9, LXX), "So my counsels are not as your counsels,

nor or my ways as your ways" (Is. 55:8, LXX). And again: "As the heaven is high above the earth, so the Lord has increased His mercy toward those who fear Him" (Ps. 102 [103]:11, LXX); that is, I [God] have saved not only those who accomplish [good] things, but I also have spared the sinners, and amid your iniquities I have demonstrated My guardian protection. In Ezekiel He said: "I do not do this, except for the sake of My holy name, which you have profaned among the nations" (see Ezek. 36:22, LXX). [This passage] says that we are not worthy to save ourselves, nor do have we a good hope because of what we have done, but we hope to be saved for His own name's sake. This is for us the hope of salvation and the sacred anchor which has been left for us, who repent in order to be granted His mercy. If we obey, we are made partakers of the good things of the earth (see Is. 1:19) and we inherit the promise. It is necessary then to hope in God, even if there are ten thousand things which oppress us and lead us to despair and even threaten [us with] death. For Him all things are easy, and He can find a way for those who have no way. With Him there is a fountain of redemption, a sea of salvation, a treasure of mercy which springs up eternally (see Ps. 36:9-10; Matt. 18:21f.). Wherever there is mercy, there is also redemption; and it is not little, but great, a boundless sea of mercy. If then we are bound by our sins, it is not necessary to fall again, nor to be despondent. For wherever there is mercy and charity, there is no

strict reckoning of iniquities by person who accuses. Many of them are overlooked, because of his great mercy and inclination toward charity. That is God's nature: He grants mercy without ceasing and gives pardon; He is compassionate and benevolent, and imparts salvation to all who have repented and who according to their ability are working that which is good. Because He is so kind and pours out everywhere the greatness of His mercy, and [because] mercy is truly to be found in Him, it is very clear that He is going to save His own people, and not punish them. Let us then offer those things we have done with much care and wisdom, and let us cherish everything of His, as [coming from] One who has unutterable mercy. The primary wisdom is a life pleasing to God and cleansed by Him. The persons who without remorse are walking in sin, [who are] inclined to the things of the earth and to their belly, [who are] entangled in the dirt, who never look to heaven, who do not want to be pitied, and [who do] not realize how greatly they suffer. It is better for someone to be polluted with unclean mud than with sins. Those who have fallen in the ditch of sin will be perished utterly unless they cleanse their defilement, not with water, but with great toil and time and sincere repentance, in tears, in wailings, and in related spiritual cleansing. They are the true satisfactions, and not those made through bribes, [an action] that arouses the anger of God against those who take them. And thus they are injured by ten thousand evil things, and great

misfortune sent by God comes to them. No forgiveness of sins is possible through such actions of men. Their effort is rather directed toward gain. External filth can be dusted off very rapidly; but that which is carried around inside is cleansed with difficulty. "For out of the heart come evil thoughts, fornication, adultery" and the like (Matt. 15:19). For this reason, the prophet also said: "Create in me a clean heart, O God" (Ps. 51:10). And another one [says]: "Cleanse your heart from wickedness, O Jerusalem" (Jer. 4:14, LXX). You see here what pertains to us and what pertains to God. Again: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8); let us become cleansed to the limit of the ability of our understanding and our own power. How can we do it? "Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove your evils from your souls before My eyes" (Is. 1:16, LXX). He says: "[Do not be] like whitewashed tombs" (Matt. 23:27), seeming to be guiltless, but do as being seen by God. "Though your sins are like purple, I will make them white as snow" (Is. 1:18, LXX). Do you not see that we have to clean ourselves, and then God will make us white as snow? For that reason no one, not even those who sink down to the lowest evil, should be in despair. Even if it becomes a habit for him and he has arrived close to the nature of evil in itself, let him not be afraid. For even colors which do not fade, and have almost become one with the material, nevertheless are transformed into the opposite condition and becomes as white as



snow. Thus, He gives us good hope. Let us seriously try as far as we can to become clean. Let us pursue good works, and stop seeing the speck that is in others and see the log in our own eye (see Matt. 7:3). Thus we will be able with the grace of God to attain worthily the good things to come. The power of the works is great, because God cleanses them and makes them as white as snow through repentance. One should not then boast nor have confidence in them, for that would be sin, but engage as much as possible in the works which follow faith and are necessary. For if those are rejected who have cast out demons and who have prophesied, but have not lived accordingly, how much more [shall we be rejected] if we are negligent and will not fulfill the commandments? Christ will tell them: "I never knew you" (Matt. 7:23; see Luke 13:27). We believe rightly to His glory and we will live well to His glory, for neither is of benefit without the other. What is more, when we might praise Him rightly, but do not live well according to the commandment, then we greatly despise Him. And although we call Him Almighty and Teacher, we nevertheless scorn Him and do not fear His fearful judgment. The fact that the Greeks live in an unclean way is no wonder and it is not worthy of such great condemnation. But the fact that those who are Christians, who participate in so many mysteries, [and] who expect such great glory, are living in such uncleanness is much worse and unbearable and beyond any sympathy. If, as the saying goes, we were to look down upon the great and

infinite compassion of God and His extraordinarily great gifts, and if we should imagine that in our ingratitude that we shall be saved by [His] grace alone, we would receive no benefit. Besides, our own deeds when they are judged--even if they are near to perfection--are nothing, except that they help to demonstrate our attitude; namely, that we are thankful [and] that we obey the commandments and do good and virtuous deeds, so that we may not be taken into paradise like insensible creatures, something that simply does not happen, but [that happens] on the basis of our right decision by the grace of God. If we are going to be determined to incline toward sin, we will appear to be insensible [creatures] that have paid attention to things which do not exist. We must rather avoid it [sin] and deplore it since it leads us away from God. And when we want to commit a sin, then we must think about and imagine the strict and intolerable judgment of Christ the Judge sitting on a high and elevated throne, with all creation present [and] trembling at His glorious appearance because of the judgment of the manner of every man's life.

#### [VII. THE CHURCH]

The seventh [article] says that you hold one holy catholic church, and that you perform correctly the sacraments and the ceremonies of the Church. In reference to this we say the following: The holy catholic and apostolic church is one of Christians who in the right way and according to the tradition

of the holy fathers carry out those things which have been legislated, determined by the canons, and ratified by the Holy Spirit. The sacraments and ceremonies in this catholic church of Orthodox Christians are seven: that is, baptism, chrismation with the holy myron, holy communion, ordination, marriage, repentance and holy oil. For the charisms of the Holy Spirit are seven, as Isaiah says (see Is. 11:2); seven also are the sacraments of the church, which have been wrought by the Spirit. And the fact that these are sacraments and only these and not more, is proved by their division. For a sacrament either refers to the birth of men, that is, to marriage in Christ, or to salvation, that is, to the order of the holy actions, and to those whereby and wherein they are wrought. Necessary for all are the following: baptism, myron [chrismation], communion. For those who are dedicating themselves to God, there is ordination, as there is marriage for the laymen. For those who have committed sin after baptism there are repentance and the anointing with holy oil, which grants absolution of sins committed or cleanses the stains which lie in the soul. These are called mysteries, for in the visible symbols is contained a spiritual and ineffable effect. Moreover, each one of these sacraments has been instituted by the Scriptures, each has a determinate matter and form, and in addition each has an efficient or better, an instrumental cause. In the use of baptism, the water is the matter, and the words of the priest are the form,

"N., the servant of God is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The instrumental cause is the priest, [although] if in a case of necessity the baptism performed even by a layman it is not rejected. In the same way matter and form is to be found in each one of [the sacraments].

Baptism then is the giving of rebirth through the Spirit. For we have lost the first sinless birth, and have been conceived in iniquity as David sings, so that the mother of each one of us gives birth in sin (see Ps. 51:5). Baptism becomes a divine bath which cleanses such iniquities away.

Chrismation imprints the first seal and sign upon the soul, the image [of God] and [imparts the] power which we have lost because of disobedience (see Titus 3:5). It also gives the grace which man had once received in the soul by the divine inbreathing. Therefore the anointing bears the power of the Spirit, is rich in His fragrance, and is a sign and seal of Christ.

The communion unites the faithful with the Lord Himself, and we truly partake of His body and blood (see Mark 10:16; Matt. 9:18f; 2 Tim. 1:6). For since we are dead as the result of [an act of] eating, and have been separated from paradise and God, we again receive everlasting life through the communion of the body of the Lord, a spiritual food (see John 1:12). And freed from corruption, we are united with the immortal One, Who became mortal in the flesh for our salvation.

Ordination grants the authority and the power of the Maker (see Gen. 1:28). Nothing that is exists without Him, but He came with the purpose to lead us to well-being (eis to eu einai). Now that He has been taken away from us, He grants this power to us through His priesthood (see Matt. 16:19; John 20:23). By this power all ceremonies are wrought, and there is nothing sacred without the priest. Furthermore, as He installed us at the beginning of the world as administrators of the visible things, so in this present time He installs us in a higher level as administrators through the priestly office. He handed the keys of heaven to the Apostles and to the hallowed [persons] who succeed them.

Marriage is a gift from God by condescension, for procreation, as long as everything exists in the state of corruption (see Matt. 22:24,30). For, God did not intend an irrational, casual, and sordid union to occur among us. But because we died by our own free will, He let the perpetuation of the species occur in the same manner as among the irrational brutes, so that we might know in what position we have placed ourselves. And this will continue to occur until the Incorruptible One, having died and risen for us, will raise and make nature immortal. Therefore, He Himself also blesses matrimony, in order that the beginning of our life may not be without blessings.

Repentance works our restoration again after we fall. And because after baptism there is no other restoration either

by grace or by gift, without struggle and pain, except through conversion and through tears, through confession of iniquities and turning away from the evil, this great gift, repentance, has been granted. And indeed there is included here in the vow of monks to live according to their rules, which is an continuing pledge of repentance.

Holy unction has been given as a sacred ceremony and as a type of divine mercy, for the salvation and sanctification of those who turn away from sin. Therefore this ceremony grants forgiveness of sins, and raises them up from illness, and accomplishes their sanctification.

Jesus Christ our God has handed down all of these things, and so have His holy disciples through Him. For, since we are of dual nature, both of soul and body, those sacraments likewise are given to us in two-fold character, as indeed God Himself became two-fold for us, true God and man. For He sanctifies our souls through the medium of our reason through the Grace of the Spirit. Through perceptible means--water, oil, bread, the cup, and so on--which have been sanctified by the Holy Spirit, He hallows our bodies also and grants salvation full. Thus, He will constitute us in the perfection in which He had created us. He will also raise us mortals, and we will be rewarded for what we have done.

What each [mystery] contributes to our salvation has been said. We must now briefly say from where each of them has received its beginning.

Matrimony has been instituted for all from the very beginning by God, Who Himself united Adam and Eve. In the Gospels the Lord on one occasion honored matrimony with a miracle (see John 2:1f.). And on another occasion He is seen attacking the Mosaic Law, which permits divorcing women by giving a statement of divorce (see Matt. 19:8; Mark 10:5,6,8). He emphasizes that this rule has not been in existence from the beginning, but that this has been allowed because of the hard heart of those who received this rule. And He adds: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder" (Matt. 19:6b). Furthermore the Apostle also expressed himself saying that marriage is honorable among all, and the bed undefiled (see Heb. 13:4). He calls [marriage] a mystery, saying: "Brethren, this is a great mystery, and I take it to mean Christ and the church" (Eph. 5:32). Thus this sacrament has been given from the beginning, and, as has been said, has been ratified in the New Testament.

Holy order [ordination], passing over the shadows of priesthood existing before the law, because of the obscurity attending these earlier appearances, was most obviously handed down by the God of all things at the time of Moses and Aaron; it was appropriate for the worship according to the law (see Heb. 10:1). The first then, who under grace were honored with such an office, were chosen by the only-begotten Son, as the words that the Lord spoke to the Apostles testify: "You did not choose me, but I chose you

. . . out of the world" (John 16:16,19). They were perfected at Pentecost, when the all-holy Spirit descended upon them; and they then have handed down this gift to all who came after them.

Holy baptism--I am speaking about our baptism, because the anticipations have now passed away--has been handed down in word and action by our Lord Jesus; by action, in that He accepted baptism from the hands of John in the Jordan; by word, in that He commanded His disciples: "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19).

The mysterion of the holy myron [chrismation] is not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, but it has been handed down by the disciples of the Logos. The most reverend Dionysius [that is, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite], who had been taught by St. Paul, has recorded this in his sacred writings. He is a man whom the Church of God honors next to the Apostles.

The sacrament of the communion, the most sacred of the ceremonies, has been foreshadowed typically in the sacrifices of the law (see Heb. 10:1). But in reality it has been handed down by the Lord, who willed to begin His passion during that evening, on which He ate the Passover that the Law commanded with His initiated ones. After eating of it according to the traditional manner handed down by Moses, He instituted the tradition of the new sacrifice, breaking the bread and distributing it to them, calling it His own Body,



and distributing to them the cup, filled with a mixture of wine and water, which He called His true Blood. He commanded them to do it in remembrance of Him and to know that whenever they did it, they would proclaim the death of their Lord and Teacher (see Matt. 26:26-28; Mark 14:22-24; John 19:34; Luke 22:19-20; 1 Cor. 11:23-26).

The sacrament of repentance was instituted in a type by Moses, inasmuch he commanded sacrifices for sins. But in deed and in reality it was instituted by the Lord Himself, who gave this authority to the disciples and said: "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained" (John 20:23). He promised to give the keys of the kingdom to Peter especially and specifically, saying: "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. 16:19). And when Peter asked how many times he should forgive those who have committed sins and proposed seven times --Peter put it that way under the impression that he was doing something great (see Matt. 18:21)--the Lord answered, "I do not say to you seven times, but seventy times seven" (Matt. 18:22).

The anointing with oil [Unction] is perhaps spoken of by some other Apostles, but it is already handed down by St. James the Apostle in his catholic Epistle where he says:  
brethren,

is any one among you suffering? Let him pray.  
Is any cheerful? Let him sing praise. Is any

sick among you? Let him call for the elders [presbyters] of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith will save the sick man, and the Lord will raise him up, and if he has committed sins, he will be forgiven (James 5:13-15).

These things, then, he handed down in this way, and from that time up to now it has been so done.

These then are the mystēria of the Church, the number [and] how they have been handed down in the manner which has been set forth. Through them the initiated receive the heavenly gift. One should not forget, that the effective and original cause of all those mystēria is the reverend and the most holy passion of our Lord, by which or through which grace flows to those who partake. The reason for this is a subject of another discourse [in another] context, and not of this present treatise, which is concerned with other subject matter.

#### [VIII. WHAT THE CHURCH IS]

The eighth [article] testifies that the church is a gathering of believers and holy people, so that if the mystēria are administered by hypocrites and wicked men, it does not in any way harm those who are sanctified by them, according to the words: "The pharisees sit on Moses' seat" (Matt. 23:2). We ourselves also say that when the mystēria are administered by unworthy ones, they [the ministers] are not benefited, but rather injured. Yet, the recipients are sanctified and benefited; for the divine Grace works even

through unworthy servants and it perfects the mystēria. The administrants of [the mystēria] are to be honored, and the innocent ones are not to be scorned under the pretense that there are hypocrites as Judas was among the Apostles. For the divine Chrysostom, interpreting the Epistle to Timothy [1 Tim. 4:12], says: Whoever honors the priest will honor God, and he who has learned to scorn the priest, he will gradually go on and will at some time abuse God too. "He who receives you receives me" (Matt. 10:40). And it is written: "But hold His priests in honor" (Sirach 7:31). Hence the Jews learned to scorn God, because they scorned Moses when they stoned him (see Ex. 17:4). For if someone behaves reverently toward a priest, much more will he be reverent toward God. And even if a priest is bad, God, who is watching, will bestow a reward on you because you have done reverence to him who is not worthy of honor in order to honor Him. "He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward" (Matt. 10:41), as it is written. And whosoever submits to and obeys the priest and honors him for the sake of the Lord will be blessed.

They [the scribes and pharisees] "sit on Moses' seat" (Matt. 23:2). Do you not know, they say, what a priest is? He is a messenger of the Lord. Surely he does not say things that are his own. If you scorn him, you are not scorning him, but God Who has ordained him. From what does it appear that God ordained him? If you do not have this faith and reverence,

your hope is empty. For if God is working nothing through him, you are neither washed, nor have you a part in the mystèria, nor do you receive any blessings; and then you are not a Christian. For what reason then does God ordain all, even the unworthy ones? God does not ordain all, but He works through all, even though they are unworthy, in order that the people may be saved. For if He spoke for the sake of His people through an ass, and through Balaam who was a wicked man (see Num. 22:21), how much more does He speak through the priest? For what does God not do for our salvation? What does He not utter? Through whom does He not act? If God has worked through Judas, and through the prophets, of whom He says: "I never knew you; depart from me, you evildoers" (Matt. 7:23), and if such men have banished even demons, much more He will work through the priests! For, if we would try to search the lives of such persons, we should be wishing to be the overseers of our teachers. And then things would become upside down, the head down and the feet up. Listen to Paul saying: "But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged by you or by any human court" (1 Cor. 4:3). And again: "Why do you pass judgment on your brother?" (Rom. 14:10). If you should not judge your brother, much more you should not judge your teacher. If God has commanded this, indeed, you do well, and you are committing sin if you are not doing this. But as for the opposite, do not dare to do it, and do not try to go beyond the limits. After worshipping

the calf, these around Korah, Dathan and Abiram, rebelled against Aaron (see Numbers 16). What then? Were they not destroyed? Then, let each one take care for himself. And if someone has a perverted doctrine, even if he is an angel, do not be convinced (see Gal. 1:8).

But if he teaches correctly, pay attention not to his life, but to his words. You have Paul, who by deeds and by words is training you toward what is right. But they say that the priests are not giving to the poor, nor serving properly. Whence then is it known to you? Before you have certainly found out about it, do not find fault. Be afraid of accountability! Many things are judged by conjecture. Imitate your Master, and listen to Him saying: "I will go down to see whether they have done altogether according to the out cry which has come to me, and if not, I will know" (Gen. 18:21). If then, you found out and investigated and seen, wait for the judgment. Do not take the place of Christ. It is His work to investigate those things, not yours. You are a servant of the least, and not the master. You are the sheep. Do not interfere with the Shepherd, so that you do not have to give answer to His accusations. And how can he tell me to do it inasmuch as he is not doing it himself? He is not telling you, If you obey him, you have no reward. Christ exhorts you about those things. But what am I saying? Neither is it necessary to obey Paul if he tells you something of his own, something human, but obey that Apostle through whom Christ is speaking.

Let us not judge each other, but let each one judge his own affairs. Examine well your own life (see Luke 17:10). But he [the priest] should be better than I, they say. Why? Because he is a priest. What more than you does he have? Has he no toils? No dangers? No agony? No hard work? He steals and commits sacrilege; how do you know? Why do you push yourself to the edge [of the abyss]? These words result from madness. If someone says that so and so has a purple robe, cover up your ears even if you know it. But why do you here subject yourself to danger? These words are not free from liability. Listen to Christ saying: "I tell you, on the day of judgment men will account for every careless word they utter" (Matt. 12:36). Do you believe that you are generally better than the others? Do you not sigh? Do you not beat your chest, nor stoop down, nor imitate the tax collector? Even if you are better, you have destroyed yourself. Are you better? Be silent, so that you remain better. If you have spoken, you have made everything of no avail. Examine your life! You are saying concerning the priest: I am not sacrilegious as he is (see Luke 18:11). And do you not make that all empty? He [Chrysostom] says: I am obliged to say so, not because I am interested in them, but because I am afraid for you, lest you make your virtue empty through misuse.

Listen to Paul: "But let each one test his own work, and then his reason to boast will be in himself alone" (Gal. 6:4). Tell me, if you enter a hospital with a wound in order to let

it be cured, do you curiously examine the physician as to whether or not he has ulcers? Certainly not! If the priest is unworthy, there will be no relief from punishment for the leader. By no means! But he will suffer the determined punishment. And you yourself will suffer the one appropriate to you. For what reason then, they say, does he preside? Please, let us not speak wickedly against the priest, lest we grievously debase our own doings. Let us examine ourselves then, speaking no evil to anyone. Let us honor that day, on which [the priest] illuminated us [in baptism]. If someone has a father, even if he has done ten thousand dreadful things, he nevertheless, veils everything bad. Much more should we do this for the spiritual fathers. Have respect, because he ministers everyday, he makes preparations to read the Scriptures to you, he adorns the house of God for you, he keeps vigil for you, he prays, he pleads with God for you. You say to me that he is wicked. And so what? For even he who is not wicked, does he himself bestow upon you these great benefits? By no means. Everything works according to your faith. Not even the righteous [priest] can benefit you, if you are unfaithful; nor can the unrighteous one harm you, if you are faithful. When God willed to save His people, He made use of cows in connection with the ark (see 1 Sam. 6:7). Does, perhaps, the life of the priest, perhaps his virtue, accomplish so great a thing? What God gives in His grace does not come as a result of priestly virtue. Everything is from

grace. The priest opens his mouth, but everything is of God. He only serves as a sign (symbolon). Consider the difference between John and Jesus, and listen to John saying: "I need to be baptized by you" (Matt. 3:14). Yet the Spirit which John did not have, descended. Neither did John cause It to descend. What then does it mean? That you may learn, that the priest serves as a sign and God brings everything to completion. The oblation is the same, even though it is any man who offers it, or if it is Paul, or if it is Peter: it is the same [offering] which Christ gave to the disciples, and which the priests now celebrate. This [sacrifice] is not inferior to that [of Christ], because it is not men that sanctify it, but God. And he who thinks that this is inferior to the other does not know, that Christ is present even now and even now works efficaciously. If you therefore know these things--and all these things have not been merely spoken by us [for the sake of saying something], but they have been said in order that we may confirm your opinion and make you certain [in it] --guard carefully what has been spoken. For if we always listen, and never ask, nothing that has been spoken will be profitable to us. Therefore let us pay careful attention; let us attend with diligence to what has been spoken; let us erase from our hearts the evil reports and let us have the good things engraved upon our consciences. Let us continuously think of them and execute them correctly according to the good, divine, written and unwritten tradition of the fathers, ascribing glory to the blessed Trinity. Amen.



## [IX. BAPTISM]

The ninth [article] says, that infants should be baptized, and that this should not be delayed in time. We also act in the same way in this matter, in order that nothing may happen because of postponement, as in part has been explained in the reply to article two. Unless one is reborn of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God (see John 3:5). Moreover, we give to them afterwards, as has been said, the holy communion. According to Basil the Great, he who is born again, needs spiritual food also. And the Lord says: "Unless you eat [My] flesh and drink [My] blood, you cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (see John 6:53). Consequently, both are necessary: Baptism and communion.

## [X. THE HOLY SUPPER OF OUR LORD]

The tenth [article] concerns the Lord's Supper, not in length, and somewhat indefinitely. For, we have heard many things about it from you which have displeased us. The catholic church is of the opinion that after the consecration the bread has now been changed by the Holy Spirit into the very body of Christ and the wine into [His] very blood. The bread must be leavened and not unleavened. For the Lord on the night when He was betrayed "took bread and gave thanks and broke it and gave it . . . and said, 'Take eat.'" He did not say: "This is unleavened bread, or a symbol of [My] body." But He said: "This is My body" and "My blood" (Matt. 26:26,28). To be sure, the flesh of the Lord, which He bore, was not at that time given as food to the Apostles, and His blood for drink, even as now the

Lord's body does not descend from heaven in the Divine Liturgy. For it would be blasphemous to think that! But then and now, having been changed and altered by the invocation and grace of the all-powerful and effective (teletarchikou) Spirit, through the divine suffrages and words of the priest, the bread is the very body of the Lord, and the wine is the very blood of the Lord. He says: "And the bread which I shall give . . . is my flesh" (John 6:51), sanctifying all the faithful. For just as He, participating in our corporeality (phyramatos), became God-Man, and shared our flesh and blood, thus we also, having partaken of His body and blood, will be called gods by adoption and grace. The bread of the Lord's Body, which has been sanctified by the priest, is not a mere type nor is it unleavened, but it is leavened and is itself the body of the Lord, and He said concerning Himself--as we have shown in detail. Both this matter and that concerning the procession of the Spirit as well as the rest will be clearly presented in greater length at the proper place. We will discuss this where you say that you agree with the Latins, and that the only disagreement between you and them is concerning some of those things which you call abuses.

[XI. CONFESSION]

The eleventh [article] declares that the forgiveness of the sins of the penitent occurs through the steward of the mysteries (see 1 Cor. 4:1), but that it is not necessary to say everything and to enumerate in kind, according to the passage, "But who can discern his errors?" (Ps. 19:12, LXX), In answer we say, first, that this kind of steward should be a spiritual

physician, who is well-versed in spiritual things. Then the penitent must tell in particular as much as he is able and remembers and confess with a contrite humble heart. He receives healing by doing the opposite of those sins which he committed. For instance, if he was arrogant, that he correct himself by humility, and if he was sordidly greedy of gain, that he will restore what he has unjustly received, from his own [possessions if necessary], and so on, according to the appropriate canon determined by the fathers, and in a way that will be pleasing to God, and not done for gain or compensation, which would be the worst satisfaction and one abhorred by God.

As for the confessors, who for their own gain corrupt the divine things, and let themselves be bribed with gifts, and who possibly take the sins of others in doing such things, they are unworthy and will receive divine punishment and destruction. If we catch such people, we lay on them severe punishment, and we also condemn them to lose their spiritual dignities. Spiritual things cannot be measured by silver or gifts or other things, and these things cannot be made a means of atonement but, as we said, it is by contrition of heart on the part of the one who confesses, and by his doing the opposite things, and by completely abstaining from evil [that they are measured and atoned for]. Moreover, with regard to those things which through forgetfulness or by bashfulness have been left unconfessed, we pray to the all-merciful and compassionate God to forgive him even those. And we are convinced that the forgiveness of them will be received from God. As, indeed St. Basil,

who is great in spiritual matters, says, that every iniquity must be confessed to the confessor; for an iniquity which has been silenced, is a festering sore to the soul. Let the means of corrections be applied to the deeply afflicted ones the way a physician would do it. The confessor should not be angry toward the sick ones, but should be combating the sickness, opposing the lusts, curing the disease of the soul by more rigorous methods, if necessary. For instance, [curing] arrogance by the greater efforts at attaining of humility; immoderate sleep through keeping vigil in prayers; the laziness of the body, through toil; inordinate eating through abstinence, and so forth. And let him who is healed not regard the penances as tyranny, because the [confessor's] concern is brought forth out of his passion for the salvation of the [penitent's] soul. Therefore it is a disgrace that when those who are sick in their bodies trust the physicians so much that if they cut [the patients' bodies] and even burn and afflict them by bitter medicines, they are considered benefactors, we do not have the same disposition toward the healers of our souls, when they are working at our salvation through a rigorous regimen. On the other hand, he who imposes penances on penitents should not impose the same penances on the pious and on the apathetic ones even when both of them are found committing the same sin.

For the pious person, being pious, struggling in himself to please God and trying to attain it, accidentally failed and slipped, almost as if he did not will it. On the other hand, the apathetic person, who is unconcerned, for himself or for God and who does not distinguish between sin and virtue, is

already sick with great evils, for he either despises God or he disbelieves in the existence of God. Indeed, these are the two causes of sin in the soul, as the Scripture witnesses. It declares on one occasion that the lawless one who commits sin says in himself that "there is no fear of God" (Rom. 3:18, quoting Ps. 36:1). And on another occasion: "The fool says in his heart, there is no God" (Ps. 13:1, LXX; see Ps. 52:1, LXX). Thus, either he has despised [God], and because of that he commits sin; or he denies the existence of God, and because of that, he moves to destroy himself in his pursuits in life, even though he appears to confess. For "they profess to know God, but they deny him by their deeds" (Titus 1:16). Since these things are so, let us consider that the method of imposing penalties should of necessity be different from one case to the other. In addition to these things it should also be known, that it is necessary that the confessor who receives the grace of God freely, should also give it freely, and not use it for his own lusts, according to the word of the Lord: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons. You received without pay, give without pay" (Matt. 10:8; see Acts 8:18f.).

And Paul:

For we never used either words of flattery, as you know, or a cloak for greed, as God is witness; nor did we seek glory from man whether from you or from others, though we might have made demands as apostles of Christ. But we were gentle among you, like a nurse taking care of her children. So, being affectionately desirous of you, we were ready to share with you not only the gospel of God, but also our own selves, because you had become very dear to us (1 Thess. 2:5-8).

## [XII REPENTANCE]

Your twelfth [article] states, that the sinners receive the forgiveness of sins after baptism, when they return and show repentance by contrition of heart and sound faith. We answer to this, saying: It is simply the truth. For the Lord Himself says that sins are to be forgiven not up to seven but up to seventy times seven (see Matt. 18:22). In so saying, the Lord used a definite number to stand for an indefinite number. And again: "And him who comes to me I will not cast out" (John 6:37). Nevertheless, with reference to the fact that you reject canonical satisfactions entirely and altogether we say: If they are imposed as medicines by the spiritual men, that is, without money and without exploitation, say against arrogant or greedy ones, or gluttons, or immoral persons, or those who envy, or those who are wrathful, or those who are lazy, or those guilty of other sins, they are salutary and helpful, as the divine fathers ordained the canonical penances for those who return and repent. But if the penance would be for the gain or profit of those who impose them, and not for the correct purpose and the benefit of the soul, that is, not as they have been ordained and prescribed for the healing of each sin, then we too reject them, and we say and we hold that they are then done both badly and in vain; this is wholly incontestable. Yet we pronounce absolution in connection with penances for many sound reasons.

First, that the penitent by this willing affliction will be free from the unwilling punishment in the life to come, for God is conciliated by nothing as much as by affliction; hence Gregory also has said: "Mercy is the compensation for tears." Second, that the lust of the flesh, which is the cause for sin, should be uprooted. For, the things which are contrary [to God's law] are corrected by their opposites, as we learned. Third, that the penance is a bond and a bridle of the soul, so that the penitent should not be tempted by the same or even worse evils. Fourth, that one become accustomed to labor, because virtue is a matter of great effort.

Fifth, that we should become confident that we abhor sin entirely. But we would overlook all of these [considerations], in the case of those who are already departing this life. We think that the genuine intention and the return of the repentant person is sufficient for the forgiveness of sins. We absolve these persons by the authority of Him Who has said: "If you forgive the sins of any" and so on (John 20:23), and so we believe that the punishment is forgiven. To assure them of this fact, we give them the divine gift of the Eucharist. For, genuine repentance depends on the intention of the sinner, but the punishments which have not been completed are reserved to God's judgment. And for this reason the absolution is granted in a kingly manner out of mercy alone, as happened to the thief who asked only to be remembered in [Christ's] kingdom (see Luke 23:42). If someone gives food to the hungry,

and gives drink to the thirsty, and does the rest of the works of charity which God acknowledges in the judgment and indicates in the Gospels (see Matt. 25:26), he will surely obtain absolution, and he will be delivered from hell. For charity is the most necessary of the virtues (see Matt. 5:7), for he who has taught (didaxas) [people] to give alms to others will himself receive a hundred-fold from his righteous exhortation. What has been given to the needy will be given equally to the one who gave it. For their beneficial value we set down these thoughts: "Boiled meat without salt, a word without truth, works without faith, a beginning without an end, and virtue without charity are dead.

As no animal can walk on one leg, and no bird can fly with one wing, and no ships can sail with one side, thus none of those who are being saved will be saved if he does not yoke together [his other] virtues with love. For when love has been neglected, it leads to punishment because of its absence; and when it has been practiced, it saves because of its presence. Therefore, just as when one has God as a friend, he will have all--consequently also the saints--as friends, so everyone who has the virtue of love has all the rest of the virtues in love's train, but not vice versa. No one should here point to those who have sought perfection on mountains and in caves, as if without love they supposedly have satisfied the Lord. For they had previously distributed everything to the needy, and thus they left them amid the noise of the world.



Moreover let us contemplate these benefits on the basis of general reflections, and [discover] how easy and advantageous the casting away of property is. Tell me, if you were to owe one thousand pounds of gold, and through the kindness of your creditor it would be possible to be released from every debt immediately in return for everything you have, and suppose that you possessed nothing beyond three coins, would you not willingly turn those over to him? If you were taken captive by an alien people, and you had to labor in extreme misery, heavily chained, and then it would become known to you that you could be free for the rest of your life on the condition that you would give to the needy only the things which are superfluous to your needs, would you not give away even those things which are necessary to you? If the inhabited part of the earth were for sale at a price equal to the value of your properties, would you not willingly give up everything in order to be the possessor of it? Would you not consider it a great loss, if you would have failed to take advantage of such an enterprise for such gain? If you were very old and were dying of great hunger, and suddenly without toil or pain, you could become young and healthy, and be promised immortality and great wealth, if you would freely give only one item of your properties to your fellow-slaves, would you not give it immediately and willingly? If indeed you were the most destitute of all men, and a king would promise you, that if you kept only one of his commandments,

he would quickly make you an immortal king, would you not willingly keep this one precept? If one of the rulers of the world would give you ten thousand of his goods for your pleasure and demand only a thousandth part from you in return, would you not for your own sake and for your own prosperity willingly give that which was demanded? If a judge would for your many sins sentence you to die in the most shameful fashion today, unless you gave the government and the nation the smallest part of your possessions, would you not give with pleasure the half of your possessions? If someone would show you in an instant all pleasures as well as all punishments, and would promise to release you from the punishments and grant you the enjoyment of the pleasures, but demanded from you a small gift on that account, would you not willingly give him all that you possess?

But do not marvel that alms alone can do everything. For he who gives alms and who loves the poor for the Lord's sake is set free from the debt of countless sins as well as the dreadful captivity among the demons. He purchases for a small price the whole world, is rejuvenated at once, remains immortal, and rules the heavenly kingdom. And as a righteous servant he will inherit everything from the Lord, and when He calls out to him: "Come, O blessed of my Father" (Matt. 25:34), he will be rich in a truly worthy way. He is set free from every punishment and enjoys everything good uninterruptedly. Indeed, it is my opinion that you should not wait for your

life to run out, but while you live give daily of your table, of your bread, of your profits, of your clothes, of your income to the needy ones. For "he who gives alms to the poor lends to God" (Prov. 19:17, LXX). Above all, lay up treasures in heaven, and gather them in the heavenly storerooms. Do you treasure your body? (See Matt. 6:20). Treasure also [your] soul. Do you provide for things you need? Take care of the neighbor also. Do you enjoy your present possessions? Provide for the future as well. The ox that works lives a long time because it works along with us; the pig lives a short time because it lives only for itself. The bee is useful because it gathers [honey] for us, but the beetle is useless because it is concerned only with its own affairs. Recognize God and give thanks to Him, that you may become not one of those who beg, but belong to those who give, not one of the strangers and of the poor, but one of the wealthy and one of the native sons, not one of those who work hard and are oppressed, but one of those who are happy and free, not one of those who are sick and debtors, but one of those who are healthy and creditors.

Think how much you must give in order to be righteous, so that you not hear from the Lord these terrible words: "Depart from me" (Matt. 7:23b). "You wicked and slothful servant" (Matt. 25:26). "So take the talent from him" (Matt. 25:28). "Bind him hand and foot" (Matt. 22:13). "I never knew you; depart from me, you evildoers" (Matt. 7:23).

Oh how much of his fortune would someone give willingly to hear the words: "Come, O blessed of my Father" (Matt. 25:34). "Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much" (Matt. 25:21). And: "Enter into the joy of your master" (Matt. 25:21b). And: "Sit at table with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 8:11). Everyone who thinks seriously about things of such quantity and such quality, will be praised to the end of his life because of his noble generosity and he will be honored and saved in God. We understand the art of giving alms not in the sense that you simply give alms to one person once, but that you would always give alms in every way to everybody. To the one as your relative, to the other as your friend, to that one as your neighbor, and to this one as your acquaintance, and to still another as a fellow-man, out of compassion for human beings. Give to this deliberately, to that one out of habit, to the next one in word, to the other in deed, to this one in tangible things. To this one with food, to that one with drink, to the next one with clothes, and to the other with shelter; to the one by friendliness, and to another by honoring him, and in short, by any means that you can. You have with you one who accompanies you gladly and encourages you in all of this, namely, Christ. Since He does not stop doing good to you, do not cease imitating Him in doing good, so that you will be worthy of His kingdom. Therefore one who continues in almsgiving and does

good works through almsgiving, who uses almsgiving as a remedy, and accepts penances for sins in a godly and spiritual manner and not in a mercenary spirit, obtains pardon for his wrong-doing and receives true healing. Moreover, his good deeds and all his pious works benefit not only the living, but also those who have departed after having made their confession. While the fear of God is great, His goodness is greater. His threats are terrible, but His mercy is incomparable. His sentences are dreadful, but the ocean of His mercies is ineffable. For that reason the famous Dionysios [the Pseudo-Areopagite] says:

Prayer implores the divine goodness to absolve the departed of all the iniquities that he committed in human weakness, and to bring him into the place of the living, into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that by the goodness of the divine majesty the blemishes of weakness might be overlooked, because, as the Gospel says, no one is clean from defilement (see Rom. 3:23).

Furthermore, Gregory in his Eulogy on Caesarius points out that good works are of benefit even after death. He says: "A proclamation has been heard, worthy of hearing by all. The suffering of the mother has found expression in the good and pious vow, to give everything on behalf of her child, his wealth as a gift for his burial in the grave." And again: "This is how these things are in our situation: in part we have already given them, and in part we will give them by offering annually both honors and commemorations, that is to say, the services which are offered and performed for the dead" (Migne PG 35,785). Also further, Chrysostom in his exposition

of Philippians says: "If the Greeks cremate together with the departed one the latter's possessions, how much more is it necessary for you, the believer, to send along with the faithful departed his belongings, not to become ashes--as [the Greeks] do--but to invest him with more glory. If the departed one was a sinner, [do so] that it may free him from iniquities; if he was just, that it may be for an increase of reward and recompense" (Migne PG 62,204; 57,375). And again [Chrysostom says]:

Let us have in mind the advantage of those who have departed. Let us give them the proper help, I say, love and oblation. For it brings to them a great aid and gain and benefit; and he who performs those things confers benefits upon his own soul as well as upon that of the neighbor.

And again, in another place:

Had you not while you lived arranged everything for your soul? At the end of your life, command your people to send your belongings on to you after your death and to give you help by means of good works, I say, through alms and oblations. In this way you will conciliate the Savior; for, those things are acceptable to Him and fruitful. In your formulation [of your will] include the Master as co-heir along with children and relatives. Let your document [last will] contain the name of the Judge. Let your remembrance of the poor not fail; I am a surety for them.

Nevertheless, by saying those things we would not give a pretense and pretext to the living for not giving alms; for that would be wrong. But as it is said, to give alms after death is most excellent. Also, the prayers of the righteous ones are effective (see James 5:16). It is said of Gregory Dialogos that when we were offering the liturgy, a heavenly and divine

angel was concelebrating. He saved Trajan through his prayers; Thecla, the first [woman] martyr, saved Falconilla. Many similar things are recorded in the ecclesiastical histories. Furthermore, he who wants to know more, let him go through the discourse of Saint Damascene Concerning Those Who Have Fallen Asleep in Faith (Migne PG 95, 247-278), and he will learn that the liturgies which have been offered for them, as well as good works, benefited them.

#### [XIII. THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS]

Your thirteenth [article], which says that the use of the divine sacraments has been instituted not in order that they might merely be symbols or marks, or tokens distinguishing Christians from outsiders, but much more, that they are signs and witnesses of the kindness and grace of God toward us. We confirm this and have the same opinion concerning them.

When our Lord Jesus Christ had fulfilled the whole work of salvation for us on earth and before He ascended to His own Father, He left to us the divine sacrifice and the holy sacraments in remembrance of His magnificent condescension for us. He ordained James the Brother of God to be the first hierarch, as people say. Now if the prayers of the saints have effect for the present life and especially after death for the believers, as Dionysius, the one great in divine things, says, so much the more will the holy sacraments and the sacred ceremonies benefit us. What their value is and how these awesome

ceremonies conciliate God on account of our iniquities are things that God showed explicitly in the past with great force. For Noah, the just one, after the cessation of the flood, offered sacrifice to God, in order to plead with God to be merciful and remember those who were in weakness--as the great Cyril has declared--so that a judgment would not again fall upon all, as a result of which the human race would be placed under a second flood. Whereupon "the Lord God, having considered, said, I will not any more curse the earth because of the works of man, because the imagination of man is intently bent upon evil things from his youth" (Gen. 8:21, LXX). If then, the sacrifice which was offered by Noah, although it was only typical, influenced the kindness of God, much more will the only-begotten Son of God sacrificed for us, who are coming with faith in the sacred ceremonies, reconcile us to the Father.

Thus we too condemn those who think that without faith they have the forgiveness of sins and benefit from the sacred ceremonies. For whatever does not proceed from faith, is sin (see Rom. 14:23). Therefore we call blessed those who celebrate the holy ceremony of the sacred sacraments, the change of the gifts into the holy body and blood to the end that those who believe may be sanctified by them, receive the forgiveness of sins, the inheritance of the kingdom, and the like.



Moreover the preparation for and the termination of that function should be the supplications, the singing of psalms, reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in general, all that is reverently done and spoken before and after the sanctification of the gifts. Although God gives all the holy things freely and we contribute nothing to them, and while they are simply favors, He of necessity requires us to be fit to receive and preserve them. Even He would not bestow sanctification on those who are not disposed to receive it. So He baptizes; so He anoints; so He receives us and imparts of the awesome table [communion] to us. He also made this known in the parable concerning the seed; it is said that the sower came out, not to plow the land, but to sow, and left the plowing and all the preparation which is needed to be done by us (see Mark 4:3). Moreover, since it is so imperative for the partaking of the sacraments to be prepared to meet Him, this also must be and is included in the order of the sacred ceremony. Indeed, the prayers and psalms and anything which occurs and is said reverently in [the ceremony], are able to do this for us. For they sanctify and prepare us to receive sanctification correctly, to preserve it, and to hold it fast.

Therefore, they sanctify in a two-fold way. The first way is that we derive benefit from the prayers and the psalms and the readings themselves. For one thing, the supplications return to God and cause the forgiveness of sins. The singing of psalms similarly propitiates Him and makes Him well-disposed

toward us, for He says: "Offer to God the sacrifice of praise . . . I will deliver thee, and thou shall glorify me"

(Ps. 49:14, LXX). For another thing, the reading of the sacred Scriptures heralds the goodness and charity of God, as well as His justice [and] judgment. They [the Scriptures] send the fear of Him into our souls, and inflame our love for Him, and thus they inspire great willingness to keep His commandments. For that reason all these [activities] create in the priest and in the people a better and more holy soul and make both more fit for the reception and preservation of the divine gifts. This indeed is the purpose of the liturgy. They especially prepare the priest to celebrate the sacrifice worthily, which indeed is the work of the sacred ceremony, as has been said. Moreover, the very ceremony frequently contains supplications; the priest prays that he may not be looked on as unworthy for the service, but that he may celebrate the sacrament with clean hands and soul and tongue. And thus we are benefited for the celebration by the power of the very words that are spoken and sung.

We are sanctified in a second way by all that which takes place in the sacred ceremony. For we see Christ typified in them, along with His work and sufferings for us. Thus the work of redemption of the Savior is signified in the psalms and in the readings and in all the things which are done throughout the entire sacred ceremony by the priest. The first acts in this work of redemption are signified by those

things which the first parts of the liturgy declare, the further acts of this work are signified by the elements of the second part in the liturgy; and those things which took place after the latter are signified by the last part of the liturgy. It is possible for those who pay close attention to the service to have the whole work of redemption before their eyes. For the sanctification of the gifts, which itself is the very sacrifice, proclaims His death (see 1 Cor. 11:26), His Resurrection, His Ascension; it changes these holy gifts into the Lord's body itself, which underwent all these things and was crucified, resurrected, and ascended into the heavens. Those things which take place before the sacrifice signify those things which took place before His death, His coming, His self-disclosure, His complete revelation. And those which take place after the sacrifice signify the promise of the Father, as He had said, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, and through them the conversion and gathering the pagan world into a community (see Acts 1:8). The whole sacred ceremony, as one picture of one body, portrays before the eyes the life of the Savior, bringing into view all of its parts from the beginning to the end, in order and in harmony with each other.

For one thing, the psalms which are sung at the introit and even before, in connection with those things that occur and are spoken at the oblation of the gifts, signify the first years of the dispensation of Christ. Those which occur afterward, the readings of the Holy Scriptures, exhort us to anoint

ourselves by exercising ourselves in virtue, so that we may reconcile God and may attend to those things which have been signified in the dispensation of Christ. These lessons contain hymns to God, which admonish the singers to virtuous living and which sanctify them. Those lessons that the church has chosen and ordered, are sufficient to indicate the coming and the life of Christ. And everything that happens in the divine liturgy, as the liturgical book exhibits and contains it, corresponds to a present need and also signifies some of the works or deeds or sufferings of Christ. Take, for instance, the "little entrance" of the Gospel and the "great entrance" of the gifts into the sanctuary. Both are necessary; the former, so that the Gospel can be read, and the latter, so that the sacrifice can be carried out. Yet both of them signify the manifestation and appearance of the Savior. The former signifies the still dim and incompleting manifestation at the beginning; the latter signifies the wholly perfect and final appearance.

Finally, there is still in use among us the liturgy of the gifts as James, the brother of God, taught by the Savior, first ordered it, as one reads in the sacred canons of the Holy Fathers and in the ecclesiastical histories, and as is true. And after [James], both Basil the Great--as is clear from the pattern of the liturgy and the sacred prayers which he placed in order--and Chrysostom referred all things to the dispensation of the Savior, so that it might be in front of our

eyes, sanctify our souls, and make us fit for the sacred gifts. And just as the work of salvation renewed the inhabited world when it occurred, so always when it is beheld it makes the soul divine. Moreover, [the work of salvation] would not benefit us if it had not been seen and believed. And for this reason it has been preached.

And again, in order that it might be believed, God laid ten thousand plans. For it cannot fulfill its purpose and save men, if the people who were to be saved did not know about it. But when [the work of salvation] was first preached it created reverence, faith, and the love of Christ in the souls of the grateful hearers. On the other hand, when it is now beheld by those who are already believers, it does not implant in them those blessed affections, but it preserves and renews and increases them. It makes them more firm in faith, as well as more ardent in piety and love. Inasmuch as it [the work of salvation] made those things which did not exist come into being, how much more easily can it protect, preserve and renew those things which have been begun. But these [dispositions] are those with which one must necessarily approach the holy things, piety, faith and warm love, and without them even looking on is entirely unholy.

Therefore, the reflection that can bring about such dispositions in us had to be signified in the sacred assembly, so that we should not only consider in our minds, but also see with our eyes the great poverty of Him Who is rich, the sojourn

of Him Who possesses every land, the pain of the blessed One, the passions of the impassible One, how the more He has been hated, the more He has loved; how much He, the great One, humiliated Himself, and whatever else He suffered and whatever else He did to prepare for us such a table (see Ps. 22:5, LXX). And thus, having marvelled at this new salvation and having been surprised by the multitude of His mercies, let us reverence Him who thus has pity upon us and in this way has saved us. Let us entrust our souls to Him, let us commend our lives to Him, and let our hearts burn with the flame of His love. And when this has taken place, we will come into contact with the flame of the sacraments securely and properly (see Heb. 12:18; 10:19). For it is not enough to intend to become this kind of person and to learn of Christ. But we must actually see, we must fix the eye of the mind upon it, we must reject all rationalizing if we would make our soul fit for the sanctification of which I have spoken. Our piety must be distinguished not only by words, but also by works. The sacred action leads everything before our vision, so to speak, and also places what is seen in the soul. The imagination is more effectively formed through the eye [than through the ear], so that we cannot forget such a table [the Eucharist] (see John 1:16). In this manner, being full of divine thoughts, we would partake of the sacred mystēria, adding sanctification to sanctification, and going on from glory to glory. This then is in sum the meaning of the entire sacred action. The

prayers have purpose and harmony; so does the sacred action itself, namely, the sanctification of the living and the dead and especially the Savior's work of redemption, which is signified throughout the whole service.

What aspects are signified? And by which parts of the sacred action that is carried out [is this done]? Why are the gifts not placed in the sanctuary from the beginning? Because the slaying of animals and the golden and silver vessels were offered to God by the ancients. The body of Christ clearly includes both. For He was slain for the glory of the Father. He was consecrated to God from the beginning (see Col. 1:15). He was an offering to Him. And because He is the Only-begotten, and because the bread is changed into the very body of Christ, it is separated from other loaves of a similar nature, and only a part of the bread, and not the whole bread, is offered. For it typifies the passion of Christ. While [the bread] lies on the table of oblation, it is mere bread, which has simply been offered to God. Afterwards, indeed, it becomes the true bread (see John 6:33) and is truly changed. But if we try to describe and explain this happening by way of reason and in reality, it would not be enough to use ten thousand mouths [for this purpose].

Therefore the Lord Himself commanded us to do this in remembrance of Him, so that we would not be ungrateful (see 1 Cor. 11:24). Benefactors receive a kind of return from those who have received a favor from them, when they remember

them and their works, through which they have been benefited (see 1 Thess. 1:2). For these remembrances men have contrived many means: graves, statues, columns, feasts, games. These things have one purpose, to keep good men from being delivered over into the abyss of oblivion. As we inscribe the heroes' victories by which we have been saved on columns, so by these divine gifts we memorialize the death of the Lord, by which we have been saved and in which a total victory has been attained over the Evil One. We do not have a picture, but through [our] intercession, thanksgiving, doxology, confession, and petition to God we have the very body of the Hero.

First of all, we ask for the peace and the salvation of our souls. The benefit of this is indeed great; even more, we constantly need this power, because it is impossible for a mind in tumult to be united with God. For just as peace makes the many appear to be one, so confusion makes one appear to be many. We also ask for the salvation of our souls, as Christ commanded us to do, to pray first for the kingdom of God, which is salvation, "and all other things shall be added unto you" (Matt. 6:33). The Church is not signified symbolically in the sacrament but as members in heart and as the branches of the plant in the root, [or] as the Lord said, as the branches of the plant in the vine (see John 15:5). For, here is not merely a nominal communion or a similarity by analogy but an actual identity. For the mysteries are truly the body and blood of Christ. They are not changed into a human body, but



we are changed into them, because the stronger ones are the victors. For when iron comes together with fire, the iron itself becomes fire; but it does not permit the fire to become iron. And just as in burning iron we do not see iron, but simply fire, because the attributes of iron completely disappear in the fire, so it is with the Church of Christ. If one would be able to see it in itself, how it is united with Him and is a part of His flesh, one would see nothing else than the Lord's body itself. For this reason, the Apostle Paul writes: "Now you are the body of Christ, and individually members of it" (1 Cor. 12:27). For when he wrote about Christ's providence and about His teaching and exhortation and about our submission to Him and when he said that Christ is the Head and we are the body (see Eph. 5:23; 1 Cor. 11:3), he did not mean it as we do when by way of exaggeration we call relatives or friends members of us. Rather, he means exactly this, as he said, that he knew that through Christ's blood the faithful live their life in Christ, are truly dependent on Him as head, and belong to His body.

In this service [Eucharist], the commemoration of the saints occurs, both when the gifts are offered and when they are sacrificed (see Rom. 12:1). For this gift is a votive offering and a spiritual sacrifice. We remember especially those things which have taken place for us, the cross and the other things which Christ suffered for us. We commemorate and glorify the all-holy [Virgin Mary]. We ask for the intercession

of all the saints, we entreat the mercy of God, we offer supplications for the living and the dead. As we offer our reasonable worship from those things which are His own, we praise and bless Him. The oblation follows, and the unseen sacrifice and the change of the elements into the very body and blood of the Lord take place while the divine grace consecrates in secret through the prayers of the ceremony (see Rom. 12:2).

The ceremony is called a eucharist and reasonable worship, since it offers the oblation to God only through the efficacious words and accomplishes the change of the divine body and blood. [The Eucharist] is so named from the things which it accomplishes (see Rom. 8:32; 1 Cor. 4:7-8), for it affords more causes for thanksgiving than supplication and we receive more than we have asked for. Indeed we receive everything that belongs to God; He withholds nothing from us (see Rom. 12:2). But our time has not yet come for the attainment of some of them, incorruption and the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, when we receive the mystēria, the absolution of sins and the other gifts which are granted to us through the sacraments are not withheld. The fountain of the divine holy things is the great High Priest, Jesus Christ our Lord and God. Their immediate beneficiaries were His eye-witnesses and followers. They became like rivers flowing from a fountain, gladdening the city of God. Indeed, in the Lord's words, those things which they have heard in their ears they have

proclaimed on the housetops (see Matt. 10:27). That has been fulfilled, about which David sang prophetically: "There are no speeches or works, in which their voices are not heard" (Ps. 19:3, LXX). Therefore, the things that have to do with the sacred action are built on ecclesiastical and priestly foundations, according to Apostle James, the brother of God and bishop of Jerusalem, as the 32nd canon of the Toullian Synod has testified:

Both James, the brother of Christ our God after the flesh, who was the first to be entrusted with the throne of the church of the Jerusalem [believers], and Basil the Bishop of the Caesareans, whose renown spread rapidly over the whole inhabited world, have handed down to us in writing the mystical sacred action. They have determined that the sacred chalice is to be filled with water and wine in the Divine Liturgy.

There are also some other indications to be found here and there in the documents of the church, to the effect that St. Mark the Evangelist also composed works which pertain to that holy and mystic sacrifice in the liturgy. Yet it is not wholly clear whether the orders of both Apostles have been corrupted, like the later Clementine Decrees, or whether, because of their extent and long text, they may have been put together in a shorter and well-ordered way by our great father Basil, as well as by Chrysostom. This much we know certainly, that from of old two volumes, according to which we offer the Liturgy, have been handed down to us and have been acknowledged and brought to light, both the liturgy of the great Basil himself, and that of the holy father John

Chrysostom. Both of them stem from one Holy Spirit and from one tradition. Nevertheless, Basil uses a great many words and Chrysostom speaks more concisely. We celebrate the undefiled actions of the mystic sacrifice out of those two sacred volumes. During the Sundays of the great period of fasting before Easter and on some other days the liturgy of Basil the Great is said, and this liturgy regulates the mystèrion of the holy sacrifice. On the other days, that of Chrysostom [is used].

The holy Church of God among us is the fatherland of churches. By the grace of God it leads in knowledge. It is preeminent in the purity and brilliance of its apostolic and patristic teachings. The New [Rome] has the place of highest dignity within Orthodoxy and has been designated the chief church. It is necessary that every Christian church celebrate the liturgies in this same manner. If however it is necessary to respect local and long-standing custom and to celebrate according to the Liturgy of St. James or on occasion according to that of St. Mark, one must piously preserve the principal parts [of the service] and celebrate the Liturgy to the glory of God with tranquil and careful observance, so that before all else sanctification be bestowed upon us by the partaking of the divine gifts and enter into the essence of the soul through the body. For this reason the Apostle Paul said: "He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him" (1 Cor. 6:17), since this union and joining is

principally brought about in the soul. Here a human being really is; here sanctification takes place through the practice of virtue and human effort. Here also is that which is sinful, which needs healing through the gifts. Everything happens to the body from the soul. And just as [the body] is defiled by evil thoughts which come from the heart (see Matt. 15:19), so sanctification comes from the same source, not only that which is derived from virtue but also that which is derived from the sacraments, and that much more, much better, and more perfectly.

It seems that this divine and sacred liturgy sanctifies in a twofold way. One is by way of intercession, for when the gifts are offered the offering itself sanctifies those who offer and those for whom the gifts are offered, and they cause God to be merciful to them. The other way is that of partaking. For to us it is true meat and drink, according to the Lord's word. Of those two ways, the first is common to the living and the dead, for the sacrifice is offered for both of them (see John 6:55). The second belongs only to the living, for the dead cannot eat or drink. What, then? Are the dead ones then not sanctified by this sanctification from the communion? And do the dead in this case then have less than the living? No, not at all. For, Christ is giving part of Himself to them by a way which is known to Him alone. In order that this may become clear to you, observe this and similar matters in the interpretation of the liturgy.

## [XIV. ORDER IN THE CHURCH]

The fourteenth article declares that the Gospel should be publicly read and proclaimed and the sacraments should be distributed by no one except those who have been lawfully ordered for this ministry. We say that this is properly said. For the catholic church, as the ecclesiastical traditions demand, permits only canonically confirmed, called, and ordained persons who hold no heretical ideas, to preach and officiate. Therefore it [the Church] declares that they are making a mistake who regard the celebration of the divine and sacred sacraments by laymen who may possibly have been ordained, or by priests who are canonically ordained or not, as an indifferent matter.

The ordinations take place in compliance with the canons. Concerning the bishop, the first canon of the Holy Apostles says: "A bishop must be ordained by two or three other bishops," but "let a presbyter, deacon, and the rest of the clergy [be ordained] by one bishop." The Acts of the Apostles state:

Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and teachers, Barnabas, Symeon who was called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, a member of the court of Herod, and Saul; while they were worshipping the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." Then after fasting and praying, they laid their hands on them, and sent them off (Acts 13:1-3).

Five people are talked about, three of them ordained the two who had been set apart [for the work].

Secular rulers are forbidden to elect bishops or to lay hands on them, as happened according to an ancient practice that has now been stopped by the holy synods. Let us hear the thirtieth canon of the Holy Apostles, which says: "If any bishop obtains possession of a church with the aid of the temporal powers, let him and all who communicate with him be deposed and excommunicated." The twenty-fifth canon of the Holy Apostles says that one should not be punished twice for the same offense, but for excessive wickedness and notorious accursed sin it prescribes double punishment. An election of this kind is null and void. The ones who forced it and are responsible are punished, and such men are called and are unholy. For the one who is to be promoted to the bishopric should be elected by bishops, as the Holy Fathers of Nicaea determined in the canon which says:

It is most fitting that a bishop should be installed by all those in his province. But if such a thing is difficult either because of the urgency of circumstances, or because of the distance to be traveled, at least three [bishops] should meet together somewhere and by their votes, combined with those of the ones absent and joining in the election by letter, they should carry out the ordination thereafter. But as for the ratification of the proceedings, let it be entrusted in each province to the metropolitan.

Those words are from the fourth canon of the holy and ecumenical first synod in Nicaea. In addition, the twelfth canon of the Synod of Laodicea declared:

Bishops are to be appointed to ecclesiastical office by judgment of the metropolitans and of the bishops in their retinues, provided that they have been tried and tested for a long time,

both in respect to words of faith and in point of behavior and conduct conforming to right reason,

that is to say, that they are to be correct and sound in the faith and otherwise. The thirteenth canon of the same synod says something similar "concerning the necessity of not permitting others to conduct the election of candidates for the priesthood." In the interpretation of the canons it is explicitly stated, that the lay multitude was not only prevented from electing bishops but also was not allowed to elect priests. The cited canon shows that in ancient times not only the bishops, but also priests, were elected by the multitude. This has now been entirely forbidden as being inexpedient. Again, the nineteenth canon of the synod of Antioch orders:

No bishop shall be ordained without a synod and the presence of the metropolitan of the province. He must be present in any case, and it were better that all the fellow-ministers in the province should attend the synod too; accordingly, the bishop in the metropolis should be summoned to it by letter. And it were better that all of them should respond, but if this be found difficult, at least a majority of them ought in any case to be present or to join in the voting by means of letters, and thus let the prebend be granted by a majority of votes of those present or joining by letter. If any ordination has been obtained otherwise than has been defined and prescribed, let it be of no effect. But if a prebend has been granted in accordance with the canon provided, and if some persons should object to it on account of their having a quarrel of their own, let the majority vote prevail.



The interpretation of Zonaras says: "In the past the inhabitants of the cities elected the bishops. But since this gave rise to riots, the voting on the ordaining of the bishops was transferred to the bishops of each vicinity." Moreover the bishops--and not the laymen--not only elected and consecrated the bishops and priests, as we have said, but the canons also have in view ordination, the consecration of him who has been elected to be a priest by means of a rite of prayer and the ceremonial invocation of the Holy Spirit. Because the bishop stretched out his hand in blessing over the person being ordained this rite was called cheirotonia. In the past the election also was called cheirotonia. For, when the urban multitudes were still permitted to select the bishops the multitudes would come together, and then some of them would elect one, and others would elect another. In order that the vote of the majority would prevail, those who were choosing were told to hold up their hands, and through this means the votes would be counted. He who was elected by the majority would be selected for the office of bishop. The designation cheirotonia has evolved from this custom. The Fathers of the synodal truth are found to be using [the latter interpretation] when they called the voting cheirotonia. Thus the Synod of Laodicea says in the 5th canon: "Cheirotonia must not be performed in the presence of listeners." Therefore they called an election cheirotonia. But in the consecration of the bishop it was the custom for many to come

together. At the time of voting, when some accusations against the men voted upon might be introduced, it was forbidden for people to be present and listen. Moreover, this canon orders the bishop to be ordained by two bishops. The fourth canon of the first ecumenical synod [of Nicaea] decrees that a bishop should be selected by the bishops of his vicinity, or at least by three, while the others assent to this in a written manner.

It is apparent from the canons and from the Apostolic Decrees that [bishops] should be ordained on the basis of an accurate examination concerning their correct faith and moral life and that the unworthy are to be rejected. St. Gregory the Theologian in his great Apology, inveighing against the unworthy and profane and bad [candidates] for priesthood, but also writing and setting forth what sort [the candidates for the priesthood] must be, explicitly and definitely says the following, among other things:

Who in testing himself by the rules and standards which Paul laid down for bishops and presbyters-- that they are to be temperate, soberminded, and the rest, blameless in all things, and inaccessible to fornications--would not find considerable deflection from the straightness of the rules? (see 1 Tim. 3:1-2; Titus 1:5).

And again: "First one must be cleansed and afterwards cleanse [others]; to become wise, and then make others wise; to be illuminated, and draw near to God, and afterwards so lead others; to be sanctified, and to sanctify others." And again, crying out against those who by chance were not ordained according to the demand of the canons, he says: "Who can mould, as

clay-figures are modeled, in a single day the leader of the divine liturgy, who will take his stand with angels, give glory with the archangels, and exercise the priestly functions?" And again:

Those who have brought nothing to the priesthood, at once disciples as well as teachers, before they themselves have become cleansed they cleanse [others]. Yesterday they were outside the holy things and today [they are] priests and ministers of the mysteries, old with regard to iniquity, pious on the spur of the moment. Their work is by human ability, and not by that of the Spirit.

From this it is clearly evident how [Gregory] attacks the unworthy and the evil ones, and describes of what sort the true liturgical servants of the Lord must be.

In addition, it is necessary to avoid and reject those who hold a heresy. Canon 46, along with others, declares: "We ordain that a bishop or presbyter who has acknowledged the baptism or sacrifice of heretics is to be deposed. For what concord has Christ with Belial? or what part does a believer have with an infidel?" (see 1 Cor. 6:15).

#### [XV. CHURCH USAGES]

With regard to the fifteenth article, which says that the ministers should be blameless and innocent and of a good life, and that prayers and offerings and celebrations which are performed for the purpose of receiving money for grace, as well as receiving money or anything else for the remission of sins, do not avail at all, we are of the following opinion. On the one hand, persons ministering in divine things are not

elevated to office unless they are, as much as possible, blameless and exempt from reproach. They are obligated to remain clean and void of offense, living and conducting themselves in all prudence and propriety. On the other hand, we are sure that the prayers and the liturgies and the offerings and the celebrations which are performed in a God-pleasing and God-loving way to the glory of God in commemoration of those who have pleased Him and for the stirring up and imitation of the divine and good works are done rightly and for the benefit of souls. For [the Scriptures] say: "The prayer of a righteous man has great powers in its effect" (James 5:16) for the benefit of the faithful and of those who are worthy of the divine grace. Also St. Chrysostom, commenting on the Epistle to the Hebrews, says: "Just men frequently accomplish everything through a single petition." And also, commenting on the Epistle to the Philippians, he says:

Let us devise some assistance for the departed. Small though it be, yet we still help them. How and in what way? By praying and by entreating others to make supplications for them, and by giving continually to the poor in their name. This gesture provides some relief. Listen to God saying: "I will defend this city for Mine own sake, and for My servant David's sake" (2 Kings 19:34). If merely the remembrance of a just man has so great power, how much more power is exerted when works are done in his behalf! It was not in vain that the Apostles ordained that a remembrance should be made of the departed during the awe-full mysteria. They knew that there is great gain and great help [for the departed] in this. For when the whole people stand with uplifted hands, a priestly assembly, and that awesome sacrifice is celebrated, how could we not propitiate the Lord for them? (Migne PG 62,204).

We owe honors to the saints, they must be accepted, and it is right to offer [the divine liturgy] in their churches, as the God-Man has clearly said: "He who receives you receives me" (Matt. 10:40). Chrysostom also says:

Just as the army that stands and fights deserves to be paid by those who are living in peace and not fighting--for on their behalf the army is standing [in the field]---so also it is right that one should think in this way with regard to the saints. For, is it not irrational, that we provide everything for one who serves as a soldier under an earthly king [but fail to do so] for those who are serving as soldiers under the heavenly King? They are drawn up for battle against a much more difficult enemy. They entreat God for us. We pray to them and beseech them for things advantageous to us. How great is our ingratitude, if we fail to show liberality, as far as our circumstances will permit, to their shrines and to the priestly men who are constantly engaged [in conducting worship in these shrines] and to those who there are nourished by our alms!

Moreover, it is beneficial for us to pray; it is most necessary and indispensable for Christians. This is evident from what our Lord taught: "When you pray, say, Our Father" (Luke 11:2), and "This kind cannot be driven out by anything, but by prayer and fasting" (Mark 9:29), and many other similar words. Furthermore, Paul in his Epistle to Timothy commands:

First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving, be made for all men . . . This is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God, who desires all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim. 2:1,3-4).

It is indeed right to honor the priests too. Let us again hear from the divine John [Chrysostom]:

The priest is in a sense a common father to the whole universe. Therefore it is appropriate to

honor him before all others. He offers worship to God for the world; he offers supplication for kings and for all those who are in prominent positions that they may attain salvation and that we may have a life free from care (see 1 Tim. 2:2). For God ordained the authorities for the common benefit of all. It would be irrational for us not to offer prayers for those who fight for us.

And again: "Have you not read in the Scripture, that Job was offering sacrifices for his children and delivered them from sins; lest at sometime, he said, they think evil in their heart?" (see Job 1:5; LXX). And again [Chrysostom continues]:

You know, as disciples of Christ, that we pray for peace and for the weal of the whole world and for its stability. We seek after the kingdom of God, and we knock at the door, so that God in His compassion will open it and lead us back again to our original blessedness. And it is good to enjoy the prayers of the saints, as long as we ourselves are also active; otherwise it would be of no benefit. For we know what happened to Jeremiah. For the third time he approached God and for the third time he heard Him say: "Pray not, for, I will not hearken to you (Jer. 7:16, LXX; see 11:14). Even if Noah, Jacob, and Daniel would stand there, the people will not be delivered, because their iniquity has become so very dominant" (see Ezek. 14:14). But, someone might say, what is the advantage of prayers offered by others, when I myself am well-pleasing to God? Never say that, man! There is need for much prayer. Hear what God says: "He will pray for you and your sins will be forgiven" (see Job 42:8). There are many passages similar to that; someone who is searching will find the divine Scriptures full of them.

In the same way sacrifices that are offered to God will be gladly accepted. He says: "Pray, and pay your vows," as Anna dedicated Samuel to God. There are a myriad [examples] similar to that (see Ps. 49:14, LXX; 75:11; 1 Kings 1:24).

We celebrate the feast-days in the same manner, and honor the saints as friends of God according to the words of the

godly David: "But thy friends, O God, have been greatly honored by me" (Ps. 139:17, LXX). If we would not celebrate prayers, liturgies, feasts, and the like--of course [we must do so] without desire for gain and in the fear of God, which [dispositions] are consequences of faith and are divine works --we would seem to have neither the fear of God nor living faith, which of course come before everything else. For if we in any way whatever reject the conclusion the premises will be rejected along with it. According to Basil the Great it is necessary for the one who presides with the word [of God] to seek with prudence and with practiced care to please God in all that he does and says. He should be both tested and testified to by those who have been entrusted to him, for [as St. Paul says to the Thessalonians]: "You are witnesses, and God also, how holy and righteous and blameless was our behavior to you believers" (1 Thess. 2:10). If the ones who are serving chance to be unworthy, the grace of God still works, as the whole company of theologians witnesses.

#### [XVI. CIVIL GOVERNMENT]

The sixteenth article says that it is not forbidden to Christians to govern others, to administer justice according to the laws, and to take part in other public affairs. We say to this that we should obey all rule and power, not only the good rulers, but also the unjust ones (see 1 Peter 2:18), and to keep without fail the ordinances that they enact. In

general, however, "we must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29b). At another place we read: "He who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment" (Rom. 13:2). In the same manner also, those who disobey the ones who have been sent by the Lord dishonor not only them, but also the One who sent them. They bring a condemnation on themselves worse than that of Sodom and Gomorrah (see Matt. 10:15). For the [Scriptures] say: "He who receives you receives me" (Matt. 10:40). "He who receives any one whom I send receives me" (John 13:20). "He who hears you hears me" (Luke 10:16). "And if anyone will not receive you or listen to your words, shake off the dust from your feet as you leave that house or town" (Matt. 10:14). And the Apostle says: "Therefore whoever disregards this, disregards not man but God, who gives his Holy Spirit to us" (1 Thess. 4:8; see Titus 3:1). Thus it is necessary that one should obey not only rulers, but also the apostles of God and the teachers and the Spirit-guided interpreters of the Scripture, and one should not oppose them, because of the threats [that God pronounces].

But we do not accept your views when you condemn those who sell their property and leave the world and the things that are in the world for the sake of their salvation (see 1 John 2:15), and when you so understand the evangelical word that you say that the Gospel is not concerned about those transitory things, but about the things that are eternal, and



speaks [only] about an everlasting righteousness of the heart. We on our part follow the interpretation of the teachers of the Church of Christ and declare that the evangelical word explicitly says: "Sell what you possess, and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21). We do not understand this allegorically or figuratively but strictly and in a real way. For the one who put the question thought that Jesus would take his question under consideration and show him a way by which he might live eternally and at the same time might retain his possessions. But when the Lord said that the giving away of possessions is the cause of eternal life, he went away lamenting his question and the answer of Jesus Christ (see Matt. 19:22). Note that the one who put the question said: "All these I have observed from my youth" (Luke 18:21). The Lord then places on him the highest demand of all, that is, poverty, by saying: "Sell all that you have"--for if even one thing remains, he is its slave--"and distribute to the poor, and come, and follow Me" (Luke 18:22). That is to say, be my disciple in everything else and follow Me always. Do not be My disciple in such a way that you perhaps fulfill all the commandments today and tomorrow do not do so. The great light-giver of the world, John [Chrysostom], said that the young man indeed desired eternal life, and loved it, but that he was possessed by a greater passion, greed (see Matt. 19:21). He who wants to be perfect does

not make a mistake if he sells all his belongings for the sake of eternal life, but he will live eternally according to the promise. Neither we nor the laws nor the canons declare that it is lawful for bishops to punish criminals according to the laws, to execute them, to wage wars, or to lead an army.

[XVII. THE RETURN OF CHRIST TO JUDGMENT]

As for the seventeenth article, that the Christ will come at the consummation of the age, that He will judge the living and the dead, and that He will on the one hand grant to the pious everlasting life and endless joy and to the impious everlasting punishment, we also say this by common consent and hold it to be the truth. But they speak nonsense who say that there will be the end of either the joys or of the punishments, or who introduce the Judaistic opinions--or rather mythologies--that the saints and the pious will reign over the world before the resurrection of the dead. Hence we turn our backs on them and we condemn them as fabricators of fables and inventors of evil imaginings (see Rev. 20:4-6).

[XVIII. FREEDOM OF THE WILL]

The eighteenth article discusses free will as its subject. We understand it in such a way that you are right concerning those things which are within our power. No one can be saved without the help of God. We know, too, that before

all else we need divine help and grace, according to the word of the Lord: "For apart from me you can do nothing" (John 15:5b). Yet we hear also the sayings of the godly teachers and of the interpreters of the divine words of the Lord, men who did not miss the mark, men moved by the Holy Spirit, men who instruct and teach us with a clear light. St. Chrysostom says "that grace, even though it is grace, saves those who are willing." In his interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he also says concerning ethics:

It is necessary always to guard ourselves lest sometime we fall asleep. "Behold, he that keeps Israel [is the one that] shall not slumber nor sleep" (Ps. 120:4, LXX). And again: "Let not thy foot be moved" (Ps. 120:3, LXX). He did not say, "Do not move" but only, "Let not [your foot] be moved." Consequently it is within our power, but not in any other person's, to let it happen. If we wish to be steadfast bulwarks and unmovable individuals, let us not be shaken! What then? Does nothing depend upon God? Indeed everything depends upon God, but not in such a way, that our free will is violated (see Rom. 9:16). If, they say, everything depends upon God, why does He blame us? (see Rom. 11:32). For that reason I said: "In such a way that our free will is not violated." It thus depends upon us as well as upon Him.

It is necessary for us first to choose the good, and then God adds His part. He does not anticipate our free will in such a way as to destroy our free will. When we have made our choice, then He comes to us with generous assistance, as Paul says: "So it depends not upon man's will or exertion, but upon God's mercy" (Rom. 9:16; 11:32). First of all, he [Paul] introduced this not as his own opinion, but in a sense as a kind of conclusion from the context and from what had preceded. For when he says, "It is written, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will have pity on whom I will have pity'" (Ex. 33:19; see Rom. 9:15-19), [Paul] says [by way of interpretation], "So it depends not upon man's will or exertion (Rom. 9:16). You will say to me then, why does he still find fault?" (Rom. 9:29).

Secondly, we must observe that [Paul] calls the more important part "everything." Therefore choosing and willing [a thing] belong to us, but completing [it] and carrying [it] to the end belong to God. Since then the most important part is His work, [Paul], following a common human way of speaking, ascribes everything to Him. We do the same. For example, when we see a well-built house we say that everything has been made by the builder. Yet the whole building is not his work alone, but also the work of the laborers and of the master of the house who provided the material, and of many others; nevertheless, because [the builder] has done much of it, we say that everything is his work. So also in this case! Again, for example, when we speak of a crowd of many people, we say that everybody is there. But when there are only a few, we say that nobody is there. Thus Paul also says: "Not upon man's will or exertion" (Rom. 9:16). He [Paul] achieves here two great things. One is that we not feel arrogant. He says: Even if you run, even if you are doing something in dead earnest, do not think that the achievement is yours. For, if you would not receive power from above, everything would be in vain. The other thing is that you will attain what you zealously pursue as long as you run, as long as you are resolute in your desire. For [Paul] did not say [absolutely] that we run in vain, but that we are running in vain if we think that everything depends on us and do not attribute most of it to God. For God did not will everything to depend on

Him in order not to seem to be crowning us for nothing. Nor [did He will] that it depend wholly on us, lest we be trapped in despair. For, if we have a high opinion of ourselves when the least part depends on us, what would happen if we were really lords over the whole? For God has done a great share of it in order to cut off our arrogance. But, some people again say, What does this mean? For what purpose is this? When we attain even some small good deeds, we raise ourselves all the way to heaven itself in our thinking.

Again, in his Epistle to the Philippians, [Paul] says: When we work something good, then we are pleased; "for God is at work in us" (Phil. 2:13). Let us attend, so as not to confound ourselves. If we do take heed, God will work everything. If, then, He is working, it is necessary for us to supply firm resolution, to remain always bound together with Him, not split apart from Him. If He is working willingness in us, how can He command us? For, if He Himself is working the willingness, then His command to us to obey would be in vain. For then we should not be obeying. If everything is from God, then He refers in vain to fear and trembling (see Phil. 2:12b). But it was not for this reason that [Paul] said: "[God] is the One who is working both the willing and the energy," but because he wanted to set us free from anxiety. If you want to will, He will work the will, and He will also give you readiness for doing the work. If we will, then He will strengthen our will. For instance, if I were to will to do some good, He would already have worked the good itself, and through this good the will to do it. Thus when [Paul] refers to God's gifts he does not exclude the free will, but leaves the free will in us. When he says that God works the will in us, he does not take away from us the free will, but he rather shows that from the very achievement of something good we derive much of the inclination of the will to [continue to] do it.

For even as the accomplishment derives from doing, so nonaccomplishment comes from not doing anything. You have given an alms; by this you have been inclined to keep on giving. You did not give an alms; you became less inclined to be generous.

You were prudent on one day, then you have an impulse to be prudent on the second day as well. You were irresponsible; thereby you have fostered irresponsibility. It is said that the impious person who descends to the depth of evil no longer cares. But a just person strives for more when he arrives at the fullness of good deeds. For just as the former person becomes more negligent in his desperation, so also the just person, knowing the fullness of good deeds, becomes more energetic in the fear that he might lose everything. Paul says "according to [God's] good pleasure," that is, for the sake of love, because it pleases Him, so that what happens may happen according to His discretion, according to His Will. Behold, He does everything! For He wants us to live as He desires us to. Since He so wills, He Himself works toward this end, and will work it completely. For He wants us to live rightly. Do you observe how He does not take away from us our free will? He says that you are to "do all things without grumbling or questioning" (Phil. 2:14). Whenever the evil one can not lead us away from doing good, he tries to deprive us of our reward by other means. Either he seduces us into arrogance or into laziness or, if into neither of these, into grumbling, or, if not into this, then into debates about the virtue or vice of customs and doctrines. Punishment is reserved for the last-named; we should keep the ancient customs and obey the interpreters of the Scriptures. Paul spoke in the Holy Spirit.

So did Peter and the rest, as well as the hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, and the remainder of the group of teachers. They appear as lightgivers in the world, making clear the word of life, proclaiming the things of our God and explaining all of those things to us very well.

The same Chrysostom comments on the Epistle to Timothy:

If any one purifies himself from what is ignoble, then he will be a vessel for noble use, consecrated (see 2 Tim. 2:21). Do you see that to be a vessel of gold or of clay it is not dependent on nature or on some material necessity? It is a matter of our own choice. [In the course of nature] the earthen could not become gold, nor could the reverse

[take place]. But here great change is possible. Paul was an earthen vessel; however he became a golden vessel (see 2 Cor. 4:7). Judas was a golden vessel, but he became an earthen vessel.

[Chrysostom in his commentary] on the Epistle to the Ephesians, interpreting the passage "by grace you have been saved" (Eph. 2:8), says:

In order then that the greatness of the benefit bestowed may not too greatly elate you, see how he restrains you [by adding] "through faith" (Eph. 2:8b). Again, in order not to impair free will, he adds what we must do on our part. But again: [he adds that] even this does not derive from us. Faith, he says, is not of ourselves. For if [God] did not call us, how could we believe? It is a gift from God (see Rom. 10:14; Eph. 2:8). [Paul] says that faith is not sufficient for salvation. In order to save us, being neither fruitless nor idle, God has required faith through works. This itself is a gift from God, so that no one should boast (see Eph. 2:9). No one, he [Paul] says, has been justified by works, in order that the grace and the kindness of God may be revealed (see Titus 3:4). He did not reject us because of our works, but by grace. He saved us who had no works. Furthermore, lest it should happen that someone become lazy, as a result of having heard that everything is achieved not because of good works but because of faith (see Eph. 2:9), observe how he continues: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10). For the necessity of virtue should continuously increase in our awareness. Otherwise, the whole matter has been of no avail to us. For it is necessary to keep those things which Christ has commanded, and we must not relax even one of the least of the commandments (see Matt. 5:19), so that the true faith may be proved through the good works of virtue.

#### [XIX. THE CAUSE OF SIN]

The nineteenth article asserts that the cause of sin is ourselves and our evil will and intention, and that God is not at all the cause of evil. This is right and true. Indeed,

Chrysostom, interpreting the Epistle to Timothy, said:

Know, that God manages all things, and provides all. Some things He works; others He permits. He does not will anything evil to happen. Everything good comes both from us and from His inclination, since nothing is concealed from Him. On the other hand, all evil comes from our will. The just are afflicted so that they may be crowned. The sinners are afflicted so that they may pay the penalty of their sins (see Rev. 2:10). Indeed, not all the sinners pay the punishments here, lest many doubt the resurrection. Not all the just ones are afflicted, so that we do not think that the evil is commended. If we are mindful for these things, nothing will be able to make us afraid. If we would hear the Scriptures continuously, we would find those thoughts which can make us wise for our salvation.

Continuing, [Chrysostom] says:

It depends upon us either to profit or to be injured by afflictions. It depends not upon the nature of the affliction, but upon the disposition of our own minds (see 2 Tim. 3:15); Job was afflicted, yet he suffered with thankfulness; and he was justified. But another who had been afflicted by much less, bore it impatiently, was angry, and was indignant toward God. He is accused and condemned. Therefore, strength of soul is necessary, and nothing will appear harsh to us. But if our soul is weak, everything will appear troublesome. For at such times the evil one works, when he finds the mind not filled by God, when he finds a soul that is not prudent. Indeed, when one does not remember the commandments of God, nor keep His ordinances, then taking him captive, he departs. For, if Adam had been mindful of the commandment which says, "Thou mayest freely eat," if he kept the law which said, "You shall not eat, but in whatsoever day ye eat of it ye shall die by death" (Gen. 2:16,17, LXX), he would not have been afflicted by those things with which he was afflicted.

Therefore it is not right for one to accuse God. For the disbelief does not take place because of the One who is calling, but because of those who are turning away. Some say, that the unwilling also should be taken back. No! For He does not force, neither does He compel. For who invites people who are unwilling and who are bound to honors and crowns and feasts and celebrations? No one! For this would be a mockery. [God] sent the unwilling to Gehenna. He calls the willing ones into the kingdom. And why are



all not elected? Because of their own weakness. But why does He not shatter the illness? Did He not make the creation that teaches His benevolence and power? Did He not send prophets? Did He not call all? Did He not perform miracles? Did He not threaten with Gehenna? Did He not promise the kingdom? Does He not raise the sun everyday? Some say: I would rather be good by force, and be absolutely deprived of all rewards than to be evil by my own choice and be accused and punished. There is no time when force is good. If, on the one hand, you are ignorant of what should be done, say so, and we will say whatever needs to be said. If, on the other hand, you know those things which are forbidden, why do you not flee from the evil? "I cannot do that," someone says. But others who have achieved greater things will accuse you and they will completely stop up your mouth. Someone may say that perhaps you are not pure even though you have a wife; on the other hand, another person remains chaste even without a wife. What excuse do you then have for not maintaining the standard? But, someone says, I am not like that by nature. Then it is so because you do not want to be like that, not because you are not able to be like that.

I declare that everyone is capable of virtue; for whatever a person is not able to do, he is not able to do even if forced to it. But if a person is able when forced to do what he is not doing, then he it is by his own choice that he is not doing it. For example to fly upward and to lift oneself up to the sky is completely impossible for one who has a heavy body. What then, if a king would order that this should be done and would threaten [those who do not comply with] death, saying: "I command that men who are not trying to fly be beheaded or burned or suffer some similar punishment." Could someone perchance then be able to fly? Not at all, for nature does not permit it. But if [the king] issued an ordinance commanding temperance, would not many obey this command? No, you say, because there are those who are violating the rules. But if I must either do as commanded or be shut up in prison, I should take care not to suffer this unpleasant experience. It is not by nature that one person is good nor is it by nature that another is bad. For otherwise he could not be changed, as we have clearly seen.

## [XX. FAITH AND GOOD WORKS]

The twentieth [article] says that you do not forbid good works. Yet you characterize feasts, ceremonies, fixed fasts, brotherhoods, monastic life, and other similar works as useless. This is not good, nor does it harmonize with the holy Fathers. For if you love all good works, as you say you do, you should love these too, because they are good works. To begin with, Basil the Great says:

Ascetic life has a single aim, the salvation of the soul. Everything that is able to contribute to this purpose must be observed as a divine commandment in the fear of God. The commandments of God themselves have no other aim than the salvation of him who obeys them. Therefore just as those who are entering the bath must strip themselves of all clothing, so those who are entering the ascetic life should strip themselves of all worldly things and enter upon a way of life appropriate to the philosophy [of Christ]. The first thing is to get rid of evil passions, the next is to get rid of all the worldly, material things.

When people enter life in community, they must by all means become masters of themselves and they must be of one heart, of one will, and of one desire in everything, as the Apostle ordained (see Eph. 4:4-5). They must become one body made up of various members (see 1 Cor. 12:12), the fullness of the company of brethren who possess nothing for themselves, but have everything in common (see 1 Cor. 9:27).

Therefore one must praise such monks who, pierced by the heavenly eros, strive to understand the good and to honor Christ the Bridegroom. They have concerned themselves with differing ideas in the church of what is good. Some hymned the praise of virginity, and others sang the praise of those who mortified their bodies by fastings and by sleeping on pallets of rushes. Others wondered at the generosity of those who sold all their possessions for the Lord's sake. They go on with

these lengthy praises not with the intention that everyone should do the same, but because they are of the opinion that such praise alone will suffice to promote that which is good, and with the intention of reproofing what is not good. It is just as if persons have been called by some one. If the purpose of the one who calls involves gathering crops, those called prepare themselves for that purpose. If, on the other hand, his purpose is to build, they ready themselves for building. In the same way those who have been gathered in the name of the Lord should by all means know the purpose of Him who gathered them and prepare themselves for it, so that they may not be unsuccessful, but may find the grace of His good pleasure and may not fall into condemnation because of wickedness or negligence.

They also should be mindful of the Apostle's saying: "I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called" (Eph. 4:1). Moreover, the Lord makes everything clear for us through the promise that He directed to [Jude, not Iscariot]: "If a man loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him" (John 14:23). Thus living with Him is achieved by keeping the commandments; thus too He is in the midst of two or three (see Matt. 18:20), if they are prepared for His will. But if they are not worthy of their calling and are not gathered together according to the will of the Lord, but only think

that they are gathered in His name, they hear Him say: "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not do what I tell you?" (Luke 6:46).

For that reason he who wishes to become a participant in the divine glory and as in a clear mirror to see the face of Christ with the highest part of himself must seek to lay hold on the things of God to the fullest extent of which he is capable, with insatiable affection and boundless force, with all his heart and power, by night as well as day. He cannot have a part in this unless he first has withdrawn from the pleasures of the world, from its passions and the powerful adversary, [that is, Satan,] who is foreign to the light and opposed to the good powers, who is indeed wholly alienated from them. Furthermore if you desire to learn why men, created [by God] and placed in paradise, have become like the foolish beasts and have been likened to them, having fallen from the undefiled glory, realize that this has happened because we have become by our lusts slaves of the flesh through disobedience (see 1 John 2:17). We have transplanted ourselves from the life of bliss, the land of the living, and having been taken captive (see Luke 15:13) we still sit by the rivers of Babylon (see Ps. 137:1). Because we are still captive in Egypt, we have not yet inherited the land of the promise which flows with honey and milk (see Ex. 3:8). Our heart has not yet been sprinkled by the blood of the Lamb of God. The trap of Hades and the hook of evil are still imbedded in it. We have not yet received the joy of the Savior Christ, for still

we are pierced by the sting of death. We have not yet put on the new man, who is created according to God in holiness and righteousness (see Eph. 4:24). We have not yet given up the old man, corrupt according to the deceitful lust (see Eph. 4:22). We have not yet put on the image of the heavenly and become conformed to His glory (see 1 Cor. 15:49), for still we are putting on the image of the earthly (see Phil. 3:21). We have not yet worshipped in the spirit and in the truth of God (see John 4:23), for sin is still reigning in our moral bodies (see Rom. 6:12). We have not yet seen the glory of the incorruptible God (see Rom. 1:23), for we are still separated [from Him] by darkness. We have not yet put on the armor of light (Rom. 13:12), since we have not yet taken off the armor and the works of darkness. We have not yet been transformed by the renewal of our mind (see Rom. 12:2), for still we are conformed to this age in vanity of mind (see Eph. 4:17). We are still [mired] in fleshly passions and pleasures. We have not yet become heirs of God and co-heirs of Christ (see Rom. 8:17).

The spirit of slavery still exists in us, and not that of sonship (see Rom. 8:15). We have not yet become the temple of God and the dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit (see 1 Cor. 3:16), for we are still a temple of idols and the vessel of evil spirits, because of our inclination to lustful passions. Indeed, yes indeed, we have not yet come into possession of integrity of manners and a clear insight. We

have not yet become united with the Son of righteousness (see Mal. 3:20), nor have we begun to shine together in its dawning rays. We have not yet received the likeness of the Lord (see 1 John 3:2; Gen. 1:26), neither have we become partakers of the divine nature (see 2 Peter 1:4). We have not yet become the spotless purple robe, nor the spotless divine image. We have not yet been wounded by the divine eros, nor have we been struck by the spiritual love of the bridegroom. We have not yet known the invisible and mystic communion. In summary, we have not yet become "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation" (1 Peter 2:9), for we are serpents, the offspring of vipers (see Matt. 23:33). Or are we not serpents, we who crawl on the earth and think the things of earth and do not have our commonwealth in heaven? (see Phil. 3:19-20). And are we not the offspring of vipers, we who are not to be found in the obedience of God, but rather in disobedience and in self-will? Should I not cry out aloud with tears to Him who is able to remove the deceit which is around and in myself? How shall I destroy the passions which are in myself, and become a partaker of the glory of God? I will strive earnestly to become a spotless child of God and to enter into that dwelling, which Jesus Christ entered as our Forerunner (see Heb. 4:1; 6:20). I will shed tears like streams; I will wet my bed every night with tears (see Ps. 6:6), so that I because of my contrition and distress of heart may receive mercy and so that I, who have chosen the

good portion (see Luke 10:42), will like Mary be heard and deemed worthy of the heavenly bread.

Someone may ask if no benefit accrues to the multitudes of Christians who have not kept all the commandments from their having nevertheless kept some of them? Here it is good to remember blessed Peter, who after so many achievements and after being pronounced blessed so often, hears, on account of only one [word that he had spoken, Christ say to him] "If I do not wash you, you have no part in me" (John 13:8b). Let me say that [the word Peter had spoken] indicated neither negligence nor abuse, but was an expression of honor and respect. But someone may say, it is written: "that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts 2:21b). Does this mean that the mere invocation of the Lord is enough to save the one who calls [on Him]? But then listen to the Apostle saying: "How are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed?" (Rom. 10:14). If you believe, listen to the Lord! "Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father" (Matt. 7:21). Therefore whenever a person does the will of the Lord, but does not do it as God wills, that is, if he does not do it out of love of God, the zeal with which he does the work is useless, according to the voice of God: "They do all their deeds to be seen by men" (Matt. 23:5); "truly, I say to you, they have their reward" (Matt. 6:2b).

Therefore Paul also had been taught to say: "If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing" (1 Cor. 13:3). How then can we, who have preferred a life of lust to a life of obedience to the commandments, take for granted a share in the blessed life and the commonwealth of the saints and the rejoicing of the angels in the presence of Christ? (see Eph. 2:19). Indeed, such imaginary thinking belongs to the childish mind! I have not accepted the common faith with thankfulness; how will I be with Job? I have not been mercifully disposed toward my enemy; how will I be with David? I have not sought God with continuous self-control and with diligent prayer; how will I be with Daniel? I have not walked in the footsteps of the other saints; how will I be with them? Who would be such an unjust judge as to bestow the same wreath as the equal reward both of the winner and of the one who has never struggled for a prize? What general sends forth the arms gained as spoil from a slain enemy in equal portions both to those who have conquered and to those who never appeared in the battle? God is good, but He is also just. Let us not then know God only half way. Let us not accept His mercy in such a way that it becomes a pretext for laziness. There is thunder and there is lightning, so that goodness should not be slighting or arrogantly thought of. The One who leads forth the sun also condemns [men] to blindness. He who sends the rain, also rains fire. The former are signs of goodness,



the latter are signs of severity. Either we should love because of the former or we should be afraid because of the latter, so that it will not be said of us also;

Or do you presume upon the riches of his kindness and forbearance and patience? Do you not know that God's kindness is meant to lead you to repentance? But, by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath (Rom. 2:4-5).

Therefore is it not possible to be saved without doing works according to the commandment of God, nor is it without danger to neglect some of the things which have been commanded. It would be a great arrogance if we wanted to set ourselves up as judges of the Lawgiver. Let us therefore honor the keeping of the evangelical dogmas with true faith, and let us with common care and determination be zealous that we avoid nothing of those things which have been commanded. The man of God must be perfect (see 2 Tim. 3:17). He must be perfected by every commandment, according to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ (see Eph. 4:13). For, just as the necessity is laid upon me, and woe is to me, if I do not preach the Gospel (1 Cor. 9:16), you also have a like struggle if you are irresponsible toward what has been given you, or if you are lax and careless in the keeping of those things which have been handed down and fulfilling them through works. For the Lord says: "The word I have spoken will be his judge on the last day" (John 12:48b). A servant who did not know, but who did things that "deserved a beating" (Luke 12:48), shall be beaten with few stripes; another, who

knew, but did not, neither prepared himself according to his [Master's] will, shall be beaten with many stripes (see Luke 12:47). Let the dispensation of the word [of God] take place in such a way that I am without reproach, and that it is fruitful for you, since we know that the words of the inspired Scripture will confront us at the judgment seat of Christ. For it is said: I will reprove you and I will lay the sin before your face (see Ps. 50:21). Let us then be soberly careful about what has been said and let us strive to put the divine commandments into practice, for we do not know what day or hour our Lord is coming (see Matt. 24:42; Eph. 2:19). Intimacy with God is not a matter of kinship according to the flesh, but it is achieved in zeal for the will of God (see Mark 3:35). "He who is of God hears the word of God" (John 8:47). Also the Epistle to the Romans says: "All who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" (Rom. 8:14).

Chrysostom, interpreting this verse, says:

To keep them from placing their confidence in the gift of [baptismal] cleansing and then neglecting the manner of life in the city [of God], he did not say "they received," but "they are led."

That is to say, as many as live right throughout their lives are the sons of God. In St. John we read: "You are my friends, if you do what I command you" (John 15:14). It is impossible to be deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven, if one does not have the righteousness according to the Gospel which is greater than that of the Law. [Scripture] says: "Unless your

righteousness exceed that of the scribes and pharisees, you will never enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20).

The Apostle also says:

Indeed I count every thing as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For His sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ, and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God (Phil. 3:8-9a).

"For whatever does not proceed from faith is sin" (Rom. 14:23).

Therefore we must be led by the Holy Spirit and by a right faith if we are to be deemed worthy of the kingdom of God.

Moreover, it is necessary to know and confess that the grace needed for every good deed and our patience in our sufferings for Christ come from God. For St. John says: "No one can receive anything except what is given him from heaven" (John 3:27).

What indeed have you, which you have not received? (see 1 Cor. 4:7). "For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God, not because of works, lest any man should boast" (Eph. 2:8-9). This also is from God: "For it has been granted to you that for the sake of Christ you should not only believe in him but also suffer for his sake, engaged in the same conflict" (Phil. 1:29-30a).

Moreover, a person must not be high minded with regard to himself because of his achievements and despise the others. St. Luke says: "He also told this parable to some who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others:

'Two men went up into the temple to pray'" (Luke 18:9-10). When a person ascribes his achievements to himself and not to God, what else is that than a rejection of God and rebellion against Him? Those who trust in themselves and do not ascribe everything to God, but rather despise the others, show that--although righteousness is otherwise admirable and brings a man near to God--when righteousness becomes arrogant it casts man into the lowest state and makes a demon out of him who before had been endowed with God likeness. Men must for that reason not rely on themselves, nor may they boast, in Basil's words, that the blessing of the preaching [of the Gospel] is the result of their individual devising, but they must entrust everything to God. Paul says: "Such is the confidence that we have through Christ toward God. Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us: our sufficiency is from God, Who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant" (2 Cor. 3:4-6a). And elsewhere: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God, and not to us" (2 Cor. 4:7). Again our Lord says: "If you love me, you will keep my commandments" (John 14:15). As long as we are not keeping all the commandments of the Lord, we are not the kind of person concerning whom He can testify: "You are not of this world" (see John 15:9). Nor can [in that case] we expect the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

It is right not only to fulfill the commandments, but the virtues, customs and feasts also are not to be despised, in line with Canon 53 of the Apostles, which says: "On feast days one who does not partake of meat . . ." Concerning fasting, Canon 69 says: "If anyone . . . fails to fast through the 40 days of holy lent, or on Wednesdays and Fridays, let him be deposed from office" and so on. Fasting was instituted by God through Moses, as it is written. One passage says explicitly that a soul which has not been humbled by fasting before the feast will be destroyed (see Ex. 12:15, 19 [?]). Let us hasten, then, to do what salvation calls for through fasting and prayer (see Is. 58:4). But, when we are fasting, let us not fast by way of judgment [on others] or [to provoke] contention and let us not strike the humble and to the proselytes (see Is. 58:4). Let us loose every bond of wickedness and let us destroy the documents of forced negotiations. Let us share our bread with those who are hungry. Let us open our homes to those who are poor and homeless according to the commandments of the prophet (see Is. 58:6-7). Having fasted bodily, let us fast spiritually also, continually abstaining from evil. Then the light of our life shall break forth like the dawn as it is written. God will hear our cry and will say: "When you speak, do not be sad of countenance, here I am" (see Is. 58:8-9).

## [XXI. THE CULT OF SAINTS]

The twenty-first and last article covers as its subject the cultus of the saints, that it is profitable to remember the saints for the strengthening of our faith, bearing in mind that they attained grace and help from God through faith. We say that invocation in the strict sense belongs to God only and that it belongs first and peculiarly to Him. The invocation which is accorded to the saints, is not in the strict sense invocation, but only, as it were by accident and by grace. For Peter or Paul will not hear those who are invoking them, but the Grace which they have received does that, as the Lord says: "I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Matt. 28:20b).

St. Paul, writing to the Romans, says concerning the invocation of God: "But how are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed?" (Rom. 10:14). This proves that we must invoke only Him in whom we have believed, that is, God. We too address invocation in the strict sense to God alone, and so we cry out during the Divine Liturgy: "Deem us worthy, O Master, with boldness and without condemnation to dare to call upon Thee, the heavenly God, as Father and to say: 'Our Father, Who are in heaven'" (see Matt. 6:9). And elsewhere our rite says: "O Lord of hosts, be with us, for beside Thee we have no other Helper in adversity." Again: "Beside Thee we do not know another God" (Great Compline). We make mediators of all the saints, especially the Mother of the Lord,

and along with her the choir of angels and saints, whom we venerate relatively, but not after the manner of divine worship (latreutikōs), with temples, votive offerings, invocations, and sacred icons. We know indeed, that we must worship God exclusively and know no other than Him, nor do we worship a foreign god (see Matt. 4:10b; Ps. 81:10). We do not want too much to be done with the saints for we are perhaps afraid, lest we become involved in divine worship. God forbid! For, it is indecent for the Church of Christ and for her children to worship, except relatively, the sacred icons of which the honor refers to the prototype, as Basil says.

Furthermore, we regard all the saints as our mediators and intercessors. We say that not only in the present age, but also in the age to come, there will be a mediation of angels and of saints and by no means least of the Lady of the world, who will entreat the Lord for some. [They will] not [intercede] for all, not for those who died in their sins-- not at all, for God once and for all has ceased His mercy to such [people]. God has pronounced this judgment against them: Even if Noah and Job and Daniel were to stand up on their behalf, they could not set free their own sons and daughters (see Ezek. 14:14). All [the saints and angels] pray only for those for whom their supplications will be accepted, that is to say, for those who have left this life in repentance, but have not yet been able to cleanse away the spots of sins as long as the judgment is going on. But after the dissolution

of this court, when each [offender] will have been taken to the place of punishment which has been determined for him, there can and will be no further intercession. This supplication now occurs and is preached in the church. We cry aloud to the saints and to our Lady and to the holy angels.

To our Lady [we say]: "Oh all-holy sovereign Lady, Mother God (theotoke), intercede for us sinners." To the holy angels [we say]: "Oh all ye heavenly hosts, angels and arch-angels, intercede for us." We also ask the Prophet-Forerunner and Baptist of the Lord, the glorified apostles, the prophets, the martyrs, the pious, the pastors, the ecumenical teachers, the rest of the saints, and the choir of holy women to intercede for us sinners, that by the grace of God and by the unconquerable and divine and inconceivable power of the cross, He would be merciful to us sinners, who worship Him and who persist steadfastly in confession and repentance, asking that the eyes of our souls may be illuminated (see Eph. 1:18), lest sinning we sleep in death, and the enemy may have power against us. Thus, through the supplication of all those of whom we have spoken, we entreat God to be our Helper, and to deliver us from the snares of the Evil One.

Now, replying to those so-called abuses, we say:

[XXII. BOTH KINDS IN THE SACRAMENT]

First, you say that it is necessary for a person to receive both elements. You say well. We also administer both



elements, and those who are worthy receive the awesome sacraments. We do not however use unleavened bread but leavened bread as an element.

[XXIII. THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS]

Second, you say that it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion (see 1 Cor. 7:9), according to St. Paul's command about "the husband of one wife . . ." (1 Tim. 3:2; see Titus 1:6). We too permit those priests who are unable to remain virgin to marry before ordination. God has ordained marriage, and we are not ignorant that severe disorder takes place among those clergy who have been prevented from being married. If [a priest] has decided to remain virgin, let him be virgin. But we do not grant permission to marry after he has made the promise of celibacy. [Jesus says]: "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62). If someone commits a human failing, we bring him to a better mind (symphronizomen) through penance and confession and other laborious sufferings and refraining from [further] evil deeds and cleanse him. The mercy of God will not reject him.

[XXIV. THE MASS]

Third, you stress that the divine liturgy is celebrated among you in a more pious manner than among your opponents. Some [among the latter] perform it for gain, with a resultant

increase in the number of private celebrations. Among you there is one liturgy, in contrast to the custom of the church of Rome. A person who celebrates the liturgy for gain acts wickedly. [All] this is also certainly confessed among us, and is true. And in addition, you say that the passion of Christ has set us free not only from original sin, but from all sin. To this observation we say that we are debtors to accomplish the whole law (see James 2:10). And as He has lived, who died and rose for us, so we also, as we can, should live, mindful of what the Apostles work: "The love of Christ controls us, because we are convinced that one died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised" (2 Cor. 5:14-15). If he who has been circumcised is under obligation to accomplish the whole law, how much more is he who has been circumcised with the circumcision in Christ (see Gal. 5:3; Col. 2:11)--that, is by the taking off of the whole body of sins of the flesh--is under obligation to fulfill that which the Apostle has said: "I am crucified unto the world and the world unto me" (see Gal. 2:20; 6:14b). "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain" (Phil. 1:21). Thus it is necessary that one must be dead to sin (see Rom. 6:11), and not a slave to it, and to follow the Lord, which indeed is to live entirely in God (see Rom. 6:10). If we are sinning unrepentantly, the passion of Christ does not benefit us in the least.

## [XXV. CONFESSION]

Fourth, you write concerning confession and absolution of sin. To this we say, following Basil the Great, that each Christian who desires to show worthwhile progress and to lead a manner of life that conforms to the commandments of our Lord must keep no movement of his soul hidden within himself, nor let a word go unexamined, but must disclose the hidden things of the heart. He is to do this not to just any one, but to those who are able to heal him. Elsewhere [Basil] says that one must confess one's sins to those who are entrusted with the dispensation of the mysteria of God. This is what the penitent Christians of ancient times among the saints were found to be doing. Concerning the authority to forgive, he says that it was not given absolutely, but [in view of] the obedience of the penitent and [on the basis of] agreement between the sincerely penitent person and the one who cares for his soul. Indeed, to repent means not to do the same deeds again. The one who attempts to do the same deeds again is like "the dog which turns back to his own vomit" (2 Peter 2:22). Therefore, one must abstain in action and in thought from the deeds that have been committed and apply to the wounds the remedies or medicines which are the opposites of the sins in question.

## [XXVI. THE DISTINCTION OF FOODS]

Fifth, concerning foods, celebrations, fasts, and traditions, [you say] that we should believe that Christ forgives

our sins freely, and not on account of our own righteousness. You also say that it is not possible to keep all the traditions, and that as a result pious consciences are greatly distressed. On these [remarks] let us hear what St. Basil says: "We must guard ourselves so that we do not appear on pretext of one commandment to abolish another one." Therefore, in commenting on the subject of food, he says that the Apostle did not merely direct [his readers to] "make no provision for the flesh," but that [the Apostle also added,] "to gratify its desires" (Rom. 13:14b). Thus on the one hand, one must through ascetic practices cut off the covetous and lustful desires of the flesh, and, on the other hand, one must take care to preserve that which promotes the good. He says: "Food will not commend us to God" (1 Cor. 8:8). "The kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom. 14:17). For this reason a rational abstinence from foods is also allowed. When one examines this matter of abstinence from food in itself, "we are no worse off if we do not eat, and no better off if we do" (1 Cor. 8:8b). The ones who do not eat are not more virtuous than the ones who eat simply because they do not eat; nor are those who eat inferior to those who do not eat simply because they eat, as long as their interior virtue is equal. Of course in considering the virtue in the soul, one must also contemplate the things that concern the body. Things that are not good in themselves become good through the agency of the good [means] that adorn them.

All the traditions that have been handed down by the holy Fathers, must be preserved and accepted as referring to the same purpose. For [the Apostle] says that whoever disregards this, disregards God (see 1 Thess. 4:8). For that reason one must not tread such traditions under foot, even if some misuse them in a way that contradicts their pious purpose. One must admonish such persons through penances and show them the right use. We see Basil the Great doing this in many cases, especially when he asks if a work that the law commands is accepted by God if it has not been done according to the commandment of God. Nothing can make us so much imitators of Christ as to be concerned about our neighbor. It is not fitting for the faithful to say anything that burdens consciences. "Whatever is born of God overcomes the world" (1 John 5:4). Therefore the same [Basil] says: "Who can be so unperceptive and so unfaithful as to be satisfied with what has already been done or to refuse something as too burdensome or wearisome?"

For this reason no believer has dared to ridicule monastic life, which has been instituted for a divine purpose. Although many perhaps have undertaken to begin this [way of life], there have been few who have achieved a worthy fulfillment. Assuredly the fulfillment does not exist simply in the intention, but the gain that results from laborious effort lies in the fulfillment. Certainly everyone admires and praises this kind [of life] in which a competent person admonishes the young and the uninstructed in a manner prescribed and ordered

elsewhere. You, follower of the monastic life, faithful man, doer of pious works, learn and be instructed in the evangelical manner of life, and so on. Again, when [Basil] sets forth what examinations must precede the reception of novices, he says, that one must allow them to dedicate themselves unto God even at a youthful age. He who does so shows genuine love toward God and may be assured of a certain reward from the Lord. With regard to the verses [of Paul] that you [theologians] offer concerning tradition, the solution is obvious from what has already been said. For the Apostle in those verses is not discussing pious customs and traditions, but heretical ones and others. For that reason Chrysostom says, in commenting on the statements in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to Timothy, that it refers to Manicheans, Encratites, and Marcionites (see 1 Tim. 4:1-5). Just as those who hold the faith are safely moored by the anchor, so those who have fallen from [the faith] cannot stand upright anywhere. After they have been misled, they wander up and down and at the end they descend to the depths of destruction. Furthermore [Chrysostom] says that what was written in the second chapter of Colossians (see 2:20-23) was intended to overturn the Greek and Judaistic superstitious observances, so that these verses refer to those who do not hold fast to Christ. This, he says, is also true of [Paul's] statements in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians (see 5:1-15), and in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus (see 1:10-16).

Basil also says:

If the righteousness according to the law that some pursue who have dedicated themselves in baptism to God to 'live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised' (2 Cor. 5:15b), leads to a verdict of adultery according to the Apostle, what would one have to say concerning human traditions? (see Rom. 7:2-4).

Concerning justification by faith, we say, as Chrysostom does, that knowledge comes through faith, and that without faith there is no way to know Christ. Behold, no reasoning can prove the resurrection and the birth [of Christ]; only faith can do so. These things create righteousness. You will observe that not merely faith is necessary, but faith through works. For that person most certainly believes that Christ is risen, who exposes himself boldly to danger and who shares in His suffering, and so on. For this reason the Apostle says:

[That I might] be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith; that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death (Phil. 3:9-11).

And again: "God is faithful" (1 Cor. 1:9). He who has promised to save will surely save just as He has promised to do. But how has He promised? If we are willing and if we will hear Him. But not only this--not if we are idle like sticks and stones. He has well added: "We trust," that is, we must believe in His kindness and depend wholly upon Him (see 1 Tim. 4:10). We must cast everything upon Him. But at the same time, we ourselves should labor that virtue will be present in us until our last breath. Therefore, let us not

merely hold fast to Christ, but also follow Him. For if we leave, we perish. For they who separate themselves from Christ are lost. But let us be joined to Him through works (see 1 Cor. 6:17). He says: "All who keep My commandments abide in Me" (see 1 John 3:24). He shows us our union with Him by means of many metaphors. Consider: He is the Head (see Eph. 4:15b), and we the body. He is the Cornerstone (see Eph. 2:20), we the building. He is the Vine, we the branches (see John 15:5). All those things indicate our union with Him; and He leaves no empty space in between us and Him, not even the least bit. He who is even a small distance away, even though he takes many steps forward, will be left behind. If the vine is cut off only slightly from its root, it is useless. Thus the very least is not small, but it is almost the whole. Therefore when we commit small iniquities or are a little remiss, let us not overlook this very little thing since, once overlooked, it easily becomes great.

[XXVII. MONASTIC VOWS]

Moreover, on the [sixth] subject concerning monks, we say with Basil the Great that the merciful God in His concern for our salvation divided the life of man into two kinds, union [in wedlock] and virginity. The person who is not able to bear the struggle of virginity, may enter into union with a wife, knowing that he must give an account of his prudence and sanctification, both in the marriage bond and in the rearing of children.



A reckoning will be demanded of everyone concerning the fruits of His love of God and of his neighbor and concerning his transgressions of the commandments and of the established order, as the Lord declares in the Gospel when He says: "He that loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10:37). Therefore, do not relax, you who have chosen the marriage relation with a wife, as if you had authority to embrace the world. You need more hard work and watchfulness if you are to attain salvation. And you, the lovers of the heavenly manner of life, you who are going along the angelic way, you who seeking to become a fellow-soldier with the holy disciples of Christ, strengthen yourself to endure afflictions, proceed with strength to the assemblage of the monks, and be a zealous imitator of those who are living correctly, and inscribe their deeds in your heart. Desire to become one of the few, for good things are rare. For that reason those who enter the kingdom are few in number. If you desire to seize [the kingdom], seize it by force (see Matt. 11:12). Submit your neck to the yoke of Christ; bind the yoke upon your throat; let it push down on your neck. Make yourself grow lean by works of virtue in fastings (see 2 Cor. 6:5), in keeping vigils, in submission, in retreats, in singing psalms, in praying, in tears, in working with your hands, in enduring every grief which comes to you both from demons and men. In this serious task virginity is a co-worker for those who use this gift according to reason. The gift of virginity is given

not only to abstain from the procreation of children, but the entire life, the whole life-style, the whole ethos should be virginal. The whole way of life of the unmarried person must demonstrate freedom from corruption. Therefore, if we desire the character of our soul to be adorned by freedom from passion after the likeness of God (see Gen. 1:26), so that in this way we may attain to eternal life, let us pay attention to ourselves lest we do something unworthy of our promise and fall under the condemnation of Ananias (see Acts 5:1-5)!

Initially Ananias did not have to promise his property to God, but since, with a view to human glory, he dedicated his property to God through his promises in order to be wondered at by men for his munificence and then kept back part of the sum of money, he moved the Lord to such wrath--of which Peter was the minister--that he could not even find the gate to repentance.

Before a person commits himself to the praiseworthy [monastic] life, is free if he desires, within permitted and lawful limits to enter [married] life and give himself to the yoke of matrimony. But when he has already anticipated [this permission] through his own commitment, it is fitting that he keep himself for God, as the case would be with some holy thing separated to God, so that he will not involve himself in a verdict of sacrilege, by polluting in the service of the common life the body which he had devoted to God by his vow. I do not say this with reference the one kind of passion

alone--as some think, who would protect the virtue of virginity simply by the guarding the body--but with regard to every kind of passionate emotion so that the person who determines to keep himself for God may not be polluted by any worldly passion. For everything which occurs as a result of passion somehow pollutes the purity of the soul and hinders the divine life. For that reason the person who renounces life must look to those things, so that he does not defile himself, the vessel of God, in any way by the employment of any passion.

It is particularly necessary that a person who has chosen the life of an angel remember that he has gone past and beyond the limits of human nature and has devoted himself to a bodiless manner of life. For it is characteristic of the angelic nature to be free from the marriage bond (see Matt. 18:10) and not to be moved by any other kind of beauty, but ceaselessly to look straight toward the divine countenance. Whoever would truly follow God must be free from the bonds of passionate attachment to life. This can be achieved by a total separation from and forgetfulness of all habits of the past. For if we do not separate ourselves from fleshly kinship and life in this world, and, as it were, pass over to another world in according with the assertion that "our commonwealth is in heaven" (Phil. 3:20), we shall be left helpless to achieve the goal of pleasing God. The Lord has said definitely: "So therefore, whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14:33). And

when we have done this, it is essential to keep guard over our heart (see Prov. 4:23), so that we neither banish the thought of God nor pollute the memory of His wonders by wishful and idle thinking, but through a continuous and pure remembrance of divine things, impressed on our souls as by an indelible seal-impression, carry around a holy awareness of God. In this way the love of God prevails over us and at the same time it awakens us to carry out the commandments of the Lord; by these in turn our love is preserved in perfect continuation. The Lord shows this when He says: "If you love me, you keep my commandments" (John 14:15). And at another time: "If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love" (John 15:10). Elsewhere the Lord calls such people perfect (see Matt. 5:48; 19:21).

For that reason one need not wonder if the manner of life of those monks who are living rightly is called perfect. Chrysostom says that through the washing of regeneration all previous sins have been forgiven; after this forgiveness and baptism, the Lord again gives the sinner help through repentance. "Though your sins be as purple, I will make them white as snow" (Is. 1:18, LXX), and I [God] will change it to the opposite condition. For that reason it is not so bad to fall as it is to remain lying in a fallen condition.

This is the reason why one must praise the life of the monks and not disparage it. For the one who honors such virtuous men will honor God too. But one who has learned to

scorn them, going forward along that way, will also at some time despise God. "He who receives you," He says, "received me" (Matt. 10:40), and "he who rejects you rejects me" (Luke 10:16). And let us imitate them also, and let us glorify God everywhere by a conscientious life. No one can say, that it is not possible to become people like that today, because the love of God is untaught. The law is both the gardener and cultivator of the seminal powers that inhere in us (see Gal. 3:24).

Since we have been commanded to love our neighbor as ourselves, let us learn if we have the power from God to fulfill this commandment. Who then, does not know that human beings are both civilized and social creatures and not solitary or wild. For, nothing is so peculiar to our nature, as to be in one another's company, to need each other, and to love those of the same race. From the seeds which the Lord Himself has given to us He later seeks fruit, saying "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another" (John 13:34). The Lord wants to arouse our soul with such a commandment, He does not demand from His disciples signs and marvelous powers as a proof, although God has granted the power to do them through the Holy Spirit. But what does He say? "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another" (John 13:35). Thus He everywhere combines these commandments, so that He applies to Himself the kindness that we do towards the neighbor. He says: "I was hungry

and you gave me food" (Matt. 25:35). Afterwards He goes on: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:40). Indeed, through the first, the second is achieved and, through the second in turn, the first is accomplished. If we love the Lord, we consequently love our neighbor also. He said: "If a man loves me he will keep my word" (John 14:23). "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you" (John 15:12). The person who loves his neighbor fulfills [the commandment to] love God, who applies to gracious action to himself. For this reason the faithful servant of God, Moses, showed such great love toward his brothers. He preferred that he himself be blotted out from the book of God, in which his name was written (see Ex. 32:32), so that the sin of the people might be forgiven. If we have this love, it is not right to despise those things which have been commanded by the Fathers.

[XXVIII. THE POWER OF THE BISHOPS]

[With reference to the seventh section,] Basil says: "The distinctions among those who govern should not hinder the obedience of subordinates." Moses did not disobey the good advice of Jethro (see Ex. 18:24). But there is no small difference among the commandments. Some [earthly laws] contradict the commandment of the Lord, either by doing violence to it, or by greatly polluting it through a mixing it together with that which has been prohibited. On the other hand, there are

[earthly laws] which coincide with the [divine] commandment, and still others which, although they do not obviously coincide, nevertheless contribute to and reinforce the [divine] commandment. In view of this, it is necessary to recall the words of the Apostle: "Do not despise prophesying but test everything; hold fast what is good, abstain from every form of evil" (1 Thess. 5:20-22). Again: "We destroy arguments and every proud obstacle to the knowledge of God, and take every thought captive to obey Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5). So if an [earthly law] coincides with the commandment of the Lord or reinforces it, we must accept it most earnestly and carefully as the will of God, and so fulfill the word: "Forbearing one another in the love" (Eph. 4:2) of Christ. On the other hand, if we are ordered by someone to do something [against] the commandment of the Lord, in that [the order] either corrupts or defiles it, then it is time to say, "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29), and to remember the Lord saying, "A stranger they will not follow, but they will flee from him, for they do not know the voice of strangers" (John 10:5). [We must also remember] the words of the Apostle, who has dared for our certainty to reproach even the angels, of whom he says: "Even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preach to you, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:8). From these passages we are instructed that even if a very celebrated and highly honored person forbids that which is

ordered by the Lord, or urges us to do things which are forbidden by Him, such a person should be avoided and detested by everyone who loves the Lord.

No evasions can be made concerning those things which have been said. All the faithful accept those matters which the synods have decided as being in accord with the inspired Scripture. Therefore we receive up to today nothing that has been strangled (see Acts 15:20), but we detest it, abiding by those things which the Fathers and the Apostles have proclaimed. For it is written: "Abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled" (Acts 15:29). Likewise in sixth, as well as the sixty-seventh, canon, of the Sixth Ecumenical Council says: "If anyone attempt to eat the blood of any animal . . . let him be excommunicated." Basil also, in legislating concerning these things, says:

I find further, taking in hand the divine Scriptures of the Old as well as New Testament, that disobedience toward God is explicitly calculated neither by the great number of those things which have been done wrongly, nor by the size of sins, but only according to the transgression of whatever ordinance, and that there is a common judgment against every disobedience to God.

Again:

From these as well as from similar things, I thought it to be obvious, that in general, wicked lusts derive from ignorance concerning God or false knowledge, especially the disagreement of many with each other through which we make ourselves unworthy to receive God's guidance. Further, I have given consideration to such a life, if ever it had to come, but I was unable to measure the magnitude of such foolishness or senselessness or madness, whether it came out of an excess of malice or from some cause about which I am not able to speak. For if among the irrational



creatures we find such agreement achieved among one other through obedience toward the head, what could we say when we [human beings] find ourselves in such disagreement with each other and in such an opposition against the commandments of the Lord? Or do we not think that God appointed all those things to teach us and to make us humble, and that on the great and awesome day of judgment those who have refused to be chastened will be brought forth in disgrace and contempt by the One Who has said that "the ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel does not know me, and the people has not regarded me" (Is. 1:3, LXX), and many similar things.

In a similar vein the Apostle says: "If one member suffers, all suffer together" (1 Cor. 12:26). Also: "That there may be no discord in the body, but that the members may have the same care for one another" (1 Cor. 12:25), that is to say, moved by one soul dwelling in all of them. For what purpose have these arrangements been made? It seems to me that the purpose is the preservation of consistency and discipline. How much more is this the case in the church of God, of which it is said: "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it" (1 Cor. 12:27), that is to say [the Church,] the one and only true Head of which is Christ, who rules each member and joins him in concord with the others. Among those where this concord has not been achieved, the bond of peace is not kept. It is not guarded in the spirit of meekness; instead quarrels and disputes and jealousy are found. It would be very presumptuous to call such people members of Christ, or to say what they are governed by Him. Moreover, it would be simple-minded not to say openly that here the mind of the flesh conquers and reigns, as the Apostle definitely says: "If you yield yourselves to any one as obedient slaves, you

are slaves of the one whom you obey" (Rom. 6:16). The same Apostle clearly shows the characteristics of such a mindset when he says: "For while there is jealousy and strife [and division] among you, are you not of the flesh?" (1 Cor. 3:3b) see Rom. 8:6). He makes explicitly clear both the tragic end of such people and how irreconcilable their mindset is with godliness. For that reason he says: "The mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God" (Rom. 8:7). For the mind that is set on the flesh does not submit itself to the law of God, nor can it do so. Therefore the Lord says: "No servant can serve two masters" (Luke 16:13; see Matt. 6:24). The description in the Acts [of the Apostles], that "now the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul" (Acts 4:32), is not realized in such people. There no one insisted on his own will, but all together sought in the one Holy Spirit the will of the one Lord Jesus Christ who has said: "I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" (John 6:38).

Let us proceed according to the rule of the saints, "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord" (Eph. 3:20-21). "May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. 5:23). Indeed, God is trustworthy, who calls both

you [the Lutherans] and us [the Eastern Orthodox] and who wants all of us to be saved (see 1 Tim. 2:4). He will also do it, if we keep His commandments--which indeed is the chief thing in the salvation of all, without which it is impossible to be saved--by the grace of Christ in the Holy Spirit, as has been made clear and explained part by part. Let us not know God only in part, then, or make His compassion and kindness a pretext for negligence. Instead let us soberly cling to that which has been said, and let us strive zealously to realize the divine commandments in practice, directing our eyes nowhere else than toward Him who has said, "I came to cast fire" (Luke 12:49). What else would I want, than that it already burn! Blessed David, who likewise sought power of this fire, said: "Prove me, O Lord, and try me; purify with fire my reins and my heart" (Ps. 26:2, LXX). This fire, burning the log which is in the eye (see Matt. 7:3), purifies it so that with its natural clear-sightedness restored, it sees without ceasing the wonders of God, as the [Psalmist] said: "Unveil thou mine eyes, and I shall perceive wondrous things out of thy law" (Ps. 118:18, LXX). This fire puts the demons to flight and burns up iniquities. It is the power of the resurrection and the energy of immortality (see Eph. 1:20), the illumination of holy souls and that which holds together the powers of reasoning. So that this fire may reach us also, let us pray that we may always walk in the light of good works (see Phil. 2:15-16), not stumbling even a little, but

shining as light-givers in the world. Let us always hold fast the word of life, so that, having a part in all the things of God with our Lord Jesus Christ, we may come to rest in [everlasting] life, after we have fulfilled in godly and necessary fashion the commandments and the virtues and everything salutary and divine. If we dwell thus throughout our time on this earth, we shall reach the true fatherland. May we deemed worthy thereof by the grace of Christ! Amen.

All these things which we have spoken, beloved, are founded, as you very well know, upon the inspired Scripture, according to the interpretation and the sound teaching and explanation of our wise and holy theologians. For we may not rely upon own interpretation and understand and interpret any of the words of the inspired Scripture, except in accord with the theologians who have been approved by the holy synods [assembled] in the Holy Spirit for a pious purpose, lest our thought, like that of Proteus move around here and there, deviating from the correct evangelical teaching, from true wisdom and from prudence. But someone will say, how can these things be corrected? In this way: With the assistance of God, let no one undertake or think anything contrary to the decisions of the sacred apostles and the holy synods. He who correctly keeps this principle, will be partner with us in our rejoicing, a member of our community and one who holds the same faith. But what communion could he have with us who rejects the aforementioned canons and fights against the

Apostles and shamelessly turns himself against the holy Apostles? What part could he have with us? Somewhere one of the teachers [of the church] says to those who strive to be pious: "One who speaks contrary to the things which have been decided--even though he is trustworthy (see 1 Cor. 4:2; 9:1), lives as a virgin, does wonders, and prophesies--is a wolf in sheep's clothing, who causes the ruin of the sheep." Another teacher [of the church] says: "If shakes loose something that seemed good to the God-bearing Fathers, that cannot be called administration, but violation and betrayal of the dogma." Still another teacher [of the church] says:

One who has the judgment of Christ before his eyes, who has seen the great danger that threatens those who dare to subtract from or add to those things which have been handed down by the Spirit, must not be ambitious to innovate, but must content himself with those things which have been proclaimed by the saints.

Therefore, since so many and such important theologians of ours forbid thinking otherwise, there is only one correction: conform to the holy synods and to follow the canons of the Apostles and thus follow Christ in all things.

O most wise German men and beloved children of our mediocrity, since, as sensible men, you wish with your whole heart to enter our most holy church, we, as affectionate fathers, willingly accept your love and friendliness, if you will follow the apostolic and synodical decrees in harmony with us and will submit to them. For then you will indeed be in communion with us, and having openly submitted to our holy

and catholic church of Christ, you will be praised by all prudent men. In this way the two churches will become one by the grace of God, we shall live together hereafter and we will exist together in a God-pleasing way until we attain the heavenly kingdom. May all of us attain it in Jesus Christ, to whom glory belongs to all ages. Amen.

Written with the help of God, in Constantinople, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1576, May 15, at the venerable Patriarchal monastery of the All-blessed [Ever-Virgin Mary].

Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch.

**APPENDIX**

A HARMONY OF THE ARTICLES

<u>ARTICLES OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION</u>	<u>1ST ANSWER OF JEREMIAH</u>	<u>1ST REPLY OF THE THEOLOGIAN</u>
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II. [Original Sin] 6,9-7,9	63,5-64,8	
III. [Son of God] 7,10-7,44		
IV. [Justification] (XX) 7,45-9,31	64,10-65,28	165,40-172,39
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VII. [The Church] 11,20-11,40	77,5-81,46	
VIII. [What Is the Church?] 11,40-12,9	81,47-85,36	
IX. [Baptism] 12,10-12,21	85,37-85,51	173,41-174,10
X. [Lord's Supper] 12,22-12,28	86,1-81,44	191,5-193,36
XI. [Confession] 12,29-12,40	86,46-89,4	
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\*additional subjects treated



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XVII. [Return of Christ] 15,41-16,10	113,26-113,40	
XVIII. [Free Will] 16,11-17,19	113,41-117,36	162,43-165,39
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