

Makarov D.I. // The Image of Perfect Christian in Patristic Thought/ Ed. T. Khomych et al. Leuven: Peeters, 2010 (forthcoming).

Dimitry Makarov  
Yekaterinburg

## SOME NOTES ON THE NOTIONS OF SYNERGY AND INTERPENETRATION IN THEOPHANES OF NICAEA

Theophanes III, Metropolitan of Nicaea (died ca. 1381) and a convinced Hesychast, affirms the three-staged pattern of salvation for a Christian. His main works, *Five Orations on the Light of Tabor* and *The Eulogy of the Holy Theotokos*, were composed in the late sixties – early seventies of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, between 1369 and 1376<sup>1</sup>. The first stage of practice ( $\pi\varrho\alpha\xi\varsigma$ ) corresponds to the first part of the tripartite scheme of Evagrius Ponticus<sup>2</sup>, whereas the second and the third, synergy ( $\sigma\nu\nu\epsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ ) and interpenetration ( $\pi\varepsilon\varrho\iota\chi\omega\eta\sigma\varsigma$ ), should be treated in greater detail.

When speaking of the second stage, following Theophanes' line of reasoning, one must stress more or less exact “commensurability” of the human and the Divine contribution to a person's attainment of salvation. The second stage is, in fact, subdivided into two main steps: the pure mind of an ascetic reaches natural contemplation ( $\varphi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\jmath\theta\epsilon\omega\gamma\iota\alpha$ ) first, and then surpasses the realm of the sensible, shining with its own light which is an effect of that previous vision of the principles ( $o\iota\lambda\gamma\gamma\iota\iota\iota$ ) of the creatures<sup>3</sup>. This light is acquired by the mind as its own shape.

What is obvious, however, is the authentically Byzantine origin and colouring of the notion of interpenetration, which is actually central in Theophanes' description of the third stage. The essential feature of this apex of Christian life is a ‘*passive activity*’ (J.-C. Larchet, L. Thunberg, P.M. Blowers, B. Lourié et al.) of the human will<sup>4</sup>, completely penetrated by the Divine will and determined by the latter, as in the case of Christ Himself, according to His humanity (*Jn* 5:30), St Paul (*Gal* 2:20), St Melchizedek, or the Most Holy Mother of God. For a proper understanding of this pivotal notion of *interpenetration* in Theophanes, its Maximian background is especially important.

*To make his point, Theophanes uses the examples of the Holy Apostles on Mount Tabor and of the Theotokos, respectively.* While the former have reached only the state of synergy, the latter was in interpenetration already on the earth. Let us take a closer look at Theophanes' line of reasoning in both cases.

## 1. The Apostles on Mount Tabor: a high peak of synergy

The three apostles on Tabor had their senses transfigured by the Divine grace which made the senses attuned to the perception of things unconceivable, according to the proper habit and nature of each sense. “Because the grace [of the Spirit] does not abolish the proper faculty of man, to say with the divine Maximus....<sup>5</sup>” The same teaching on the senses and mind of the saints being transfigured by grace during a vision of God was developed by St Gregory Palamas some thirty years before Theophanes<sup>6</sup>. Later it was taken up by Georges Scholarios, to cite only one example<sup>7</sup>. It was strongly criticized by anti-Palamites from Barlaam on. So Theophanes had to clear up that a human sense, sponsored by grace, was able to perceive the unconceivable in a supernatural manner<sup>8</sup>. The conclusion of Robert E. Sinkewicz concerning the *First Triad in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts* by Palamas can be applied to Theophanes as well: “The vision of God is thus received through the agency of a special charism of grace”<sup>9</sup>. Like Palamas, Theophanes speaks of *spiritual perception and enjoyment* granted by God to the worthy in the course of their ascent toward Him<sup>10</sup>.

This idea that the select of the Apostles perceived the Kingdom of God on Tabor only *in a mixed way*, that is to say, in a *synergetic* one, is pivotal in the work of Theophanes. It serves as a proper explanation of all the economy of our salvation, if only for the reason that it implies an uncompleted, unconsummated character of the disciples’ ecstasy on the mount (as compared to *interpenetration*). By using this argument Theophanes, as it seems, has managed to prove that the condition then of the Apostles was only a *foreshadowing* of the Kingdom of God, and not its actual coming in force and glory. It served to the right as a *pledge* of the Divine good things to come<sup>11</sup>. During that state, the bodies and souls of the disciples *kept on using their natural energies*<sup>12</sup>. All these considerations, taken together, bring one to better understand that St. Peter’s offer to the Lord to put up three tabernacles (*Mt. 17:4* and the parallels), as if it were already the eschatological Kingdom, was inappropriate and untimely.

It is impossible for man to reach perfection on earth, except the Theotokos. Being rapt in ecstasy, the elect of the Apostles kept on effectuating their natural operations, even if in a supernatural manner<sup>13</sup>. *Their ecstasy was not equal to the eschatological interpenetration of the worthy for that very reason that the latter state is the final indwelling of God to the just when only God acts. The Apostles’ ecstasy here below was actually, in Theophanes’ opinion, a foreshadowing of that blessed state.*

*Theophanes' conclusion that the three Apostles saw the Kingdom of God on Tabor only in a 'mixed', synergetic way is of paramount importance for his understanding of the divine economy as a whole, because it is implied thereby that their ecstasy on the mount was not the superior stage of their spiritual ascent. They had to go further, whereas their experience during the Transfiguration of the Lord was not the actual coming of the Divine Kingdom but only its foreshadowing.*

The synergetic state is then succeeded with that of interpenetration when it is only God who acts.

In his groundbreaking book on Theophanes, John Polemis<sup>14</sup> puts emphasis on a seemingly manifest affinity between Theophanes' and Thomas Aquinas' (*The Sum against the Heathens*, Preface to the 4<sup>th</sup> book) doctrines on the three ways available for man to know God. We would like to additionally stress that in his treatment of the interpenetration ( $\pi\epsilon\Omega\chi\omega\eta\sigma\varsigma$ ), Theophanes almost exclusively depends on St Maximus the Confessor's teaching on the eschatological interpenetration of God and the worthy, or, to put it more accurately, on God's permeation into their souls and bodies and their being qualitatively determined by His grace, as found first and foremost in the Confessor's 7<sup>th</sup> *Difficulty (Ambiguum) to John*<sup>15</sup> and elsewhere<sup>16</sup>. The central point in St. Maximus is his tenet about *the one and new energy* of God and the Saints which would originate from that Divine *interpenetration* into their body and mind resulting in their subsequent re-creation by grace.

As we have already stressed, the most important passage from the *Liber ambiguorum* where the doctrine in question is profoundly expounded can be found in PG. 91. 1076BD as well as in at least four large quotations in Theophanes<sup>17</sup> of which *the third one has not been identified by Soteropoulos*. This state being attained, every natural force of the Saints stops its proper activity; it is only God who will act. This does not entail Monoenergism, as (to say it with J.-C. Larchet) "... the affirmation of the one and unique energy is meant to indicate that only Divine operation can effectuate deification, human energy being unable to do so..."<sup>18</sup>

And yet there are noticeable similarities between Aquinas' and Theophanes' doctrines on the three levels of knowledge of God accessible to man. Both theologians admit that the first of these levels is what is usually called *natural theology*<sup>19</sup>. "The second," we read in Thomas, "is the Divine truth which exceeds human intellect and descends on us by means of revelation... as if it were uttered in a conversation to be believed in" (*quasi sermone prolata ad credendum*, see *Rom 10:17*)<sup>20</sup>. But it is worth recalling that, according to Aquinas, it is only through the mediation of angels that such an imperfect knowledge is revealed to us (*mediantibus angelis revelatur*)<sup>21</sup>. If taken literally, this assertion is closer to the stance of the anti-Palamites, which is

obvious, e.g., in the case of Prochoros Cydones (who was a fervent opponent of Theophanes, as well as a brilliant connoisseur and translator of Aquinas's works)<sup>22</sup>.

Theophanes, on his part, stresses *the transfiguration* of natural faculties of man even at the second stage – a point which is not so evident in Aquinas. We read in Theophanes: "...the worthy are united to God at the moment when grace transfigures their mind, notion and sense by illuminating them, whereupon a person thinks, notes and perceives the things naturally inaccessible both to one's mind, and to one's notion or sense. Such are the mysteries which have been made manifest to us in revelation by the Saviour and His Spirit by means of theologians, to wit, the unity and the trinity of the Godhead, the motive of the Incarnation of the Son of God and such-like... Their supernatural character will never be conceived of by any human person"<sup>23</sup>. "But we see them and think of them in the light of the faith... through the above-mentioned sensual symbols..."<sup>24</sup>

The Apostles on Tabor obtained a revelation that He who was transfigured before them is the Only-begotten Son of God<sup>25</sup>. Their mind and senses (including hearing) perceived God in full awareness due to His presence within them. Using the senses they saw Him as Light<sup>26</sup>. Theophanes draws on the pseudo-Macarian tradition of calling God the hypostatic Light<sup>27</sup> (and such a terminology obviously pre-dates the Second Ecumenical Council of 381)<sup>28</sup>. It is an additional hint at his belonging to the spiritual line of St Gregory Palamas and the hesychasts of the Holy Mount Athos<sup>29</sup>.

The mind and other faculties of the righteous unswervingly advance towards God in *ecstasis*<sup>30</sup>, whereas each faculty is transfigured and ascends "...according to its own habit and force, i.e., the mind [advances] mentally, the faculty of notion according to notion, and sense [does so] through sensual perception, although that which is thought, noted and is perceived with sense, surpasses all these faculties"<sup>31</sup>. This is also a rephrasing of St Maximus' tenet from the 29<sup>th</sup> and 59<sup>th</sup> *Questions and Answers to Thalassios*<sup>32</sup>. It is clear that the Byzantine tradition speaks not only of hearing and conversation (even if we take it in the mystical sense), but of the real transfiguration of *different* faculties of man during his communion with God.

This is a general description of the *synergetic level* of a perfect Christian's knowledge of God in Theophanes. This stage of perfection is a *mixed* one. It is somehow composed of the Divine grace and our faculties, whereas the grace acts, while the latter are the subject of that action<sup>33</sup>.

Such an illumination is given by God to those who have enriched themselves "with an angelic mind"<sup>34</sup>. This remark by Theophanes may be compared with Aquinas' assertion that the

Divine revelation at that synergetic state is given to a worthy person “through the mediation of angels” (*mediantibus angelis revelatur*), although the Byzantine thinker does not deem any kind of angelic meditation necessary for a man’s ascent to God. Here we rather see a discrepancy than a convergence.

Nevertheless, Theophanes takes pains to make his case concerning the Apostles on Tabor. They only enjoyed their ineffable communion with God as well as the illumination from above *but were far from comprehending what was actually happening with themselves*<sup>35</sup>. His reference is again to St Maximus, *Q. ad Thal.*, 9<sup>36</sup>. But there is a certain correspondence with what Aquinas taught about the third stage of knowledge of God as opposed to the second one: “The third [knowledge] is that according to which the human mind will be elevated so as to be able *to perfectly comprehend* the revealed truths (lit. ‘what has been revealed’, *ad ea quae sunt revelata perfecte intuenda*)”<sup>37</sup>.

It follows that for both Theophanes and Aquinas the crucial difference between the second and the third stages is that the former implies no comprehension of things Divine, unlike the latter.

The Greek translation of *The Sum against the Heathens* was completed by Demetrios Cydones, the elder brother of Prochoros, on December 24, 1354<sup>38</sup>, i.e., about fifteen years *before* the composition of Theophanes’ work. Taken together, these and some other facts may put a scholar on to an idea of Aquinas’s influence on Theophanes as it has actually been the case with Polemis<sup>39</sup>. Anyway, the Thomist influence on Theophanes was not the only one. Some passages of Thomas might well have been read by Theophanes, but we would not say that the influence of the Angelic doctor on our Metropolitan was decisive for the formation of the latter’s image of a perfect Christian.

Following the long-established tradition of Hesychasm<sup>40</sup>, Theophanes claims that if a person who has reached the second stage closes his or her senses and every cognition and lets Divine grace act “...only in such a way that it will resemble the human soul in its relation to the body” that “such a person will become entirely transfigured...”<sup>41</sup>. The simile of grace with a soul, which is enhypostasized in its body and moves it, is also a borrowing from St Maximus<sup>42</sup> of which Theophanes was fully aware as he quotes the corresponding passage in his *Second oration* a bit later<sup>43</sup>.

This is a description of the transition of the just from the second to the third stage, i.e., to that of interpenetration. Those who reach the latter are deified by God's grace without any transformation of nature<sup>44</sup>.

That transition to interpenetration and deification for all the worthy, except the Theotokos, only begins in the present life. It will last until the Second Coming and the final judgment. St Gregory Palamas and other hesychasts taught that the deification of a just person's soul is attainable in the present age, while that of the body in the age to come only<sup>45</sup>. In the Second Coming all our natural activities will stop. It is only God who will act in the worthy using as a means for His operation the souls of the worthy and through the latter their bodies as well. Their nature will remain free from any change "...which state is and is called *deification* (italics mine)"<sup>46</sup>.

So the final attainment of interpenetration for anyone except the Holy Theotokos is connected both by St Maximus and Theophanes who follows him with the eschatological consummation of time and the appearance of the New Heaven and the New Earth (*Apoc 21*). Those degrees of deification which are attainable on earth here below are only a prelude to that state.

It is possible, I presume, to speak of a person's attainment of deification and salvation in Theophanes' terms as of *that person's gradual reduction of synergy and acquisition of interpenetration*, as in the case of St Paul (*Gal 2:20*). So one may define *the final purpose of a Hesychast's life as that very acquisition realizable through perpetual labour aimed at the deification of soul and body*.

In his understanding of interpenetration Theophanes was not alone but read St Maximus the Confessor through the prism of the *Tomos of the Holy Mountain* penned by St Gregory Palamas in the spring – summer of 1340<sup>47</sup> and officially signed by more than 20 abbots and hieromonks of Athos, including the then *protos* Isaac. Referring to St Maximus in his turn, Palamas says that grace "...effects the ineffable union itself. By grace God entirely comes to dwell in (περιχωρεῖ) all the worthy, and all the saints in turn dwell entirely (περιχωροῦσιν) in God entirely, receiving God entirely in exchange for themselves..."<sup>48</sup>

As Robert E. Sinkewicz observes, "this paragraph is a pastiche of allusions to the texts of Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* 7, 20, 41 (PG 91, 1076C, 1088C; 1237D – 1240A, 1308B). Note also the parallel in Palamas, *Triad III*, 1, 27 (ed. Meyendorff, p. 609, 1-12)"<sup>49</sup>. We are glad to offer one more parallel found in the Hesychast mystical text, written by Theophanes of

Nicaea, who was anchored within the same tradition and did not miss a chance to drop a gentle hint at his anchorage.

It is only at the stage of the interpenetration that, according to Theophanes, "...each of our natural operations stops and only the Paraclete will be operating... a human person... will enrich his mind and eye with that very Paraclete [a citation from 1Cor 2:9-12 follows]... the Divine deeds are those blessings which are in store for the Saints"<sup>50</sup>. Only in the age to come the Paraclete will entirely indwell in the soul and mind of the worthy so as to enable them "...to see God as He is..."<sup>51</sup>, that is, according to Theophanes as well as Palamas, in His energetic appearance.

As a result of that union, the righteous will "become by adoption all that God is according to His nature"<sup>52</sup>. This is again a quotation of the famous phrase of St Maximus which had already been cited by Palamas, Patriarch Neilus of Constantinople (1379 – 1388) in his *Encomium to Palamas*<sup>53</sup> and other ecclesiastical writers of Late Byzantium.

Even in greater detail than it had been done by Palamas, Theophanes has disclosed and made abundantly clear *the energetic character of the interpenetration*, by plentifully citing the corresponding passages from St Maximus the Confessor. *The interpenetration is (or, more accurately, will be) a permeation of God's sanctifying energy in the mind, soul and body of the worthy without any commingling of those created beings with the Uncreated God.*

## **2. The Most Holy Mother of God: Life in the Interpenetration With Her Son**

The only paragon of realized eschatology here below for Theophanes is the Most Holy Theotokos. She is to be praised and eulogized more than angels because, as the Mother of Christ, the Incarnated God, and the neck of His mystical Body, i.e., the Church<sup>54</sup>, She is the universal Mediator of our (and even the angels') salvation<sup>55</sup>. It is only through Her mediation and intercession that all the creatures endowed with intelligence and free will can obtain deification and salvation<sup>56</sup>. From Her miraculous birth onward She has been living in a certain, so to say, *mariological interpenetration*<sup>57</sup>, so abundant was the invisible wealth of grace of the Paraclete which reposed in Her. She could be called Angel above all angels<sup>58</sup>. She is a Seraphim Who bore within Her loins the unbearable fire of the Divinity<sup>59</sup>. *She "...is the receptacle of all the life-giving Spirit..., "*<sup>60</sup> much like Christ himself and much more than any other creature (see Col 2:9).

But here again one of the most striking features in Theophanes' description of that *mariological interpenetration* is that it is modelled after the pattern of St Melchizedek which had been put forward and comprehensively interpreted by St Maximus. The Virgin, like Melchizedek, manifests only that Divine beauty which took possession of Her from the beginning and through which She can only be recognized<sup>61</sup>. As Melchizedek is “the archetype of all the Saints,” no wonder that in his *Third epistle to Akindynos* dated to the beginning of 1341<sup>62</sup>, St Gregory Palamas makes use of this image and of its Maximian interpretation too<sup>63</sup>. Moreover, the Hesychast doctor laid special emphasis on the idea that Melchizedek had been deified in the same way as St Paul was. Theophanes apparently draws on this line of reasoning, trying to demonstrate to his readers different verges of the fundamental mystery of deification.

### 3. Conclusion

Let us in conclusion pose once again this crucial question: what is the difference between *synergy* and *interpenetration*? The stage of *synergy* corresponds to the earthly experience of the Saints which is, in principle, accessible for every Christian who purges him or herself through the Eucharist, prayer, and the practice of virtue. The highest peak of this experience is called *ecstasis*, or self-transcending through union with Divine grace. One of the most remarkable characteristics of this condition is its *temporality*: when it has gone, a Christian, be he or she a paragon of virtue or not, comes back to his or her earthly life. This being so, the *ecstasis* itself is only a pledge of the future glory of the just in the life to come and as such cannot be regarded as equal to the *interpenetration* which is an everlasting participation of the just in the splendor of the Divine energy and glory in the Kingdom of Heaven. The only exception to the rule is the Most Holy Theotokos who has been living in a certain *Mariological interpenetration* from Her miraculous birth onwards.

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<sup>1</sup> Ioannis D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea: His Life and Works*, Wiener Byzantinische Studien 20 (Wien, 1996), 15, 75.

<sup>2</sup> See Antoine Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert: Evagre le Pontique*, Textes et traditions 8 (Paris, 2004), 205-10, 298; and the references given there.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Νηπτικοὶ καὶ πατέρες τῶν μέσων χρόνων, ed. Charalampos Soteropoulos (Αθῆναι, 1996), 204.353 – 205.393, 205.404 – 206.419.

<sup>4</sup> See mainly Jean-Claude Larchet, *La divinisation de l'homme selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Cogitatio fidei (Paris, 1996), 569; Paul M. Blowers, Realized eschatology in Maximus the Confessor, Ad Thalassium 22: *SP* 32 (1997) 262; Lars Thunberg, Spirit, Grace and Human Receptivity in St. Maximus the Confessor: *SP* 37 (2001) 609, 615-16.

<sup>5</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 268.553-557. An almost exact quotation from St Maximus' *Quaest. et resp. ad Thal.*, 59 follows (*Ibid.*, 268.557-560 = PG 90, 608A = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* LIX, 95-99, in *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium. II. Quaestiones LVI – LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita*, ed. Carl Laga et Carlos Steel, CCGS 22 (Turnhout – Leuven, 1990), 51). The words “of the Spirit” were omitted from St Maximus’ text by Theophanes.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *S. Gregorii Palamae Homilia 34*, in PG 151, 428BC; Idem, *Tr. I.3.3-5 sq.* (Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα I, ed. Panagiotis C. Chrestou et al. (Thessalonica, 1962), 411.19 – 415.9). On the differences between Palamas and Theophanes see I. D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea* (1996), 96 – 97.

<sup>7</sup> Scholarios posited that the Light of Tabor had been invisible to the Apostles until their spiritual eyes were opened (*Georges Scholarios, Sermon pour la fête de la Transfiguration*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios I*, ed. Louis Petit, Xenophon A. Sidéridès, Martin Jugie (Paris, 1928), 150.17 – 18).

<sup>8</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 268.563-64, 280.949-50.

<sup>9</sup> Robert E. Sinkewicz, The Concept of Spiriual Perception in Gregory Palamas' First Triad in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts: *Khristianskij Vostok* 1 (7) (1999) 377.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., *Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo in Sanctissimam Deiparam*, ed. Martin Jugie, Lateranum 1 (Romae, 1935), 74.15.

<sup>11</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 301.498-500.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 218.828-29.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 218.829-32.

<sup>14</sup> I. D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea* (1996), 93 – 109.

<sup>15</sup> See especially S. Maximus Confessor, *Liber ambiguorum*, in PG 91, 1076BD. See Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 225.1071-77 on one and the unique energy of God and the Saints in the Kingdom of God; etc.

<sup>16</sup> S. Maximus Confessor, *Opuscula theologica et polemica. OTP 1*, in PG 91, 33A – 36A; see 33B: ...μόνης ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας ἔστιν, ἡ κατὰ χάριν τῶν ἀγίων ἐκθέωσις...; Idem., *Liber ambiguorum*, 20, *Ibid.*, 1237AB; Idem., *Quaestiones et responsiones ad Thalassium*, 22, PG 90, 320C – 321A = Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* XXII, 66-98, in *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I. Quaestiones I – LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita*, ed. C. Laga et C. Steel, CCGS 7 (Turnhout – Leuven, 1980), 139 – 141; etc.

<sup>17</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 211.602 – 212.650; also 212.647-50 = 221.944-46 (unidentified by the editor); *Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo*, ed. M. Jugie, 128.15-16.

<sup>18</sup> J.-C. Larchet, *La divinisation* (1996), 559 – 560, 566 – 568, 572. See n. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 218.841-46; Saint Thomas d'Aquin, *Contra Gentes. Livre quatrième* (Besançon, 1957), 22.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Compare the expression *per modum locutionis* (*Ibid.*).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Manuel Candal, S.J., El libro VI de Prócoro Cidonio (Sobre la luz tabónica): *OCP* 20 (1954) 274.13.26 (concerning all the theophanies of the Old and New Testament). Prochoros was condemned by the Council of Constantinople, which was presided over by Theophanes' instructor, St Philotheos Kokkinos, in 1368. The same Council has proclaimed Gregory Palamas to be a Saint. On the Prochoros Cydones affair see now Antonio Rigo, La missione di Teofane di Nicea a Serre presso il despota Giovanni Uglješa (1367 – 1368), in: Santo Lucà e Lidia Perria, eds., *Ὀπώρα. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno [Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, LI]* (Roma, 1997), 121-22; Idem., Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica dal Concilio del 1351 al Tomo Sinodale del 1368 (Giacomo Trikanas, Procoro Cidone e Filoteo Kokkinos), in: Idem. (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e*

*documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino* (Firenze, 2004), 1 – 177, spec. 1 – 134; Norman Russell, Prochoros Cydones and the fourteenth-century understanding of Orthodoxy, in: Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday, eds., *Byzantine Orthodoxies* (Aldershot, 2006), 75 – 91.

<sup>23</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 18.853 – 219.862.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 219.865, 870-72.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 226.1093.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 226.1107-13.

<sup>27</sup> See *Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo*, ed. M. Jugie, 74.13-14: ὑποστατικοῦ φωτὸς περιουσίᾳ.

<sup>28</sup> S. (Ps.-)Macarius Aegyptius, *Liber de libertate mentis*, 22 – 23 [= the homily 58,2,1 of the type I], PG 34, 956D – 957B; see 956D: ... ὑποστατικοῦ φωτὸς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς βεβαίᾳ καὶ διηνεκής ἔλλαμψις. The text in the critical edition is slightly different from the one published by Migne, compare: ...τὸ βέβαιον ὑποστατικοῦ φωτὸς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀΐδιος ἔλλαμψις (*Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe II*, ed. Heinz Berthold, GCS (Berlin, 1973), 183.15; see in the context: Ibid., 183.25 – 184.1). Quoted by Theophanes in: Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 226.1115 – 227.1129 (the words adduced – 226.1116-17). An intermediary between Theophanes and Ps.-Macarius seems to be a kind of patristic florilegium. One is led into thinking so due to a very abridged and inaccurate citing of ch. 22, while ch. 23 is quoted almost verbatim. The source has been identified by Soteropoulos (see his n. 42, 227). But he failed to stress that we are faced here not with the original collection of the type I, but with the collection of seven excerpts from Ps.-Macarius produced by Symeon Metaphrastes. I thank Dr. Taras Khomych for his valuable help concerning Ps.-Macarius.

<sup>29</sup> See especially Antonio Rigo, L’epistola ai monaci (e l’epistola ad un igumeno) di uno Pseudo-Crisostomo: un trattato dell’orazione esicasta scritto nello spirito dello Pseudo-Macario: *Studi e ricerche sull’Oriente Cristiano* 3 (1983) 197 – 215; Reinhard Staats, Die Metamorphose des Christen. Die Wandlungslehre des Makarios-Symeon im Zusammenhang seiner Anthropologie, Christologie und Eucharistielehre, in: Klaus Fitschen and Reinhard Staats (Hrsg.), *Grundbegriffe christlicher Ästhetik: Beiträge des V. Makarios-Symposiums Preetz 1995* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca. Bd. 30) (Wiesbaden, 1997), 18.

<sup>30</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 220.903-05; et al.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 220.916-20.

<sup>32</sup> S. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones et responsiones ad Thalassium*, LIX, 55-64, in PG 90, 605B = *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium II*, ed. C. Laga et C. Steel, 47 – 49; Ibid., XXIX, 15-30, in PG 90, 365AB = *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I*, ed. C. Laga et C. Steel, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 220.920 – 221.923.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 215.748.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 216.776-77.

<sup>36</sup> S. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones et responsiones ad Thalassium*, IX, 8-40, in PG 90, 285B-88A = *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I*, ed. C. Laga et C. Steel, 79 – 81 = Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 217.790 – 819.

<sup>37</sup> Saint Thomas d’Aquin, *Summa contra Gentes*, 22. The exact Greek translation of this place by Demetrios Cydones is quoted by I. D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea* (1996), 93, on the basis of Vatic. graecus 615, f. 254<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> We know this from Demetrios’ Latin inscription on the margins of Vatic. graec. 616 which was first published by M. Jugie. See Martin Jugie, Démétrius Cydonès et la théologie latine à Byzance aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles: *Echos d’Orient* 27 (1928) 391-92 et n. 1; Demetrio Cidone, *Apologia I. Ai Greci Ortodossi*, in Giovanni Mercati, ed., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone*,

*Manuele Caleca e Theodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, Studi e Testi 56 (Città del Vaticano, 1931), 362.98 – 363.28, esp. 363.23-25 and the editor's n. 25, 363; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jahrhundert), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung*, Byzantinisches Archiv 15 (München, 1977), 178.

<sup>39</sup> I. D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea* (1996), 93 – 109.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., St John Damascene's homily on the Transfiguration (PG 96, 561AB = *Die Schriften des hl. Johannes von Damaskos V. Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, ed. Bonifatius Kotter, PTS 29 (Berlin – New York, 1988), 448.17-22).

<sup>41</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 210.584 – 211.592.

<sup>42</sup> S. Maximus Confessor, *Liber ambiguorum*, in PG 91, 1088BC, esp. C.

<sup>43</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 212.650 – 213.669.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 213.683.

<sup>45</sup> See Jacques Lison, *L'Esprit répandu. La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1994), 255-59; R. E. Sinkewicz, "The Concept" (1999): 389. Only then the bodies of the just will be transformed from their present state of coarseness to a new, more light and spirit-centered condition.

<sup>46</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 288.77 – 80, see also 214.696 – 706.

<sup>47</sup> Robert E. Sinkewicz, Gregory Palamas, in: Carmelo G. Conticello et Vassa Conticello, eds., *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition, II (XIII<sup>e</sup> – XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Turnhout, 2002), 140. N. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα II, ed. P. C. Chrestou et al., Thessalonica, 1966 (2<sup>nd</sup> 1994), 571.19-21 = PG 150, 1229D. Compare in the first place the 7<sup>th</sup> Ambiguum: S. Maximus Confessor, *Liber ambiguorum*, PG 91, 1076CD. Translation by Robert E. Sinkewicz: Gregory Palamas, *Tomos on the Holy Mountain: La théologie byzantine*, 185.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 185 and n.5.

<sup>50</sup> Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 221.923–929.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 221.936-37.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 222.977-81.

<sup>53</sup> S. Maximus Confessor, *Liber ambiguorum*, in PG 91, 1308B; St Gregory Palamas (PG 150, 944C); Neilus of Constantinople (PG 151, 667A) etc. Noted by Leonidas C. Contos, The essence – energies structure of Saint Gregory Palamas with a brief examination of its patristic foundation: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12 (1967 – 1968) 294 and n. 77. The same words Metropolitan Isidore Glabas (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) applied to the Theotokos speaking of Her earthly life (Bernhard Schultze, S.J., *Theologi palamitae saeculi XIV de mediatione B.M. Virginis*, in: *De mariologia et oecumenismo* (Romae, 1962), 412-13 and n. 496). This idea is close to the mariological thinking of Theophanes.

<sup>54</sup> On some late Medieval Western parallels to this image see Severien Salaville, *Mariologie byzantine et mariologie latine médiévale. Une coïncidence d'expression sur la Médiation de Marie*: REB 11 [Mélanges Martin Jugie] (1953) 266-71.

<sup>55</sup> This topic has been disclosed and carefully analysed in: B. Schultze, S.J., "Theologi palamitae" (1962): 355 – 422; Manuel Candal, S.J., El "Sermo in Deiparam" de Teófanes Niceno: *Marianum* 27 (1965) 72 – 103; Paolo Bertetto, Il culto mariano secondo Teofane Niceno († 1381), in: *De cultu Mariano saeculis XII – XV. Acta Congressus Mariologici – Mariani Internationalis Romae anno 1975 celebrati*, V, *De cultu mariano apud scriptores ecclesiasticos saec. XIV – XV* (Romae, 1981), 139-69. Almost identical ideas have been uttered in Theophanes' age, e.g., by Isidore Glabas (B. Schultze, S.J., "Theologi palamitae" (1962): 415).

<sup>56</sup> See especially *Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo*, ed. M. Jugie, 166.24 – 168.1 ("For She stands (ἴσταται) between God and creature...").

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<sup>57</sup> This is the expression of M. Jugie who has entitled the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter of Theophanes' *The Eulogy...* "De mutua interpenetratione Matris et Filii" (*Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo*, ed. M. Jugie, 221). Theophanes actually says of the Theotokos having been transfigured into the natural beauty and resplendence of the Son of God (Ibid., 162.28-30); and, what is the most important, of a complete *interpenetration* (*περιχωρήσεως*) and commingling (*ἀνακράσεως*) of the Virgin with the Divinity of Christ (Ibid., 174.6-18); 174. 29 (*περιχώρησιν*).

<sup>58</sup> *Theophanes Nicaenus* (†1381). *Sermo*, ed. M. Jugie, 74.20-1.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 80.20-7.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 130.3-4.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 148.24 – 150.3; 162.24-31; 174.6-18, esp. 174.12-4; S. Maximus Confessor, *Liber ambiguorum*, 10, in PG 91, 1140D – 1141B = Νηπτικοὶ, ed. Ch. Soteropoulos, 186.399-422.

<sup>62</sup> R. E. Sinkewicz, "Gregory Palamas" (2002): 146.

<sup>63</sup> Juan Sergio Nadal, S.J., La redaction première de la Troisième lettre de Palamas à Akindynos: *OCP* 40 (1974) 254.8.12-13.