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Preface

The 14th issue of *Icoana Credinţei* (*Icon of Faith*), *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Scientific Research* (IFIJISR) encompasses a group of articles on various themes, dedicated to the areas of Theology, Philosophy, and Religion.

The commencing paper: "THE FALL FROM THE EDENIC STATE OR THE EPOS OF AN UNFILLED LONGING.", by Fr. Prof. PhD Adrian D. COVAN, underscores the probably most coveted, at an inner level, revelation of mankind, namely the image of the (lost) paradise. Heaven has not ceased to be the object of the deepest ponderings and analyses of man. The amazing arborescence of the interpretations is based upon the first verses of the initial book of the Bible, that portray the splendor of the Garden of Eden in vivid colors. Those texts have become, one by one, sources of inspiration for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam alike.

The next paper belonging to Fr. Prof. PhD Nicuşor TUCĂ is "KENOTIC THEOLOGY IN THE EASTERN CHURCH HYMNS". The consequences of the hypostatic union form the object of most of the hymns of the divine cult of the Eastern Church. The Orthodox teaching is against a radical kenosis that would nullify the sense of Jesus' Embodiment as overflowing of the divine energies in the world and in mankind.

Fr. PhD Charles NDHLOVU, FROM Pontifical University of Salesianum in Rome, signs the paper: "PREACHING OF JESUS VIS-À-VIS LASSWELIAN THEORY". The author presents the idea that in the present life God reveal himself to humankind in a mediated way. He has done this through different means which we call medium of God's communication to the human person. And this mediation happens in the context of the world, in the existential categories of life.

The subsequent paper, signed by Assoc. Prof. PhD Dragoș Corneliu BĂLAN, bears the title: "DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION REGARDING THE HOLY MYSTERY OF PRIESTHOOD IN ROMAN CATHOLICISM". The author stresses out that Eastern theology makes no abstraction of jurisdiction and canon law, yet, jurisdiction depends on grace, not grace on jurisdiction, contrary to what some Western Church theologians would suggest in certain works.

The next article, by Assoc. Prof. PhD. Ion Marian CROITORU: "DEACON CORESI AND HIS ACTIVITY AS A PRINTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 16TH CENTURY PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA" outlined that the protestant propaganda was expecting, through the nationalization of the cult of the Orthodox Church and the printing activity of deacon Coresi, to discover, in the Romanians' conscience, elements able to awaken in them a certain spiritual crisis, which, fortunately, did not happen.

Rev. Prof. PhD Alexandru-Corneliu ARION signs the interdisciplinary paper: A FASCINATING SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE, THEOLOGY, AND SPIRITUALITY: ST. GREGORY PALAMAS. The holy Father has realized a «Summa Theologica» of his age, a synthesis of philosophical and theological knowledge, at least for the Eastern Christianity. Thus, *science* explores the world and leads to technological inventions, *theology* interprets reality within the Christian framework, evidencing the glory of God as reflected throughout his creation, and *spirituality* is the privileged path toward personal transformation.

Lastly, PhD Student Edvica POPA signs the paper "MAN AND HIS QUALITY AS AN IMAGE OF GOD IN PATRISTIC THINKING", whose central idea is the notion of divine image, described by the patristic literature, each of the authors trying to identify the content of this peculiar trait of human being.

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Prof. PhD Alexandru-Corneliu ARION,
Co-editor of ICOANA CREDINȚEI

THE FALL FROM THE EDENIC STATE OR THE EPOS OF AN UNFILLED LONGING

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ABSTRACT

We learn from the texts of the Holy Scriptures and contemplations of the Holy Fathers that man was created in the image and likeness of God adorned with virtues. Resting in the Garden of Eden, the man's mind was set on contemplation of God, abounding in divine images. Dominated by the spirit, man was living in a particular state of joy and happiness. God shared him from His state of goodness, endowing him with all the spiritual and material sweetness. Man's fall into sin was a consequence of eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, tempted by the cunning devil disguised in primordial snake. The expel of Adam from heaven identifies with the process of humanity restoration the heavenly Father started at the gates of the biblical garden, promising to the first inhabitants of the earth to help them find the way back to their lost home, by sending in this world the Redeemer.

Keywords: The Garden of Eden; Adam; devil; sin; Saviour; return;

INTRODUCTION

Of the countless interior revelations of mankind, the one that is probably the most coveted and attempted at an inner, experimental level, is the image of the (lost) paradise. A place of plenary protection, a realm of absolute peace and an area of climatologic amenity, heaven has not ceased to be the object of the deepest ponderings and analyses. The amazing *arborescence* of the interpretations based upon the few first verses of the initial book of the Bible, *verses* that portray the splendor of the Garden of Eden in vivid colors. Those texts have become, one by one, sources of inspiration for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

1. THE EDEN OF GENESIS: THE PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR OUR SPECIES

In its first chapter, the *Book of Genesis* reveals things and facts that are obvious manifestations of creation, and refer to them in their generic sense; in the following two chapters, the description reveals the particularities of the human being. What becomes concrete is the fact that God made man out of the „dust of the earth"[1], and thus from a matter apart, which, however, is made „living being"[2] by the *breath* of God. Man is the masterpiece of God, the perfect result of His creation of and from Earth, but not of the same nature or essence as Him, but a mere projection, an image that is at a different scale, an obviously inferior one. We are dealing with a resemblance, not a consubstantiation, and this

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[1] *Genesis* 2: 7.
[2] *Ibidem.*

is a reflection that lives and feeds on the *breath of life* of its Creator alone. According to Biblical reference, this is the ontology of the human being that one must take into consideration to know the privileges, possibilities and of course, purpose of man upon Earth and in the world.

Setting aside the voluminous *record* of religious and other interpretations, it is enough to notice that the attractive theology of the *Pentateuch* gave the first garden from the earthly area a variety of symbolic schemes and images which confirm the picture of primordial good. Thus, the Garden of Eden has aesthetic, philosophical, theological and mystagogical properties[3].

„The Holy Scriptures portray Heaven as a wonderful garden to the east, and this facet thus has a great importance in the Christian Church. This is why altars are always facing east, the reposed are placed facing that side of the sky, and Orthodox Christians perform their prayers turning their faces to the East. Many New Testament church saints have seen Heaven in the form of a garden. That is what it is, but its substance and nature correspond to the nature of its denizens, which are spirits; which is why Heaven is impenetrable for our senses, which have become raw on account of our profound fall"[4].

Thus, from the biblical reference about Heaven, an expose which is found in chapters 2 and 3 of the *Book of Beginnings* (*Genesis*), that Eden is the privileged place in which God put the first human couple, Adam and Eve, and from which He later cast them out, after the episode of sorrowful remembrance in which they were tempted by the Serpent Satan. The place in question was a garden in which various trees were planted, a pleasure to behold, and good for nourishment. From there sprang a river, divided into four tributaries: Pison, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates. God puts man in the garden so that he might work it and tend to it, then fills it with all sorts of creatures made from the earth and meant to receive their names through the providential action of Adam. In the middle of this garden there *stood* majestically the *tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil*[5]. At first sight, the place seems to be reserved exclusively to man, but it is also mentioned that God Himself was *walking*[6] through the Garden of Eden, which reveals the fact that Paradise was, at the same time, a space of divine-human inter-habitat. At any rate, it must be understood as a place of encounter between God and man, between the Unseen and the seen. But where is this *storybook realm*, given that it cultivates the paradox of being at least a walking place for God and a stable place of dwelling for man? Some seek the answer in the very name of the garden. The Holy Scripture mentions the fact that God planted a garden in Eden (*gan-*

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[3] See Rosario Assunto¸ *Scrieri despre artă. Filosofia grădinii și filosofia în grădină (Writings on Art. The Philosophy of the Garden and the Philosophy in the Garden)*, translated by Olga Mărculescu, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988, pp. 11-42.

[4] Father Mitrofan, *Viața repausaților noștri și viața noastră după moarte (The Life of our reposed and our life after death)*, Credința Strămoșească Publishing House, Petru Vodă-Neamț, 2010, p. 403.

[5] „I believe that Heaven reveals the heart of man planted to the east toward the knowledge of God. For in its midst did God plant the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The tree of life is understood as the reason of all that which is intelligible, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil as the reason of all that is sensitive, for it has the knowledge of good and evil: on one hand, for those who know the Creator from the beauty of the creatures, and through them is led to their cause[the tree] is the knowledge of good, for others, who dwell on senses alone and are deceived by the appearance of sensitive things and turn their soul with all their might [the tree] is the knowledge of evil" – Saint Maximus the Confessor, *Întrebări și nedumeriri (Questions and Confusions)*, translated from the Greek by Laura Enache, Doxologia Publishing House, Iași, 2012, p. 111.

[6] According to *Genesis* 3: 8. The attribution of chiefly human characteristics to God is a predisposition for the incarnation of the Son, given that the Logos of God was the person of Adamic proto-theophany.

be'eden – according to *Genesis* 2:8). This garden was not spread throughout all of Eden, but rather a limited region. Specialists in linguistics argue in favor of the idea that the name *eden* is suggestive of a homophonous root, translated as „delight". Some researchers[7], however, claim that Eden is not a proper name, but a common noun derived from the Sumerian word *edin*, meaning plain or steppe, borrowed either directly from Sumerian or through Akkadian (*edinu*), and that garden was found on a plain or a flat region. Due to its placement in Eden, the garden became known as the Garden of Eden (*gan'eden, according to Genesis* 2: 15, and 3: 23-24 and according to *Ezekiel* 36:35, and *Joel* 2: 3), but it was also called the Garden of God (*gan' Elohim,* according to *Ezekiel* 28: 13 and 31: 9, and the Garden of the Lord (*gan' YHWH* – according to *Isaiah* 51: 3). In the Old Testament, into the book of *The Song of Songs* 4: 13, we find a vocabulary item taken from Persian, *pardes*, which, in the avestic language, meant the royal domain. We are referring to an enclosed territory known as *pairidaeza*. Later, the term found its way into ancient Greek, *παράδεισος,* meaning „wonderful garden" or „paradise". For example, *The Septuagint* uses it to describe the very Garden of Eden planted by God Himself (*Genesis* 2: 8 etc.). Nowadays, by „paradise" we also understand Heaven, or even the Kingdom of Heaven, imagining these as a garden of delights and of eternal partaking of the light and bliss of God. Nevertheless, the expression *gan-den*[8] implies that this is a unitary toponym, meaning that the garden is called Eden. This is due to the fact that in the Septuagint, the Ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew original is *παράδεισος της τρυφῆ*, which means the garden of delights.

The verse: „And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it" presents the commandment that God gave the first man, once he had *settled* into the Garden of Heaven. One is thus motivated to wonder, in this case, what is the meaning of the commandment given unto Adam? Thus, in the book of Genesis, it is said that God planted the garden of Eden for man „to dress and keep"[9]. All of the plants were going to serve as nourishment, except for the tree in the middle of the garden, *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*, representing the decision reserved to God of what is right and wrong: „The day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die" (*Genesis* 2: 16-17). We are not given a reason for this commandment, which is not hidden, but is purely an expression of divine sovereignty over his work[10]. Thus, we observe that the first commandment given unto man was not referring to the aforementioned interdiction of eating from the forbidden tree, but to the commandment of working. Nevertheless, there was a veiled reference to someone who had in mind to ruin the world of God. We do not know who Adam was supposed to keep the garden from, though some interpreters of the sacred text claim it is the devil, but Adam was given a pleasant and responsible task, and it is not out of the ordinary to believe that it may refer to guarding his own work. We mention the fact that in the Hebrew language, as a direct reference to serving God and work itself, we encounter the same lexeme, *avoda.* The Hebrew verb *shamar* means to keep, to watch, to conserve, to preserve. Also, in the Aramaic Targums and the Samaritan Pentateuch, the verb *φυλάσσειν* is used, and this verb is used to designate the activity of a master: to guard, to protect, to watch and oversee. In the *Aramaic*

[7] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, Hardcover, Methuen & Co, 1911, pp. 57-60; J. Skinner, *Genesis*, ICC, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1930, pp. 62-66.

[8] *Genesis* 3: 23-24.

[9] *Genesis* 2: 15.

[10] Gabriel Bunge, *Gastrimargia sau nebunia pântecelui — ştiinţa şi învăţătura Părinţilor pustiei despre mâncat şi postit plecând de la scrierile avvei Evagrie Ponticul (Gastrimargy or the Madness of the Stomach – The Science and Teaching of the Fathers in the Desert on Eating and Fasting, based upon the writings of avva Evagrius of Pontus)*, translated by Ioan Moga, Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 2014, p. 56.

Targums and the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, the word means to keep, to watch, to guard. If we analyze the entire context of the commandment, which are the following verses: „And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die!"[11]. Then, God said: „It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him"[12]. We see that the commandment in *Genesis* 2: 15 was about, on the one hand, the physical labor of man in the Garden of Eden, about its maintenance through labor, and on the other hand, it referred to the spiritual side, to „overwatch the garden"[13]; this would be the correct translation(in comparison to *Numbers* 3: 23, where the same word as in Genesis 2: 15 is used). Adam, the first, had the special task of overwatching *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*, which could bring death into Eden, Eve, and also the fauna that he had taken into custody (*Genesis* 1: 28), a destiny that was unfortunately not fulfilled, and thus, through the delusion of the snake and through the delusion of Eve, death and sin penetrated the world (*Genesis* 3, 1-19).

„Ye shall be as gods"[14] is the age-old acerbic desire of the rebellious Morningstar. This reckless gesture led implicitly led to the *disowning* of Grace suffered by a part (a third, to be specific), of the angelic *office*, a fall that was marked upon the *axis* of creation with the *capital letter* of cosmic proportion. The frustration of this abysmal dissatisfaction brought an outburst articulated through hatred, manifested upon the entirety of creation, namely, man, made and set by God in the world as a ruler over being. This is a property that was given as a gift, not one that existed through the nature of man, for man is not meant to be Creator, but keeper or administrator of all that is seen. However, the founder of evil, exiled upon earth, sought to banish man from the *Land of Bliss – the* Garden of Eden – forevermore, seducing him with the pseudo-aspiration of self-godliness[15]. Eden had become the habitat of man, but

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[11] *Genesis* 2: 17. „The word and idea of death first struck upon the hearing and the mind of man when he entered heaven. Among all of the trees of the garden, two were most remarkable: The Tree of Life and the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil. Putting man into Heaven, God commanded him: Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die! In spite of the frightening death threat, man broke the commandment and immediately died; death was apparent without delay in all the movements of the soul and in all the feelings of the body. The Holy Ghost, which dwelled within man, which shared immortality with the body and the soul, which was their life, separated from man and woman as from those who had broken communion with God through a wicked union in thought and in companionship with Satan" – Saint Ignatius Brianchaninov, *Cuvânt despre moarte (A word on death)*, translated by Adrian and Xenia Tănăsescu-Vlas, Sofia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p. 72.
[12] *Genesis* 2: 18.
[13] Reminding that some of his predecessors are inclined to consider Paradise spiritually and others sensually, Saint John of Damascus mentioned: „…but to me, it seems as though, as man was created as corporeal and spiritual and the same time, the same can be said about his hallowed dwelling place, having been created as corporeal and spiritual at the same time, having a double appearance" – See *Dogmatica* (*Dogmatics*), translated by Dumitru Fecioru, Scripta Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 57.
[14] *Genesis* 3: 5.
[15] „This childlike dialogue and the ease with which our forefathers fell into breaking the one commandment given unto them reveals the untried nature of their being: all had been given unto them by the Grace of God, but they knew not yet how to „dress and keep" their innermost nature. The temptation put before them by the devil contains the same things that we, as fallen human beings, know from the struggle against sin. First and foremost, he does not use a thing that is visibly evil, but something that seems good and true. Human beings were indeed meant to be as gods and sons of the Most High (*Psalm* 81: 6), knowing that from Heaven they would move to a higher state. But the Devil seems to have said (as Saint Ambrose reveals): Behold, therefore, my first attempt at deluding him when he is overcome with the yearning for improving his state. Thus, we will seek to stir his hunger for greatness" – Seraphim Rose, *Cartea Facerii, crearea lumii noi și întâiul om:*

it also represented, at the same time, the paradise lost of the dark Cherub. We all know that which came afterwards: through his autonomy, man contributed to social *atomization* which is reflected in the *convulsion* of the division of humanity, which means the dismantling of the principle of personal unity to the unfortunate individualism of an autocratic and an autarchic anthropocracy. Thus, from a *satellite* of the Living God, man, under the influence of the *sign* of sin, becomes a *planet* tilted towards the orbit of the fallen *star* – the enemy of God and all creation. The demonization of the human is achieved through the *demonetization* of the face of God within man, which undoubtedly leads to the impossibility of ascending his theophoric face to the power of resemblance to the All-Holy-One. The annulment of the spiritual *constitution* consists of the dismissal of spiritual faculties: reason, will, and feeling, from under the tutelage of the *culture* of the Holy Ghost – the absence of the Holy Ghost from the life of man coincides with the renunciation of acquiring the thought(mind) of Christ. The anguish of post-paradise life can be found *encrypted* in the exclamation of the prodigal son, whose misfortunate life took place under the *Spartan* conditions of the lack of the presence of God. The thematic of inner peace can only be understood via repentance as a state of spiritual regeneration. The Sinai law and the Gospel of Life are the coordinates for cleansing and spiritual healing applied by God to man, who is under the *vice* of sin. The nostalgia[16] of the paradise lost will follow Adam – the Prodigal Son – for all his life, even going with him to Sheol.

2. THE GATES OF HEAVEN ARE OPEN – THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF SALVATION AS THE HEALING OF THE FALLEN HUMAN

Man – the *icon* of God – was meant to become godly through perfect communion with his Creator. The intention was good, for it was inscribed in human nature itself (the tendency towards godliness), but the procedure through which Adam attempted to become godly was an *atheosic* procedure. Saint Maximus the Confessor was mentioning the fact that the mistake man commits it not that of wanting to become like God, for that was his destination. The error is represented by his desire to become like God by knowing good and evil and suppressing theandric synergy[17]. The nutrition that man needed in order to grow in communion with God was the *Tree of Life*, so God Himself.

In becoming flesh, the Son of God exposes to the entire world the harmony of the two lit *fires*: the longing of God for man and the longing of man for God, intersected in the tangible reality of two of the paradoxical episodes that compose the *feature-length picture* of the economy of salvation of the world through Christ: The Cross upon which the Man-God died and the empty tomb. Eternity and Time are mutually harmonizing in a complete hypostatic intertwining in the *earthly* vestments of the Godly Logos found in a state of descent-kenosis. The rediscovery of the primordial experience of the relationship of man and God is quantified from *seeing* God. This is derived from the *prosoponic* – meaning face-to-

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perspectiva creştin-ortodoxă *(Genesis, Creation and Early Man: The Orthodox Christian Vision)*, translated from English by Constantin Făgeţan, Second edition, revised, Sophia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011, p. 127.

[16] The word *nostalgia* was formed by joining together the Greek nouns *νόστος* = *return* (from the verb *νέομαι* = to return, to go back) and *ἄλγος* = pain (physical or spiritual).

[17] Panayotis Nellas*, Omul animal îndumnezeit (Man, the godly animal)*, translated by Ioan I. Ică jr., Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 2009, p. 87. See, also, Alin Cristian Scridon, *Georgije Zubković, a noble soul of the Romanian Orthodox in interwar Hungary. A Romanian record under the scrutiny of historiography and diplomatic and ecclesiastical documents*, in *Bogoslovlje, Journal of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology*, University of Belgrad, no. 2/2020, p. 93.

face – encounter between man and God, but also the acquisition of the manner of seeing God – *θεωρία.* The Christological vision of the transfiguration of human nature involves noetic clarity. By easily crossing the intermediate *corridors* between the mind and Word, through the exposure of the nature of the Adamic man to the *radiations* of the holiness of God, the Lord Jesus revealed, through His life as shown in the Gospels, the antithesis between the *Tree of Life* and the *brambles* of sin[18]. Man has privatized creation, annexing it to the self, to the spiritualizing *Breath* – the unintermediated presence of the Holy Ghost, which came about via the redeeming *direction* of Christ.

A question lingered upon the lips of everyone, Fathers of the Church and heretics alike: How was it possible for one from the Holy Trinity, born of Eternity, from the Father without beginning, to submit Himself to the biological process of birth. The economic vision of salvation of the world in Christ, which begins with the birth of the Word of God by flesh, is now introduced to the world. The Trinitarian paradox: *The Born is One with the Unborn* is contrasted to the image of the Christological paradox: *man and God at the same time.* The Fathers of the *Golden Age*, alias the fourth century, shall be the pioneers of this accomplishment of the Church, referring directly to the theme of Incarnation as being closely related to our salvation, salvation, in effect, meaning the reunion of human nature with the Father, by Grace. The following Christological scheme: *The Word becoming Man, Man becoming Godly*, belonging to Saint Athanasius the Great, the Archbishop of Alexandria, Egypt, is all the more eloquent since consubstantiality or the Oneness in being between the Father and The Son itself involves full salvation, not an imaginary redemption arc. Saint Gregory the Theologian, a *craftsman* of Christological sermons, and more, revealed that though God has no particular cause, nevertheless „He was born for a cause. And this was: so that you, who offend Him, who despise Divinity, for having received your raw self. For by union with the body by the mediation of the mind, God became lowly man, for he merged with God and became One, the superior becoming victorious, so that I may become as much God as He became man[19].

But how was the union between the Divine and the human possible through Incarnation in the Person of the Son. The same Holy Father clarifies the problem in a special manner: „The Word of God, before all ages, the unseen, the one which cannot be encompassed by the mind, the immaterial, the beginning of the beginning, the source of life and immortality, the expression of the beauty of the original visage, the immovable seal, the unchanged face, the border and the Word of the Father, comes unto His own face and mixes with the pondering soul on account of my soul, that through its peer, it might cleanse it from sin. And He becomes man in all but sin, conceived of a virgin purified beforehand by the Spirit in body and soul… God in human nature taken upon Himself, walking through the

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[18] „The Lord, in the Garden of Gethsemane, wept because He knew that not many would benefit from His suffering on the cross, but many, through ill-will, stray from salvation. If someone hopes to get to the point where the Holy Trinity is, let them strive not to lose sight of Christ Incarnate. Those who reach the point of freedom from their vices will be where the Holy Trinity is, and those who gain forgiveness of sins become worthy of living within the Garden of Heaven, and contemplate the Face of Christ" – Saint Ambrose of Optina, *Patericul de la Optina (The Patericon of Optina)*, translated by Florentina Cristea, Egumenița Publishing House, Galați, 2012, pp. 256-257.
[19] Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, *Cele cinci cuvântări teologice (The five theological speeches),* III, 19, translated by Dumitru Stăniloae, Anastasia Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 67.

world, one of two contrary natures, Flesh and Spirit, one rendering Godly, one becoming Godly. Oh, what an awesome union, what a wonderful combination!"[20].

The dogmas of the Church influence one another, transforming Christian thought into a *monument* of the excellence of Truth. If triadology leads implicitly to Christology, the latter amplifies its meaning through anthropology, but in an eminently soteriological perspective. The passage from the *peristasis* of *Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* (finder in God) to that of *Λόγος προφορικός* (applied to the human condition or made flesh in the Christian sense) expresses the principle of the *wonderful exchange*[21]. Thus, the Word became Man so that we may be made God, not by being, but by flesh. The Son of God took a visible body, so that we might know God-the Father, the invisible. And again „The Word became flesh, and the Son of God became Son of Man, for man, joining with the Word, thus receiving adoptive filiation, becoming a son of God"[22].

CONCLUSION

To conclude with, through and in Christ, the *fulfilment* of time[23] becomes the debut moment of the neo-Adamic existence. Eden, our „ancestral and parental homeland, had remained closed for all, since the estrangement of Adam. Jesus reopens it now, in the presence of the thief, who is the first among those who entered the Kingdom of Heaven"[24]. Thus, the *Holy Doors* of Heaven are open, and the *night* of estrangement from God, as well as the *darkness* of man being locked in the *shell* of his own self, are abolished forever. This is the reason for which, as Father Dumitru Stăniloae said, „the Lord was made flesh, crucified, and resurrected as man, so as to gather all those divided in Himself, in the infinity of His love for the Father, and of the love of the Father for Him"[25].

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[23] *Galatians* 6, 4.

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KENOTIC THEOLOGY IN THE EASTERN CHURCH HYMNS

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ABSTRACT

The hypostatic or personal union (enosis ipostatiki) is the wreath and the bond between man and God. The consequences of the hypostatic union form the object of most of the hymns from the cultic treasure of the Eastern Church. The theandric person of our Saviour Jesus Christ is intrinsically present under one form or the other in all the hymns of our Church. Kenosis represents one of the consequences of the hypostatic union and a profound expression of God's supreme love for mankind. The Orthodox teaching - both in dogma and in divine service - is against a radical kenosis that would nullify the sense of Jesus' Embodiment as overflowing of the divine energies in the world and in mankind.

Keywords: kenosis (self-emptying /humility/descent); hypostatic or personal union; dogma; hymnography;

INTRODUCTION

The Saviour Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man, is the God-man, with two natures, divine and human, united in one person or hypostasis, the person of God-the Logos. This union between the God's Son or Logos and human nature in Jesus Christ is called hypostatic or personal union *(enosis ipostatiki).*

The hypostatic union has realized the maximal bond and communion of man with God in Christ, being, thereafter, the model and strength of the moral union of man with God. Man has the mission to unite, by grace, his will, to God's will, "according to the image of God's Son", remaining always in communion with God, just as Christ, by the hypostatic union, perfectly united the human will with the divine will. The dogma of the hypostatic union was stated at the Third Ecumenical Council (431) and developed and clarified at the Fourth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils. The consequences of the hypostatic union are the object of the majority of the hymns in the cultic treasure of our Church. The theandric person of the Saviour Christ is present intrinsically under one form or the other in all the hymnographic creation. The consequences of the hypostatic union highlight, in a special way, the mystery of the unity between the Person of Jesus Christ and His community of human being with us, by keeping His community of Divine Being with the Father and with the Holy Spirit. All these explicit the salvation mystery realized by Jesus Christ, in its main aspect, turned to the human nature. Christ would not save us, had He manifested Himself as purely divine, by the features and acts of the divine nature to us, and as purely human, by the features and acts of His human nature[1].

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[1] Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică Ortodoxă,* Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucureşti, vol. II, 1997[2], p. 72.

The embodied Son of God, Jesus Christ, remains, also after the Embodiment, one of the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity in community of being also with us as a man. Therefore, by the Embodiment, neither His hypostasis, nor His divine nature were altered[2].

The hypostatic union realized a maximal union between divine and human, with no mixture and no separation, or, in other words, with no confusion. The divine and the human, profiting each other mutually, reveal the aim of the creation or generation of the human.

1. KENOSIS – A CONSEQUENCE OF THE HYPOSTATIC UNION AND A DEEP EXPRESSION OF THE SUPREME LOVE OF GOD FOR MANKIND

Kenosis (from Gr. Keneo = to empty oneself, to pour oneself out) is the most adequate modality chosen by God to reveal Himself, according to our capacity of understanding the divine. Kenosis is the fundamental antinomy of the Holy Scripture. But what does this antinomy represent? It is affirmed at the same time that God is unseen in His being, but also that God showed Himself by Jesus Christ. This antinomy is clearer in the New Testament. The affirmation: "No one has ever seen God at any time" (*John* 1: 17), as "He dwells in unapproachable light" (1 *Timothy* 6:16), stays next to "Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh" (1 *Timothy* 3:16), He manifested Himself by His Son, Who says: "He who has seen Me has seen the Father" (*John* 14: 9). It results from here that while logically any antinomy implies a contradiction, biblically and theologically, nevertheless, the two affirmations stand together, expressing a perfect truth. The fact that God is at the same time not seen and perceivable, and that His relationship with us cannot be expressed in any other way except antinomically, demonstrates that this descent of the Son to us, is not just a theory, but a testimony revealing the love of God Who created us[3].

Kenosis cannot be, at the same time, seen as an inner absence of God and it is out of the question for this descent to have occurred up to a sort of limiting of the divine nature, for it to get to the measure of our nature, as some older or newer kenotic theories appreciate[4].

Kenosis is an act of freedom and love, showing God's initiative for man's salvation[5].

From this perspective, kenosis appears as the maximal expression of God's love and generosity by humility. "All the mystery of the oikonomia", says Saint Cyril of Alexandria, "lies in God's Son's emptying Himself and making Himself little"[6]. Only out of full obedience to God the Father and out of love for mankind, the Son accepted to take on the humble image of God's service (*Isaiah* 49: 3) and to make Himself our servant[7].

The Saviour's life can be divided into two states: one of humility, or "Self-emptying" (kenosis), and the other, of glorification. The kenotic state starts at His Embodiment and lasts His whole life, culminating with the death on the cross. The state of glorification includes His descent to hell, Resurrection, Ascension and seating on the right of the Father.

The assuming or taking on of the human nature by God's Son at His Embodiment (*Luke* 1: 35) and the human nature showing Him at His birth as a man in everything just like

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[2] Dragoș Bălan, *Curs de teologie dogmatică şi simbolică,* vol. I, Editura Globe Edit, Berlin, 2018, p. 109.

[3] Pr. Prof. Dr. Constantin Galeriu, *Jertfă şi răscumpărare,* Editura "Harisma", Bucureşti, 1991, p. 121.

[4] Stan R. Coman, "Sensul ortodox al chenozei faţă de teoriile chenotice modern", in *Ortodoxia*, 5/3 (1956), pp. 417-431.

[5] Pr. Prof. Dr. Constantin Galeriu, *Jertfă şi răscumpărare,* pp. 121-123.

[6] Cited after Vladimir Lossky, *Teologia mistică a Bisericii de Răsărit,* translation, introductory study and notes by Fr. Vasile Răducă, Editura "Anastasia", Bucureşti, (f.a.), p. 173.

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us, except for sin (*John* 8: 46), constitutes His "kenosis" or "Self-emptying" of the grace which He had before the embodiment (*John* 17: 5).

On the other hand, kenosis is the state of humility and dwindling that the Son of Man assumes in His embodiment, as an act of submission to God the Father. Namely God, in the person of the Embodied Son, partakes of the condition of the sinful man, to pass him over to the divine condition. This descent *katabasis* makes the exchange of conditions possible: from the state of sin into the state of grace, which gives access to the communication of the divine nature (2 *Peter* 1: 4).

It is a state that cannot be understood and described adequately. In the systematic theology, *kenosis* does not lie in the hypostatic union in itself, but is a consequence of it.

2. REFLECTION OF THE KENOTIC THEOLOGY IN THE LITURGICAL HYMNS

In Christ, God becomes a partaker of man's condition of sinner and mortal (*Hebrews* 2: 9), to give him the possibility to pass over to God. In His Embodiment, God "conceals" His Divinity, to descend to the state of man, taking on the image of "servant" *dikonos*. "*The unencompassable Logos of the Father, has been encompassed, O Theotokos, from you, taking on a human body;* and making the dirtied image return to the first image, He mixed it with divine adornment. Therefore, confessing the salvation, we affirm Him by deeds and words*" [8], that the Son of God may be identified with the Son of Man. He descended bending down the heavens *katabasis*), to show that salvation is not imagination (*fantasia*), but a reality and an act of obedience.

God-the Logos descends to us because we were not able to ascend to Him, showing to us, as the hymnographer says, the way to God: "*The Word who humbled Himself even to the form of a servant showed that humility is the best path to exaltation. Every man, then, who humbles himself according to the Lord's example, is exalted on high.*" (ανυψουται ταπεινουμενος)"[9].

Therefore, the incarnation means voluntary "descent", kenosis. "The Kenosis of the Son of God initiated by God the Father, performed in the Son by the Holy Spirit reveals the other-worldly absolute freedom of God, Who is not opposed to His creation but can place Himself within the hierarchical order established by Him at creation, leading the "beloved one" (mankind) to His boundless love and goodness. Considering this reason of creation, the Reason -above the heavenly minds - does not bear separation or change but restores man in his status as a being modeling himself in harmony with God's will and with the commandment of sacrificial love."[10]

In the act of the embodiment, the Son humbled Himself, "taking on the image of a servant" (*Philippians* 2: 7). He hides His power and His grace in order not to humble the people. God showed Himself to the people physically: "God sent Him: as a man to mankind He sent Him"[11]. Saint Isaac the Syrian says that, in fact, kenosis, humility, is God's apparel: "Because the Logos, assuming a human body, put on this apparel and by it spoke to us in our body and whoever put on this apparel, truly became like Him Who descended from His

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[8] *Triod*, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 2000[9], Duminica I a Postului, la Utrenie, condacul, p. 210.

[9] *Triod*, Duminica Vameșului și a Fariseului, la Utrenie, cântarea a IV-a de la canon, stihira 1, p. 9; Cf. *Τριώδιον*, Εκδοσις της Αποστολικης Διακονίας της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, εν Αθηναις, 1994, p. 11.

[10] Ionuț Chircalan, *Creator şi creaţie: părintele Dumitru Stăniloae - valorificator al scrierilor areopagitice*, Editura Universitară, București, 2021, p. 161.

[11] *Epistola către Diognet,* VII, 1, P.G. II, ed. F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, vol. I, Tübingen, 1901, pp. 390-413.

greatness and hid the power of His greatness and covered his glory in humble thinking. Because creation would not have been able to behold Him, had He not taken on a part of it and had He not spoken to it in this way; neither would it have been able to listen to the words of His mouth, face to face"[12].

To enter the space of creation, namely the domain of oikonomia, God "compresses" Himself, He diminishes His stature, He decreases His dimensions, He "modifies" Himself[13]. This is the state of *kenosis* (*Philippians* 2: 6), of restraint, namely of humility up to death. Kenosis is part of the logic of the oikonomia of the Embodiment; God enters the world willingly by the narrow gate of the Embodiment to make "the growth in Christ" possible (1 *Corinthians* 3: 6-7): "The nature of man, and that of the angels, O Benefactor, feel that the words are not enough to thank You for Your mercy; because, *with Your body, You have willingly made Yourself poor for us and have hanged Yourself on wood, making Yourself cursed to take away the initial curse mankind was under.*"[14]

"He Who put on our weakness is *Emmanuel*", God coming down to us. The Fathers speak about God's "humbling Himself", yet this has the purpose not just of giving an example of humility and service, but also of making room for human nature and freedom to unfold to the maximum in their width and strength. A sticheron of the *Great Canon* affirms this real and authentic humanity of Jesus: "*Christ became man and shared in my flesh; and willingly He performed all that belongs to my nature, only without sin.* He set before thee, my soul, an example and image of His condescension."[15]

In His kenosis, the Saviour of life takes on Himself the consequences of sin, going up to tasting death willingly, in front of death experiencing the natural fear: "Fear of death is an attribute of nature, which entered into nature by disobedience. And trembling in front of death is a sign of unrepented sins. Christ has fear of death, yet He does not tremble, therefore we can clearly see the features of the two natures" [16].

Based on the text in *Philippians* 2: 7-8, a great number of ecclesial texts highlight the state of continual sacrifice here on Earth, to which God the Word consented, up to its full consumption on Golgotha: "*Ineffable is the condescension of the Word of God.* Chirst is Himself both God and man; yet He counted not His Godhead a thing to be seized and held fast, and this He showed to His disciples by taking the form of a servant< for He has been greatly glorified."[17]

The same expression of Paul, "the image of a servant" can be found in many other liturgical songs: "…*You Who have made the heavens bend down and have descended… Who humbled Yourself willingly and took on the image of a servant…*"[18]

[12] Sf. Isaac Sirul, *Cuvânt despre nevoință*, XX, in "Filocalia românească", vol. 10, translation, introduction and notes by Fr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1981, p. 105.

[13] Pr. Prof. Dr. Ion Bria, "Iisus Hristos – Dumnezeu Mântuitorul. Hristologia", in *Studii Teologice*, 43/2 (1991), p. 36.

[14] *Triod,* vineri în săptămâna lăsatului sec de brânză, cântarea a IX-a, tricântarea, irmosul, p. 81.

[15] *Triod,* marți în întâia săptămână a postului, la Canonul cel Mare, cântarea a IX-a, stihira a 7-a, p. 135.

[16] Sf. Ioan Scărarul, *Scara*, Cuv. VI, 3-4, in "Filocalia românească", vol. 9, translation, introduction and notes by Fr. Prof. Dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1980, p. 156.

[17] *Triod,* luni, Săptămâna Patimilor, la Utrenie, tripesnițul lui Cosma de Maiuma, oda I, sihira 2, p. 475

[18] *Triod*, mucenicina de joi seara, a V-a săptămână a Postului Mare, p. 402; *Liturghier*, ed. îngrijită de Pr. Prof. Dr. Nicolae D. Necula, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 2000, rugăciunea hristologică din Liturghia Sfântului Vasile cel Mare, pp. 228-229.

Then, we meet the other equivalent expressions: "*He humbled Himself* in His ineffable kenosis"[19], "*He showed Himself on Earth* and spent time with the people"[20], "by *benevolent poverty,* making Himself accursed, to take up the curse of the world, *humbling Himself* to death on the cross. O, Mystery! The way of kenosis is unknown. The way of His birth, ineffable! … The Logos ineffably above nature *takes on the image of the servant…*"[21].

But Jesus the Man and the Logos, facing the human passions and affects, bearing them, defeats them, just as He will defeat death itself and so, the theological thinking can take note of this apparent paradox, that kenosis is the way of victory and of glory. The same is taught by the Church hymnography: "*Having assumed all things that pertain to man, and taken upon Thee all that is ours, thou didst deign to be nailed to the Cross, O my Creator, accepting to endure death as a man*, that as God Thou mightest deliver humanity from death; wherefore, we cry out to Thee as to the Bestower of life: Glory to Thy compassion, O Christ!" – a sedealna highlights[22].

A troparion speaks about the conquest of the human affects, in this pointed game of meanings of the kenosis: "While sharing the sufferings through Thy sufferings, Thou didst remain untouched by the passions, O Word of God; yet as Thou art suffering for the passions, Thou dost loose man from the passions, O our Servior; for Thou alone art dispassionate and almighty."[23].

And regarding the ascent that humility (kenosis) leads to, the Church songs confirm it when they say: *"You have shown humility to be the good way of the ascent, humbling Yourself willingly and taking on the image of a slave…"* [24]

In other hymns, humility is portrayed precisely according to the word of the Scripture (2 *Corinthians* 8: 8), as poverty taken upon himself willingly by the rich one: "*The Rich One has made Himself poor*, impoverishing those who get themselves rich in evilness; God makes Himself known as a man through the Virgin, who remains untouched and unchanged, let us all praise Him with songs, for He has glorified Himself beyond words" [25].

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The explanations that have been given of God-the-Logos showing Himself physically (John 1: 14) and therefore of the kenosis of the Son of God in the field of the protestant theology, "starting with the 16th century to this day, are not in agreement with the dogma of the hypostatic union and, consequently, with the Orthodox teaching about it, altering or losing the sense of the dogmatic definition of Chalcedon"[26].

Starting from the conception of Luther, according to which the human nature receives in Christ divine features (becomes omnipresent), the Protestant Christians „understand kenosis either as an emptiness of use, i.e. although human nature possesses divine properties, they are not shown or are not used completely and continuously (Giessen

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[19] *Octoih*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1975[6], glasul al VIII-lea, sâmbătă la Vecernia mică, Slavă… Și acum…, de la „Doamne, strigat-am, pp. 642-643.

[20] *Octoih*, glasul al VIII-lea, sâmbătă la Vecernia mare, Slavă… Și acum… Dogmatica, pp. 644-645.

[21] *Penticostar*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București,1999[8], miercurea înjumătățirii praznicului Paștilor, la Utrenie, oda a IX-a, stihira a 3-a, p. 163.

[22] *Penticostar*, duminica a IV-a după Paști, sedelna după a II-a stihologie, la Utrenie, p. 133.

[23] *Penticostar*, duminica a VII-a după Paști, la Utrenie oda a IX-a, stihira 1 p. 284.

[24] *Triod,* luni, la Utrenie, a IV-a săptămână a Postului Mare, prima samoglasnică de la stihoavnă, p. 328.

[25] *Triod,* luni, Săptămâna Patimilor, la Utrenie, tripesnițul lui Cosma de Maiuma, oda I, sih. 1, p. 475.

[26] Pr. Prof. Dr Dumitru Radu et. al., *Îndrumări misionare,* Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1986, pp. 326-327.

School) or as concealment of use, i.e. human nature makes only a hidden use, mysteriously, by the divine attributes received (Tübingen School). However, it has been observed that a kenosis as an emptiness of use, distinguishing between what is used and what is not used, leads to the opinions professed by Nestorianism. And, on the other hand, kenosis as concealment of use leads to doketism". In this case, the following question arises: «Either the passions of the Lord are apparent, or we must admit two human natures into Christ, one hidden and one visible»."[27]

Later, in the nineteenth century, beginning with G. Thomasius, kenotic theories "extended the kenosis to the divine nature itself, stating that it would have been diminished or narrowed by the Incarnation of the Son of God. They understand kenosis in a radical sense. That is, the Logos-incarnate retains the divine nature, but He benevolently self-marginalizes, renouncing the updating of His attributes, as omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience, so that he can transpose Himself into the plane of human life (Thomasius). In the state of kenosis, add these thinkers, the Son of God incarnate, that is, Jesus Christ, is only virtually God, not having the consciousness that He is God and being limited by the natural conditions of the earthly life (Gess)"[28], this leading to a new form of monophysitism according to which in Jesus Christ on earth the divine nature is absent, while in heaven, the human nature lacks.[29]

In contemporary Protestant theology, the legitimate protest of the "dialectical" theology of K. Barth, E. Brunner, and other more traditionalist theologians such as Paul Althaus, E. Schlink, W. Pannenberg, rose against an anthropological reduction of Christianity, who argued vehemently in their work for a return to the dogma of Chalcedon. Positive in intention, this return is only partially complete and limited, as, on the one hand, it returns only to the letter of the definition of 451, detached and absolutized from the context of the other subsequent Christological Councils (V and VI), and on the other hand, it receives interpretations foreign (if not contrary) to the spirit of the Holy Fathers in which it was originally expressed. Or, to substantiate a rigorous and consistent recourse to the dogmatic Symbols and definitions of Ecumenical Councils, Protestant theology must first reconsider the main theological question, decisive for the whole of contemporary ecumenism, i.e., the relationship between Scripture-Tradition-Church.[30]

CONCLUSION

Consequently, the Orthodox Church teaches, both in her dogma and in her cult, that the Saviour Christ, namely the New Adam, appropriating our human nature with all its passions (affects) except sin, or as the Church song says, assuming our body "except for uncleanness", began by His Own human nature the work of restoration, renewing Adam's nature in Himself by the gateway, full of humiliations and pains, of kenosis, and by His victory over sufferings and over death which shook the whole cosmos and renewed the laws

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[27] Pr. Prof. Dr Dumitru Radu et. alii, *Îndrumări misionare,* 326.

[28] Prof. Nicolae Chițescu, Pr. Prof. Isidor Todoran, Pr. Prof. I. Petreuță, *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică,* vol. II, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1958, p. 601.

[29] Hristu Andruțos, *Dogmatica Bisericii Ortodoxe Răsăritene*, translated in Romanian by Fr. Prof Dumitru Stăniloae, Sibiu, 1930**,** p. 234.

[30] For the problems and difficulties of a current ecumenical reception of the Councils, see the report at the Geneva Colloquium of 1969, convened under the auspices of The Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches, "Le Concile de la Chalcedoine. Son histoire, sa reception par les Eglises et son actualité", in *Irenikon,* 44/3 (1971), pp. 349-366, summed up in *Ortodoxia,* 24/1 (1972), pp. 55-58.

of nature, calling the people to collaborate, after having given them the possibility of their own restoration.

Kenosis is explained, from an Orthodox perspective, not referring to the divine or even human nature in Jesus Christ, but to the person. The example of the mother who descends to the child's level of understanding, yet without renouncing her state of mother, of person, is the most eloquent. The Orthodox teaching is against a radical kenosis which would nullify the Embodiment's sense as an overflow of the divine energies in the world and in man.

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PREACHING OF JESUS VIS-À-VIS LASSWELIAN THEORY

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ABSTRACT

Mediation is generally a terrestrial element. In heaven, we will see God face to face through the beatific vision. There will be no mediation because we will be there face to face with God. However, in our present life, it has pleased God to reveal himself to us in a mediated way. He has done this through different means which we call medium of God's communication to the human person. This mediation happens in the context of the world – in the existential categories of life. Mediation takes place in this world – in our daily experiences. This agrees very much with the existentialism of Heidegger but without neglecting the transcendental categories of Kant.

Keywords: Mediation; transcendental; dogma; preaching;

INTRODUCTION

As a preamble, it would be good to look at the general understanding of the Lasswelian theory. The theory indicates that in the process of communication, there is the sender who sends the message. The sender encodes the message. The sender alone does not complete the process of communication. There is also the recipient or the receiver of the message. The sender sends the message to the receiver. The encoded message is decoded. This means that the process of communication involves encoding and decoding.

Nevertheless, if the message is to be sent and received, there is need for the medium that connects the sender and the receiver. Once the message is received on the other end, there is usually a response. This response ends in some form of feedback as well. This means that in the process of communication, the roles of the sender and the receiver are not permanent. These roles keep shifting. The sender becomes the recipient and visa-versa. This paper would like to look at the preaching of Jesus and see how we could apply the Lasswelian theory to it. Basically we will be looking at Jesus as the sender, the human person as an active recipient, the effect, response and feedback. Specifically, we will situate the paper around the medium of communication that Jesus was using.

1. PREACHING OF JESUS VIS-À-VIS LASSWELIAN THEORY

Mediation is generally a terrestrial element. In heaven, we will see God face to face through the beatific vision. There will be no mediation because we will be there face to face with God. However, in our present life, it has pleased God to reveal himself to us in a mediated way. He has done this through different means which we call medium of God's communication to the human person. This mediation happens in the context of the world – in

the existential categories of life. Mediation takes place in this world – in our daily experiences. This agrees very much with the existentialism of Heidegger but without neglecting the transcendental categories of Kant.

What we mean here is that God is transcendental while the human person lives in the historical and existential categories – in the world – Rahner's 'spirit in the world.' The bringing together of the existential and the transcendental is the context of God's and human communication. God in his transcendentality self-communicates himself to the human person who lives in his or her historical and existential categories of existence. The communication in this case is that the transcendental comes to the historical so that the historical can share in the life of God.

The transcendental does not only remain in itself but empties itself so that the historical can share in the divinity. The communication between God and the human person happens through the mediation of Jesus Christ, the Verbum and Word of the Father. Once Jesus was born, he grew up in a culture, in a context and in a village. He learnt their language, their ways of doing things, their images and symbols.

That is why when he grew up; he progressively became conscious of his divinity. It is in this culture and context that Jesus learnt about the right medium that he could use in order to teach about the kingdom of God. He learnt about the stories, the parables, the folktales and the different ways in which the word of God could be communicated to the people of God.

That is why, when he began teaching and preaching, Jesus was a story teller. He told parables in order to communicate the word of God. He used parables so that people would easily understand the mysteries of God. Jesus knew that the mysteries of God told in their abstract manner would be difficult for the people to understand and comprehend, probably that is why he would use stories to present in a pictorial manner the mysteries of God. All this finds expression in theological anthropology where emphasis is placed on the fact that the theological and the anthropological are united in Jesus.

We also emphasize the two dimensions of descending and ascending Christology. Both aspects are important in preaching and in the communication of the good news of the kingdom of God. Jesus in his preaching used the technique of cross-mapping of concepts. This basically means that a difficult concept can be explained by using a simpler concept. A mystery can be explained by using a concept that is found in the historical or cultural setting.

For example, the mystery of God's love – a higher concept – was explained by a lower and simpler concept of the love of the father to the prodigal son. There is here cross mapping from the mysterious concept of God's love to a lower concept of the love of the father to the prodigal son. This is a theory that is very much promoted by scholars like *George Lakoff.* Through the cross-mapping of concepts, Jesus was able to explain difficult and mysterious things concerning the life of the Holy Trinity. He equally cross-mapped the difficult concept of how God looks for the sinners with the simple concept of a shepherd who goes in search of the lost sheep. He cross-mapped the concept of how God created the world with the simple concept of the parable of the sower. All this Jesus did in order to explain difficult things by using simple images, concepts, stories and parables.

Jesus preached and sent his message to the hearers through the medium of stories and parables. The importance of the use of stories in the preaching ministry cannot be overlooked. The use of stories evokes emotions in the people that are listening.

That is why in the study of rhetoric; one of the important aspects is that of pathos which basically refers to the evocation of feelings and emotions. Stories that are taken from

the daily lives of the people and using the lives of the people evoke feelings and emotions. It is in this context that people find themselves attracted not only to the ending of the story, but the people are also interested in the progress of the story. There are so many stories that can be told traditionally and locally, and every culture has its own stories.

For example, in my culture there are so many stories about hunters, stories about creation, stories about hyenas, stories about mice, stories about friendships and so many other stories which evoke emotions in the listeners when they are told in public.

That is why preaching and communication of the good news when accompanied with stories leaves a long-lasting mark. This is very clear in the life, ministry and preaching of Jesus Christ where we clearly see that he used stories and parables a lot in preaching. For example, some of his wonderful parables include the parable of the Sower, the parable of the tenants, the parable of the lost coin, the parable of the lost sheep, the parable of the prodigal son and the parable of the ten *virgins*. Jesus was a great storyteller who told stories with precision but also with surprising frequency.

That is why, even though he preached only for three years but he was able to raise so many followers and he was able to gather around himself so many people that would come to listen to him. Jesus was able to send the message to his listeners and stimulate the intended response.

Applying the Lasswelian model, we can say that as a sender of the message, Jesus was effective because he was able to get the kind of response that he intended. The stories were the medium through which he communicated and passed on his message, and he would get the desired effect even though in some instances the feedback was not in the affirmative. For example, when Jesus told his followers to take his body and to drink his blood, some of his followers agreed which means their response was in the affirmative but there were also instances when the response was not affirmative and the same pericope shows how some of this disciples walked away when Jesus had told them not only to take his body but also to drink his blood. In both instances, there was feedback which was affirmative and also response that was not affirmative.

The prospect of the non-affirmative response does not mean that Jesus was ineffective in communication but just that some people did not agree with what he was saying. While communication, at times, is aimed at convincing but at times, it is also informative and in terms of the informative element, we would go on to say that Jesus was effective and efficient in his communication. As a sender of the message, he would use the medium of stories, to the sender, he would stimulate a response and this was basically feedback.

Jesus was also using gestures in the process of communication of the good news. The gestures of Jesus also stimulated a response. The use of gestures is an important and vital instrument in the conveyance of the Good News. In this case, the sender uses the medium of the gesture to send the message to the recipient who responds and gives feedback.

In some instances, the gesture is used separately but in some instances the gesture is used together with the words – in which case there is spoken word which is verbal communication and the unspoken word enveloped in the gesture – and this is non-verbal communication. There were thus situations when Jesus used verbal communication and non-verbal communication. In both cases, there was a sender, the medium, the recipient, effect and feedback.

Jesus used several gestures in his preaching ministry, for example, he would touch the sick and heal them. Touching someone is a gesture – and depending on how you touch

someone, it could be a gesture of love, a gesture of anger, a gesture of pleasure, a gesture of intimacy, a gesture of caressing, and a gesture that expresses hate. The mode and way of touching – or of gesturing means a lot and says a lot. Jesus would touch the sick, he would mix mud and saliva and put it on the affected area and the person would heal – in the garden of Gethsemane Jesus would extend his hands to heaven, probably in the same way Moses did on the mountain as the Israelites fought in the war. When Moses raised the hands, the people won but when he dropped the hands, the Israelites would begin losing in the war. Jesus gestured in order to perform an action of healing. He would gesture to restore life. As such, we would say, Jesus would use the medium of gesturing in order to get the desired response and effect. The result and feedback in some instances is that the healed person would decide to follow Jesus.

Gestures are good in communication.   They foster and add weight to the communication process. If the same words were said without a gesture, the effect would be completely different if the words were combined with the gestures. Some people are good at using gestures to communicate while others need both – gestures and words. A combination of the two is usually effective and efficient in passing on the message. Some gestures are broad while some gestures are modest.

Whichever gesture one uses depends on the situation, the context, the person involved and in some cases the recipient involved. While watching the political campaign speeches, one cannot but be surprised and even contented with the wide use of gestures. All that is done so that the politician can convince and put forward an idea. That is what Jesus did. He used gestures to convey his message.

Apart from using gestures, Jesus used many other forms of communication and medium which helped the people to understand. Most of these forms and medium of communication fit into the Lasswelian theory of communication which includes the sender, the recipient, the medium, the feedback and effect- this can also be described with the; who says, to whom, in which medium, with what effect and we of course can add, with what feedback. It is in this context that we can say that Jesus' preaching very much fits into the Lasswelian theory of communication.

The forms of communication in the teaching and preaching of Jesus can also be linked to the symbolism not only of Jesus' teaching but also that of scriptures in general. That is why we will look at symbolism in general in the teaching of Jesus but mainly by making reference to the Church.

There are different images and conceptions that describe the Church. For example, "the Church is the 'mother' without whom one could not have God the Father, the one Ark of salvation, the Bride of Christ, the new Eden and the Queen who stands by the side of the Saviour."[31] The Church is the persisting presence of the Word and by saying that, we mean that the symbolic function of the Logos in the world, and the self-communication of God is now continued through the Church.

We notice that when there is a free decision on the part of the symbolised, that it can be proclaimed or symbolized by the symbol, then the very nature of the symbolic reality in this case demands the juridical composition of the symbol and its free establishment. In other words, a symbol, which is a completely human one, is expected and demanded of it, to be of juridically determined nature, because of its social and existential dimension. A non-existent reality is incapable of expressing itself in this free and juridically determined way,

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[31] Karl RAHNER, *Dogmatic notes on 'Ecclesiological piety,'* in Karl RAHNER, "Theological investigations, Volume 5, Later writings," London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966, 336.

because here, the symbol has the dimension of being a symbolic reality that renders present the symbolised being.

In doing so, the symbol realises itself, because 'it passes over into the "otherness" of the symbol.

Applying this, we can say that God renders Himself present in the freely constituted symbolism of the Church, which is formed on social and juridical lines. The fact that a symbol is a social and juridically constituted reality is not an objection to the presence of symbolic reality as such.

In this regard, we can give an example of two spouses who give their yes to each other before their legitimate authorities, be it civil or ecclesiastical. The yes that is exchanged between these two spouses is a symbolic reality, even if, it is spoken freely, and within certain juridically determined formalities. This consent is audibly expressed and has the effect of bringing about the permanent marriage bond between the two spouses and without this yes, the marriage bond cannot be realised.

As such, we can conclude that the audible expression, and that which it expresses, are related in the same way that the body and soul are related. The expression and the thing expressed are interdependent and form an inner unity.

From this example, we see that the audible yes expressed is a symbol through which the marriage bond is realised and yet, this symbol is freely and juridically constituted. With this example, we can hereby demonstrate the fact that "whether a *"signum" (arbitraruim)* is a symbolic reality or the merely extrinsic representational symbol of a reality, cannot be decided by the mere fact that it is arbitrary.

In fact, this characteristic of being an arbitrary symbol or being juridically constituted, may be demanded by the nature of the thing that is being symbolised, and that in no way is this detrimental to the symbolism. The Church is a reality that is tributary to the Spirit, is an entity and a free creation formed through the redemptive act of Christ. It is juridically constituted and it is the symbolic reality of Jesus' presence. The Church teaches that it is not only a juridical or social reality; and this teaching was particularly articulated by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XII.[32] This is the case because of the presence in it of the grace of salvation and the presence of the Holy Spirit, which constitutes the essence of the Church. Hence, the Church is the primary sacrament of the eschatological grace of God, which cannot be revoked.

But this is to affirm that this symbol of the grace of God really contains what it signifies; that it is the primary sacrament of the grace of God, which does not merely designate but really possesses what was brought definitively into the world by Christ: the irrevocable, eschatological grace of God which conquers triumphantly the guilt of man.

The Church is indefectible, especially when we look at it as the Church of the infallible truth and as the Church of the sacraments. The Church is also indefectible as the *opus operatum*.[33] The concept of *opus operatum* means, "grace is conferred on the recipient

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[32] Cf. POPE LEO XIII, *Satis Cognitum: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the unity of the Church, 15,* 29.06.1896, http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_29061896_satis-cognitum.html, (27.11.2015).

[33] *Opus operatum* means the unequivocal, permanent, historically perceptible pledge of grace to the individual man, a pledge made irrevocably by God and recognizable as such. This is the positive content of the concept. The expression that there is question of God's production of grace without the subjective merit of the minister or of the recipient is only the negative, and therefore secondary, formulation. William A. VAN ROO, *The Church and Theological investigations 5, Rome*, Gregorian University, 2012, 162.

through the positing of the sacramental sign itself, and neither the merit (holiness) of the minister nor that of the recipient is causally involved."[34]

The Church is indefectible because it is indestructibly holy as a whole. The Church is also indefectible even in cases of subjective grace of people by which the Church is not just an object of faith but it is the full symbol of the triumphant mercy of Christ, who remains in it.

The Church is a basic sacrament of the salvation of the world. It is the "sacrament of that mysterious community of those who truly believe and whom God's unrestrainable action of grace has made into true believers. It is the "proto-sacrament; this means, however, that she is, in her whole concrete, visible and juridically verifiable appearance, a real sign and embodiment of the salvific will of God and of the grace of Christ."[35] Of special importance is also the understanding of the Second Vatican Council that also considered the Church as the sacrament of salvation.[36]

CONCLUSION

The Church is a sacrament of the unity of all people in God for their salvation. It is a basic sacrament of salvation in virtue of her nature, which is that of being determinative and constitutive. The Church is a sacrament because it is the "sign in history which brings to manifestation at the historical level, and thereby also "effects," the will of God towards the world which creates salvation and unity."[37] It is the "real, permanent and ever valid presence of God in the world."[38] The Church is also a symbol and sacrament of unity for humanity, brought about because of the self-communication of God in grace. The Church is a sacrament of people's salvation in the world. This is the case because she points to and renders present the grace of God in the world and this grace will never disappear again from the world. In this sense, the Church is a sign of the eschatological victory of God in the world. The grace that God communicated to the world impels the world towards the consummation of the Kingdom of God, regardless of the problems and pitfalls that the Church may encounter.[39] The Church is an effective sacramental sign of the grace of God because through it, the will of God to bestow grace through his self-communication is manifested at a historical level in the world.

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[4] POPE LEO XIII, Satis Cognitum: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the unity of the Church, 15, 29.06.1896, http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_29061896_satis-cognitum.html, (27.11.2015).

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[34] Karl RAHNER, *The Church and Theological investigations 5,* London, Burns and Oates, 1963, 25.

[35] Karl RAHNER, *Membership of the Church,* in Karl RAHNER, "Theological investigations, Volume 2, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963, 73.

[36] Karl RAHNER, *What is a sacrament,* in *"Theological investigations: The theology of the spiritual life,"* translated by David BOURKE, 3 (1976) 141-142.

[37] RAHNER, *What is a sacrament,* 142.

[38] RAHNER, *Membership of the Church,* 76.

[39] Cf. RAHNER, *Foundations of Christian faith*, 321-211.

[5] RAHNER Karl, Christology within an evolutionary view, in Karl RAHNER, "Theological investigations, Volume 5, Later writings," London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966, 174.

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DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION REGARDING THE HOLY MYSTERY OF PRIESTHOOD IN ROMAN CATHOLICISM

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ABSTRACT

The central difference between the Orthodox teaching and the Catholic one regarding the Church comes from the conception regarding its foundation. In the Catholic conception, the visible Church was founded before the Pentecost, on the testimony of Saint Peter the Apostle, and at Pentecost only the invisible Church would have been added. The entire conception about the hierarchy, in the Roman Catholic Church, is strictly juridical. In reality, as the Orthodox theology testifies, the essence of the ecclesial hierarchy is charismatic, not juridical. This is what the great difference to the Catholic teaching consists in. The Eastern theology makes no abstraction of jurisdiction and canon law, yet, jurisdiction depends on grace, not grace on jurisdiction, contrary to what some Western Church theologians would suggest in certain works such as those belonging to the Western Theology.

Keywords: celibacy; pope, priesthood, bishop; hierarchy;

INTRODUCTION

The Roman-Catholic theology has a special conception of the nature of the priesthood mission. It considers that the mission to teach, sanctify and lead the people on the way of salvation goes, in various degrees, to the entire Church, starting with the pope and ending with the last member of the Catholic laity.

"The Church, says the *Decree on the Laity's Apostleship, Apostolicum actuositatem,* was born so that, spreading on the whole earth Christ's Kingdom for the glory of God the Father, She may make all the people partakers to the saving redemption and by them, the whole world may be submitted to Christ into the truth. All the activity of the Mystic Body turned towards this goal is called *apostleship*; *the Church exerts it through all her limbs, certainly, in different ways: because the Christian calling is, by its nature, also a calling to apostleship...* Thus, on all Christians is imposed the noble task of working all the time for the divine news of salvation to be known and received by all the people, on the whole earth."[1].

The difference between services is just one of rank and extent. In other words, the pope exerts this mission on the level of the whole Church, the bishops, in their bishoprics, the priests in parishes, and the laypeople each in the extent of his area of action[2].

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[1] ***Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican II. Constituţii, decrete, declaraţii,* revised edition, Roman Catholic Archdiocese, Bucuresti, 2000, pp. 246-247.

[2] ****Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican II. Constituţii, decrete, declaraţii,* pp. 246-247.

Consequently, the Catholic theology does not distinguish, like the Orthodox, between special or ordination priesthood and the general priesthood of God's people; in the Catholic vision there is but one priesthood, the special one, yet distributed gradually depending on the Church level each priest is on. The pope holds the fullness of this priesthood; the bishops hold the same priesthood, yet at the lower degree according to the level they occupy; the priests' power derives from that of the bishops, and, finally, the laypeople participate at the lowest level in this grace-filled priesthood, exerting it where it cannot be exerted, at their level, by the priests. All participate, however, to the same *apostleship*.

1. CHURCH PRIESTHOOD IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE

The central difference between the Orthodox teaching and the Catholic one regarding the Church comes from the conception regarding its foundation. In the Catholic conception, the visible Church was founded before the Pentecost, on the testimony of Saint Peter the Apostle, while at Pentecost only the invisible Church would have been added. From here, a natural gap followed between the visible or juridical Church and the invisible or spiritual one. The entire conception about the hierarchy, in the Roman Catholic Church, is strictly juridical[3]. In reality, as Orthodox theology testifies, *the essence of the ecclesial hierarchy is charismatic, not juridical.*

This is what the great difference to the Catholic teaching consists in. The Eastern theology makes no abstraction of jurisdiction and canon law, yet, jurisdiction depends on grace, not grace on the jurisdiction, contrary to what some Western Church theologians would suggest in certain works such as those belonging to the Western Theology.[4]

A part of the Catholic theology strongly emphasized the visible, institutional element of the Church. The invisible elements remained only implied. According to this part of Catholic theology, the church has a character of *historical, authoritative, external society*. Lately, however, the Catholic theologians have tried to underline and highlight the theandric reality of the Church, instead of the administrative centralism. In many formulations, these theologians meet and are one with the Orthodox ones. but, unfortunately, there remains a separation between God and the Church; it remains closed within historical limits, in the order of the created, because the grace in it remains a created grace. I'd rather say: Yet an aspect of the Church still needing clarification is that of the grace, as it still has to dawn on all theology: God's grace is only uncreated.

a) Pope's role concerning the Church; Pope – "foundation of the unity of the faith"

Whereas *in the Orthodox Church all the bishops are equal according to their divine right power,* each bishop being the center of the spiritual power in an eparchy, and reunited together, in an ecumenical council, they constitute the infallible organ of the Church, in Catholicism, there used to be a tendency to see, as concentrated in the pope, all the power on earth, both lay and spiritual. During the last centuries, the pope gradually came to be seen as having lost his worldly power, yet concentrating in himself, increasingly more, the spiritual one[5].

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[3] George Remete, *Dogmatica Ortodoxă,* textbook for Theological Seminaries, 3rd edition, Publishing House Reîntregirea, Alba-Iulia, 2000, p. 301.

[4] Ferdinand Klostermann, "Rolul credincioșilor în Biserică după Conciliul al II-lea Vatican"*, in *Studii Teologice*, 26/ 3-4 (1973), p. 57.

[5] N. Chițescu, Isidor Todoran, I. Petreuță, *Teologia Dogmatică şi Simbolică,* textbook for the Faculties of Theology, vol. II, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1958, p. 182.

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was the one that considered it right to grant to the pope a supreme power in the whole Church, giving him the right to confirm the bishops. The Tridentine Synod calls the pope "*a descendant of the Apostle Peter, the coryphaeus of the Apostles*" and "*the representative of Jesus Christ,*" and the Roman Catechism states that "*the invisible Guide and Ruler of the Church is Christ, which holds the throne of Rome*"[6].

The First Vatican Synod (1869-1870) declares that when the pope speaks *ex-cathedra*, he enjoys that infallibility with which the holly redeeming wanted His Church to be endowed in defining the teaching of faith or morals, so the definitions of the Roman pontiff are unchangeable to itself (ex sese), and not by the consensus of the Church[7].

Finally, the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) speaks of the pope, in terms of his role in relation to the Church, no more and no less than that he is "the perpetual and visible principle and foundation of the unity of faith and communion"[8].

Therefore, the Second Vatican Council distinguishes the pope from the assembly of the whole episcopate and even from the whole Church: the pope has the power to teach the people, but he has it in the special form of the infallible magisterium; the pope has the power to lead the same people, but he has it in terms of a sacred primacy[9].

The acts of the Second Vatican Council aimed at consolidating the papal position in the Roman Catholic Church. The pope's quality of "foundation of unity in faith" is based entirely on the separation between Christ and the Holy Spirit, a consequence of the Filioque addition. Due to the separation between Christ and the Holy Spirit, the divine Revelation is transformed into a formal deposit, which loses its connection with Christ and the community of believers, in order to be made dependent, above all, on the papacy. This is one of the reasons why the Second Vatican Council, changing the relationship between faith and the pope, considers the pope as the foundation of the faith.[10]

Also by virtue of the separation between the Holy Spirit and Christ, the Council, seeing in the Holy Spirit an impersonal power, on which the charism of papal infallibility is based, declares that, since the assistance of the Holy Spirit was promised to Peter, "the pope alone has the charism of infallibility of the Church"[11]. Because infallibility would have - according to Catholic theology - the guarantee of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit works separately from Christ, the papacy makes total abstraction from Christ, that is, it is totally independent of Christ.

It could thus be stated by Roman Catholics that "in the light of the Holy Spirit, the pope enlightens the faith, removing from the treasury of Revelation old and new things" and that "the Church does not remove from Holy Scripture only its certainty on the points of Revelation"[12]. We deduce that the pope has the possibility of declaring as infallible truths

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[6] Ion Bria, *Tratat de Teologie Dogmatică și Ecumenică,* Publishing House România Creștină, București, 1999, p. 165.

[7] Vasile Citirigă, *Probleme fundamentale ale teologiei dogmatice și simbolice,* course notes, vol. II, Publishing House Ex Ponto, Constanța, 2001, p. 148.

[8] Dumitru Popescu, *Ortodoxie și contemporaneitate,* Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, p. 67.

[9] Paul Evdokimov, *Ortodoxia,* translated by Irineu Ioan Popa, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, p. 178.

[10] Dumitru Popescu, *Teologie și cultură,* Editura Diogene, București, 1993, p. 37.

[11] Mihai Enache, „Poziția Bisericii Ortodoxe în problema dialogului și a intercomuniunii în Biserica Romano-Catolică", în *Studii Teologice,* 27/1-2 (1975), p. 41.

[12] Dumitru Popescu, *Teologie și cultură,* p. 68.

without biblical grounds and of introducing into the revealed deposit truths which have not been formally revealed by Christ.

Due to infallibility, the papacy subdues both the bishop and the pastored people, concentrating, in his person, the whole Church. This is because the infallibility of the Church resides in the episcopal body only when it exercises the supreme magisterium together with the pope, and the people cannot exercise their right to express themselves validly by "unanimous consensus", but must respect as infallible the truths of faith and morals defined by the pope.

In the Orthodox Church, the collective form of community preservation of the truth, as the care of the sacramental and royal priesthood, is that of receiving the decisions of the synods. "The guardian of godliness and faith is the whole people of the Church" - says the Encyclical of Eastern Patriarchs from 1848[13]. This document says that "with us, innovations could not be introduced by patriarchs or synods, because in our country the safeguarding of religion resides in the whole body of the Church, that is, in the people themselves, who want to keep the faith intact"[14].

b) "Tu es Petrus…"

„And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto you, that Ye are Peter, and upon this rock, I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (*Mathew* 16, 17-19).

In the New Testament writings, the tradition regarding the prominent position of the Apostle Peter in the early Church and the circle of the other Apostles is evident. This primacy of St. Peter was also recognized by the Holy Apostle Paul, as was later recognized the primacy of St. James - the brother of the Lord[15] - in the community of Jerusalem. Indeed, it is known that the old Christian tradition has preserved the image of St. Peter in a fairly extensive way, especially because, after St. Peter, Jacob - the Lord's brother, soon followed the leadership of the Church in Jerusalem. It is a succession that took place after the imprisonment of the Apostle Peter, by order of Herod Agrippa, in 44 AD, in connection with the beheading of Jacob, son of Zebedee, and the face of death threats against St. Peter. (cf. *Acts* 12, 1-7).

The Holy Apostle Peter seems to have left the city of Jerusalem under these circumstances (cf. *Acts* 12:17), probably heading for Antioch. Without exercising a leading position, St. Peter enjoyed, until his death, the prestige of a particular authority, which was later verified by the proto-Christian traditions that tried to re-evaluate his personality.[16]

In the period following the death of the Apostle Peter, when the issue of maintaining the Church on the line of his teachings received from the Lord was raised, St. Peter became the symbol of the unity of the whole Church.[17]

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[13] Vasile Citirigă, *Probleme fundamentale ale teologiei dogmatice și simbolice,* p. 149.

[14] Vasile Citirigă, *Probleme fundamentale ale teologiei dogmatice și simbolice,* p. 149.

[15] Alexandru Joița, „Aspecte actuale în ecleziologia ortodoxă și cea romano-catolică", în *Studii Teologice*, 33/5-6 (1981), p. 78.

[16] Constantin Preda, „Tu es Petrus…": Matei 16, 17-19, în *Studii Teologice*, 1/2 (2005), p. 56.

[17] W. Pannenberg, „Riflessioni evangeliche sul servizio petrino del vescovo di Roma", in *Anali di Scienze Religioase*, 2 (1997), p. 116.

The image of the Holy Apostle Peter in the New Testament is, therefore, the expression of the requirement of a ministry that guarantees the unity of the Church in its entirety and is not understood as the exercise of a jurisdiction related to a function of power (potestas) but of an authority related to his person which must be remembered that auctoritas is determined by conviction and credibility.

There is, in the promise of St. Peter, however, a resemblance to the story in Genesis 17, 1-8, in which Abram, for his faith, received another name, Abraham, with the promise of becoming the ancestor of many peoples. God says to him, "And this is My covenant with you: You shall be the father of many nations, and you shall no longer be called Abram, but Abraham shall be your name, for I will make you the father of many nations" (*Genesis* 17, 4-5). The change of name indicates the new role that God has given him, making him the ancestor and father of a multitude of peoples.[18]

Like Abraham, the Holy Apostle Paul occupies a special place in the history of salvation: he is the first of the believers of the messianic age, he is the "father" of a new people "cut" by God not from a rock or a stone quarry (Abraham and Sarah), but constituted by God Himself on the stone of the confession of the Apostle Peter. The text in *Matthew* 16: 17-19 is the fulfillment of the prophecy made by St. John the Baptist: "You shall not believe that you can say for yourselves: Our father is Abraham, cause I tell you that God is able to raise sons (in Hebrew - "banim") even from these rocks (in Hebrew - "abanim") to Abraham" (*Mathew* 3, 9).

This stone or foundation on which the Roman Catholics claim that the Church is built gives the pope a special significance: he is the substitute of Christ on earth, the Vicar of Christ![19] The Pope takes the place of Christ, acting in the person of Christ! These statements lead to the idea that, in the view of Catholic theology, the papacy is indeed the highest degree of actualization of the presence of Christ in the Church, the highest form under which Christ Himself appears in the world.

In the Western Church, the pope is more than the entire synod of bishops in the Orthodox Church. In the East, the decisions of a synod, even if it was considered ecumenical, have no value unless they are subsequently appropriated by the whole Church. Therefore, paraphrasing the theologian Hristu Andrutsos, only this subsequent approval of the Church reveals whether the synod was ecumenical, constituting the external criterion of the ecumenical synod.[20] The Church can contradict or reform the decisions of a synod that has, at one time, gathered the largest number of bishops. In the West, this is not the case. The pope's views can no longer be changed by anyone. They do not become irreformable through the subsequent consent of the Church, but have this power from the pope.

And for the Orthodox, the episcopate has the magisterium of teaching and infallibility by ordination, not by a special delegation from the faithful. But provided he exercises it in accordance with the Church.[21]

When he does not fulfill this condition, he is wrong. The church always bears witness to the truth of the teaching preached or formulated by the episcopate, and it must be constantly in accord with the spirit within it, with the atmosphere within it, in its teaching activity. It is analogous to the relationship between father and family. The father represents

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[18] Constantin Preda, „Tu es Petrus…": Matei 16, 17-19*, p. 58.
[19] ***Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican II. Constituţii, decrete, declaraţii,* p. 78.
[20] Hristu Andrutsos, *Dogmatica Bisericii Ortodoxe Răsăritene*, Trans Dumitru Stăniloae, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Diecezane, Sibiu, 1930, p. 110.
[21] Hristu Andrutsos, *Dogmatica Bisericii Ortodoxe Răsăritene*, p. 110.

the family based on this quality that he received through the marriage certificate, not through a special delegation from the family members,[22] but he speaks and must always speak in accordance with the interests of the family, tradition, and a certain spirit of it. . In this sense, the infallibility is of the whole Church and the whole contributes to the infallible support and formulation of the teaching, although the episcopate is the ordinary organ of its articulated expression[23].

According to Roman Catholic doctrine, however, "the subject of infallibility is the Church of the Teacher" exclusively, which "consists of bishops"[24], or, more precisely, the pope, without any participation of the Church, not even by consent (*ex sese ex consensu Ecclesiae*).

The Second Vatican Council did not link the infallibility of the pope to any condition, except for the vague and much-discussed term of the *ex-cathedra*. It did not link it to the pope's agreement with the Church, on the contrary, it excluded this condition, it did not link it to the agreement with Tradition, which made Pope Pius IX declare "*Io sono la Tradizione*"[25].

c) The Celibacy of Priests

The Orthodox Church does not consider conjugal life contrary to the Priesthood, but priests who want to live in marriage must marry before ordination, and the second marriage cannot be contracted, according to the words of the Holy Apostle Paul - who says that the priest must be " man of one woman" (I Timothy 3, 2 and Titus 1, 6) – and of the old church traditions.

Moreover, in the old Church, celibacy is not imposed even on bishops. Hilary of Pictavia and Gregory of Nyssa were married. But at the Synod of Trullan, in 692, he declared in Canons 12 and 13 that bishops should not be married, not out of contempt for marriage, but so that they could devote themselves entirely to the leadership of the Church.[26]

The Roman Catholic Church, especially from Pope Gregory VII (1073), forbids marriage of all clerical ranks to the subdeacon/hypodeacon. This is in line with the tendency of the Catholic Church to raise the clergy above the laity, as a strong and independent class. The celibacy of priests was imposed in the West[27] by the Synod of Elvira (Spain), in 306, to make priests a true army, always at the disposal of the pope and the Church, a „*militia Christi*"[28].

The Orthodox Church remained faithful to the decision of the First Ecumenical Council, which allowed the marriage of the clergy, even bishops. Only after the Fourth Ecumenical Council was the celibacy of bishops imposed.

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[22] Hristu Andrutsos, *Dogmatica Bisericii Ortodoxe Răsăritene*, p. 110.

[23] N. Chițescu, Isidor Todoran, I. Petreuță, *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică,* p. 184.

[24] Vasile Suciu, *Teologia Dogmatică fundamentală*, vol. II, f.e., Blaj, 1927, p. 47.

[25] John Meyendorff, *Ortodoxie și catolicitate,* translated by Călin Popescu, Publishing House Sophia, București, 2003, p. 68.

[26] Ioan N. Floca, *Canoanele Bisericii Ortodoxe – texte și comentarii*, f.e., Sibiu, 1992, p. 211.

[27] Nicușor Tucă, *Valențe teologice în Liturghie și Sfintele Taine,* Editura Arhiepiscopiei Tomisului, Constanța, 2014, p. 177.

[28] Dumitru Ichim, „Problema celibatului preoțesc în Biserica Romano-Catolică*",* în *Studii Teologice*, 22/9-10 (1970), p. 51.

2. ORTHODOX DOGMATIC EVALUATION OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE CHURCH REGARDING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE

Christ works on the faithful, through His threefold ministry, because of the role of mediator that the Priesthood has in the life of His Church.[29] The important role of the ministering priesthood is that man cannot enter by himself into an endless loving relationship with God not only by the unseen way but also by the seen one, because of the priest, who is the visible sign of Christ's unseen presence in the Church. Of course, believers may personally offer certain prayers and sacrifices to God without the intercession of the ministering priesthood, but the sacrifices offered to Christ by the whole community are no longer subjectively brought by believers, as a general priesthood, but through the sanctified minister for this purpose, objectively. Believers always need the visible priest, especially them, because they need Christ as Mediator. "The priest symbolizes Christ as Mediator, symbolizes the fact that man cannot enter by himself into the endless loving relationship with God"[30], says father Stăniloae.

The whole life of the early Church was led by the Holy Apostles, who cared both for the souls of the new converts and for their material situation, for they sold their possessions and brought the price of those sold and placed it at the feet of the Apostles, who distributed it to each, as needed (cf. *Acts* 4, 34-35)[31].

But as the number of the baptized increased, the Holy Apostles were obliged to entrust the service at the table to other worthy men, chosen from among the disciples, seven in number, who would be "of good name, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom," and when they were found, they placed them before the Apostles, who, praying, "laid their hands on them" (cf. Acts 6: 1-6). These elected men, called deacons, constitute the first step of the Church hierarchy, from their election and establishment, we see what the qualities were, that is, by the laying on of hands - ordination. Although in the invisible aspect the Church is led by the Savior Christ, still, in the visible aspect, the community of believers is led by the church hierarchy.[32]

We know that the Savior first chose twelve Apostles (Matthew 10: 1-4; Luke 6: 12-17) to perform the Holy Sacraments and to lead believers to holiness and salvation. Although they were chosen by the Savior and endowed with the grace of the Holy Spirit, they were not immortal. Therefore, the Holy Apostles ordained, by the laying on of hands, followers to continue in the Church their threefold mission: to preach the Holy Gospel, to administer the Holy Sacraments, and to lead the faithful to salvation. Those chosen for this mission had to be endowed with special qualities because this service is holy and very important.[33]

The Holy Apostle Paul, addressing the bishops and priests of the parts of Ephesus, draws their attention to their great responsibility, saying, "Remember yourselves and all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you bishops, to preserve God's church, who won it with His own Blood" (Acts 20:28). The establishment of the hierarchy, in all its stages, is a Holy Sacrament, and those who are sanctified in it must fulfill special virtues[34].

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[29] Ionuț Chircalan, *Creator și creație. Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae – valorificator al scrierilor areopagitice*, Editura Universitară, București, 2021, p. 238.

[30] Dumitru Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică Ortodoxă*, vol. II, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1978, p. 236.

[31] Boris Bobrinskoy, *Taina Bisericii*, Trans de Vasile Manea, Editura Reîntregirea, Alba-Iulia, 2004, p. 131.

[32] Dumitru Popescu, „Sfânta Taină a Preoției – ierarhia sacramentală după Sfânta Scriptură și Sfânta Tradiție. Preoția obștească", în *Ortodoxia*, 40/1 (1989), p. 11.

[33] Gheorghe Banu, „Ierarhia bisericească" în *Îndrumător bisericesc*, Episcopia Buzăului, 1 (1982), p. 121.

[34] Alexandru Joița, „Aspecte actuale în ecleziologia ortodoxă și cea romano-catolică", p. 74.

These virtues or qualities are also mentioned by the Saint Apostle Paul in the following words: "But it is fitting for the bishop to be blameless, a man of one woman, awake, good, decent, hospitable, eager to teach others, not drunk, unfamiliar to beat, not agonizing for ugly gain, gentle, peaceful, unloving of silver, good steward in his house […], for if he does not know how to arrange his house, how he will take care of the church of God […]. Let deacons also be devout, not speaking in two ways, not giving much wine, not greedy for wickedness […] to be husbands of a woman, to govern well their houses and their children "(*1Timothy* 3, 2 -12).

In time, another condition was added to these conditions, required by the cultural development of mankind, namely training in special, theological schools, where the priest acquires a specialized and universal culture, deepening the teaching of Christ for himself and to teach others, conditions without which no one can be ordained[35]. This is, broadly speaking, the orthodox teaching about the church hierarchy. But because we have referred to the Catholic teaching on the priesthood and the church hierarchy, we will try to answer the dogmatic errors of the Western Church's teaching on this subject.

1. The classic text of Matthew 16:18: "You are Peter and on this stone I will build my Church", invoked by Catholics as an argument, does not refer to Peter's personal faith, but to the faith professed in the name of the Apostles, because we know that his faith proved hesitant and he was even admonished with the words: "Go behind me, Satan!" In fact, the Holy Apostle Paul shows that the Church is built "on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, the cornerstone being Jesus Christ" (Ephesians 2:20).

2. The New Testament shows no priority of St. Peter over the other Apostles. On the contrary, he is rebuked by the Savior and even by the new Apostle Paul in Antioch. If he had a primate, he would have had to preside over the Synod of Jerusalem, which took place in the year 50. We know that this synod was presided over by St. James.

3. The papal primacy contradicts the Holy Scripture and the Holy Tradition, which shows us, unanimously, that Jesus Christ is the head of the Church until the end of the ages, present in it permanently and there is no allusion or intention to leave a vicar [36].

4. The Catholic argument that St. Peter pastored a bishop in Rome for 20 years has no dogmatic value. There is no historical evidence in this regard and, even if it were, his pastorate as bishop of Rome does not justify the primacy of jurisdiction, but only an honorary primacy. (*primatus honoris*).

5. Papal infallibility is only a human claim, which seeks to boast of divine attributes. We know that only the Church, as the mysterious body of Christ, is and remains infallible, and the existence of heretical popes - like Liberius who was a Semi-Arian, and Honorius who was a Monothelite - contradicts papal infallibility. [37]

CONCLUSION

In the history of the Christian Church, always, those who became members of the church hierarchy were ordained either directly by the Holy Apostles or by their legitimate followers. He who has not done so cannot have the apostolic succession of the grace of ordination and is thus excluded from the church hierarchy, breaking away from the one Church of Christ, holy, catholic and apostolic.

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[35] Gheorghe Banu, „Ierarhia bisericească", p. 123.
[36] John Meyendorff, *Ortodoxie și catolicitate,* p. 85.
[37] John Meyendorff, *Ortodoxie și catolicitate,* p. 85.

The granting of a hierarchical step is done gradually, from the bottom up; thus, no one can receive the rank of bishop unless he was first a deacon and then a priest, or no one can be a priest without first being a deacon. For the special activity he carries out, the church hierarchy, at all times has enjoyed a chosen honor.

Roman Catholics, however, especially through the Second Vatican Council, further strengthened the pope's position in the Church. On the other hand, the Council sought to identify the episcopate with Christ and to separate it from ordinary believers, arguing that there are ontological differences between believers and the episcopate. It must be said that even in the Orthodox Church the position of priest and bishop often seems privileged in the church community, especially if we remember that, in the priest, in the bishop, and in the episcopate, it is recognized by all, ie "officially", the church community (the parish, the diocese, the Church as a whole); however, the priest and the bishop represent the whole community, but not broken by the community, but as a kind of head, which has in organic union with itself the community. Thus, his seemingly privileged position keeps him connected to the community and does not allow the bishop or priest to stand outside the community or above it.

There are no ontological differences between the faithful people and the hierarchy, but only functional ones. In the Church, there can be no real communion unless equality is respected in honor of the members. Only if the Church is seen as a communion, following the model of the Holy Trinity, is the danger of falling into clericalism avoided, in which the hierarchy is above the faithful.

The unity through the communion of the Church given in the Holy Spirit is the foundation of the pope and not the reverse, the pope as the foundation of unity in communion. The church is built on the foundation of faith and the Holy Spirit, because only in this way does it remain built on Christ and centered in Christ.[38]

Orthodox ecclesiology is incompatible with the legal conception of authority and the delegation of powers of a sovereign legislator, because it gives due importance to the Trinity and their personal presence in the Church through uncreated energies, but also to the role of Christ the Savior as head of the Church and source of the priesthood in the Church, through the Holy Spirit.

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[38] Dumitru Popescu, *Iisus Hristos Pantocrator,* Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 2005, p. 258.

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DEACON CORESI (C. 1510 - C. 1583) AND HIS ACTIVITY AS A PRINTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 16TH CENTURY PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA

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ABSTRACT

The biographical data about the life of deacon Coresi (Coressius) are extremely few and it has been admitted, after many debates, studies and analyses, that he was from Târgovişte, it is supposed that he joined a school in Slavonic at Dealu Monastery, and that he was the owner of a printing press, yet standing out as a skillful printing master. It is also known that he had a son, called Şerban, whom he taught the art of the printing press. The name of deacon Coresi is mentioned in the books he had printed in Braşov (during two periods: 1556-1557; 1560-1583, at irregular intervals), Târgovişte (1557-1558), Alba Iulia (1567-1568) and Sas-Sebeş (1580), during five great periods (1556-1558, 1559-1565, 1566-1570, 1571-1577, 1578-1583), in Romanian and Slavonic. Thus, by his activity, deacon Coresi contributed to the introduction of the Romanian language in the cult of the Orthodox Church of the Romanian Countries, but also in the use of the princely administrative offices of the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries. Following the discussions around the thesis called "the inner impulses" compared to the thesis of the "influences from the outside", many Romanian scholars and researchers are convinced that the phenomenon of introduction of the Romanian language in the official use of the Church and of the Reign does not represent an initiative under the exclusive patronage of the protestant propaganda but rather "an action based on a Romanian, Orthodox initiative, a page of internal history", without being ignored, nevertheless, the fact that the first printings in the Romanian language appear in the environment of Transylvania, preoccupied by the ideas of the Reformation, which also imposes the observation that the activity realized by deacon Coresi, especially in Braşov, does not occur independently from the principles promoted by the Reformation. As far as the formation of the Romanian unitary literary and liturgical language is concerned, one can admit that this process begins with Coresi's printings, even though the acceptance of the Wallachian dialect as the only Romanian norm will happen later, according to the specialists, namely by the middle of the 18th century. However, both for the initiation of the respective process, and for the fact that Coresi's printings represent the first texts printed in the Romanian language, constituting, therefore, "the material support from which the study of the Romanian literary language began", deacon Coresi is "rightly" called "the father of the Romanian literary language". Consequently, the protestant propaganda was expecting, through the

nationalization of the cult of the Orthodox Church and the printing activity of deacon Coresi, to discover, in the Romanians' conscience, elements able to awaken in them a certain spiritual crisis, which did not happen, because different was the living of the Orthodox faith from all that had been offered, at that time, by the Roman-Catholic doctrine and the outbreak of the Reformation.

Keywords: Reformation; Counter-Reformation; protestant propaganda (Lutheran, Calvinist); Roman-Catholic propaganda; deacon Coresi (Coressius); worship nationalization.

I. INTRODUCTION

The use of the printing press in the Romanian culture bears the mark of the *Reign* and of the *Church,* through the initiative of Prince Radu the Great of Wallachia (1496-1508) and through the activity of monk Macarie, coming from Montenegro[1], who will get to become, according to some researchers, even Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church of Hungaro-Wallachia or Romanian Country (1512-1521)[2]. The first printing press operated, according to the opinion of most researchers[3], in the precincts of Dealu Monastery, near Târgoviște (1508-1512), so that the princely city of Târgoviște becomes the first printing center of the Romanians, where they will print, for a start, books in Slavonic, of Middle Bulgarian redaction[4].

In this city, the printing activity is resumed only during the reign of Ruler Radu Paisie (1535-1545), who called two Serbian artisan printers, Moise the Monk and Dimitrie Liubavici (Dimitrije Ljubavić) the Logothete. They will continue the series of printers in Slavonic[5], and in the printing workshop (1544-1551) of Dimitrie Liubavici will be trained the first Romanian disciples (Oprea the Logothete, Peter)[6], including deacon Coresi (Coressius), servant of the Orthodox Church of Wallachia (Romanian Country) and, later on,

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* It should be mentioned that this study was sent for publication in 2018. However, it is published only in 2021 and in the present journal.

[1] The opinion of many researchers inclines towards the Montenegrin origin, see Lucian Petroaia, "500 de ani de la tipărirea primului liturghier ortodox și a primei cărți pe teritoriul țării noastre: *Liturghierul* lui Macarie ieromonahul (1508-2008)", in *Revista Bibliotecii Naționale a României* 14/2 (2008), p. 8; Dana Silvia Țilică, "Ieromonahul Macarie și începuturile tiparului românesc în studii", in *Revista Bibliotecii Naționale a României* 14/2 (2008), p. 16. In the specialized literature it has been stated that he seems to have been a *Wallachian* of Montenegro, specifically, of Zeta Voivodate, see Mircea Păcurariu, "Macarie", in *Enciclopedia Ortodoxiei Românești,* București, 2010, p. 378; Virgil Molin, "Tradiția artistică a Moldovei în tipăriturile ieromonahului Macarie", in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* 35/5-6 (1959), p. 305.

[2] Mircea Păcurariu, *op. cit.,* p. 378; Ion I. Croitoru, "Tipografii", in idem, *Ortodoxia și Apusul în tradiția spirituală a românilor. Unitatea Ortodoxiei și apărarea credinței ortodoxe în fața propagandei protestante din secolul al XVII-lea,* vol. I, Târgoviște, 2012 (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* I), p. 250.

[3] See Victor Petrescu, "Despre primele tipărituri pe teritoriul românesc în secolul al XVI-lea", in *Philologia* 57 (2015), p. 24; Agnes Erich, Niculina Vârcolici, "Controverse privind tipărirea primei cărți în spațiul românesc. Liturghierul (1508)", in *Studii de Biblioteconomie și Știința Informării / Library and Information Science Research* 13 (2009), pp. 140-157; Demény Lajos, Lidia A. Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea. Studii, articole, comunicări,* București, 1986, pp. 15-55 (hereinafter: Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate*).

[4] The first printings in this language, attributed to the priestmonk Macarie, were: *Sluzhebnik* (*Hieratikon,* 1508), *Oktoikh* (*Octoechos*) or *Osmoglasnik* (1510) and *Evangelie* (*Evangelion*) or *Chetveroevangelie* (*Tetraevangelion,* 1512), see *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508-1830,* vol. I, edited by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș, București, 1903, pp. 1, 9 (hereinafter: *BRV,* I).

[5] See Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române,* vol. I, Iași, ³2004, pp. 470-471 (hereinafter: Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I).

[6] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 471.

of Transylvania[7]. The biographical data about deacon Coresi are extremely few and it has been admitted, following many debates, studies and analyses, that he was from Târgovişte[8], he is supposed to have followed a school in Slavonic at Dealu Monastery[9], and to have been the owner of a printing press, standing out, nevertheless, as a skilled printer artisan and being known, however, that he had a son, called Șerban, whom he taught the art of the printing press[10].

II. DEACON CORESI'S PRINTING ACTIVITY

The name of deacon[11] Coresi appears mentioned, for the first time, precisely as a typographer, in the *Epilogue* of an *Oktoikh,* which he finished printing in Slavonic, in Brașov, in 1557, along with another printer, Oprea the Logothete, about whom it is affirmed that he had assumed the patronage of the printing press from Târgovişte[12]. During the same year, deacon Coresi, helped by ten disciples, started printing a *Triodion-Pentecostarion* in Slavonic (*Postnaya Triod-Tsvetnaya Triod*), at the request of Prince Pătrașcu the Good of Wallachia (1554-1557) and at the exhortation of the Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia (the canonical name of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Wallachia or Romanian Country) Anania (1544-1558)[13]. The activity related to the printing of the *Triodion-Pentecostarion,* representing the first edition of this liturgical book made in Wallachia, was finished in 1558 and took place in Târgovişte[14], where, after the impression of the respective book, the printing activity will be interrupted for about 90 years[15].

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[7] Ion Gheţie, Al. Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi şi izbânda scrisului în limba română,* Bucureşti, 1994, pp. 35-36 (hereinafter: Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*); Adela Otilia Urs, *Diaconul Coresi. Monografie şi antologie de texte. Teză de doctorat,* Cluj-Napoca, 2009, pp. 36, 38, 58, 289 (hereinafter: Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*). Concerning Coresi's ministry as a deacon, see note 11 below.

[8] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 472, 477; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 39. The older opinions about Coresi's Greek origin or about his paternal kinship with the Bulgarian priests of Şcheii Braşovului, the latter opinion being quite isolated, have been rejected in several studies, starting with N. Iorga, and finally his Romanian origin came to be supported (Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar şi societate,* p. 328; Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 16, 18, 32-35; about the analysis of Coresi's origin see also Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 25-43).

[9] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 39.

[10] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 36; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 40, 289-290; Traian Vedinaş, *Coresi,* Bucureşti, 1985, p. 19 (hereinafter: Vedinaş, *Coresi*).

[11] According to some researchers and biographers, the term *deacon* indicated during that epoch not just the first level in the hierarchy of Priesthood, but also a lay position, because a series of terms, like *grămătic, diac, diacon, piseţ, logofăt,* designated *"the minor writer of Slavonic language in a chancery"* (Vedinaş, *Coresi,* pp. 13-14). However, in the case of Coresi it has been affirmed that he was part of the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church as a deacon (Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 36; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 38), being the only 16th century printer to bear this title [Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 263; see also Al. Mareş, "În legătură cu activitatea tipografică a diacului Lorinţ", in *Limba română* 19/2 (1970), p. 130 (hereinafter: Mareş, *Diacul Lorinţ*)], and also that he remained until the end of his earthly life on this level because he was never forgiven, according to the opinion of some researchers, the *act of putting the Lord's word into Romanian* [B. Theodorescu, "Personalitatea diaconului Coresi şi rolul lui în cultura românească", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77/3-4 (1959), p. 298].

[12] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 471, 477; Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar şi societate,* p. 328. For the fact that he appears on the second position in the *Epilogue* of the respective *Oktoikh,* some researchers consider that deacon Coresi learnt the art of the printing press from Oprea himself, also known under the appellative of Oprea the Logothete (Vedinaş, *Coresi,* p. 15). The *Oktoikh* was printed using letters that had belonged to the printing press of Dimitrie Liubavici (Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 37).

[13] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 155.

[14] Begun on 8 July 1557, the respective work was finished on 30 July 1558, during the third reign (1558-1559) of Mircea the Shepherd, for which reason he is also put down as editor, along with Pătrașcu the Good, in the

Deacon Coresi will continue his printing activity in Brașov, in Transylvania, where he will settle himself for good, according to the unanimous opinion of the researchers, in 1559[16], in the context of the ceasing of the printing activity using Cyrillic letters of Sibiu and of the resuming of the activity of the printing press from Brașov, which was the main consumer of the paper production manufactured by the local mill, but also in the context of the intensification of the protestant propaganda among the Romanians[17]. It should be mentioned that in Transylvania the printing activity had begun even since the first part of the 16th century, at first in Sibiu[18], from where it was spread to other centers as well[19], bearing, however, the mark of the protestant propaganda, first Lutheran and then Calvinist.

According to the testimonies gathered by the researchers from the *Epilogues* of the books printed by deacon Coresi, submitted to certain analyses for the cases when the indication of the printing place is missing, it results that he undertook his activity in the printing centers of Brașov (during two periods: 1556-1557; 1560-1583, with certain interruptions), Târgoviște (1557-1558), Alba Iulia (1567-1568) and Sas-Sebeș (1580), along five great periods (1556-1558, 1559-1565, 1566-1570, 1571-1577, 1578-1583)[20], his printing activity being based on orders arrived from Transylvania and Wallachia[21]. In order to highlight some features of the printing activity undertaken by deacon Coresi in Transylvania, it has been affirmed that, after he settled himself in Brașov, he created a new type of letter, which means that he did not bring along with him the printing press from Târgoviște, but probably he exchanged printing material, during certain periods, with other printing masters of

Epilogue of this book (Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 472, 477-478; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 154-155; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 225).

[15] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 472, 478. It should be mentioned that the printing activity will not cease for good in Wallchia, in the 16th century, because a printing press is mentioned near Bucharest, at the monstery of the *Holy Prophet John the Baptist,* known, since the 17th century, under the name of Plumbuita. In this printing center will operate the hieromonk Lavrentie and his disciple Iovan (Ioan or John), considered of Romanian origin and who will print books in Slavonic, see Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 472; see also Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* pp. 106-127; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 73-77. After a standstill of several decennia (1582-1635), the printing activity is resumed in Wallachia, during the reign of Prince Matei (Matthew) Basarab, in several printing centers, among them being Dealu Monastery (1642-1649), nearby Târgoviște, and even Târgoviște (1649-1652), see Ion I. Croitoru, *op. cit.,* I, p. 251.

[16] Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* pp. 89, 328; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 478; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 38; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 40; Vedinaș, *Coresi,* p. 15.The place where the books were printed indicates the fact that after he settled himself in Brașov, where he is considered to have had his permanent domicile, Coresi no longer returned to Târgoviște, carrying out his activity in Brașov and in other localities nearby, according to the orders received (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 40).

[17] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 38; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 98-103; see also Al. Mareș, "Note despre Coresi", in *Limba română* 19/3 (1970), pp. 254-257.

[18] In 1528 or even before that, a printing press had been created in Sibiu for the Saxons' needs, later on endowed as well with a section of Cyrillic, where Filip the Moldavian will work [Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 474; Mircea Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918,* București, 1968, pp. 36-37, 45 (hereinafter: Tomescu, *Istoria cărții*); I. Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544 urmat de celelalte catechisme româno-luterane Bârseanu, Sturdzan și Marțian,* Sibiu/Cluj, 1945-1946, pp. 23-24 (hereinafter: Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544*)].

[19] Actually, the printing of books in these printing centers of Transylvania, in Romanian and Slavonic, some of them used as well by the protestant propaganda, will be related to the activity of deacon Coresi and his son, Șerban, and to the activity of the disciples they train, in Brașov, Alba Iulia, Sas-Sebeș and Orăștie, during the second half of the 16th century, see Tomescu, *Istoria cărții,* pp. 46-54; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 474-486.

[20] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 37.

[21] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 36; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 102.

his time[22], and that his activity, at least during the periods 1559-1565, 1566-1570, was not due to some local Orthodox or Wallachian initiative, but to the reformed patronage of Brașov, a case similar to the activity of the first printing press of Romanian book from Sibiu. Yet, after the year 1571, when, in the place of John II Sigismund Zápolya (1540-1551, 1556-1571), the Roman-Catholic Stephen III Báthory (1571-1583)[23] becomes head of Transylvania, the protestant propaganda recoils, this being a period during which deacon Coresi prints Slavonic but also Romanian books, with no major protestant influences in their content[24]. Consequently, Coresi's activity also represented a means for the realization of the objectives of the religious and denominational policy pursued by the authorities of Transylvania, so that the respective activity *is the result of a complex situation to which will contribute factors of religious, cultural, political and, last but not least, economic nature*[25].

In relation to the activity of deacon Coresi, who is supposed to have honoured the grace of the priestly ministry at the church of Șcheii Brașovului[26], it has also been stated that he was not just a printer but also a corrector of the texts that were entrusted to him for printing, yet to a lesser extent or not at all their translator into Romanian[27]. On the one hand, this observation does not diminish Coresi's *merits too much*[28], because the fact of *printing Romanian books,* in those times, was *a merit at least just as great as that of having translated them*[29]. On the other hand, this thing means that the phenomenon of the translation of the Orthodox Church books into Romanian is not exclusively the result of the reform spirit initiated by the protestants, but is much older, comprising areas such as Maramureș, Moldavia and Muntenia, the last represented especially by Coresi, to which Banat-Hunedoara and the Transylvania situated north of Mureș will be added[30], since *a part of the versions printed were put together especially to be printed by Coresi, whereas others had circulated in copies for quite a while previously*[31], because *even before the installation of the*

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[22] See Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 108-117.

[23] It ought to be mentioned that the Báthory family, becoming leaders of Transylvania for about three decennia, towards the end of the 16th century, favoured the restrenghtening of the Roman-Catholicism, under the action of the Counter-Reformation and with the help of the Jesuits [Ion I. Croitoru, "Biserica Ortodoxă din Țările Române ca front de rezistență în fața prozelitismului protestant din secolul al XVII-lea. 4.1. Propaganda protestantă în Țările Române" (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă*), in idem, *Ortodoxia și Apusul în tradiția spirituală a românilor. Unitatea Ortodoxiei și apărarea credinței ortodoxe în fața propagandei protestante din secolul al XVII-lea,* vol. II, Târgoviște, 2012 (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* II), p. 473].

[24] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 99-101; Al. Mareș, "Note despre...", pp. 255-257; Ion Gheție, "Coresi și Reforma în lumina unor interpretări noi", in *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 18/2 (1967), p. 238.

[25] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 102.

[26] Antonie Plămădeală, *Dascăli de cuget și simțire românească,* București, 1981, p. 76, note 44 (hereinafter: Plămădeală, *Dascăli*).

[27] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 36, 47, 211-220, 265, 379; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 127, 291.

[28] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 378.

[29] Sextil Pușcariu, *Istoria literaturii române. Epoca veche,* edition arranged by Magdalena Vulpe, postface by Dan C. Mihăilescu, București, 1987, p. 63. In this sense, the researchers have noticed that when deacon Coresi speaks about the actions of *translating* and *printing,* he makes a clear distinction between them, because by the term *writing* (*a scrie*) he understood *printing,* while the term *releasing* (*a scoate*) meant for him *translating*, not *printing* (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 125).

[30] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 265, 376-378; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 127-130.

[31] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 130.

Slavonic language with us, the Scripture was known, read, translated, explained in Romanian out loud and in writing[32].

To support his printing activity, deacon Coresi got help from a variable number of master printers (for some printings five, for others eight or ten aides), out of whom some were trained by him (the clerks Călin[33], Tudor, Mihăilă, Marien, Lorinț[34], to which one can add his son Șerban[35])[36]. Next to the above-mentioned aspects, one can also add the fact that deacon Coresi was the editor of some books in Slavonic[37], out of economic but also denominational reasons (the ones in Slavonic were circulating in a larger area and this could assure a better selling of the books; the printings in Romanian were received with reticence)[38].

According to the latest research works, the synoptic image of the books printed by deacon Coresi looks as follows: 10 books into Romanian, out of which the *Psalter* in two editions [namely *Întrebare creștinească* (*Christian Question*) or *Catehism* (*Catechism,* Brașov, 1560); *Tetraevanghel* (*Tetraevangelion,* Brașov, 1561); *Pravila Sfinților Apostoli* or *a Sfinților Părinți* (*Pravila* or the *Nomocanon of the Holy Apostles* or *of the Holy Fathers,* Brașov, 1560-1562); *Lucrul apostolesc* (*The Apostolic Work*) or *Apostol* (*Apostolos*), also called *Praxiu* (*Praxis,* Brașov, 1566); *Tâlcul Evangheliilor* (*The Interpretation of the Gospels*) or *Cazania I* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary I,* Alba Iulia, 1567-1568); *Molitvenic* (*Euchologion* or *Trebnik*), called *Molitevnic rumânesc* (*Romanian Euchologion,* Alba Iulia, 1567-1568)[39]; *Psaltere* (*Psalter,* Brașov, 1568)[40]; *Psaltere* (*Psalter,* Brașov, 1570); *Liturghier* (*Hieratikon* or *Sluzhebnik,* Brașov, 1570); *Evanghelia învățătoare* (*The Teaching* or *Didactic Gospel*), *Evanghelia cu învățătură* (*The Gospel with teaching*) or *Cazania II* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary II,* Brașov, 1581)]; 14 books into Slavonic, out of which the *Psalter*

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[32] Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 67. As far as the use of the Slavonic language by the Romanian people is concerned, only Slavic-Romanian dictionaries are known and not even one of Romanian-Slavic, to teach the Slavonic to the Romanians, which denotes that *this need was not felt* (Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* pp. 68-69).

[33] About the printing activity of clerk Călin see Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 83-85.

[34] One can note that during the same period as deacon Coresi, clerk Lorinț undertook his printing activity as well. Of Saxon origin, clerk Lorinț lived in Brașov, yet he was also active in Alba Iulia, printing books in Slavonic, out of financial reasons. Known under the Latinized name Laurentius Fronius, but also under the name Laurentius Schreiber, Lorinț is said to have learnt the art of the printing press in deacon Coresi's workshop, with whom he had moments of professional collaboration, but also of competition, an action in court (1570) being also recorded between them. Clerk Lorinț is the first printer to have obtained a privilege for the printing of a book for a 30-year period, granted by Christopher Báthory in the case of the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie,* printed in Alba Iuia, in 1579 (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 77-83; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 484; see also Mareș, *Diacul Lorinț,* pp. 129-137).

[35] About the printing activity of Șerban Coresi, which concludes the series of the 16th century Romanian printings, see Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 85-87.

[36] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 48; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 39-40, 290.

[37] For instance, for the books: *Slavonic Sluzhebnik* (Brașov, 1568), *Slavonic Psaltir* (Brașov, 1568-1570; 1576), *Slavonic Sbornik* (vol. I-II, Brașov, 1569) and *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1579), for the last one being co-editor along with Mănăilă (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 42, 167-168, 180, 185, 191, 202).

[38] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 124.

[39] The two books, *The Interpretation of the Gospels* and the *Euchologion,* were printed in one volume, according to some, in Brașov, Sibiu or Sas-Sebeș, according to others, in Teiuș, Alba Iulia, Aiud, Cluj or Abrud (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 104, 118), but it seems that in the specialized literature the locality standing out among all these as the most likely printing location is Alba Iulia (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 174-175).

[40] About this edition, some researchers claim it was bilingual, in the languages Slavonic and Romanian (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 124). Therefore, this issue remains open to some future studies, see Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 188-189.

in four editions, the *Great Oktoikh* in two volumes, but in different years, the *Postnaya Triod* in two editions[41], the *Chetveroevangelie* in three editions and the *Sbornik* in two editions[42] [*Small Oktoikh* (Brașov, 1557); *Postnaya Triod-Tsvetnaya Triod* (*Triodion-Pentecostarion,* Târgoviște, 1558); *Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1562); *Sluzhebnik* (Brașov, 1568); *Slavonic Sbornik,* also called *Prazdnicnaya Mineya* or *Festal Menaeon* (vol. I-II, Brașov, 1569); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1568-1570); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1572-1573); *Oktoikh* or *Great Oktoikh* (vol. I, Brașov, 1574); *Oktoikh* or *Great Oktoikh* (vol. II, Brașov, 1575); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1576); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1577); *Postnaya Triod,* also called *Lenten Triodion* (Brașov, 1578); *Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1579); *Sbornik* (Sas-Sebeș, 1580); *Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1583)]; and a bilingual book, namely Slavic-Romanian [*Psalter / Psaltere* (Brașov, 1577)][43].

The exact date of Coresi's birth is not known, different options being recorded (1507, 1510, 1532 etc.), yet the date of his passage in the life beyond grave is not known either, being admitted that this event occurred after the year 1583, when the last book printed by Coresi, together with Mănăilă (*Slavonic Chetveroevangelie,* Brașov) is recorded, more precisely, after the month of July of the year 1583, when on the throne of Wallachia comes Prince Peter Earring (1583-1585), the one who funded the publication of the respective book[44].

III. THE REFORMATION IN TRANSYLVANIA AND THE STATUS OF CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS

The ideas of the Reformation, under the form of Lutheranism, penetrated first of all among the Saxons of Transylvania, either due to the commercial exchanges they had with great centers of Central and Western Europe, or due to the intellectual and cultural relations they had with cities and university centres of Germany. Consequently, the cities they resided in, like Brașov, Sibiu and Sighișoara, get to become the main centers from which Lutheranism will spread out, gaining followers among the Hungarians as well, acquiring the status of *received religion* (*religio recepta*) or *denomination* in Transylvania (The Diets of Turda of the years 1550 and 1557)[45]. The main propagator of the Lutheran doctrine was Johannes Honterus (1498-1549), who edited Martin Luther's works (1438-1546) in the printing press created by him in Brașov (1533), and a few works of his own, considered normative for the organization of the Saxons' Lutheran Church[46]. Although Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) had received with satisfaction, in 1539, the news that the Reformation was beginning to gain ground among the Romanians, as well, he had discussions, in 1544, with Honterus precisely about the difficulties encountered by the dissemination of the Reformation among the latter[47]. Actually, during the same year, it will be decided in Sibiu that *all those who have not received God's word under its new form*

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[41] The first edition together with the *Tsvetnaya Triod*, and the second separately.

[42] The first edition is in two parts.

[43] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 55-210; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 140-274, see also Otilia Urs, "Istoriografia coresiană. Partea I. Bibliografia tipăriturilor coresiene", in *Transilvania* 4 (2012), pp. 57-61.

[44] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 35, 41; see also Al. Mareș, "Când a murit Coresi?", in *Limba română* 21/2 (1972), pp. 155-158; for a bibliography regarding the life and the activity of deacon Coresi, see Otilia Urs, "Istoriografia coresiană. Partea a II-a. Bibliografia vieții și a activității diaconului Coresi", in *Transilvania* 8 (2012), pp. 50-55.

[45] See Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* pp. 470-471.

[46] See Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 470, note 19.

[47] Șerban Papacostea, "Moldova în Epoca Reformei. Contribuție la istoria societății moldovenești în veacul al XVI-lea", in *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 11/4 (1958), p. 60; George Ivașcu, *Istoria literaturii române,* I, București, 1969, p. 101 (hereinafter: Ivașcu, *Istoria*); Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 470, note 17.

should be exhorted in a brotherly manner to adopt it, and the youth should be stimulated *to read the catechism*[48].

At the same time, the Calvinism also penetrated in Transylvania, spread especially among the Hungarians and the Szeklers, having the city of Cluj as its center, and as a famous representative the Saxon Gáspár Heltai (c. 1510-1575). After disputes with the Lutherans (1550-1564), the Calvinism acquires as well the status of *received religion* in Transylvania (according to some, in the Diet of Aiud of the year 1564[49], and according to others in the Diet of Turda of the year 1568), so that the ethnic-religious and denominational array of Transylvania gets to become the following (the Diet of Turda of the year 1568): the Saxons declare themselves Lutherans; the Hungarians and a part of the Szeklers admit they are Calvins; a part of the Hungarians declare themselves Unitarians; the Romanians, representing the majority of the population, remain Orthodox[50]. As a result, four *received religions* or *Christian denominations* are acknowledged in Transylvania (the Diet of Turda of the year 1568), *Lutheran* or *Augustan, Reformed* or *Calvinist, Unitarian* or *Antitrinitarian* and *Roman-Catholic,* the last being put on the offensive by the three protestant denominations acknowledged officially, yet it will consolidate its status towards the end of the 16th century[51].

The Orthodox Church of the Romanians of Transylvania was not acknowledged among the *received religions* or *denominations but* was awarded the status of *tolerated religion* (*religio tolerata,* the Diet of Turda of the year 1566), so that the Romanians did not appear among the nations of the Principality. On the contrary, they will see themselves limited in their ecclesial life by a new propaganda, first Lutheran, then Calvinist, which will replace the former Roman-Catholic action of proselytism[52]. In spite of the pressures and, evidently, of the expectations from the representatives of the protestant propaganda, one can note that the Romanians maintain their firm loyalty to their ancestral faith, namely the Orthodox one, and this attitude of theirs was consequently due to the fact that they had not experienced, regarding their ecclesial and spiritual life, any crisis similar to the one lived by the Roman-Catholic Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers who embraced the Reformation and, in this way, facilitated its penetration in the Principality of Transylvania[53].

IV. THE PROTESTANT (LUTHERAN, CALVINIST) PROPAGANDA USING THE PRINTING PRESS IN ROMANIAN. THE EDITORIAL PLAN OF DEACON CORESI

One can note that, towards the middle of the 16th century, there appears, in the protestant academic environment (Wittenberg, Tübingen, Geneva etc.), the initiative to attract the Orthodox as a whole, towards embracing the Reformation, which determined the attitude of

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[48] Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* p. 16.
[49] This Diet officially consecrates the division of the Protestant Church of Transylvania into two denominations: the Calvinist one, embraced by the Hungarians, of whom a part will pass to the Unitarianism (1568), and the Lutheran denomination, supported by the Saxons [Al. Mareș, "Introducere", in *Liturghierul lui Coresi,* text established, introductory study and index by Al. Mareș, București, 1969, p. 7 (hereinafter: Mareș, *Introducere*)].
[50] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 471; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 193.
[51] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 473.
[52] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* pp. 473-474.
[53] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 471.

propaganda of the Lutherans and of the Calvinists in the Orthodox world of Greek, Slavic and Romanian language[54].

Therefore, the Lutherans of Transylvania or Ardeal began their propaganda at the exhortation and with the support of the center of Wittenberg[55], using the printing press in Romanian[56]. Thus, they print in Sibiu[57], in 1544, a *Catechism*[58], realized with the participation of the master printer Filip the Moldavian, *alias* Philippus Pictor or Maler / Mahler[59]. This *Catechism,* representing *the first book of the Romanian area printed in*

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[54] Maria Crăciun, *Protestantism şi Ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea,* Cluj-Napoca, 1996, pp. 31-34 (hereinafter: Crăciun, *Protestantism şi Ortodoxie*); Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 471, note 31; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 70.

[55] Virgil Molin, «În legătură cu circulaţia unui „catehism vechi" din veacul XVI», in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77/3-4 (1960), p. 367 (hereinafter: Molin, *Circulaţia unui „catehism vechi"*). Melanchthon was a *preacher directly responsible for organizational issues in Transylvania* (Molin, *Circulaţia unui „catehism vechi",* p. 368).

[56] The use of the printing press in the framework of the Lutheran propaganda is also accompanied by administrative measures, like those of the year 1559, taken by the City Council of Braşov to impose the *Lutheran Catechism* to the Romanians of Şcheii Braşovului, while a preacher will vow, in the year 1565, to convert the Romanians to Lutheranism (Crăciun, *Protestantism şi Ortodoxie,* p. 39).

[57] It has been affirmed that the Lutheran propaganda had become more insistent in Sibiu, by the election in 1543 of Petrus Haller as judge (judex civitatis) of the city (Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii,* p. 45). Actually, the Saxon University of Sibiu decided, in the same year, that all the inhabitants of Transylvania should receive the new faith, namely the Lutheranism, regardless of their social situation and national belonging, a decision decreed as well in the year 1544, when a *Greek Catechism* appears in Braşov as well, with the same intentions of propaganda (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 62-63, 90-91). Regarding the printing date of this *Greek Catechism,* the year 1546 has been proposed as well, the same book being reprinted in 1550, in the same locality [Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 16-17, note 62; Ioan Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni,* Cluj-Napoca, ²1995, p. 52 (hereinafter: Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească*); Molin, *Circulaţia unui „catehism vechi",* p. 368]. Regarding the activity of the Cyrillic printing press undertaken in Wallachia, it has been considered that the printing press of Sibiu appears after that of Macarie from Dealu Monastery (1508-1512) and simultaneously to that of Dimitrie Liubavici of Târgovişte (1544-1559), see Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar şi societate,* p. 59; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 67.

[58] In relation to this *Catechism,* which has not been preserved, it is supposed to have been a compilation after several sources, some of them Orthodox, adapted to the Lutheran requirements (Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 11-12). For a reconstitution of this text, see Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 31-38.

[59] The series of printings realized by this master printer of Moldavia continues in Sibiu, with two more books for the needs of the Orthodox cult: *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* (1546), for which the model used was the edition of Macarie from Wallchia (1512), yet destined now, however, not just for the Orthodox Church of Transylvania, but also for the worship needs of the Orthodox Church of Moldavia, because this book, representing, with the Romanians, the first printing embellished with engravings, also bore the coat of arms of the respective country; *Slavic-Romanian Chetveroevangelie* or *Evangelie* (*Tetraevanghel* or *Evangheliar slavo-român,* 1551-1553), being *the first printing in Romanian* preserved in part and whose publication was due, according to some, to the Lutheran propaganda, since the Romanian text aimed to compromise the Orthodox hierarchy and clergy in front of the Romanian believers, calling the high priest or the archiereus who sentenced Jesus Christ to death, *metropolitan,* Caiaphas and the high priests of the old *Law*, *bishops,* and, in another place, the Pharisee, *confessor* or *spiritual father* (Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii,* pp. 36-37; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 475-477; Ivaşcu, *Istoria,* p. 98; Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar şi societate,* pp. 59, 61, 69-82, 325-326; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 63-66). Others consider that the text was translated from Slavonic and brought from Moldavia simply with an inadequate translation of the term ἀρχιερεύς, printed probably at the request of the Moldavian reigning Prince Ştefan Rareş (Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 477). Considering the Romanian translations of the *Holy Scripture* of the 15th-16th century, we believe that the mistaken translation is attributable to the Lutheran propaganda (Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 474, note 49; see also Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 65-66). Actually, even the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* of 1546 did not escape the Lutheran influence either, because from the content of the *Preface* to the *Gospel according to Matthew* was

Romanian[60], triggered protests from the Romanian Orthodox priests, given its contents, or admiration only for the fact that it had been printed in Romanian[61]. Leaving aside the content of reformed orientation[62], the Romanian cultural environments became aware, by the respective *Catechism*, of the possibility of using the Romanian language in the cult of the Orthodox Church, but also as a language of culture. From this perspective, the *Catechism* was of some interest, which explains, for instance, the fact that the Wallachian reigning Prince Pătraşcu the Good is brought from Sibiu, in 1556, as a consequence of his request, a copy of this book, by means of the magistrate of Braşov[63]. The second printing press that the Lutherans benefited of was the one in Braşov. The activity of this printing press, founded in 1533[64] by Johannes Honterus[65], was also facilitated by the existence of the first paper mill of Transylvania (1546) in the same locality, whose owners were the judges of the city, Hans Benkner († 1565) and Hans Fuchs[66]. At this printing press, it was under the patronage of the Lutherans that the printing of books in Romanian and Slavonic took place, combining, on the one hand, the Protestant propaganda with the economic interests of the printing press and paper mill owners, who realize that a propaganda waged among the Romanians *is useless and with no result,* and, for this reason, view the printing of books rather as a trade meant to bring profit[67]. On the other hand, they had in view the requirements and cult needs in

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eliminated the fragment regarding the need to maintain the Orthodox faith intact, and regarding the fight against heresies, present in all the Orthodox *Tetraevangelia,* among them being also the one printed by Macarie at Dealu Monastery near Târgovişte, in 1512 (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 64-65). About other possible printings made by Filip the Moldavian see Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 61; Ion Gheţie, "Un Apostol românesc tipărit la Sibiu de Filip Moldoveanul?", in *Studii şi cercetări de lingvistică* 22/5 (1971), pp. 515-518.

[60] Tomescu, *Istoria cărţii,* p. 45; Ivaşcu, *Istoria,* p. 98.

[61] A testimony in this sense is the affirmation of the Saxon pastor Adalbert Wurmloch, who was writing to Johann Hess of Breslau, in 1564, that *the Catechism has been translated into Romanian (in linquam wallachicum) and has been printed in Sibiu... with characters called Serbian, which somehow remind of the shape of the Greek letters. And many of the priests treasure this booklet as something holy, others simply disdain it* [Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor,* vol. XI (1517-1612), Documents collected, annotated and published by Neculaĭ Iorga, Bucuresci, 1900, p. 859 (hereinafter: *Hurmuzaki,* XI); *BRV,* I, p. 22; see also Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 2, 15, 16; C. C. Giurescu, *Transylvania in the History of Romania, An Historical Outline,* London, 1972, p. 104; Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească,* p. 52, note 11; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 61-62, 278].

[62] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 62, 66-67. Most of the researchers consider that this *Catechism* comprised Lutheran teachings, being based on Luther's *Small Catechism.* Other historians, however, consider it alien to all Lutheran influence, while in their opinion its rejection was due only to the deep-rooted tradition of using the Slavonic language in the cult and to the reluctance to accepting the change of the liturgical language, because it was coming as a measure imposed by the *heretics* [Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 475, 487 (bibliography)].

[63] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 62, 146; see also Arnold Huttmann, Pavel Binder, "Contribuţii la biografia lui Filip Moldoveanul, primul tipograf român", in *Limbă şi literatură* 16 (1968), p. 165.

[64] Concerning the foundation data of the respective printing press, among the years proposed, there are also 1535 or 1539. The number of books printed between the years 1535-1537 is 53, out of which 33 in Latin (C. Durandin, *Histoire des roumains,* Paris, 1995, p. 77; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 91).

[65] About Honterus, a reformer of Braşov and of Ţara Bârsei, appointed senior pastor of the Lutheran Church of Braşov, in 1544, see Gernot Nussbächer, *Johannes Honterus,* Bucureşti, 1977; Ludwig Binder, "Contribuţia lui Johannes Honterus la Reforma din Transilvania", in *Mitropolia Ardealului* 24/4-6 (1979), pp. 353-363.

[66] "Personalitatea Diaconului Coresi şi rolul lui în cultura românească", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77/3-4 (1959), p. 294; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 93; about Johannes or Hans Benkner, see Gernot Nussbächer, *Johannes Benkner, Sein Leben und Wirken in Wort und Bild,* Bucureşti, 1983.

[67] Ştefan Meteş, *Istoria Bisericii şi a vieţii religioase a românilor din Transilvania şi Ungaria,* I (până la 1698), Sibiu, ²1935, pp. 79-80 (hereinafter: Meteş, *Istoria Bisericii*); Etienne Meteş, *La vie menée par les Roumains en Transylvanie du XVIᵉ au XVIIIᵉ siècle,* Bucarest, 1938, pp. 16-17; Virgil Molin, "Coresi editor şi tipograf", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77/3-4 (1959), pp. 310, 312, 315.

Slavonic of the Orthodox Church of the three Romanian Countries[68]. This explains the appearance of the Wallachian coat of arms in the books printed in Brașov, and the mention in them of certain Romanian reigning princes and metropolitans[69]. All these were done out of several reasons, meant to assure to the books, by the mention of the *Reign* and of the right-glorifying *Church* of the Romanian extra-Carpathian Countries, the authority necessary to their circulation not just in the areas inhabited by the Orthodox Romanians but also in those parts of the Orthodox world that were of Slavonic language[70].

In this context of denominational policy and propaganda, the printing of the books meant for the Orthodox Church is also related to the activity of deacon Coresi. He will collaborate with the judges of Brașov, the Lutherans Johannes or Hans Benkner and Lukas Hirscher, and then with the Hungarian nobleman Miklós Forró Háportoni or of Háporton (Hopârta), one of the propagators of Calvinism in Transylvania, and will have the assistance and the aid of the Romanian Orthodox priests (Toma, Iane and Mihai) of *Saint Nicholas* Church of Șcheii Brașovului[71]. Around this church, helped with numerous donations by the reigning princes of Wallachia, a cultural resistance core of the Romanians had taken shape, where priest Mihai will edify, in 1597, a Romanian school[72]. According to some more recent research works, was accredited the idea according to which deacon Coresi used, in order to print these books, not Honterus' Lutheran printing press, which was then taken over by Valentin Wagner, but a printing workshop of his own, settled next to *Saint Nicholas* Church of Șcheii Brașovului[73], whose priests would have brought Coresi from Târgoviște to Brașov[74]. However, some researchers, on the one hand, deny Coresi's independent activity as a typographer, this issue remaining, therefore, open to future studies, and, on the other hand, affirm that the place of the printing press where Coresi worked was not in Șcheii Brașovului, which was one of the three suburbs of the city Brașov (Șcheii, Bartolomeu and Blumăna), but in Brașov, without denying his collaboration with the priest of *Saint Nicholas* Church[75].

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[68] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 475.

[69] For instance, in the *Epilogue* included in the *Slavonic Oktoikh,* a book necessary in the Orthodox cult and the first of this kind printed in Brașov by Oprea the Logothete and deacon Coresi, between 12 June 1556 and 14 January 1557, *at the order* of Hans Benkner, were reminded the Ruler of Wallachia and that of Moldavia, Pătrașcu the Good and Alexander Lăpușneanu, along with the Prince of Transylvania, John II Sigismund Zápolya, and his mother, Isabella. The conclusion is that the editor had not proceeded at the printing of this book, whose content was rejected by the Lutheran doctrine, *out of love for the divine and holy churches,* as it was written in the *Afterword,* but rather out of material interests (Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 477; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 145-146).

[70] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 475.

[71] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 94; Candid C. Mușlea, *Biserica Sfântul Nicolae din Șcheii Brașovului,* I, Brașov, 1937, p. 251.

[72] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 483, 486. The school of Șcheii Brașovului is confirmed in documents for the first time in the year 1399, and then in 1495 or, according to some researchers, in 1512 or 1515, when the reigning Prince of Wallachia Neagoe Basarab contributes to the extension of this school and of the church (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 94; Candid C. Mușlea, *op. cit,* p. 85; Gernot Nussbächer, *Din cronici și hrisoave. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei,* București, 1987, p. 135). Coresi's printings were used as manuals at the respective school, as he himself mentions in the *Epilogue* of the edition of the year 1577 of the *Slavic-Romanian Psaltir* (*BRV,* I, p. 64; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 94).

[73] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 478; see also Octavian Nițu, "Relațiile dintre «Tipografia Diaconului Coresi» din Șcheii Brașovului și «Tipografia Honteriană» din Cetate", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 93/3-4 (1975), pp. 426-446.

[74] Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 81.

[75] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 43-46; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 107-108, 117-122; see also I. Gheție, "Activitatea de traducere și tipărire a cărții românești la Brașov la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea", in *Limba română* 24/6 (1975), pp. 609-615; idem, "Sediul brașovean al tipografiei lui Coresi", in *Limba română* 38/1

As a result of his collaboration with Hans Benkner, one can note that deacon Coresi and his disciples printed in Brașov several liturgical books in Savonic[76]. Thus, for the *Small Oktoikh* (Brașov, 1557) is highlighted Benkner's action, as editor[77], with the purpose of using the paper manufactured in Brașov, consequently, he was pursuing commercial interests, aiming at launching an activity of cult book printing in Slavonic, and in order to realize these objectives is has been affirmed that he was testing, on the occasion of the printing of the respective *Oktoikh,* the skillfulness as printers of the two master printers, Oprea the Logothete and deacon Coresi. In order to assure the circulation of this book among the Romanians from the three Romanian Countries, in the *Epilogue* were mentioned the Ruler of Wallachia, Pătrașcu the Good, and that of Moldavia, Alexander Lăpușneanu (1552-1561, 1564-1568), without their having, according to some researchers, any contribution to the printing of the respective book, not being excluded, however, the possibility that the initiative of the printing may have come from an Orthodox environment, either from Wallachia, or from the entourage of the priests from the Church of Șcheii Brașovului[78]. Out of the same reasons mentioned above is printed as well the *Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1562)[79], and to assure its circulation also beyond the mountains, the editor Benkner ordered the printing in the book of two frontispieces with the coat of arms of Wallachia (the raven with the cross in its beak). In this way, the book seems to have recorded a *certain commercial success,* since, three years later, the same editor will order a new edition of the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1565), printed, however, by clerk Călin[80].

In the context of the trade of liturgical books used in the Orthodox Church, it has been affirmed that deacon Coresi, as well, was editor of certain books in Slavonic. The *Slavonic Sbornik,* printed by Coresi, together with five disciples, in two volumes (Brașov, 1569), also known under the title *Prazdnicnaya Mineya, Festal Menaeon* or *Menologion,* has no editor and no printing place mentioned on it. The explanation given in recent studies consists in the prudence of the *supposed editor,* identified as deacon Coresi, in order not to be associated to the protestant proselytism, which is why the locality where the book was printed was not written down either, since the books' origin from Brașov, a city already known as a protestant propaganda center by the printing of books, was equivalent, according to the spirit of the time, for the Orthodox believers of Wallachia and Moldavia, to the conversion to the Reformation[81]. In order to facilitate the distribution of the edition in Wallachia, in the *Epilogue* of the second volume of *Sbornik*[82], it is mentioned that the printing took place during the reign of Prince Alexander II Mircea of Wallachia (1568-1574,

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(1989), pp. 47-49; idem, "Din nou despre sediul brașovean al tipografiei coresiene", in *Limba română* 39/1 (1990), pp. 69-71.

[76] See *Istoria literaturii române,* I, București, ²1964, p. 317 (hereinafter: *Istoria literaturii române,* I).

[77] *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508-1830,* vol. IV, ed. by Ioan Bianu and Dan Simonescu, București, 1944, pp. 4-6 (hereinafter: *BRV,* IV).

[78] Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 145-146; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 219-221.

[79] To these reasons one could add, according to some researchers, the reaction of Lady Chiajna, the widow of Prince Mircea Ciobanu, to the printing of the *Romanian Tetraevangelion* (*Tetraevanghel românesc*) in 1561 (see note 135 below), a reaction that would have been explicable in the context of the epoch, even though other researchers (see Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 164) consider it a simple supposition.

[80] Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 164; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 228-229.

[81] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 234.

[82] *The Epilogue* of the first volume of this *Sbornik* has not been preserved (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 232).

1574-1577) and of Metropolitan Euthymius I of Hungaro-Wallachia (1563-1576), with no indication of where the printing order had come from[83].

Following the same editorial policy regarding the non-indication of the person of the editor, but also of the printing place, deacon Coresi is said to have also printed in Slavonic a *Sluzhebnik* or *Hieratikon* (Brașov, 1568)[84] and a *Psalter* (Brașov, 1568-1570)[85]. In exchange, about another *Psalter* in Slavonic, whose copy preserved is incomplete, it has been accepted that it was printed in Brașov, in 1572-1573, at the order of Ruler Alexander II Mircea, since his name and the coat of arms of Wallachia appear in the content of the book[86]. At the order of the same reigning prince, the *Psalter* in Slavonic also goes through two more editions in Brașov, printed by deacon Coresi in 1568-1570 and 1577[87], not being excluded the possibility that also the edition of the *Slavonic Psalter* of the year 1576, printed as well in Brașov, may have been printed at the order of the same ruler[88].

Actually, deacon Coresi also executed another order of the reigning Prince Alexander II Mircea, namely the *Great Oktoikh,* printed in two volumes, in the years 1574 (volume I) and 1575 (volume II). The particularity of the printing of the two volumes is that in their *Epilogues* appears mentioned the editor, in the person of Ruler Alexander II Mircea[89], for whom only deacon Coresi received printing orders[90], but there is no indication of the printing place, a fact attributed by the researchers, just as in the case of other printings that deacon Coresi printed in Slavonic, to the fame of the printing center from Brașov, associated to the actions of protestant propaganda of the epoch, avoiding in this way the doubt regarding the canonicity of the texts included in the two volumes, meant for the worship needs of the

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[83] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 201-202; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 232, 234. Is not excluded either that the proposition of printing for the *Slavonic Sbornik* may have come from an Orthodox environment, following the connections between deacon Coresi and the Orthodox hierarchy of Wallachia (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 234).

[84] The version of Serbian editing used for the printing of this *Sluzhebnik* may represent an indication that the editor aimed to disseminate this edition in a larger area, comprising not just the Romanian Countries, but also Bulgaria and Serbia (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 180; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 238).

[85] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 180, 185, 202; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 234, 238, 242. It seems that this *Psaltire* [Psalter] was destined for the South-Danubian regions as well (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 185).

[86] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 185-189; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 243, 245.

[87] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 253. It is considered that the *Psalter* (*Psaltir* in Slavonic, *Psaltire* in Romanian) represented the most disseminated cult book of the 16th century, and about the editions of this book printed in Transylvania, during the second half of the same century, see also Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* pp. 226-248.

[88] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 253. Other researchers attribute the quality of editor to Coresi himself for the edition of the *Slavonic Psaltir* of the year 1576 (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 191).

[89] *BRV,* I, pp. 60-61; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 248, 251. In the case of the *Great Oktoikh,* it has been affirmed in the *Epilogues* of the two volumes that the decision of the printing belongs to the reigning Prince Alexander II Mircea, who consulted, prior to it, the Metropolitan of the country, Euthymius I (*BRV,* I, pp. 60-61), considered, consequently, *the true initiator of the printing of this book* (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 149). In relation to the printing of the two volumes, is attested in Brașov, on 6 June 1573, the presence of a priest sent by Ruler Alexander II Mircea *for printing,* and the arrival, on 12 December 1573, in the same locality, of the *deacon of the bishop,* namely of Metropolitan Euthymius I, for issues related to a printing press of Coresi, which confirms, on the one hand, that the printing of the two volumes represents an action of the Orthodox Church of Wallachia, and, on the other hand, the concern of the reigning prince and of the metropolitan for possessing their own printing press in Wallachia (*Hurmuzaki,* XI, pp. 809, 810; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 248-249; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 149).

[90] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 188.

Orthodox Church in Wallachia, even though they were in Slavonic, applying the principle called *act of editorial prudence*[91].

The same principle is applied for several liturgical books printed by deacon Coresi in Slavonic, as it has been shown above as well[92]. To these one can add other books, too, like: *Slavonic Psalter* in 1577, printed by Coresi at the order of Prince Alexander II Mircea of Wallachia, joined, as editors, by his son Mihnea and Metropolitan Seraphim of Hungaro-Wallachia (1576-1585 / 1586)[93], with no indication of the printing place, which the researchers established to have been in Brașov[94]; *Slavonic-Romanian Psalter,* in whose *Epilogue* Coresi speaks about the addressees of the book, and also about the reasons for printing this book in Slavonic and Romanian[95], without mentioning, however, the place where the printing took place[96]. The intentional omission of mentioning the printing locality, identified by the researchers as Brașov, is due to the Romanians' susceptibility to the non-canonicity of the books from Brașov[97]. Even though the *Slavic-Romanian Psalter* of the year 1577 was not explicitly put in the service of some action meant to convert the Romanians to Protestantism, *but was probably destined to the learning of the Slavonic language in schools*[98], such as that of the *Saint Nicholas* Church in Șcheii Brașovului[99], it indicated, beside the teaching aim, also the aim of demonstrating that the version in Romanian was just as authentic as the one in Slavonic, in other words, the Lutherans wanted to convince the Romanians that there was no dogmatic difference between the two versions, except for the

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[91] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 43, 147-148; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 246, 248, 250; Ion Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română,* București, 1985, p. 103.

[92] In fact,, out of the books in Slavonic printed by deacon Coresi only the *Small Oktoikh* of the year 1557, the *Postnaya Triod-Tsvetnaya Triod* of 1558, the *Chetveroevangelie* of 1562 and the *Sbornik* of 1580 mention the place where their printing was realized (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 262).

[93] The quality of co-editor attributed to Mihnea is due, according to some researchers, to the fact that Alexander II Mircea had passed into the life beyond the grave on 25 July 1577, a date when the printing of the book had not been finished, as it was concluded before 24 August 1577, when the *Postnaya Triod,* also called *Lenten Triodion,* begins to be printed, (Brașov, 1578). It is considered that the initiative regarding the printing of the *Slavonic Psaltir* of 1577 belonged to Metropolitan Seraphim of Hungaro-Wallachia, and the coat of arms or the emblem of Wallachia (the raven with a cross in its beak) in the frontispiece and in the laurel, crown confirms the reigning prince's order and the area of destination of this book (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 193; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 257).

[94] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 193; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 255.

[95] Deacon Coresi highlights, in the *Epilogue* of the book, that he was burning with the zeal that the Romanians, too, should have *the word of God* in their language, as *all the languages* had it, namely all the peoples, which is why he printed the translation *from the Slavonic Psaltir in the Romanian language,* so that, printed in a bilingual text, in Slavonic and Romanian, the *Psalter* may be for the clerks (grammatikoí) to understand, but also for the believers to observe, who, by reading it, should understand that *it is real* (*BRV,* I, pp. 63-64). For the same reason, namely to show the capacity of the Romanian language to render the biblical texts without distorting their meaning, Saint Dosoftei uses the same method of deacon Coresi, printing in a bilingual text, Slavonic and Romanian, *Psaltir for understanding* (*Psaltirea de-nțăles,* Iași, 1680; see *BRV,* I, p. 226), later on, the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu will print the *Greek-Romanian Gospel* (*Evanghelia greco-română,* București, 1693; *BRV,* I, p. 328), and Saint Anthim the Iberian, before moving on to the printing of certain liturgical books only in the Romanian language, will issue bilingual (Slavic-Romanian) and trilingual editions (Slavic-Greek-Romanian), see Ion I. Croitoru, "Sfântul Ierarh Martir Antim Ivireanul (1650-1716), mitropolitul Țării Românești", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* I, pp. 354-355; idem, "Folosirea tiparului în Țările Române pentru apărarea Ortodoxiei în fața propagandei protestante", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* II, p. 723 (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Folosirea tiparului*).

[96] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 213.

[97] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 214.

[98] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 259.

[99] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 214. In this sense, see above, in note 72, the mention of deacon Coresi.

language in which they were printed, and for this reason the editor, considered to be part of the reformed environment of Braşov, is not mentioned, remaining unknown[100]. The same didactic aim could be affirmed, *yet with some reserves,* also about *The Gospel with teaching* (*Evanghelia cu învăţătură*) of 1581, although its "decision maker" is Lukas Hirscher, the judge of Braşov, who influenced the elimination, from the book summary, of a sermon that *expressed perspectives contrary to the protestant doctrine*[101]; *Postnaya Triod,* also called *Lenten Triodion,* printed in 1578, as it is specified in the *Epilogue*[102], without indicating the place of publication, which the researchers establish as Braşov[103]. The printing of this book in Slavonic is done at the order of Ruler Alexander II Mircea and of his son Mihnea[104], without indicating Metropolitan Seraphim anymore. However, the printing of the *Triodion* is due precisely to the cultural and ecclesial environment represented by Metropolitan Seraphim, who, in collaboration with the reigning Prince Alexander II Mircea, takes care of the printing of several books necessary to the worship of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia[105]. The death of Alexander II Mircea (25 July 1577) before the beginning of the printing of this book (the printing activity begins on 24 August 1577 and ends on 26 March 1578) shows that the order to print the respective book was given simultaneously to the order for the *Slavonic Psalter* of 1577. The bringing to completion of the respective order is due to the fact that Mihnea[106], mentioned next to his father as editor, took over, along with the princely throne, the cultural-editorial commitments assumed by his father[107]; *Chetveroevangelie,* which was printed in 1579, a date indicated in the *Epilogue* of the book[108], with no mention of the printing place, deduced from complementary sources to have been Braşov[109]. The editors of this liturgical book are, as it results from the *Epilogue,* deacon Coresi and Mănăilă[110], they being also the printers of the respective book[111]. This edition of the *Tetraevangelion* in Slavonic is not placed under any princely or ecclesial authority, the initiative of the printing coming exclusively from the two typographers, who assured, inasmuch as the *Epilogue* lets one understand, also the common financial support, being

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[100] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 216. In relation to the editor's person, is launched the supposition that it could have been a person of the Benkner family, since in Petrus Schirmer's succession act figure three copies of a *Slavic-Romanian Psaltir,* and it could have been even the 1577 edition. Given the anonymous identity of the editor and of the place, the edition meant for the clerks of Slavonic language was sold well, since the succession act mentions only three copies remained unsold [Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 216-217; see also Gernot Nussbächer, "Tipărituri româneşti menţionate într-un act de partaj din 1585", in *Limba română* 39/5-6 (1991), p. 75].

[101] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 112, 260.

[102] *BRV,* I, p. 69; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 257.

[103] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 157; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 258.

[104] *BRV,* I, p. 69.

[105] In the same context of protestant propaganda yet coming to meet the needs of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia, and of the Orthodox believers of Slavonic language, can also be included the printing by Coresi of the *Postnaya Triod-Tsvetnaya Triod* in Târgovişte, in 1558 (Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 37, 152-155).

[106] He is known in history by the name of Mihnea II the Turcized [(1574-1577, associated to the reign of his father, Alexander II Mircea), 1577-1583, 1585-1591], given his conversion to the Islam, after the loss of his reigns, in the attempt to return to the throne of Wallachia.

[107] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 157; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 260.

[108] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 261.

[109] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 167; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 262.

[110] *BRV,* I, p. 74.

[111] *BRV,* I, pp. 74-75; Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 167; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 264.

attracted by the success of the circulation of the Slavonic liturgical books printed previously and, implicitly, by the profit made by trading the respective books[112].

In the same year 1579, clerk Lorinț prints in Alba Iulia another edition of the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie,* at the order of Prince Christopher Báthory (1576-1581). It seems that between the two editions there was commercial rivalry, even though Coresi's edition was meant for Wallachia, for which he had printed liturgical books in Slavonic before, whereas the copies of Lorinț were destined for Transylvania. To prevent the printing of a new edition of the *Tetraevangelion,* which could have made it harder to sell the copies of the edition from Alba Iulia, Prince Christopher Báthory forbids the reediting of the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* for 30 years[113]. The demand of this book must have been great, because, despite this interdiction, it can be noticed that two more editions of the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* are printed in a relatively short while, respectively three and four years later: the first at Plumbuita Monastery, at the initiative of hieromonk Lavrentie, in 1582[114]; the second in Brașov, at the order of Prince Peter Earring of Wallachia, in 1583[115]. In the *Epilogue* of the edition of the *Chetveroevangelie* of 1583 it is mentioned that the printing of the book took place at the order of Peter Earring, *during the first year of his reign*[116], namely during the last months of the year 1583, which would mean that the initiative of the printing either belongs to Coresi, who could have obtained the approval of Prince Peter Earring, by virtue of the tradition of his family[117], or that the discussions with a view to printing the book were initiated by Peter Earring before his enthronement, with the result that, the moment he was anointed as a reigning prince, deacon Coresi and Mănăilă begin to execute the new order, concluded, maybe, during the time when the priests of Șcheii Brașovului were asking for the ruler's help to beautify *Saint Nicholas* Church[118]. Thus, the fact that the new ruler is preoccupied, immediately after his enthronement, by the printing of a liturgical book, *can be an indication that this action was one of the priorities that he had set for himself the moment he was appointed as reigning prince*[119]. It ought to be mentioned that the printing location was not mentioned for this book either, being established by the researchers as Brașov, and it is believed that this thing happened, as well, as a consequence of the reasons and of the principle presented above[120]. Totally different was the framework of the printing of the *Slavonic Sbornik,* about which we know, from the *Epilogues* of the two editions[121], some

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[112] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 167; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 264.

[113] *BRV,* I, p. 75; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 168. The act of Prince Christopher Báthory represents, at the same time, also a monopoly for the printing of a liturgical book granted for the first time to a printer of the Romanian Countries (see also above, note 34).

[114] The hieromonk Lavrentie, together with his disciple Iovan, printed the *Slavonic Chetveroevangelie* in two editions, out of which one in 1582, and another at a date that cannot be identified precisely (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 75).

[115] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 168.

[116] *BRV,* I, p. 99.

[117] The forerunners of Prince Peter Earring, his great-grandfather, his grandfather and his father, namely Rulers Radu the Great, Radu Paisie and Pătrașcu the Good, contributed, each of them, to the promotion and support of the printing press in Wallachia (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 170).

[118] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 170; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 273-274.

[119] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 273.

[120] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 170; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 271-272.

[121] It should be mentioned that the two editions of the *Slavonic Sbornik* highlighted above are, nevertheless, different, the first relying on several sources, and the second being more faithful to the edition of the *Prazdnicnaya Mineya* printed in Venice, in 1538, by Božidar Vukovič, see Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 201, 205-206.

technical data: the year, 1580; the printing place, Sas-Sebeș; the printer, Coresi; the commissioner or financial supporter, Metropolitan Ghenadie; the original after which Coresi prints the book, namely the edition of "Bojidar" (Božidar Vukovič), actually the *Prazdnicnaya Mineya* or *Festal Menaeon* printed in Venice, in 1538[122]. The intervention of deacon Coresi in the text of this *Sbornik,* which is in Slavonic of Serbian redaction, can be noticed by the identification of certain linguistic phenomena specific of the Medio-Bulgarian redaction, being considered to belong to him[123], and author of the *Epilogues* is considered to be the Metropolitan of Transylvania Ghenadie I (1579-1585)[124], in which he was drawing the believers' attention to the Reformation, affirming that *in the latter times* he had seen, *from the peoples of other faiths, great damage and fall of the holy churches*[125].

The publication of the *Slavonic Sbornik* represents the first editorial action undertaken during that time by the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Transylvania[126], an event to which several facts will contribute: the attenuation of the pressure of the protestant propaganda, because on 21 October 1579, following the death of the Metropolitan of Transylvania Christopher II (appointed on 6 June 1574 and falling asleep in the Lord before 16 May 1579), the Diet of Turda decided that the Romanian priests should elect as their bishop *whomever they want*[127]; the policy of religious tolerance promoted by prince Christopher Báthory, observable as well by the fact that the printing of the *Sbornik* takes place in his time, with his approval, which also explains the presence of his coat of arms at the end of the volume, as an expression of the praise given to him by the editor and the printer[128]; the exhortations received by Metropolitan Ghenadie I from Metropolitan Seraphim of Hungaro-Wallachia, on the occasion of the cheirotonia and cheirothesia of the first in Târgoviște as Bishop and Metropolitan of Ardeal, regarding the defense of the Orthodox faith in front of the actions of the protestant propaganda in Transylvania, among them being enumerated the printing of books destined to the worship of the Orthodox Church in Slavonic[129].

The choice of the printing place of the *Slavonic Sbornik* in Sas-Sebeș, beside the explanations that have already been given by the researchers[130], can also be due to the prestige that the printing centers of Alba Iulia and Brașov already enjoyed, as places of propagation of the protestant doctrine by means of printed books, and to avoid any suspicions, according to the principle of editorial prudence, reminded above as well, the

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[122] *BRV,* I, pp. 81-85; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 265-266, 269.

[123] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 206; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 269. It has been affirmed that deacon Coresi was already thinking about a possible reprinting of the edition of Božidar Vukovič before the election of Ghenadie as metropolitan (Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 207).

[124] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 269.

[125] *BRV,* I, p. 84; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 483, note 95.

[126] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 207.

[127] Meteş, *Istoria Bisericii,* p. 94.

[128] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 269.

[129] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 269.

[130] An explanation is related to the position and intervention of pastor Johannes Scherer-Nyirő, owner of the Latin printing press of Brașov, between 1580 and 1581, who could have mediated the temporary settlement of Coresi's printing press at Sas-Sebeș. Another explanation for the printing of the book in Sas-Sebeș has in view the possibility of the active participation of Ioan Norocea the Logothete, a political personality of the time and an acquaintance of Metropolitan Ghenadie I, who was living in that town and could have assured or facilitated the finding of a place for the installation of Coresi's printing press, and may have also provided financial help for the printing of the book that the Romanian hierarch needed (Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 205; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 265).

locality Sas-Sebeș was chosen. Moreover, this choice also offered the advantage of the fact that the respective locality was close to Alba Iulia, where the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Transylvania had its headquarters[131], giving to Metropolitan Ghenadie I the possibility to supervise the process of printing for the *Slavonic Sbornik*[132]. The book enjoyed a large circulation among the Romanians of the three Romanian Countries, but also in the areas of the Orthodox world of Slavonic language[133].

Based on the same collaborations with Hans Benkner, in Brașov were printed books in Romanian as well: *Întrebare creștinească* (*Christian Question,* 1560)[134]; *Tetraevanghel* (*Tetraevangelion*) or *Evangheliar* (*Evangelion,* 1561)[135]; *Pravila Sfinților Apostoli* (*Pravila* or *The Nomocanon of the Holy Apostles*), also known as *Pravila Sfinților Părinți* (*Pravila* or

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[131] The headquarters of the Metropolitanate had been moved, during the pastoral activity of the Metropolitan Euthymius I of Ardeal (1571-1574), from Lancrăm to Alba Iulia, where the headquarters of the Prince of the country and of the Hungarian Calvinist superintendent were, yet outside the city walls, because the Orthodox were forbidden to express their worship inside the city [Ion I. Croitoru, "Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* I, p. 219, note 86; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti din Transilvania, Banat, Crişana şi Maramureş,* Cluj-Napoca, 1992, p. 130 (hereinafter: Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti din Transilvania*)].

[132] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 205.

[133] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 270. It should be mentioned that the *Slavonic Sbornik* of 1580 also contains the *Pripeale* by Philotheos the Monk, short hymnographic texts (*magnifications, velichanii* in Slavonic) which are sung with verses of the *Psalms* at the *Polyeleos* of the great feasts in honor of Jesus Christ, of the Theotokos and of some Saints. Printed for the first time in Slavonic in the edition of the *Slavonic Sbornik* of Venise in 1536, and in Romanian in the *Psalter* (*Psaltirea*) of Buzău in 1703, their author being identified as Filos (Philos) the Logothete of the reigning Prince of Wallachia Mircea the Elder or the Great (1386-1418), they continue to be used to this day in the worship of the Orthodox Church of Romania (Ion I. Croitoru, "Scriptorii", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* I, p. 240, note 43).

[134] While in the specialized literature it had been consecrated that the work *Christian Question* (*Întrebare creștinească*) was printed in 1559, other propositions existing as well, recent studies have established that the respective book was printed in 1560, in Brașov, see Alexandra Roman Moraru, "Studiu filologic. Introducere", in *Texte româneşti din secolul al XVI-lea. I. Catehismul lui Coresi. II. Pravila lui Coresi. III. Fragmentul Todorescu. IV. Glosele Bogdan. V. Prefeţe şi epiloguri,* critical editions by Emanuela Buză, Gheorghe Chivu, Magdalena Georgescu, Ion Gheție, Alexandra Roman Moraru, Florentina Zgraon, coordinator Ion Gheție, Bucureşti, 1982, pp. 32-33, 38-39 (hereinafter: Moraru, *Studiu filologic*); Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 56-57; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 141-143.

[135] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 67-79; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 149-156. Given the fact that the printing in Romanian was realized under the patronage of a Lutheran, due to whose influence the *Christian Question* (*Întrebare creștinească*) had also been printed, this *Tetraevangelion* (*Tetraevanghel*), printed in at least two editions (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 150), in 1561, triggered the Romanians' reaction both in Transylvania, and in Wallachia. This would explain the appearance of the edition in Slavonic of the same book (*Slavonic Chetveroevangelie,* Brașov, 1562; see *BRV,* I, p. 46; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 479; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 161-164), a year later, also under Benkner's patronage, which meant a deviation from the program of the Lutheran propaganda among the Romanians. This edition was also due, according to some researchers, to the intervention of Lady Chiajna, the widow of Prince Mircea the Shepherd of Wallachia (1545-1552, 1553-1554, 1558-1559), also as a reaction to the printing of the translation in Romanian of the *Tetraevangelion* (*Tetraevanghel*) of 1561, but also to the intentions of the editor Hans Benkner to cover his expenses made on the occasion of the printing of the *Christian Question,* remained in the warehouses of the printing press of Brașov [Gr. Scorpan, "Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam în vechea noastră literatură omiletică din sec. XVI şi XVII", in *Cercetări Istorice* (Iași) 13-14/1-2 (1940), p. 547 (hereinafter: Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam*); Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 161-164; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 228-229; for the editing of the book, see *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi, Brașov 1560-1561, comparat cu Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Măniceşti, 1574,* an edition arranged by Florica Dimitrescu, Bucureşti, 1963].

The Nomocanon of the Holy Fathers, 1560-1562)[136], whose title is considered to have been *Pravilă de ispravă oamenilor și de toate păcatele și greșalele* (*Pravila* or *The Nomocanon for the men's triumph and for all the sins and the mistakes*)[137]; and *Lucrul apostolesc* (*The Apostolic Work*) or *Apostol* (*Apostolos*), also called *Praxiu* (*Praxis,* 1566)[138]. This action of printing of books in Romanian, beside the economic interest, cannot be dissociated, according to the analysis of the events specific of that epoch, from the attempts of the Saxons from Brașov to attract the Romanians to the Reformation[139], especially since one of the protestant principles, met as motivation in the Romanian printings of deacon Coresi, was *that all the peoples should know the word of God in their own language*[140].

In the book *Christian Question* (*Întrebare creștinească*), a printing known in the specialized literature also under the title *Catechism*[141], protestant influences were slipped in, which explains the fact that the initiative of the printing of this *Catechism* had belonged to the judge of Brașov, Hans Benkner, and to the Council of the respective city in May 1559[142]. Considered an edition affiliated to the *Catechism* of 1544[143], the Orthodox teaching from the *Christian Question,* in whose *Preface* was shown that the translation, dedicated to Metropolitan Ephrem of Hungaro-Wallachia (1558-1566), was realized *with the knowledge* of Prince John II Sigismund Zápolya and of the Metropolitan of Transylvania Sava I (1559-1561, 1562-1570), called by Coresi *Bishop of the Hungarian Country*[144], was reduced, under the form of a dialogue in 28 questions and answers, to the commandments of the *Decalogue*, rendered under a Lutheran form, the Niceo-Constantinopolitan *Symbol of Faith* without *Filioque*, considered however mistakenly, as *the faith formulated by the 12 Apostles, The Lord's Prayer* and two *Mysteries* or *Sacraments*: the *Baptism* and the *Holy Communion*; the *Holy Tradition* was rejected; it was confessing the faith without actions (*sola fide*), the fact of being made right with God and being made worthy of Christ's grace only by remembering God's acts, with no other spiritual effort from the Christian; the veneration of the Lord's Mother and of the Saints was rejected, some researchers also highlighting some possible

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[136] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 80-89; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 156-163; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 480; see also Gheorghe Chivu, "Studiu filologic. Introducere", in *Texte românești din secolul al XVI-lea. I. Catehismul lui Coresi. II. Pravila lui Coresi...*, pp. 137-141.

[137] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 158.

[138] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 90-101; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 163-171; Ivașcu, *Istoria,* p. 102; *Istoria literaturii române,* I, p. 308. It should be mentioned that, in the specialized literature, several dates have been proposed for the printing of the *Apostolos,* during the period 1563-1566, but finally the year 1566 has been accepted [see P. Binder, Arnold Huttmann, "Cu privire la datarea și geneza Cazaniei I tipărită de diaconul Coresi", in *Limba română* 16/2 (1967), p. 117 (hereinafter: Binder – Huttmann, *Datarea și geneza Cazaniei I*); Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 39, 91-92; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 164].

[139] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 75, 259.

[140] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 107.

[141] Called even *Lutheran Catechism* (Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* p. 328). For the text in Cyrillic and in Romanian transcription of the *Christian Question,* see Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 39-68; see also the text established in interpretative transcription by Alexandra Roman Moraru in *Texte românești din secolul al XVI-lea. I. Catehismul lui Coresi...*, pp. 101-105.

[142] Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* p. 328. It has been affirmed that during the same year, on 12 March, the City Council of Brașov, under the patronage of Hans Benkner, decided to reform the Church of the Romanians from Șchei and proposed or imposed the learning of the *Catechism* that will be printed by Coresi in 1560 (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 259; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 141; Florica Dimitrescu, "Introducere", in *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi, Brașov 1560-1561...*, 1963, p. 10).

[143] Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544,* pp. 1-2, 22; Moraru, *Studiu filologic,* pp. 49-52; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 61-62.

[144] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 38, 56.

Zwinglian - Antitrinitarian orientations in the content of the respective book[145]. In the *Preface* or the *Prologue* of the book was stipulated the protestant principle according to which God's word, namely the *Holy Scripture*, must be disseminated in the language of each nation, to be known by all the people[146]. This principle will also be met in the *Epilogues* of other printings, becoming, therefore, a *typically Coresian* expression[147].

Based on the success of the printing of such a book, including in its content protestant *innovations*, Benkner announced pompously that he had *reformed the Wallachians' Church*[148], and to assure its dissemination among the Orthodox Romanians not just of Transylvania, but also from Wallachia, despite the respective innovations which represented teachings that were foreign to the Orthodoxy, in the *Prologue* were written the names of the Metropolitans of Transylvania and Wallachia, Sava I and Ephrem[149]. It should be mentioned that the arrangement of the version for the *Christian Question* of 1560 and that for the *Romanian Tetraevangelion* of 1561 took place simultaneously, giving priority to the printing of the *Catechism*, a fact imposed by the decision of the City Council of the Saxons of Brașov to attract the Romanians to the Reformation[150].

Thus, one can note that, both in Sibiu and in Brașov, the first printed books dedicated to the Romanians were a *Catechism* and a *Tetraevangelion*, which indicates the reformed environment that determined their appearance, on the one hand, under the aspect of propaganda, in the case of both of these books, aiming not just to seep in the protestant innovations, but also to nationalize the worship of the Orthodox Church, and, on the other hand, to promote the economic-commercial aspect of the printing activity, as far as the last book is concerned[151]. These aspects, namely the nationalization of the cult and the financial gain, determined Hans Benkner to be also the editor of the *Nomocanon* or *Pravila*, not being excluded, in the case of this book, the initiative of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania for the printing of this *Nomocanon*, more precisely of the priests from the Church of Șchei, since

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[145] Moraru, *Studiu filologic*, pp. 44-45, 46-49; Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 56, 60, 62-64; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 144. It is supposed that this book also circulated in manuscripts, since a copy made in 1607 by priest Grigorie of Măhaciu has been preserved, being called *Sturdzan Catechism*, according to the name of the codex in which it was found, and another one in the *Marţian Codex* (Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544*, p. 22; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii*, I, p. 480; Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 306). For the text of the *Sturdzan Catechism* in Cyrillic and its Romanian transcription see Crăciun, *Catechismul românesc din 1544*, pp. 69-95, and for the analysis of the content of the book printed by Coresi, its sources and its historical context, see also N. Şerbănescu, «La 400 de ani de la apariţia „Întrebării creştineşti"», in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 77/11-12 (1959), pp. 1033-1052; for a bibliography of the research up to 1974, see Gheorghe Chivu, Marian Costinescu, *Bibliografia filologică românească. Secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucureşti, 1974, pp. 110-114. In recent studies it has been stated that the *Christian Question* is similar, as form (given its division in five parts), to the *Small Catechism* (1529) of Luther and other protestant *Catechisms* (some in Hungarian), without the possibility, however, of establishing precisely either the original or the main source of the translation, or the person of the translator (Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 56, 59-61; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 144-146; Moraru, *Studiu filologic*, pp. 48-54). About different reeditions of the *Christian Question*, see Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 56; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 141.

[146] *BRV*, IV, pp. 6-7; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 145.

[147] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 145.

[148] Molin, *Circulaţia unui „catehism vechi"*, p. 367.

[149] *BRV*, IV, pp. 6-7; *Istoria literaturii române*, I, p. 310; Nicolae Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucureşti, ³1996, pp. 101-102 (hereinafter: Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii*); Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii*, I, pp. 479-480; Gheție – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 56; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 144.

[150] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 147-148.

[151] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 148, 156; Moraru, *Studiu filologic*, pp. 37-39; 54-55; see also Al. Rosetti, "Despre data primelor traduceri românești de cărți religioase și despre curentele literare din secolul al XVI-lea", in *Limba română* 10/3 (1961), pp. 241-245.

the respective book, by its triple role, namely didactic, normative and juridical, was specific of the Orthodox tradition[152]. In the same Lutheran environment and for the same reasons mentioned above was also printed the *Apostolos,* editor being a person of the family of Johannes or Hans Benkner, who died in 1565[153].

The Lutheran Lukas Hirscher, the judge of Braşov, patronizes, in 1581, the printing of the book *Evanghelia cu învăţătură* (*The Gospels with teaching*)[154], to a lesser extent out of denominational considerations, since in the *Preface* of the book was attacked the protestant doctrine itself[155], but rather out of economic reasons[156]. Actually, the book emerges, on the one hand, as a work resulting from the collaboration of the hierarchs and priests of Transylvania and Wallachia, but also as a form of *local*, yet at the same time *modern*, *ecumenism*, if we consider the person of the one under whose patronage the printing of the book took place[157]. On the other hand, the emergence of this book, in the context of the protestant propaganda, under whose influence several sermons with a markedly Orthodox content are eliminated, means that the representatives of this propaganda changed their tactics, namely, in the case of the respective book, they acted *by omitting or eliminating the specifically Orthodox points of view,* avoiding, at the same time, *introducing protestant principles in the content of the book*[158].

Out of the *Prologue* of the book printed in Braşov[159] we find out that Lukas Hirscher discussed with the Metropolitan of Transylvania Ghenadie I and *with many priests of the clergy who needed this book,* then, having the approval of Metropolitan Seraphim of Wallachia, from whom they had received the original in Slavonic[160], gave the book to deacon

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[152] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 161-162; Gheorghe Chivu, *op. cit.,* p. 161.

[153] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 170-171. In the succession act of the year 1585 concerning the heirs of Petrus Schirmer, son-in-law of Benkner's daughter, Agnesa Hüterin, is mentioned the finding of 11 copies of this book in Schirmer's property, which, being unsold, were going to be shared among his children. The mention of the *Apostolos* in the succession act can be a proof of the fact that deacon Coresi collaborated as well with the other members of the Benkner family (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 171).

[154] It ought to be specified that, in the specialized literature, *The Gospels with teaching* is also cited under the title *Cazania II* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary II*), to discern it from another printing of Coresi, namely *The Interpretation of the Gospels* (*Tâlcul Evangheliilor*), known as *Cazania I* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary I*) [Ion Gheţie, "Studiu introductiv" (hereinafter: Gheţie, *Studiu introductiv*), in Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor şi Molitevnic rumânesc,* critical edition by Vladimir Drimba, with an introductory study by Ion Gheţie, Bucureşti, 1998 (hereinafter: Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor*), p. 9]. For the last edition of *The Gospel with teaching,* printed under the title *Carte cu învăţătură* (*Book with teaching*), being, in fact, an anastatic reproduction of the edition of the year 1914, see Diaconul Coresi, *Carte cu învăţătură (1581),* vol. I, *Textul,* Editura Tipo Moldova, Iaşi, 2011 (this edition has many shortcomings).

[155] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 478-479. For instance, it fought the protestant doctrine about *sola fide*, with evidence from the *Holy Scripture*, showing the value of faith and good deeds, in direct relation with a *righteous life,* and *much endeavor* for the one who wants to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, because *faith without deeds is truly dead* (*BRV,* I, p. 90).

[156] Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească,* p. 53; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 478.

[157] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 478; see also I. Ionescu, "Patru sute de ani de la tipărirea *Evangheliei cu învăţătură* de diaconul Coresi la Braşov în 1581 şi mesajul ce-l poartă", in *Glasul Bisericii* 40/11 (1981), p. 315; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 209.

[158] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 210.

[159] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 203.

[160] Recent studies have shown that *The Gospels with teaching* was a translation of the Byzantino-Slavic sermons collection, printed in Slavonic at Zabludów, in 1569, at the request of Gregory Chodkiewicz or Khodkevych, hetman of Lithuania, using, nevertheless, other sources as well [Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 483; Dan Zamfirescu, "Cuvântul editorului", in Florentina Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam şi Damaschin Studitul,* Bucureşti, 2006 (hereinafter: Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*), pp. 10-11 and note 1 from pp. 158-

Coresi, who together with the priests Iane and Mihai from *Saint Nicholas* Church of Șcheii Brașovului, translated it *in Romanian* and printed it[161]. By this reminder, the Lutheran editor wanted *to give authenticity to the book and confidence that it is in harmony with the Orthodox teaching,* being meant not just for the Orthodox Romanians of Transylvania, but also for those of Wallachia, assuring, at the same time, a much larger dissemination of this book[162]. Specialized studies have contested Coresi's work as a translator, being considered only printer of the respective edition or printer-corrector[163], while the two priests from the church of Șcheii Brașovului, which church had been temporarily caught, during that period, in the protestant propaganda[164], did only the translation of those *sermons for which they had no older versions available. For the rest, they must have reviewed existing translations, by putting them face to face with the corresponding texts from "Kazania" of Zabludów*[165].

The Slavonic text of Zabludów (1569) had been meant for the Orthodox people of Ukraine and Lithuania, exposed to the Roman-Catholic propaganda[166], and the Romanian translation was addressed, at that moment of the history of the Orthodoxy, mainly to the Romanians of Transylvania, who had to face a different propaganda, namely the protestant one. Yet, from the Romanian edition of the comments or sermons to the evangelical pericopes of the Sundays over the year and of some feasts, pericopes reproduced after the *Tetraevangelion* of 1561 and which begin with the *Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee* and end with the *32nd Sunday after the Pentecost,* are missing the sermons for several great feasts in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, Savior of the world, and His Holy Mother and of some better known Saints, and for some Sundays (for six Sundays), including the *Sunday of the Orthodoxy*[167], and at the end of the book, which comprises 66 sermons[168], have been added, due to the book editor, *The Lord's Prayer, The Symbol of Faith* and *The Decalogue* or *The Ten Commandments,* as they had appeared in a *Lutheran Catechism* in Sibiu, in 1540[169]. It is considered that the absence of the respective sermons is due to the Slavonic

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166; Maria Rădulescu, *Originalul slav al „Evangheliei cu învățătură" a diaconului Coresi,* București, 1959, pp. 10-33; P. Olteanu, "Les originaux slavo-russes des plus anciennes collections d'homélies roumaines", in *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963), pp. 163-193; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 205-207]. This collection, named *Didactic Gospel* (*Evangelie uchitel'noe*), instead of being attributed to the Patriarch of Constantinople John IX Agapetus (1111-1134), was mistakenly considered as belonging to Patriarch Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1363/4), in the edition of the year 1606 (Krylos), see Δ. Γόνη, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α´,* Ἀθῆναι, 1980, pp. 298-309.

[161] *BRV,* I, pp. 91-92.

[162] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 210.

[163] It has been affirmed, in the same literature, that deacon Coresi got help, considering the large volume of the book, and the number of copies of this edition, from several printer disciples, who seem to have included Șerban, his son, and clerk Marien, although they are not mentioned in the *Prologue* (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 210).

[164] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 209.

[165] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 111-112; see also Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 208.

[166] Ivașcu, *Istoria,* p. 107.

[167] See Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, pp. 192-193; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 483; Ion I. Croitoru, "Alte contribuții ale Sfântului Varlaam († 1657), mitropolitul Moldovei (1632-1653), la apărarea învățăturii ortodoxe în fața Protestantismului", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul,* II, p. 669, note 31 (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Alte contribuții*).

[168] The first sermon is to the *Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee,* and the last sermon is to the feast of the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist,* namely to the day of 29 August (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 205). The series of sermons is ordered after the *Preface,* see Diaconul Coresi, *Carte cu învățătură (1581),* published by Sextil Pușcariu, vol. I, *Textul,* București, 1914, pp. 23-37.

[169] Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam,* p. 552; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 483, 489 (bibliography); Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, pp. 192-193.

original, containing, with few exceptions, no homilies to the respective Saints, but explanations to the evangelical pericopes meant for those feasts[170]. It is not excluded that these absences from the Slavonic original may have been caused by a protestant influence from the Polish Kingdom, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they explain the zeal that Lukas Hirscher put in the search of this book, as he mentions in the *Preface* of the edition of 1581[171], because its structure did not accentuate *per se* the veneration of the Saints[172], not hesitating, however, to impose as well, as editor of the book, certain omissions[173]. Actually, this book, having the text of the evangelical pericope before the text of the homily corresponding to it, which represented an innovation of deacon Coresi[174], was part of the plan meaning to convert the Romanians to the Reformation, for whose realization the Lutheran Pastor Johannes Scherer-Nyirő had been called to Brașov, who undertook an energetic propaganda, during the period 1579-1581[175].

Despite these shortcomings, unnoticed, seemingly, at that time, by any hierarch of the Orthodox Church, the book was received by the Romanians and disseminated among them, a fact mentioned by Lukas Hirscher, who states, in a recommendation letter for this book of 14 August 1582 addressed to the judge of Bistriţa, Gáspár Budecker, proposing to him to sell it to the Romanians of the respective area, that this book is sought after by the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia who, by their bishops, are buying it and introducing it in their countries[176].

Simultaneously to this period of Lutheran propaganda via the printing press, the proselytist Calvinist action began, aimed at attracting the Romanians to the new doctrine and at *magyarizing* them, by taking measures such as the designation of Calvinist-Romanian *bishops* or *superintendents,* by summoning Calvinist *councils* (*synods*), by printing books in Romanian containing Calvinist ideas and teachings[177].

The context was created to favor the Calvinist superintendents. They enjoyed the support of the political authority of the Principality, which also designated them, being recruited from among the Romanians lured into joining the Calvinism and whose names were then magyarized. The purpose of the superintendents was to enact the measures taken for the calvinization of the Romanians and they were undertaking their activity by the side of

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[170] Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, pp. 135-136.

[171] *BRV,* I, p. 91.

[172] It has been noticed, concerning the Zabludów edition, that in the second part, entitled *Teachings to the Great Feasts and the Celebration of the Chosen Saints,* no hagiographic homilies can be found, but only evangelical pericopes, accompanied by their interpretation (Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, pp. 135-136). In this way, was accentuated *per se* to a lesser extent the veneration of the Saints, mentioned only in the titles of the *Teachings,* and was underlined to a greater extent the use of the *Holy Scripture,* in other words, this was an indirect reference to the protestant principle *sola Scriptura* and the *Holy Tradition* was ignored (Croitoru, *Alte contribuţii,* pp. 669-670, notes 32-33).

[173] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 479, note 75.

[174] Introduced by him as well in *The Interpretation of the Gospels,* namely in two books edited precisely by the Protestants. This procedure will be met in the Ukrainian editions *only simultaneously with "The Gospels with teaching" ("Didactic Gospels") printed in 1616 (at Yevie) and in 1637 (at Kiev),* see D. H. Mazilu, *Proza oratorică în literatura română veche,* II, Bucureşti, 1987, pp. 37-37; Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, p. 167; Croitoru, *Alte contribuţii,* p. 670, note 33.

[175] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 113; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 209.

[176] *Hurmuzaki,* XI, p. 656; Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam,* p. 555; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 479; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 275. For the analysis of the Orthodox content of this book, see I. Turcu, "Evanghelia cu învăţătură din anul 1581 - consideraţii, precizări, accente - ", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 99/7-8 (1981), pp. 888-911.

[177] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti din Transilvania,* p. 125.

the Orthodox hierarchs who, together with the Romanian Orthodox clergy and believers, were obliged to submit to and honor the superintendents, because, otherwise, they were punished[178]. Actually, the designation of a superintendent over the Orthodox clergy and believers corresponded to a new strategy of the Calvinists who, noticing that the Romanians cannot be attracted to the Reformation with the help of the Calvinist preachers and pastors, as they had proceeded for the Roman-Catholic populations, wished, in the case of the Romanians, to succeed in the same thing by means of the Orthodox hierarchy and priests who were shepherding them[179].

At the same time with the start of the Calvinist propaganda, following the editorial association of deacon Coresi with the Hungarian noble Miklós Forró of Háporton, two books in one volume were printed in Romanian, probably in 1567 or 1568, according to some in Brașov, according to others in Teiuș, Alba Iulia, Cluj, Aiud or Abrud, all these localities representing, however, important Calvinist centres[180], in the specialized literature finally standing out the locality Alba Iulia[181]. It is supposed that after the collaboration with Miklós Forró ("Foro Miclăuș" according to his designation by Coresi[182]), since the printed titles received no credit because they were considered *heretic* and *poisonous,* deacon Coresi moves on to a printing activity *on his own,* during the period 1570-1581[183]. Yet, as we mentioned above as well, some researchers deny Coresi's independent activity as a printer starting with the years 1569-1570 and until the end of his eartly life (c. 1583), leaving open to future research the question whether or not he was completely independent starting with 1570, when it is attested that he had a printing press of his own, or was an employee of the Saxon printing press founded by Honterus, with some moments of independence, leading the Romanian section of this printing press[184]. As far as Coresi's own printing press is concerned, until the affirmation or rejection of its existence, some researchers situate it in

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[178] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 479. The first known superintendent was Gheorghe (George) of Sângeorz (1566-1568), and, for him, it was decided, in the Diet of Sibiu (30 November 1566), that those of the Romanians who do not honor him as they ought shall be punished as *traitors*, an accusation that triggered the confiscation of their fortune, and the Orthodox *heresy* shall be removed from among them, while the Orthodox bishops, priests and believers who will not pass to *the true religion,* namely to Calvinism, shall be forced to leave Transylvania. The respective decision did not lead to the result expected, because the Romanians did not let themselves convinced to embrace Calvinism, while the nobility, even those who were Calvinists, had no interest in expelling the Romanians, who were almost the only labour force on their estates. The measures taken by the superintendent and the authorities in 1567 did not trigger the result hoped for, because at the Diet of Turda (June 1568) it was noticed that *there are still very many Romanians in the country who do not submit themselves to the Calvinist bishop, but listen to their old priests,* requesting, therefore, their punishment (Meteş, *Istoria Bisericii,* p. 83; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 480).
[179] Crăciun, *Protestantism şi Ortodoxie,* p. 40.
[180] See Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 480; Dan Horia Mazilu, *Recitind literatura română veche,* 1, Bucureşti, 1994, p. 179; Binder – Huttmann, *Datarea şi geneza Cazaniei I,* pp. 109-117; Gheţie, *Studiu introductiv,* p. 11; Al. Mareş, "Când şi unde s-au tipărit Tâlcul Evangheliilor şi Molitevnicul rumânesc?", in *Limba română* 16/2 (1967), pp. 119-127; Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 118; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 172-173. It ought to be mentioned that in the Romanian historiography has been proposed as printing date for the respective volume also the year 1564 (*Istoria literaturii române,* I, p. 310; Ivaşcu, *Istoria,* p. 102; Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii,* p. 102).
[181] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 174-175.
[182] Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor,* p. 187. One can note the fact that although the name Miklós is the correspondent of the name Nicolae in Romanian (Nicholas, in English), deacon Coresi directly romanianizes the Hungarian name, rendering it under the form Miclăuş.
[183] V. Molin, *Coresi editor şi tipograf...,* pp. 317, 321.
[184] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 45-46, 258.

Șcheii Brașovului, but the latest studies tend to situate the entire printing activity of Coresi *inside the fortified city* of Brașov[185].

The first title of the volume printed in 1567 or 1568 was *The Interpretation of the Gospels* (*Tâlcul Evangheliilor*)[186], which comprised[187] a mixture of Calvinist and Orthodox teachings: predestination, *sola fide*, rejection of the veneration of the Saints and of the reverence for the holy icons, of the respect for the Church hierarchy, of the monastic life, of the remembrance of the dead etc., along with quotations from the writings of the Holy Fathers (Athanasius the Great, Cyril, John Chrysostom) and words defending fasting, which was, nevertheless, disowned by the Reformation, and in the end a text representing a violent criticism to the superior hierarchy and the lay rulers[188]. It should be mentioned that regarding this criticism deacon Coresi himself felt the need to apologize, writing at the end of the first part of the volume, in the *Epilogue* entitled *Dojana cetitorilor,* namely *Advice to the Readers*, where he also invokes the organs of the *Divine Revelation, the Holy Scripture* and *the Holy Tradition*, the latter contested by the Protestants, that *where this book scolds the hierarchs, bishops, priests, monks and rulers, it does not scold the good ones, but the bad ones*[189]. However, the book, by its content, resulted, according to some researchers, from the collaboration between Miklós Forró, a rich noble who was also very active in the political life of the Principality of Transylvania, and the Calvinist superintendent Gheorghe of Sângeorz[190], was meant for those who had passed to Calvinism, but also to spread the Calvinist doctrine among the Orthodox Romanians of the Principality[191], which explains its

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[185] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 43-44.

[186] For the reprinting of the *princeps edition* see Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor,* pp. 31-187. It is considered that by means of deacon Coresi's printing work, two books of *Kazania* were printed in the 16th century. For this reason, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor* (*The Interpretation of the Gospels*) is cited in the specialized literature, as mentioned above (see note 154), under the title *Cazania I* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary I*), whereas *Evanghelia cu învățătură* (*The Gospel with teaching*) bears the title of *Cazania II* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary II,* see Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 9; see, also, note 154). Regarding the text of *Cazania I,* it has been affirmed that its translation was realized in the region of Banat and Hunedoara, by an erudite Romanian from the proximity of the Calvinist superintendent Gheorghe of Sângeorz, not being excluded a collaboration of the translator with the Calvinist superintendent and the Hungarian editor Miklós Forró, whereas Coresi was just a master typographer, which shows that the latter's relations with the supporters of the Calvinism were *purely commercial*. As prototype, a Slavonic text from the first half of the 16th century was used, which was either made up by an Ukrainian Calvinist pastor, or the passages with the Calvinist doctrine were introduced in the respective text at a later time or at the moment of translation (Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, pp. 10, 12-14; Vedinaș, *Coresi*, pp. 70-71; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 102-108; see also Al. Mareș, *op. cit.,* pp. 119-130).

[187] According to the habit already noted also in other books printed in the context or under the influence of the Reformation, in *The Interpretation of the Gospels* was affirmed the necessity of using the Romanian language in the worship (Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 14).

[188] See *Istoria literaturii române,* I, p. 310; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 481, 488 (bibliography); Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, pp. 14-15; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 107; Vladimir Drimba, «O copie din secolul al XVII-lea a „Tâlcului evangheliilor" și „Molitevnicului" diaconului Coresi», in *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Literară și Folclor* IV (1955), pp. 538-541.

[189] Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor*, p. 187; *BRV,* I, p. 51; Lupaș, *Istoria bisericească,* p. 54. In the same *Epilogue* it is shown that the printing of *The Interpretation of the Gospels* was preceded by the appearance of *Tetraevangelion* and of *Praxis,* namely the *Apostolos,* so that *The Interpretation of the Gospels* was a natural consequence, meant to help the Romanians' priests to explain the word of God (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 176-177).

[190] At. Popa, "Originalul cântecelor din Molitvenicul tipărit de Coresi în 1564", in *Limba română* 15/3 (1966), p. 257 (hereinafter: Popa, *Molitvenicul tipărit de Coresi*); Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 180-181.

[191] Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 14; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 108; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 481, note 86.

rejection by the latter, although it had been printed in a *beautiful Romanian language*[192]. Actually, *The Interpretation of the Gospels* is considered, even in recent studies, a book related *to the Hungarian Calvinist culture and literature*[193].

The second title of the respective volume, printed as annex and entitled *Molitevnic rumânesc* (*Romanian Euchologion*), represented, actually, a *Book of Calvinist Songs and Services* (*Carte de cântece și slujbe calvine*), whose compiler or translator is supposed to have been the superintendent Gheorghe of Sângeorz[194] or a Romanian Calvinist pastor from his proximity[195], Miklós Forró not being excluded either[196]. However, it has been affirmed that the last was the editor of this book as well, based on whose order deacon Coresi printed the two books in a single volume[197]. After an *Introduction* (*Polojenie,* namely *Introducere*), this compilation, representing, according to the unanimous opinion of the researchers, a product of Calvinism[198], contained *Prayers* and the services for *Baptism, Crowning, Holy Communion* with the *Confession of Sins,* the *Typicon of the Liturgy, Vespers, Matins, Songs in the Psalms and in the Gospels,* ending with the *Funeral Service*)[199]. By this book, the Calvinist superintendent *aimed to radically reform* the Orthodox worship[200], in which the number of the Mysteries be reduced only to three (Baptism, Marriage and Communion)[201], and the forms of cult only to sermon, various hymns and psalms[202].

The printing of the volume containing the two books at Alba Iulia is explained by the fact that it was desired that the princely residence of Transylvania should become as well a center of radiation for Protestantism, by the direct participation of the Calvinist prince, which shows both the actions based on competition between the Lutherans and Calvinists on the Romanians, and the energetic, sometimes even violent, actions of the Calvinist

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[192] Vedinaș, *Coresi,* p. 70..

[193] Nagy Levente, "O predică a lui Péter Juhász Melius tradusă în română și rutenă. (Date noi despre sursele Cazaniei I a lui Coresi), in Rodica Zafiu, Adina Dragomirescu, Nicolae Alexandru (editors), *Limba română: diacronie și sincronie în studiul limbii române,* I, București, 2014, p. 279.

[194] About him, see above note 178.

[195] Binder – Huttmann, *Datarea și geneza Cazaniei I,* p. 117; Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 17.

[196] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 119.

[197] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 187.

[198] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 119; see also Vladimir Drimba, *op. cit.,* pp. 535-538.

[199] See Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor și Molitevnic rumânesc,* critical edition by Vladimir Drimba, with an introductory study by Ion Gheție, București, 1998, pp. 189-211 (hereinafter: Coresi, *Molitevnic rumânesc*); Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 15; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 183. Just as in the case of *Cazania I,* it is considered that the translation of the compilation was done in the area of Banat and Hunedoara. According to the studies made so far, it has been affirmed that the text of the prayers and of the services is a shortened translation from Hungarian of the *Agenda* printed by Gáspár Heltai in Cluj (1551 and 1559), and the songs are Calvinist texts, taken from different sources, two Calvinist printings being cited: one in Hungarian, *The Book of Calvinist Songs* of Gergely Szegedi (Cluj, 1562), and another one in Romanian, *Carte de cântece* (*Book of Songs,* Cluj, 1571-1575), see Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 16. It is not impossible that the translator of the two books of the volume printed by Coresi may be one and the same person, characterized by the researchers as *an erudite Romanian who had the skill of translating religious texts in his maternal language* (Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, pp. 14, 17).

[200] Gheție, *Studiu introductiv,* p. 17; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 120.

[201] Actually, to two, because *Marriage* was considered a *vow* with the Calvinists, and the *Confession of Sins* was not accepted as a Mystery (Popa, *Molitvenicul tipărit de Coresi,* p. 256; see also Ἰωάννου Ν. Καρμίρη, Ὀρθοδοξία καὶ Προτεσταντισμός, I, Ἀθῆναι, 1937, p. 271; N. Chițescu, Isidor Tudoran, I. Petreuță, *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică,* II, București, 1958, p. 836).

[202] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 481, 488 (bibliography); Popa, *Molitvenicul tipărit de Coresi,* pp. 255-265; for other details and references to the critical editions of the two books, see Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 102-108.

authorities, aimed at attracting the Romanians to the Calvinist doctrine, taking shape, at that time, as the official religion of the Principality[203]. Actually, the Calvinists adopted a much more radical manner of conversion, unlike the Lutherans, who had a more temperate attitude: the latter print books in Romanian, as a consequence of the decisions made by the City Council of Braşov, and the first apply a plan of mass conversion for the Romanians, as a consequence, however, of the decisions made by the representatives of the Calvinist denomination, who were, at the same time, also the political representatives of the Principality[204]. The context of the emergence of the two books is also inscribed in the spirit of the Council of Teiuş, held at the end of the year 1567 or at the beginning of January 1568, when Gheorghe of Sângeorz requested the Romanian priests to receive the teachings of the Reformation, out of which they accept only to begin the divine services in Romanian[205].

In fact, the attacks against the Orthodox teaching slipped in *The Interpretation of the Gospels* and their setting into circulation together with the *Book of Calvinist Songs and Services* triggered an even greater resistance from the Romanians and the priests they had, so that the use of the volume including the two books was limited to the propaganda needs of the Calvinist pastors, being rejected, gradually, by all those who *had listened to it only out of necessity*[206]. For example, in a *Slavonic Euchologion,* donated in the year 1569 by Father Dobre to *Saint Nicholas* Church in Şcheii Braşovului, it was foreseen that if *someone wants to come to our faith,* then he should renounce *all the Latin law and the law of Martin the Heretic and all their heresies and all their calumny by which they defame the Holy Spirit and the Theotokos and God's Saints and the holy icons.* Continuing this order, are highlighted precisely the points attacked in *The Interpretation of the Gospels: and he shall say: I renounce and say anathema and believe in the Holy Trinity according to God's will and venerate as well the All-Honorable Theotokos forever virgin Mary and all the Saints and the holy persons; and I receive the lent periods and the fasting days: Wednesday and Friday and so I vow before God*[207].

At the request of the Calvinist officials, deacon Coresi's series of printings continued with two more books in Romanian, *Psalterea* (the *Psalter*) and *Liturghierul* (the *Hieratikon* or *Sluzhebnik*), both printed in 1570[208]. This date has a double connotation in the specialized historiography, on the one hand, by the measures taken by the representatives of the Calvinist propaganda of the respective year[209], and, on the other hand, by the affirmation that during that year or around it, different editions of the two liturgical books were printed, according to some researchers[210].

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[203] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 175.

[204] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 181.

[205] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 201; Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 8-9.

[206] Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam,* p. 551.

[207] Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii,* pp. 104-105; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 484. During the first half of the 17th century, a copier of manuscripts with liturgical texts of Transylvania, Popa Mihai, who also copied a Romanian text defending the Orthodox faith from the Lutheran-Calvinist proselytism, *Spunerea legii creştineşti cu răspuns* (*The Saying of the Christian Law with Answer,* 1640-1644), renders in a manuscript (1647) also the divine service of Crowning, in contradiction with the service included in the so-called *Romanian Euchologion* (*Book of Calvinist Songs and Services*) of 1567/1568, see I. Turcu, "Popa Mihai, un interesant copist din secolul al XVII-lea", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 91/11-12 (1973), pp. 1268-1289.

[208] Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 22-23.

[209] See Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* pp. 482, 485.

[210] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 482.

The first edition[211] was realized by deacon Coresi, who printed in Braşov two liturgical books: *Psalterea* (*Psalter*) and *Liturghierul* (*Hieratikon* or *Sluzhebnik*)[212]. It seems that in front of the Romanians' resistance, Prince John II Sigismund Zápolya was willing to make some concessions, renouncing, for the moment, to calvinize the Orthodox worship, as it had been decided in a Council summoned at Aiud (16 October 1569), in exchange for its *nationalization*, by the committed effort of introduction of the Romanian language in the cult of the Orthodox Church. Based on this new propaganda policy, has been explained the reason why, on the days of 13 and 14 January 1570, the Calvinist superintendent Pavel Tordaşi or of Turdaş (Hunedoara County) is met in Braşov. He is believed to have concluded in Braşov the agreement for the printing of the two liturgical books[213], printed at his request in Romanian, as an expression of Prince Sigismund's desire, between 6 February and 1 September 1570[214], without including Calvinist or Lutheran influences, with the evident goal of being accepted by the Orthodox Church, yet constituting, at the same time, elements of nationalization of its worship[215], *as a first and very important step towards the definitive incorporation of the Romanians from Transylvania in the Calvinist movement*[216].

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[211] For the context of the second edition of the homonymous books, printed in Cluj (in the latest specialized studies, the year 1570 has been accepted only for the *Psalter,* and in the case of the *Hieratikon,* instead of the year 1570 has been proposed the period of the years 1571-1575), but in Hungarian orthography and with Latin letters, the *Hieratikon* having a different content, see Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* pp. 485-486.

[212] *BRV,* I, pp. 54-56; Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 478, 482; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 39, 124-125, 132-140; Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 24-25. Coresi's *Hieratikon* (*Liturghier*), translated in a hurry, probably in a protestant environment from the area of Banat-Hunedoara or central Transylvania, namely in an area in which the Reformation was strongly spread among the Romanians, shortly before the printing, and after another version in Slavonic than the one printed in 1508, in Târgovişte (Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 34-41), comprises only the *Service of the Divine Prothesis* or *Proskomidie* and the actual text of the *Divine Liturgy* of Saint John Chrysostom, with the mention that the *Service of the Divine Prothesis* begins with *Tocmeala slujbei* called *diac‹o›nstvele,* actually representing the ritual of the veneration of the icons (the *Service of kairos*) and putting on of the priestly vestments (with the washing of the hands), and the end of the *Divine Liturgy,* which comprised as well the *dismissal,* has been lost (Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 21-22; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 197; for the reediting of this text see *Liturghierul lui Coresi,* text established, introductory study and index by Al. Mareş, Bucureşti, 1969, pp. 125-148).

[213] Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 9, 24, 40-41; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 125, 133.

[214] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 125, 135, 261; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 201.

[215] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 137; Mareş, *Introducere,* pp. 9-10.

[216] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 264. According to the data preserved, on 1 September 1570 were sent to the Calvinist superintendent Pavel Tordaşi the printed copies of the *Hieratikon* (*Liturghier*) and, eventually, of the *Psalter* (*Psaltire*), which were to be shared to the Romanian priests, on the occasion of the participation to the Small Noel (New Year) at the Council (Synod) of Cluj (1 January 1571), not as a gift, but in exchange for a sum of money from them. A testimony in this sense is the letter of 9 December 1570, sent by Pavel Tordaşi from Lancrăm (the residence of Pavel Tordaşi was in Teiuş) to the mayor of Bistriţa, with the request to transmit to the Romanian priests, in relation to the above-mentioned Council, to bring money with them to buy the *Psalter* and the *Hieratikon* [*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor, culese de Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki,* vol. XV, Partea I, Acte şi scrisori din Arhivele oraşelor ardelene (Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiu), publicate după copiile Academiei Române de N. Iorga, 1358-1600, Bucureşti, 1911, p. 646 (hereinafter: *Hurmuzaki,* XV, Partea I); Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 133-134, 323-324; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 193-194, 275]. This is considered the last action initiated by the Calvinist propaganda among the Romanians under its protector, Sigismund, who died in 1571, leaving the rule of Ardeal into the hands of the Roman-Catholic Stephen IX Báthory (Mareş, *Introducere,* p. 9). Actually, both Pavel Tordaşi, and Lukas Hirscher pursued that the books ordered by them be sold mainly *among the Romanian priests* (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 332). The letter of 9 December 1570, mentioned above, can be regarded as well as an obligatory order, due, probably, to the Romanian Orthodox priests' refusal to buy the two liturgical books, during the time elapsed since their printing until the respective date (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 278).

Therefore, the nationalization of the worship was not viewed from the perspective of the promotion of the Romanian language and literature, but with the disguised aim of attracting the Romanians to the Reformation[217]. Actually, the Calvinist superintendent Pavel Tordași, called in the documents of the time *Bishop of Romanian language*[218], had received from Prince John II Sigismund Zápolya, who knew Romanian, the task of printing liturgical books in Romanian, among them being the *Hieratikon* (*Liturghier* or *Sluzhebnik*) as well[219]. The same superintendent had convoked, on 16 October 1569, a Council in Teiuș, for the *service of the Liturgy,* on this occasion being forbidden the funeral service, whereas the practice of *other innovations,* unfounded, according to the Calvinists, in the *Holy Scripture,* is left to the decision of the prince[220]. Moreover, to these one can add the fact that, by the election of Pavel Tordași instead of Gheorghe of Sângeorz, after the latter's death, the Calvinists' attitude regarding the conversion of the Orthodox Romanians becomes *more nuanced and more prudent*[221]. However, it has been affirmed, in the specialized literature, even though to a lesser extent, that the effort of printing the two liturgical books would be due, more likely, to the demands and needs specific of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania[222], representing even a *cultural work independent of the religious Reformation*[223], a position, nevertheless, contested by many researchers[224].

It should be mentioned that at the basis of the edition of the *Psalter* of the year 1570 was another edition, which deacon Coresi printed in Romanian in Brașov, in 1568[225]. Its emergence is due to the *Calvinist cultural-religious environment,* if one has in view the fact that this year is part of the period of intense Calvinist propaganda actions, but, equally likely, it could have been edited as well by the descendants of Johannes or Hans Benkner, if one considers that the *Psalter* with original, mentioned in the succession act (1585) of Petrus Schirmer's descendants, could be the edition of the *Psalter* of the year 1568, adding to this last supposition also the fact that Benkner's successors, in their turn, maintained, during the same period, relations of collaboration with deacon Coresi[226].

Consequently, one can observe several periods of denominational influence and, at the same time, of political exercise over Coresi's printings, realized both in Brașov, and in other protestant propaganda centers.

During the first period, comprised between the years 1560-1565, the printing of the books is due to the proselytism actions promoted by the Saxon Lutherans, who aimed to reform the Church of the Orthodox Romanians, having the support of the Principality's authorities. In this context, four books were printed in Romanian [*Catehism* (*Catechism*) or *Întrebare creștinească* (*Christian Question,* Brașov, 1560); *Tetraevanghel* (*Tetraevangelion,* Brașov, 1561); *Pravila Sfinților Apostoli* or *Sfinților Părinți* (*Pravila* or *The Nomocanon of the Holy Apostles* or *of the Holy Fathers,* Brașov, 1560-1562); *Lucrul apostolesc* (*The Apostolic Work*), also called *Apostol* (*Apostolos*) or *Praxiu* (*Praxis,* Brașov, 1566)] and one

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[217] Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 81; Virgil Molin, "Despre diaconul Coresi. La 400 de ani de la începutul activității de la Brașov și de la tipărirea primei cărți românești", in *Glasul Bisericii* 8/7-12 (1959), p. 647.
[218] *Hurmuzaki,* XV, Partea I, p. 635; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 200.
[219] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 200.
[220] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 201.
[221] Gheție, *Studiu introductiv*, p. 17; Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 120, 264.
[222] See Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 482.
[223] P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile şi biruinţa scrisului în limba română*, București, 1965, p. 163.
[224] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 137.
[225] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 192.
[226] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 189.

in Slavonic [*Chetveroevangelie,* Brașov, 1562)]. Out of these, all of them had Johannes or Hans Benkner as editor, except for the *Apostolos,* because he dies in 1565, when the family business is taken over by a member of his family[227].

During the years 1567-1570, as the second period, the denominational influence over deacon Coresi's printings is that of the Calvinists, having, they too, the support of the political authorities of Transylvania. Four books or five titles are printed in Romanian, out of which a book in two editions, and two titles in just one volume [*Tâlcul evangheliilor* (*The Interpretation of the Gospels*) or *Cazania I* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary I*)) and *Molitvenic* (*Euchologion* or *Trebnik*) or *Molitevnicul rumânesc* (*Romanian Euchologion*), both in the same volume (Alba Iulia, 1567-1568); *Psaltere* (*Psalter,* Brașov, 1568); *Psaltere* (*Psalter,* Brașov, 1570); *Liturghier* (*Hieratikon* or *Sluzhebnic,* Brașov, 1570)], to which one can add three more books in Slavonic [*Sluzhebnik* (1568); *Sbornik,* I-II (Brașov, 1569); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1568-1570)]. In relation to the Romanian books, one can note that all of them *promote the replacement of the Orthodox content of the religious books by the Calvinist teaching,* and they were printed with the contribution of the Calvinist superintendents Gheorghe of Sângeorz and Pavel Tordași[228]. The main result of the Calvinist propaganda, concerning the nationalization of the Orthodox Church worship, was the printing of the *Romanian Hieratikon,* of whose edition no copy had remained unsold in 1585, in Brașov, facilitating, it is considered, for the first time in the Romanians' history, the performance of the *Divine Liturgy* integrally in Romanian[229].

Since 1570 until 1580, deacon Coresi prints eight books in Slavonic, some in several editions [*Psalter* (Brașov, 1572-1573); *Great Oktoikh,* volume I (Brașov, 1574); *Great Oktoikh,* volume II (Brașov, 1575); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1576); *Psalter* (Brașov, 1577); *Postnaya Triod* (Brașov, 1578); *Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1579); *Sbornik* (Sas-Sebeș, 1580)], and a Slavic-Romanian one [*Psalter* / *Psaltere* (Brașov, 1577)]. The printings of this period are, therefore, almost exclusively, in Slavonic, which means that they are Orthodox, and this action was the consequence of the religious policy of Stephen IX Báthory, who showed a tolerant attitude to the Orthodox Church of the Romanians from the Principality of Transylvania, without being excluded, yet, also the economic interest of those involved in their printing[230]. The editors of these books are either rulers of Wallachia or Coresi himself[231].

The last period of deacon Coresi's activity is again under the Lutheran influence, being printed a book in Romanian [*Evanghelia cu învățătură* (*The Gospel with teaching*) or *Cazania II* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary II,* Brașov, 1581)] and another one in Slavonic [*Chetveroevangelie* (Brașov, 1583)]. Their editor is Lukas Hirscher, which explains why the first contains certain protestant influences, and the second is an expression of the book trade practice[232].

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[227] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 106.

[228] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 106.

[229] Mareș, *Introducere,* p. 10.

[230] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 106-107.

[231] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 42, 43; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 106; see also Virgil Molin, "Date noi cu privire la activitatea diaconului Coresi ca editor", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 81/7-8 (1963), pp. 783-786.

[232] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 107. It should be signaled that during the same period, two disciples of deacon Coresi, the clerks Șerban, his son, and Marien, printed *Palia de la Orăștie* (*Palium* or *Old Testament of Orăștie,* named also *Saxopolitan Old Testament*), in the years 1581-1582 (the work was begun on 14 November 1581 and was concluded on 14 July 1582), which comprised the first two books of the *Old Testament* in one volume, *Bâtiia* (*Facerea*), namely *Genesis,* and *Ishodul* (*Ieșirea*), namely *Exodus.* The initiative of the translation and of the

V. CONCLUSION

The protestant innovations noticed in deacon Coresi's printings[233] explain why neither the liturgical books in Romanian [*Liturghier* (*Hieratikon* or *Sluzhebnik*), *Molitvenic* (*Euchologion*)], nor the Romanian translations of the main biblical texts used in the worship [*Psaltere* (*Psalter*), *Evanghelie* (*Gospel*) and *Apostol* (*Apostolos*)] had, since the time of Coresi until the years 1679-1683, in the epoch of the Metropolitans Saint Dosoftei (Dositheos, † 1693) of Moldavia (1671-1674, 1675-1686) and Teodosie (Theodosius) of Wallachia (1668-1672, 1679-1708), any other Romanian edition, even though printing presses of Romanian had been in operation since the period preceding the moment when they were printed[234]. For instance, because of its editing in an environment of protestant propaganda, the *Liturghier* that had been printed in 1570, but only in part and translated into Romanian after a Slavonic original[235], will have new editions only during the second half of the 17th century and at the beginning of the next, this time in an Orthodox climate (Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1679 and 1683, respectively 1706 and 1713[236]), being translated, however, and printed entirely after the Greek originals[237]. Thus, the *Liturghier* of deacon Coresi represented the initiative of the Calvinist propagandists, and the *Liturghier* of Saint Dosoftei, which has two editions (Iași, 1679, 1683[238]), was the result of an Orthodox initiative[239]. In exchange, metropolitan Teodosie blesses an edition of the *Liturghier,* printed in 1680, but with the actual text in Slavonic and only the typiconal indications in Romanian. The motivation is shown by Metropolitan Teodosie himself in the *Preface* of the respective edition[240], explaining the refusal to translate the liturgical books in Romanian as solidarity to the tradition of performing the divine services in Slavonic, and as a means of preserving the Orthodox dogma, under the form of the Slavonic expression, in front of the protestant propaganda[241]. These facts are interpreted as representing the attitude of rejection and of defense against the *heresies* arrived by means of the Romanian books printed in Brașov, which shows that the nationalization of the worship, by the printing activity from this

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printing belonged to certain propagators of the Calvinism among the Romanians, headed by Mihail (Michael) Tordași, the new Calvinist superintendent, called the *Bishop of the Romanians* (Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 484-485).

[233] According to some researchers, deacon Coresi did not have the necessary theological knowledge to notice the heretical teachings slipped into the books that he printed (Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam,* pp. 549, 554-555).

[234] N.A. Ursu, "Notă asupra ediției", in Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca Liturghie 1679,* Iași, ²1980, p. XLVI; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 483, note 96.

[235] As far as the content of the *Liturghier* printed by deacon Coresi is concerned, see above, note 212. One should mention, however, that in the 17th century, the books printed by Coresi in Slavonic were sold for very high prices, see Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 325.

[236] The editions of the years 1706 and 1713 are due to the efforts of Saint Anthim the Iberian, Bishop of Râmnic (1705-1708) and Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708-1716). The first edition appears in Râmnic, in the second part of the *Euchologion* (*BRV,* I, p. 541; *BRV,* IV, p. 220), being then reproduced separately, with improvements regarding the translation of the texts from Greek into Romanian, in Târgoviște, under the title *The Divine Liturgies* (*Dumnezeieștile Liturghii, BRV,* I, p. 487).

[237] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 484, note 96.

[238] The first edition of the *Liturghier* of 1679 is entitled *Dumnezăiasca Liturghie* (*The Divine Liturgy, BRV,* I, p. 222), while that of 1683 has the title *Liturghie și rugăciuni* (*Liturgy and Prayers, BRV,* I, p. 262).

[239] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 138.

[240] *BRV,* I, p. 234.

[241] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 279.

locality, was regarded as *an idea foreign to the mentality and conceptions of the Orthodox Romanians of that period*[242].

The repeated exhortations, found in the *Prefaces* and *Epilogues* of the Coresian books, and addressed to the receivers to first read the books, to be sure of their canonicity, and not to judge lightly those who contributed to their printing, constitute, according to some researchers, a *decisive argument* to illustrate the hostile attitude that Coresi's contemporaries had towards him and his printings. This attitude was also due to the fact that in the respective *Prefaces* and *Epilogues* Coresi affirms that he printed the book, which could let one understand that he was a promoter of the introduction of the new denominations in Transylvania, at the exhortation of the representatives of Lutheranism and Calvinism, being paid by the latter[243]. Moreover, Coresi printed the liturgical books in Romanian without the official agreement of the Orthodox Church of the Romanian Countries, *having in his action, as grounds, the Reformation principle of transmitting the word of God in the language specific of each nation*[244], but also the tradition of translation and transmission of Jesus Christ's teachings in the spoken language, specific of the Orthodox Church. Actually, deacon Coresi was not able to use, in order to justify the Romanian translations patronized by the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the argument of the tradition, as Saint Dosoftei will do in the *Prefaces* of the two editions of the *Liturghier,* which he prepared and printed in Iași[245], but only the scriptural argument[246], along with other arguments of practical nature, for instance that it may meet any believer's inner need to *understand*[247]. However, the phenomenon of printing books in Romanian, which had sprouted in Transylvania, by the printings of Filip the Moldavian and Coresi, will open the way to a long series of printings in Romanian, realized along the 17th century. For example, at the moment of the printing in Romanian of the works *Pravila de la Govora* (*Pravila* or *The Nomocanon of Govora,* 1640 / 1641), *Şapte Taine ale Bisericii* (*Seven Church Mysteries*) or *Pravilă pre scurt aleasă* (*Pravila* or *Chosen Nomocanon in Brief,* Iași, 1644), *Carte românească de învăţătură de la pravilele împărăteşti şi de la alte giudeaţe* (*Romanian Didactic Book from the Imperial Nomocanons and other Judgments*) or *Pravila lui Vasile Lupu* (*Pravila* or *The Nomocanon*

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[242] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 279. It was necessary to obtain, in order to take this step, the agreement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in order for the respective movement not to be considered an innovation, which is why Metropolitan Teodosie, as a representative of an eparchy canonically submitted to Constantinople, affirms, in the same *Preface,* about the action of translation of the books in Romanian, paraphrasing that *he neither wanted, nor dared* to accept it, although the same Metropolitan had patronized the edition of the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la Bucureşti*), in 1688, for which a *Preface* had been obtained, however, signed by the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem [Metropolitan Teodosie expresses himself in his specific manner by the words: *nice am vrutŭ, nice am cutezat* (*BRV,* I, p. 234); Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 279; Mareş, *Introducere,* p. 41; Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 79)]; regarding other hostile attitudes in the epoch see Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 279-280.

[243] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 279.

[244] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 280.

[245] Saint Dosoftei, as *a testimony that it is not forbidden to sing the liturgy in Romanian* (*Liturghie şi rugăciuni,* Iași, 1683, în *BRV,* I, p. 263), invokes the positive answer, based on the text of *Romans* 3: 29, which Theodore IV Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch (1189 - post 1195), gave to the question of Mark III, Patriarch of Alexandria (1195-1209), whether the priests of Syria, Armenia and other Orthodox countries can perform the divine service in their own languages. Saint Dosoftei also uses other arguments to give authority to the printings in Romanian in front of the reactions of certain conservatist circles, see Croitoru, *Folosirea tiparului,* pp. 722-723.

[246] As he did, for instance, in the *Epilogues* of the books *Tetraevanghel românesc* (*Romanian Tetraevangelion,* Brașov, 1561; *BRV,* I, pp. 44-45), *Psaltire românească* (*Romanian Psalter,* Brașov, 1570; *BRV,* I, pp. 55-56), *Psaltire slavo-română* (*Slavic-Romanian Psalter,* Brașov, 1577; *BRV,* I, pp. 63-64) etc.

[247] See Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* pp. 71-72, 81.

of *Vasile Lupu,* Iaşi, 1646) and *Îndreptarea legii* (*The Straightening of the Law,* Târgovişte, 1652), meant to apply the church canon law in the Romanian society, not just as simple juridical bodies, but especially as a guide of spiritual life and moral behaviour, spread both in Wallachia and Moldavia, and in Transylvania, it was known that in the Principality, namely in Transylvania had circulated an edition in Romanian of a *Pravila* or *Nomocanon of the Holy Fathers* (*Pravilă a Sfinţilor Părinţi,* Braşov, 1560-1562), printed by deacon Coresi[248]. At the same time, in relation to the same printing of Coresi, it is also written the fact that following the Wallachian mission to Alba Iulia (May 1640), led by the Wallachian Metropolitan Teofil (Theophilus, 1636-1648), an edition of the *Pravila of Govora* is also printed for the needs of the priests of the Metropolitanate of Transylvania, edition in which the name of Teofil was replaced by that of *Ghenadie (Ghenadius), by God's mercy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the entire Country of Ardeal* or *of Transylvania*[249]. It is considered that the printing of the respective edition at Govora Monastery, in Wallachia, was due to the intervention of Metropolitan Ghenadie II (1627-1640), who needed such a book instead of the one, sold out, of deacon Coresi, and the gesture of Metropolitan Teofil was also a consequence of his quality of *exarch of Neighborhoods* (*exarh al Plaiurilor*)[250].

Actually, with the help arrived from Wallachia, Metropolitan Ghenadie II also managed to set up a printing press in Alba Iulia. In this hand press was printed, in 1641, with the help of Saint Ilie (Elias) Iorest (1600-1678), Metropolitan of Transylvania (1640-1643) and successor of Ghenadie II, the *Evanghelia cu învăţătură* (*The Gospel with teaching* or *Didactic Gospel*), which represented a republication, however, with many mistakes and shortcomings, of the work bearing the same title, printed by deacon Coresi in 1581[251], an editorial act illustrating the effort of the two hierarchs for the continuation of the work of promotion of the worship in Romanian[252]. It should be mentioned, on the one hand, that out of all Coresi's printings, the *Evanghelia cu învăţătură* (*The Gospel with teaching*) or *Cazania II* (*Kazania* or *Homiliary II*) was the only text reprinted, the others enjoying, however, a wide circulation in manuscript[253]. On the other hand, not even the republication of *The Gospel with teaching* at Alba Iulia had escaped, therefore, the protestant influences[254], so that the need of the Orthodox believers to have a unitary book, containing the truths of the Orthodox faith with no additions or protestant infiltrations, contributed to the decision of

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[248] Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 38, 48, 80-89; Ion I. Croitoru, "Ortodoxie şi Ecumenicitate – politica culturală şi de civilizaţie a românilor în secolul al XVII-lea. 2.1. Ortodoxia – tradiţia culturală şi de civilizaţie a românilor", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia şi Apusul,* I, p. 130 (hereinafter: Croitoru, *Ortodoxie şi Ecumenicitate*).

[249] *BRV,* I, pp. 108-114.

[250] Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 503, n. 229.

[251] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti din Transilvania,* p. 153; Ion I. Croitoru, "Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia şi Apusul,* I, p. 224. These mistakes and shortcomings are due, in part, to the structure of the Slavonic original after which the Romanian translation, edited in 1581, had been made (Gaftoi-Holtea, *Mitropolitul Varlaam*, pp. 135-136), as we also mentioned previously (see note 172), but also to the copy of the year 1581 used as a model, from which many pages were missing, a fact explaining a series of omissions present in the edition of the year 1641. To these, one can add the intervention of the protestant propaganda supporters, which would explain the absence from the edition of the year 1641 of the homilies for the feasts with fixed date, which were left aside completely for the period September – 25 December (Scorpan, *Locul Cazaniei lui Varlaam*, p. 561; Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 307; Croitoru, *Propaganda protestantă,* p. 504, note 231).

[252] Ion I. Croitoru, "Sfântul Ierarh Mărturisitor Ilie Iorest (1600-1678)", in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia şi Apusul,* I, p. 314.

[253] See Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 305-321.

[254] See above, note 251.

Saint Varlaam († 1657), Metropolitan of Moldavia (1632-1653), of writing and printing *Cartea românească de învăţătură dumenecele preste an şi la praznice împărăteşti şi la svinţi mari* (*Romanian Didactic Book to the Sundays over the Year and to the Royal Feasts and to the Great Saints,* Iași, 1643)[255].

The first Romanian texts of the *Biblie* or of the *Holy Scripture,* printed in Transylvania, will open the way for other editions realized in the 17th century whose translation and editing efforts will be put together in the printing of the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la Bucureşti,* 1688)[256]. While the first Romanian translations of the books of the *Holy Scripture* had appeared in the context of the imposition of the nationalization of the worship of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania by the protestant propaganda, others were, however, the reasons for printing this *Bible* in the Wallachian capital. Addressed to all the Romanians and being attributed for the development of the Romanian language a role similar to the one held by Luther's *Bible* in the German culture and language[257], its emergence cannot be explained only invoking denominational or catechetic reasons, or the needs for the worship of the Orthodox Church, but these all come together to the cultural benefit of the hierarchy and of the intellectuals[258], to which one can add the interest of cultural-political affirmation of the two rulers, Șerban Cantacuzino (1679-1688) and Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Martyr (1688-1714), patrons or editors of the two *princeps* editions of this *Bible*[259].

Under the pressures of the protestant propaganda for not highlighting the veneration owed to the Saints and to the holy icons, important points of the Orthodox teaching, it can be noticed that the number of engravings is lower in the books printed or reedited in Transylvania, both during the 16th century, and during the next. For instance, the *Slavonic Sbornik* or *Prazdnicnaya Mineya* / *Festal Menaeon* (Sas-Sebeș, 1580), printed in two editions and at the request of Metropolitan Ghenadie I of Transylvania, representing the first editorial action undertaken by the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Transylvania during deacon

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[255] Croitoru, *Alte contribuţii,* pp. 666, 670.

[256] For the texts of the *Scripture* meant for the worship [*Paroemia, Psalms* together with the *Nine Songs* according to the Orthodox tradition, namely fragments of the *Old Testament* (*Exodus XV*, *Deuteronomy XXXII* etc.), *Apostolos, Evanghelion* or *Gospel Book*], the translation effort had already been done before 1688, when these books had been printed in Romanian, in separate editions, either bilingual (Slavic-Romanian) or only in Romanian: *Tetraevanghel slavo-român* (*Slavic-Romanian Chetveroevangelie* or *Tetraevangelion,* Sibiu, 1551-1553), *Tetraevanghel* (*Tetraevangelion,* Braşov, 1561), *Apostol* (*Apostolos,* Braşov, 1566), *Psaltirea românească* (*Romanian Psalter,* Braşov, 1568, 1570), *Psaltirea slavo-română* (*Slavic-Romanian Psalter* or *Psaltir,* Braşov, 1577, the edition of deacon Coresi), *Palia de la Orăştie* [*Palium* or *Olt Testament of Orăştie,* called also *Saxopolitan Olt Testament,* 1582, included the first two books of the *Old Testament, Facerea/Bâtiia* (*Genesis*) and *Ieşirea/Ishodul* (*Exodus*)], *Psaltirea slavo-română* (*Slavic-Romanian Psalter* or *Psaltir,* Braşov, c. 1589 – the edition printed by clerk Şerban, Coresi's son), *Noul Testament* (*New Testament,* Alba Iulia, 1648), *Psaltire* (*Psalter,* Alba Iulia, 1649, 1651), *Psaltirea în versuri* (*Psalter in Verses,* Uniev, 1673), *Psaltirea slavo-română* (*Slavic-Romanian Psalter* or *Psaltir,* Iaşi, 1680), *Paremiile de peste an* (*Paroemia over the year,* Iaşi, 1683), *Evanghelie* (*Evangelion* or *Gospel Book,* Bucureşti, 1682), *Apostol* (*Apostolos,* Bucureşti, 1683), see Virgil Cândea, *Raţiunea dominantă,* Cluj, 1979, pp. 114-115, 119-120; Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* pp. 218-217, 222, note 2; N. Şerbănescu, "Biblia de la Bucureşti. Trei sute de ani de la apariţie 1688-1988", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 106/9-10 (1988), p. 79; Gheţie – Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 37-40, 48; Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar şi societate,* pp. 56-257; Croitoru, *Ortodoxie şi Ecumenicitate,* p. 139; note 94; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 149-171, 187-194, 213-217.

[257] Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 220.

[258] Virgil Cândea, *op. cit.,* p. 115.

[259] Croitoru, *Ortodoxie şi Ecumenicitate,* pp. 138-139; see also Stela Toma, "Von Coresi zur Bukarester Bibel", in *Dacoromania. Jahrbuch für Östliche Latinität* 7 (1988), pp. 141-147.

Coresi's activity, contains only seven engravings (Saint Symeon the Stylite, *The Birth of the Theotokos*, The Holy Cross, Saint John the Theologian, *The unbelief of Thomas*, The Holy and Great Friday and Saint Nicholas). The models for the engravings are taken after the edition of the *Prazdnicnaya Mineya* printed in Venice, in 1538, by Božidar Vukovič, and about Coresi it has been affirmed that he had the intention to reproduce all the engravings of the respective edition, a proof in this sense being the white spaces reserved for them[260], yet, because of the Calvinists' propaganda, he gave up printing them[261]. Despite the protestant influences and innovations promoted by some printings of deacon Coresi, which also shows his connections with the movements created by the Reformation in Transylvania[262], he has the merit of being considered *the first scholar who fought consciously for the introduction of the Romanian language in the Church and for the spreading of knowledge in Romanian*[263], a fact indicating many aspects and consequences: a) continuity and, at the same time, completion of the movement[264] by which the first books translated in Romanian were initiated; b) spreading of the writing in Romanian; c) initiation of the process of replacement by the Romanian language of the Slavonic language used in the worship of the Orthodox Church of the Romanians and in the chancery of the Reigns of Wallachia and Moldavia; d) contribution to the formation of a unitary Romanian literary and liturgical language; e) need of affirmation of the unity of language, faith and origin of the Romanians of everywhere[265].

For these considerations, many Romanian scholars and researchers are convinced that the phenomenon of introduction of the Romanian language in the Orthodox Church of the Romanian Countries and, consequently, in the usage of the princely chanceries of the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries does not represent an initiative patronized exclusively by the Lutherans or by the Calvinists, *but must be considered as a work emerged as a result of a Romanian, Orthodox initiative, a page of internal history*[266], without ignoring, however, the fact that the first printings in Romanian appear in the environment of Transylvania, agitated by the Reformation ideas, which also imposes the *observation that the activity realized by*

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[260] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 40, 202-210, 276.

[261] Croitoru, *Folosirea tiparului,* pp. 750-751, note 362.

[262] Lajos – Lidia Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate,* pp. 329, 339-340 - note 52 (bibliography). It has been affirmed even that Coresi's *strongest connection* to the Reformation was not *denominational,* but *economic* (Vedinaș, *Coresi,* pp. 53, 56-57, 70-71). A proof in this sense is that there is no record of deacon Coresi having embraced the ideas of the Reformation, to which one can add the relations he had with hierarchs and rulers of the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, from whom he received book orders, so that he did not break apart from the *Byzantine tradition* (Vedinaș, *Coresi,* p. 62).

[263] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 485. To reinforce these aspects it has been affirmed clearly that deacon Coresi was not *a simple instrument in the hands of the Lutheran Saxons,* to accomplish at order *a mission foreign to him,* but *a supporter of the nationalization of the divine service in the Romanian Church, an action that he considered necessary* (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 377).

[264] In the sense that deacon Coresi's merit *is to have put together his predecessors and contemporaries' endeavours to realize a literature in their national language. He accomplishes, therefore, the role of a totalizer of efforts and aspirations, and his work, the role of synthesis of initiatives started from various regions of the Romanian territory* (Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 380). Deacon Coresi *completed his forerunners' activity by spreading the Romanian books realized using the printing press in a much greater number compared to the very low number of the manuscript copies. Viewed in this way, deacon Coresi's activity represents a victory of the previous cultural actions by which the Romanian language starts to affirm itself as a language of culture common to the entire Romanian area* (Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 292).

[265] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, pp. 485-486; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 289.

[266] P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului...,* p. 150; see also Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 485; for an analysis of the thesis called the *inner impulses* compared to the thesis of the *external influences*, see Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* pp. 70-84.

the printer deacon in Brașov does not take place independently from the principles promoted by the Reformation[267]. As far as the formation of the unitary Romanian literary and liturgical language is concerned, one can admit that this process begins with Coresi's printings, and, according to some researchers, he *did not impose the Wallachian dialect at the basis of the literary language and did not determine any change of the literary norms from the various regions of Dacoromania, either, in the sense of their wallachianization. The acceptance of the Wallachian dialect as unique Romanian norm will happen later, by the middle of the 18th century*[268]. However, for the initiation of the respective process, as well as for the fact that Coresi's printings represent the first texts printed in Romanian, constituting, therefore, *the material support from which the study of the Romanian literary language began*[269], deacon Coresi is *justly* called *the father of the Romanian literary language*[270].

By calculating a ratio regarding the geographic dissemination of the books printed by deacon Coresi and his disciples, especially regarding those books realized in the printing center of Brașov, one can see that the most numerous printings in Romanian have been found in Transylvania, whereas in Wallachia the number of the Slavonic printings is greater than the one of the Romanian ones, and in Moldavia one can note a balance between the printing in Romanian and those in Slavonic[271], the latter having a wide circulation also outside the Romanian area[272]. It should be mentioned that Coresi's printings, both those in Slavonic, and those in Romanian, also enjoyed a circulation in manuscripts, the latter, namely the Romanian printings, being submitted not just to the simple process of copying but also to that of linguistic improvement, contributing, therefore, to the promotion of the written Romanian language, especially in the Church, but also outside it[273]. However, the fruits of deacon Coresi's work, who acted as *an independent typographer, master over his tools,* making himself *available for diverse commissioners* or *backers*[274], benefited the Orthodox believers, not just the Romanian ones, but also the Slavic ones, from everywhere[275].

Consequently, the protestant propaganda was expecting, through the nationalization of the worship of the Orthodox Church and the printing activity of deacon Coresi, to discover, in the Romanians' conscience, elements able to awaken in them a certain spiritual crisis, which did not happen, because different was the living of the Orthodox faith from all that had been offered, at that time, by the Roman-Catholic doctrine and the outbreak of the Reformation.

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[267] Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 289.
[268] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 371, 374 (note 79 for the bibliography); for bibliographic references about the issue concerning the linguistic aspects of deacon Coresi's printings, see Otilia Urs, "Istoriografia coresiană. Partea a III-a. Bibliografia aspectelor lingvistice ale tipăriturilor coresiene", in *Transilvania* 9 (2012), pp. 28-32.
[269] *Ibidem,* p. 28.
[270] Plămădeală, *Dascăli,* p. 70; Dan Simonescu, "Problema originii limbii literare române și cărțile bisericești", in *Studii Teologice* 13/9-10 (1961), p. 553.
[271] See Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 325-331; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* p. 276.
[272] See Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 322-340; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 276-277.
[273] See Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, pp. 305-321; Urs, *Diaconul Coresi,* pp. 282-285.
[274] Gheție – Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi*, p. 375.
[275] Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii,* I, p. 486.

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A FASCINATING SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE, THEOLOGY, AND SPIRITUALITY: ST. GREGORY PALAMAS

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Motto: «Any word can be contradicted by another, but
can word contradict life? » (St. Gregory Palamas)

ABSTRACT

As a prominent Church father, mystical theologian and incisive polemicist, St. Gregory Palamas has realized a «Summa Theologica» of his epoch, but one that has surpassed not only the thinking of contemporaries, but remained, to this day, a synthesis of philosophical and theological knowledge, at least for the Eastern Christianity. He pointed out with clarity the independence of theology from philosophy or from any other field of research. One of the most important instruments with a view to knowing God is prayer and Palamas began to write under the pressure of defending the hesychastic method of prayer. He proves that true communion with God was possible through sanctification and that God's vision through prayer was a sign of this spiritual communion. In Palamas' very coherent theological thinking, Christology corresponds to his anthropology, and both to his mysticism. St. Gregory strongly depreciated the value of intellectual effort, maintaining the primacy of direct illumination over scientific reasoning. Thus, prayer and asceticism engender love, which leads to illumination by God and participation in the divine life. He tries to make sense of mystical experience in the scientific and philosophical language of his day. Paradoxically, almost every attempt arrives at establishing that the spiritual cannot be grasped by man's natural intellectual capacity, nor expressed in philosophical language. But the spiritual man can be the partaker of this experience through the experience of grace, as divine uncreated energy, the true "face" of God accessible to human contemplation. The Archbishop of Thessaloniki, who realized a synthesis of Science, Theology, and Spirituality outlines the relation between them as follows: Science explores the world and leads to technological inventions; Theology interprets reality within the Christian framework, evidencing the glory of God as reflected throughout his creation; and Spirituality is the privileged path toward personal transformation. The debate about Palamism is likely to continue for some time. His version of theosis (deification) was enshrined in Orthodox teaching as a result of his canonization, but among the intellectuals for whom it was intended it remained controversial, despite its grandeur.

Keywords: science; theology; spirituality; mysticism; uncreated energies; nature; deification; asceticism; illumination; divine grace;

INTRODUCTION

Looking for an alternative to the Western medieval context that led to the dissociation of science, theology and spirituality, the present study explores a distinctive paradigm, namely the cultural framework of Byzantium of the fourteenth century. In my opinion, the antagonism between science and theology, along with modern disinterest in the spiritual path, could have been avoided if Byzantine culture had been taken seriously in the West. Therefore, my aim is to emphasize the relevance of the Byzantine solution – as illustrated by its famous representative of the fourteenth century: St. Gregory Palamas – for the current efforts of the last decades to link the domains.

As a prominent Church father, mystical theologian, spiritual guide and incisive polemicist against non-ecclesiastical epistemology, St. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359) presents an impressive command of the "profane arts" in one of his later writings. This work, entitled: *Topics of Natural and Theological Science and on the Moral and Ascetic Life: One Hundred and Fifty Texts*[1], shows (mainly in chapters 1-29) the author's balanced understanding of the natural sciences, together with his genuine aptitude for logic and scientific reasoning. It also demonstrates the impressive discernment of Palamas, who skilfully pursues the specific abilities and possible points of interaction between theology and science without, however, interfering with each other[2].

When not considered highly controversial by his opponents, for many contemporary authors the Palamite heritage tends to be reduced to its doctrinal and spiritual dimensions. For example, despite his meritorious undertakings for a holistic description of Byzantine culture, the Greek philosopher Basil Tatakis completely ignores the scientific side of Palamas' training under Theodore Metochites and makes no reference to his balanced approach to science. Moreover, this approach, excellently illustrated by *Topics*, 1-29[3] represents a progress from the general reluctance manifested by his master against natural philosophy and our cursive cognitive skills.[4] Unfortunately, his efforts to integrate science, theology, and spiritual life into a hierarchical scheme that anticipates the transdisciplinary vision are less known and neglected both in the Church, as well as outside it.

I. SCHOLARS AND EXPONENTS OF TRADITION OF THE BYZANTINE 14th CENTURY

In 1330, Barlaam of Calabria (d. 1348), a Greek monk from southern Italy, went to Thessaloniki and Constantinople to prove that "Western" barbarians were capable of philosophy, mathematics, and science[5]. It came to be publicly ridiculed by the well-known Byzantine scholar Nikephoros Gregoras (d. 1360), who claimed that the "barbarians" remained loyal to Aristotle, while the Byzantines advanced beyond this point. It does not matter here how correct or wrong Gregoras' argument was; nor does it matter how well

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[1] Saint Gregory PALAMAS, *The one hundred and fifty Chapters*, edited and translated by Robert E. Sinkewicz, C.S.B., Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1988.
[2] Doru COSTACHE, ”*Queen of the Sciences? Theology and Natural Knowledge in St Gregory Palamas'* One Hundred and Fifty Chapters”, in *Transdisciplinarity in Science and Religion*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, nr. 3/2008, p. 27.
[3] *Ibidem*, pp. 31-34.
[4] Börje BYDÉN, *"To Every Argument there is a Counter-Argument": Theodore Metochites' Defence of Scepticism* (*Semeiosis* 61), in Katerina IERODIAKONOU (ed.), *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002, pp. 184, 198.
[5] See Stavros YANGAZOGLOU, "Philosophy and theology: The demonstrative method in the theology of St. Gregory Palamas", in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 41, 1 (1996), p. 3.

informed or misinformed he was about the West. What matters is the awareness that he expressed that, after centuries of cultural and civilizational development, although still in love with Aristotle (at least from the significant synthesis made by St. Maximus the Confessor in the seventh century), the Byzantines had gone beyond any servile approach to the legacy of Aristotle.

But together with the necessity of revaluating Byzantine science, another aspect is of interest here: almost all the protagonists of the fourteenth century were likewise convinced Christian believers. As such, they illustrated a holistic culture where the gaps between science, technology, theology, and spirituality were inexistent.

The profile of the medieval scholar, both a scientist, and a theologian was perfectly embodied by a genuine sage whose name has already become familiar. We refer here to Theodore Metochites, an imperial dignitary and logician, an Aristotelian teacher and a true sceptic, astronomer, and mathematician, a benefactor of the famous church of *Chora* and defender of the Byzantine theological tradition. This last aspect is emphasized by the votive painting of Chora depicting Metochites as a devout believer, kneeling before Christ. Considering this depiction and the contributions of a series of contemporary researchers (J. Meyendorff, Alexei Nesteruk, S. Yangazoglou), the idea of a secular scholarship in Byzantium is no longer tenable.[6] Whilst a direct mentor of many fourteenth century scholars, among whom feature the equally famous Nikephoros Gregoras and St. Gregory Palamas, Metochites exercised a powerful and lasting influence upon the Byzantine intellectual milieus.

Although steeped in Aristotelian logic, Metochites nurtured a deep reluctance toward our capacity of solving the undecidable conundrums of knowledge by way of logical devices as syllogisms. More precisely, as a promoter of "negative dogmatism", he was convinced that we could not be certain of the veracity of our grasp of the nature of things. For a good reason therefore, the attitude of this "founder of Byzantine 'humanism' in the fourteenth century"[7] has recently been associated with ancient skepticism. Nevertheless, when considered within the ecclesial tradition to which he belonged, the attitude of Metochites perfectly matches the apophatic mindset of the mainstream early Byzantine theologians.[8]

The lesson of Metochites and other Byzantine scholars is clear: science and theology, technology and the spiritual life are not mutually exclusive, contributing together to the improvement of human life and the advancement of civilization. Cultivating such an attitude, the fourteenth century Byzantines seem to have perpetuated the legacy of St. Maximus[9], who strongly believed in the possibility of a comprehensive and interactive framework in which all these pieces fit together and complement each other in a creative way.

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[6] Rev. Doru COSTACHE, "The other path in science, theology, and spirituality", in *Transdisciplinary. Studies, Science, Spirituality, Society*, no. 1, 2011, Bucharest, pp. 46-47.

[7] John MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, revised second edition, New York, Fordham University Press, 1983 (reprinted) • *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church*, Crestwood, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, p. 136.

[8] This is not a researched aspect, although the cross-disciplinary nature of Metochites' formation and legacy could be very relevant to any history of the conversations in science and theology. Either way, or rather both ways in his case, his approach was based on an uncompromising denial of the validity, never questioned before, of the logical principles of noncontradiction and the excluded middle when referring to the ultimate aspects of reality. See Börje BYDÉN, *"To Every Argument there is a Counter-Argument": Theodore Metochites' Defence of Scepticism* (*Semeiosis* 61), p. 186.

[9] Doru COSTACHE, *Going Upwards with Everything You Are: The Unifying Ladder of St. Maximus the Confessor*, in Basarab Nicolescu, Magda Stavinschi (eds.), *Science and Orthodoxy, a Necessary Dialogue*, Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2006, pp. 135-144.

One more question remains. If this sense of complementarity was so deeply ingrained in Byzantine culture, then why were many Byzantine scholars marginalized by mass society? The answer is simple, despite the complexity highlighted by the contemporary scholarship. Like their western counterparts, some Byzantine scholars manifested an overconfidence in the competence of philosophy (mainly, Platonic) for theological and spiritual matters, ignoring the disciplinary boundaries between the fields. But for a man like Palamas, who militated – along with the effort to better articulate the fields, for their distinctiveness and autonomy – a statement like the one professed by Barlaam, namely, theology is based on "science and knowledge", was outrageous. He pointed out with clarity, establishing the independence of theology from philosophy or any other field for that matter:

> "To know God truly insofar as is possible is incomparably superior to the philosophy of the Greeks, and simply to know what place man has in relation to God surpasses all their wisdom" (*Topics*, 26).[10]

II. KNOWLEDGE THROUGH PRAYER

One of the most important instruments with a view to knowing God is, for St. Gregory, *prayer*. He began to write under the pressure of circumstances, i.e., to defend the hesychastic method of prayer. Varlaam of Calabria began the controversy when he attacked the method and the teachings involved in it, which culminated in the possibility of seeing the divine light.

Varlaam wrote his first treatises after a period of apprenticeship under some illiterate monks. They claimed – according to his account – that during the ecstatic experience of prayer, they cleanse their souls of demons that attract them through passions so that, at the end of this process, they could see the divine nature. He accused the Hesychast monks of Messalianism, the heresy that claims a material vision of God[11].

The main issue in this debate was the communion with God and how this could be done. Other themes have sprung: Is such communion possible in this life? What does this communion consist in? What is the role of knowledge in establishing this communion? What kind of knowledge is involved in? How does the human mind participate in this process? Is the human body part of this experience? Is deification a gift of the future or can it be partially realized in this life? What are the theophanic manifestations of divine light in the Scripture? What is the nature of this Light? Is God accessible or inaccessible, visible or invisible?

In the context of this debate, St. Gregory undertook the mission of proving that true communion with God was possible through sanctification and that God's vision through prayer was a sign of this spiritual communion. From the very beginning, Palama refuses to identify God's vision with God's vision of nature. The nature of God was invisible, but divine light or energy is accessible to the human soul. Here appears the distinction between the transcendent, unapproachable and unknown divine being, and the divine energies which belong to Him and which are communicated to men through the Trinitarian persons. But is this feature of Palama's theology so revolutionary?

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[10] Rev. Doru COSTACHE, "The other path in science, theology, and spirituality", p. 48.

[11] Vladimir LOSSKY, *The vision of God*, New York, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1983, p. 154. St. Gregory frequently cites his predecessors: Macarius the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Dionysius the Areopagite, Symeon the Metaphrastes, John Climacus, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene, Simeon the New Theologian, and others. From his perspective, the teaching about divine energies is synonymous with the teaching about divine grace that was manifested in the vision of biblical prophets and more openly in the life and person of Jesus Christ.

St. Gregory observes that, along with the denial of God's experience as Revelation and personal encounter, Varlaam rejects even the revealed character of Holy Scripture. He is accused of atheism, perhaps because natural theology, based exclusively on human reason, can always find its sources of negation in the same human reason. In his interpretation of Dionysius, the Areopagite, St. Gregory is overwhelmed with wonder:

> "Is it not obvious to everyone that Dionysius' apophatism is the result of a union with God? Dionysius expresses the inability of the human mind to describe the depths of this union with the divine. However, what is ineffable at the level of language is accessible at the level of experience".[12]

St. Gregory confesses a double Gnostic methodology: on the one hand, natural knowledge allows man to approach the natural order, and, on the other, spiritual knowledge allows man to access spiritual reality. The first is inferior to the second. Self-understanding, almost following Socrates, and knowledge of God are more important than having scientific understanding. The connection between Socratic self-knowledge and the knowledge of God is a permanent feature in Greek theology, and closer to our time, St. Nectarios of Aegina entitled his treatise on ethics "Know Yourself or About Virtues".

While for Varlaam redemption includes profane knowledge, often seen as above the virtues, for Palama it presupposes a mystical knowledge, that is, a strong and very sensitive relationship with God, expressed through unceasing prayer that culminates in the sight of the Divine Light. This light is not something that interferes between man and God; it is the very presence of God, His blessing, and His grace. The virtues prepare man for union with God, but this is given as a gift only through the prayer of the mind. The vision of the Divine Light is, therefore, the work of the Holy Spirit, given to the human soul, which is prepared for such an experience through the unceasing prayer that brings the purification of the heart.[13]

All that is left is to keep the commandments. This makes social life bearable and, ultimately, the promise of the inheritance of eternal goods. Salvation is thus possible without deification, and it seems that, unlike St. Simeon the New Theologian, holiness is possible without deification, and personal salvation can be attained without reaching the supernatural peaks of asceticism. This short treatise of Palama destroys an orthodox theological cliché: the one that opposes *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis to *The Life in Christ* of Nicolaus Cabasilas, the exteriority to interiority in following Christ. Finally, the spirituality expressed by the Calabrian theologian suggests, from this point of view, the following of Christ in an accessible and less mystical way. It is not surprising that nowadays Western Christianity proposes some virtues that have a meaning for the man living in society, while Eastern Christianity still fascinates with his mysticism, but is still reluctant to social issues approach.

Varlaam's attitude about the light seen by the praying hesychast changed afterwards. At first, he considered it a demonic illusion, but when St. Gregory wrote convincingly against it, he described it as a natural light, a created symbol that acts as an interface between God and men. In his opinion, it is simply the light of natural knowledge, a reflection of the mind on it, the inner illumination of an intelligent brain that possesses scientific and

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[12] St. Gregory PALAMAS, *150 Capete despre cunostinta naturală, despre cunoaşterea lui Dumnezeu, despre viaţa morală şi despre făptuire* (*150 Chapters on natural knowledge, on knowledge of God, on moral life, and deeds*), in *Filocalia (Rom trans. of Philokalia)*, vol. VII, trans. by Rev. prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Bucharest: EIBMBOR, 1977, p. 126.

[13] Rev. Nicu DUMITRAȘCU, *Bucuria iluminării divine la Sfântul Grigorie Palama* (The joy of divine enlightenment on St. Gregory Palamas), in *Teologie şi viaţă isihastă în opera Sf. Grigorie Palama* (*Theology and hesychastic life in the work of St. Gregory Palamas*), Mitropolia Olteniei, Craiova, 2010, p. 179.

philosophical understanding. From his point of view, Palamas' insistence on the uncreated nature of divine light ruins the simplicity of God, thus, drawing upon him the accusation of ditheism.

In fact, St. Gregory Palamas' opponents professed a kind of intellectualism of Oriental origin. To them, divine light and union with God in this life were mere metaphors. To defend himself, St. Gregory often resorted to Christology. Inevitably, the controversy highlighted the famous biblical episode of the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. St. Gregory resumes the patristic tradition when he claims that the apostles perceived the divine light in the presence of the transfigured Christ. The Lord of glory does not change in this case, but the eyes of the Apostle change for a moment. They could contemplate the divine light, flowing from His divinity through the veil of His assumed humanity. As God Himself, this light is both uncreated and eternal, communicating to us not a substitute for God, but God Himself.[14]

The Transfiguration is not just about the Lord, but about the eyes of the apostles, who have undergone a transmutation. They were thus able to see the invisible, to understand the incomprehensible. At this point, St. Gregory quotes a patristic authority:

> "Behold John Damascene, who is wise concerning divine things: Christ is transfigured, not by putting on qualities he did not possess before, nor by changing into something He has not been until now, but by revealing to His disciples who He really was. For, remaining identical with what had been before, He appeared to the disciples in His splendor; He is veraciously the true light, the radiance of glory."[15]

Saint Gregory explains that, in the case of the Hesychast, this sight is, in fact, a union with the light, and the vision is granted by the Holy Spirit; in the frame of vision-union, the beholder himself becomes a light who sees light with the help of light:

> "So to go back – contemplating this light is a union, even if it does not withstand the imperfect order. But is union with this light other than a vision? And since it is caused by the cessation of intellectual activity, how could it be accomplished if not by the Spirit? For in the light the light is seen, and what it sees operates in a similar light, because this faculty has no other way of functioning"[16].

Some years later, a letter sent by Saint Gregory to the nun Xeni echoes the above famous passage from the *Triads*. In a significant fragment, he describes the mind's ascension to God in light. Spiritual ascension begins with the mind's purification of every sinful passion and with the return to itself. After passing beyond all mental and material images and meanings, the mind is transformed through the work of grace, which shines with unspeakable light in the inner man. Using the light as a pathway, the *nous* ascends above everything through the power of the Holy Spirit, gathers a spiritual sense through which the unheard is heard, and sees the unseen and participates with the One who is above everything.[17]

Palamas' theological thinking is very coherent. His Christology corresponds to his anthropology, and both to his mysticism. According to Fr. Fadi Georgi:

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[14] Vladimir LOSSKY, *The vision of God,* p. 156.

[15] St. Gregory PALAMAS, "*Hyper tõn hierõs hesychazontön*", in: B. BOBRINSKY, P. PAPAEVAGGELOS, J. MEYENDORFF & P. XRESTOU (eds.), *Syggramata I*, Thessaloniky: Oikos Kyromanos, 2010, p. 427.

[16] *Ibidem*, p. 432.

[17] St. Gregory PALAMAS, *Pros Xenin monahin,* în „P. Xrestou (ed.), *Syggramata V,* Thessaloniki: Oikos Kyromanos, 1992, pp. 223-224.

> "Palamas considers the redeeming work of Christ as the foundation of the theology of light.
> In this theological frame, the fall of Adam is represented as his separation from Beauty and
> Light and as the alienation from the divine form and the original destiny of humanity".[18]

Created in the image of God, man realizes the likeness by union with God. In this way, he regains the lost beauty of holiness. In paradise, Adam was clothed in with a garment of light, which he eventually lost through original sin. On Mount Tabor, Christ gives to the human being this shining garment. His transfiguration is an anticipation and sampling of our eschatological transfiguration. But even in the present time, the true Christian foretastes the future state when "the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matthew 13:43)[19]. The method of the hesychast is only the activation or rediscovery of the Sacrament of Baptism, which gives man the deifying light of grace.[20]

The question of uncreated grace remains, more than ever, "an issue between the East and the West." So that, for Antoine Levy, for example,

> "The controversy between Gregory and Barlaam does not refer only to a dogmatic point, but
> also the status of the theologian and the very legitimacy of his research were at stake. Who,
> in fact, had the authority to tell the truth about God? The one whose intelligence had been
> impregnated by attendance to the philosophy and secular sciences (Barlaam) – or the one
> whose spiritual experience had been grown into a life of asceticism and prayer (Gregory
> Palamas)?"[21]

For the whole ascetic Tradition, to which St. Gregory Palamas refers, *prayer* is the means of man's ascension to God. "The unceasing remembrance of God in prayer" gives man the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, once the worldly worries no longer interrupt the continuity of remembrance, and man becomes through prayer the church of God.[22]

This aspect was revealed by Christ while he was praying, in the light, on Mount Tabor. That is why the Church Fathers teach that "the end of prayer is the rapture of the Lord," and call enlightenment "purified mind," which clarifies the light of the Holy Trinity during prayer. Then the mind rises above the prayer. This state is no longer called prayer, but "the birth of pure prayer," which is accomplished by the Spirit. Then the mind rises above the prayer, and we contemplate the glory of the divine nature, the glory and the light, which is, according to the Patristic Tradition, around the divine and happy nature.[23]

But this uncreated and above the heavens glory of God was seen by Saint Archdeacon Stephen with his own eyes, beyond the possibility offered by the senses. The

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[18] Rev. Fadi GEORGI, "*The vision of God as a foretaste of eternal life according to Saint Gregory Palamas*", in M. TAMCKE (ed.), *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre: Christliche und islamische Mystik im Orient*. Göttinger Orientforschungen Syriaca 38, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, p. 149.

[19] Metropolitan Hierotheos VLACHOS, *Saint Gregory Palamas as a Hagiorite,* Levadia: Birth of Theotokos Monastery, 2000, pp. 339, 342.

[20] Jean MEYENDORFF, *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1959, p. 118.

[21] Antoine LEVY, *Le créé et l'incréé: Maxime le confesseur et Thomas d'Aquin: aux sources de la querelle palamienne,* Paris: Vrin, 2006), p. 16.

[22] See HAUSHER I., *Nom du Christ et voies d'oraison*, OCA*,* Roma 1960; BEHR-SIEGEL E., "La prière de Jesus ou le mystère de la spiritualité monastique orthodoxe", *Dieu Vivant* 8 (1947), pp. 69-94; WARE K., „Pray without Ceasing: The Ideal of Continual Prayer in Eastern Monasticism", *ECR* 3 (1969), pp. 253-261; GARDET A., „Un problème de mystique comparée: La mention du Nom Divin (dhikr) dans la mystique musulmanne", *Revue Thomiste* 52 (1952), p. 642-679; 53 (1953), pp. 197-216; NASR S.H., „The Prayer of the Heart in Hesychasm and Sufism", *GOTR* 1-2 (1986), pp. 195-204.

[23] Rev. Porphyrios GEORGI, *Înviere şi viaţă. Eshatologia Sf. Grigorie Palama* (*Resurrection and life. Eschatology of St. Gregory Palamas*), Translated from Greek by Ştefan L. Toma, Andreiană, Sibiu, 2015, p. 173.

mode of this view is identified with the way in which angels, as created beings, see eternal glory.

III. THE GRAND SYNTHESIS OF KNOWLEDGE BY PALAMAS

III.1. Philosophical Method

From the beginning philosophical issues were at the forefront. The central problem concerned the nature of divine knowledge. Palamas opens the *First Triad* with the question: 'How can one demonstrate by rational argument *(logōi)* the good that is beyond reason?' He was replying to a questioner who had asked him about the value of secular studies and had reported the argument that by studying phenomena one can arrive at their inner principles, their *logōi,* which can be traced back to the mind of the Creator. Hence intellectual work – "the methods of distinction, syllogistic reasoning and analysis"– can raise us up to the mind of God and conform us to his likeness – a kind of do-it-yourself theosis.[24] This caricatured somewhat the views of Barlaam, who though confident that by sheer intellectual effort human reason could arrive at the limits of what was knowable, as Plato and Aristotle had done, held the inner life of God to be inaccessible to human knowledge.[25] Palamas strongly depreciated the value of intellectual effort, maintaining the primacy of direct illumination over scientific reasoning.

«Christ, he said, did not say, 'if you would be perfect, acquire a secular education, study mathematics, devote yourself to the science of beings.'»[26]

The beginning of contemplation and divine wisdom is the fear of God, expressed in a life of prayer and asceticism, which engenders love, which leads to illumination by God and participation in the divine life.

If Palamas had stopped there, there might have been no subsequent controversy. Barlaam claimed that he and Palamas did not differ in their epistemology, Akindynos had no special competence in philosophical questions, and Gregoras appeared to be in agreement with Palamas over the limitations of the human mind. Indeed, as an opponent of Aristotelian methodology, Gregoras believed that the syllogism was a tool for second-rate minds unable to ascend to true knowledge.[27] He held true knowledge to be the result of direct illumination, though in his case he interprets this as the mind's freeing itself perfectly from material images (*amorphia*) rather than attaining to a vision of some object other than itself.[28]

But Palamas did not stop there. He attempted to give an explanation of how human beings are transformed by God in terms of real experience, in terms, that is, of a vision of light which is at once both perceptible and completely spiritual. This led to his postulating a real distinction in God between that aspect which is imparticipable and transcendent – the divine essence – and that aspect in which human beings can participate – the divine energy. "The latter", Akindynos correctly reports, "he calls theosis and power and energy and grace

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[24] Gregory PALAMAS, *Triads* 1, edited with an introduction by John Meyendorff, translation by Nicholas Gendle, preface by Jaroslav Pelikan, Paulist Press: New Jersey, 1983, first question (ed. Perella, 272).

[25] See SINKEWICZ, "The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God," esp. 202-12. Barlaam believed that God could only be known through his creation as cause.

[26] PALAMAS, Triads 1.1.5 (ed. Perella, 282).

[27] GREGORAS Florentios lines 932-35, ed. P. L. M. Leone, Fiorenzo o intorno alla Sapienza [Naples: Université di Napoli, 1975], p. 96, apud Norman RUSSELL, "Theosis and Gregory Palamas: Continuity or doctrinal change?", in St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 50:4 (2006), p. 357.

[28] D. N. MOSCHOS, Platonismos ë Christianismos? Oi philosophikes prohypotheseis tou Antihësychasmou tou Nikèphorou Grigora (1293-1361) (Athens: Parousia, 1998), p. 195.

and illumination and form and essential and natural glory of God, being different as he says from his essence and nature."[29] Philosophical critics objected to Palamas' assigning ontological status to divine attributes which in fact could only be distinguished conceptually.[30] Gregoras felt that Palamas was actually reviving the Platonic theory of *Forms* as intermediate realities between God and the created world.

As the Swedish scholar H. Gunnarsson has recently outlined, his attempt to argue his case within a contemporary philosophical framework was a bold undertaking.[31] Palamas had strong reservations about the apophatic approach to divine reality. He tries to make sense of mystical experience in the scientific and philosophical language of his day. Yet paradoxically, "almost every attempt arrives at establishing that the spiritual cannot be grasped by man's natural intellectual capacity, nor expressed in philosophical language."[32] Gunnarsson concludes that on the philosophical level "it is difficult to see that [Palamas' approach] meets the standards for a cogent epistemology of mystical experience." In the fourteenth century, too, not many trained in the "outer learning" were convinced if they were not already friends of the hesychasts.

III.2. The dialogue between science and religion by the methodological references at St. Gregory

Palamas distinguishes between the culture of the world, which is made with the energy of this world, and the culture of the Spirit, the true entrance into the coordinates of grace – the uncreated divine energy. Only through the practice of prayer can man open himself, mystically, to a different level of reality than the created one, namely the uncreated one, where God dwells. Theology means not the descent of the Lord through the intellectual approach of representing Him in the horizontal coordinates of human reason, but the raising of the human mind, through an intensification of the power of penetration, in the divine coordinates. Palama essentially affirms the possibility of this opening, of experiencing the real presence of God, and not in an intellectual symbolism emptied of any concrete content. The purpose of the Christian life is the deification of man by the Taboric-type living, of the experience of grace.

The hesychastic disputes of the 14th century gave the occasion of the departure from a theology of dutiful repetitiveness[33] towards the decisions of the first 7 ecumenical synods to the confession of God through a theology that really embraced the issue of the epoch with the competence acquired through the work of grace. Responding to Varlaam and Akindynos by emphasizing the distinction between the essence of God, incomprehensible, and His uncreated energies, but shareable by man, St. Gregory responds, in fact, to the pressure of pagan humanism, and to the intellectual spiritualism of the Renaissance, which manifests doubt on the possibility of a real encounter-experience of God, an experience understood, rather, as a result of penetration through intelligence, at the level of creation. But God is not transcendent only to matter, but also to the work of human intelligence, hence the need for

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[29] AKINDYNOS, Letter 27.88-90 (ed. Hero, 92), apud Norman RUSSELL, "Theosis and Gregory Palamas: Continuity or doctrinal change?", p. 366.

[30] See Demetrios KYDONES, *De personarum proprietatibus in Trinitate ad Constantinum Asanem* (ed. M. Candal, "Demetrio Cidonio y el problema trinitario palamitico," OCP2S [1962]: 75-20) and the discussion in Russell, "Palamism and the Circle of Demetrius Cydones," pp. 156-57.

[31] See H. GUNNARSSON, *Mystical Realism in the Early Theology of Gregory Palamas. Context and Analysis* (Goteborg: University of Göteborg, 2002).

[32] GUNNARSSON, *Mystical Realism*, p. 190.

[33] Jean MEYENDORFF, *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1959, p. 100

the presence of grace as an" outstretched hand" by God to man in order to overcome the wall of transcendence.

The saints confess God as presence-'light', a light distinct from that which we know through the senses. Tasting of this presence leads man to an experience that goes somewhat out of the natural coordinates of space-time. This experience is defended by St. Gregory as a true depth of theology, understood as a simple abstract manipulation with religious content. Theology can only be the expression of the experience of encountering God, therefore mystical.[34]

In writing his *Triads*, Palama condemns Varlaam's two postulates, one based on Aristotelian philosophy and the other on Neoplatonist philosophy. The *first* states that all knowledge, including that of God, has its origin in the perception or experience of the senses. The *second*, using texts written by Christian authors, including Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, an undisputed authority in the Church, asserted God beyond any sensible and, therefore, unknowable experience. According to Varlaam, all knowledge of God can only be but indirect; it necessarily passes through the entities perceived by the senses, and mystical knowledge can be only 'symbolically' real[35].

Distinguishing between created and uncreated, two distinct ontological realities, Palama shows that the rupture between the "two levels of reality" (See this later distinction, at the eminent French physicist of Romanian origin, Basarab Nicolescu, in: *La Transdisciplinarité: Manifeste*, Paris, 1996) can be overcome by divine initiative, embraced by man. The *spiritual man* (πνευματικοσ) can be the partaker of this experience through the experience of grace, as divine uncreated energy, the true "face" of God accessible to human contemplation.

Varlaam's first postulate is thus strongly contradicted by Palama: the senses cannot be an instrument of knowledge in the world of Spirit. With regard to the second, it is clear that Varlaam did not propose a real knowledge of God, but one mediated by the world and by the symbol. Nevertheless, Palama, synthesizing the mystical tradition of the Church, wants to show precisely the fact that God can be really known, as a personal presence, the knowledge of God being not a conceptual description, but an effective *union* with Him[36].

Varlaam considers either philosophy or theology as alternative ways of knowing God, saying that "the wisdom out of theology and the philosophy of the profane sciences have the same purpose." Given Varlaam's perspective on theology, it is not surprising that he finds them so close in their competencies. Moreover, Varlaam considers philosophy to be "the most precious thing we have." On the contrary, St. Gregory assures us that theology is fundamentally different from philosophy, because it consists in the direct and direct experience of the (super)personal presence of God.

III.3.3. Aspects of the Palamite's synthesis

Together with the mainstream Byzantine scholars, St. Gregory made considerable use of Aristotelian logic, terminology, philosophy, and science. For instance, like St. Basil the Great and St. Maximus, he consistently employed the Aristotelian term *energy* (ενεργεια),

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[34] Adrian LEMENI and Rev. Răzvan IONESCU, *Teologie ortodoxă şi ştiinţă. Repere pentru dialog* (*Orthodox Theology and Science. Landmarks for Dialogue*) 2nd edition, EIBMBOR, Bucharest, 2007, p. 171.

[35] Jean MEYENDORFF, *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, p. 111.

[36] Adrian LEMENI and Rev. Răzvan IONESCU, *Teologie ortodoxă şi ştiinţă. Repere pentru dialog* (*Orthodox Theology and Science. Landmarks for Dialogue*), pp. 172-173.

achieving its full theological assimilation[37]. The appropriation of this key-concept from the Stagyrite's ontology and physics, together with a range of other elements, represents a tremendous accomplishment, shaping the mindset and discourse of Orthodox theologians for the centuries to come.

It is worth mentioning some of Palamas other contributions. Thus, it is noteworthy his courageous incorporation of scientific elements in a scripturally-based worldview[38] resulting in a contextualized Christian vision of reality. This remains a highly relevant undertaking for our conversations in science and theology, from which we can still learn. Another interesting feature, denoting the cultural propensies of Byzantine intelligentsia, is St. Gregory's privileging natural explanations of cosmic phenomena against mythological ideas such as the "world soul", advocated by some Platonizing scholars (*Topics*, 3&4). This naturalist stance, of an explicit Aristotelian origin, demonstrates the superficiality of the current perception about the supposed "Christian Platonism" and supernaturalism of the Byzantines.

Of particular interest is Palamas' attitude concerning logic and, more specifically, syllogisms. Although other fourteenth-century Byzantine scholars like Metochites and Gregoras – distrusted Aristotelian logic, both Barlaam, and Palamas praised its usefulness[39].

Nevertheless, there was a significant difference between their views: whereas Barlaam unreservedly adhered to Aristotelian logic, Palamas cultivated a skeptical or prudent attitude, an apophatic reluctance toward the validity of the syllogistic discourse. Furthermore, alongside his mentor Metochites, St. Gregory managed to "misuse" the Aristotelian logic by relativizing the principles of non-contradiction and of the excluded middle. For example, with reference to the appropriateness of demonstrative syllogisms for the scrutiny of divine reality, he paradoxically maintained that they both are, and are not suitable to God[40] He solved this paradox of inclusive logic by rending the plans of essence and energy, asserting that, whilst demonstrative syllogisms are applicable to the divine energies, they are inapt in regard to God's inner life.

It is very likely that his discernment and consistent use of inclusive logic allowed Palamas, along with pondering the complementarity of science and theology, to maintain their autonomy[41] and identify their different competences: science deals with the natural laws, whereas theology has the spiritual matters as its province (*Topics*, 20)[42].

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[37] Thomas L. ANASTOS, "Gregory Palamas' radicalization of the essence, energies, and hypostasis model of God", in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 38, 1-4 (1993), pp. 340-345.

[38] D. COSTACHE, "*Queen of the Sciences? Theology and Natural Knowledge in St Gregory Palamas*' One Hundred and Fifty Chapters", pp. 34-36, 38.

[39] Katerina IERODIAKONOU, *The anti-logical movement in the fourteenth century*, in Katerina Ierodiakonou (ed.), *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002, pp. 219-220.

[40] Stavros YANGAZOGLOU, "Philosophy and theology: The demonstrative method in the theology of St. Gregory Palamas", p. 10.

[41] See David C. LINDBERG, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, Prehistory to AD 1450*, 2nd edition, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2007, p. 159.

[42] This distinction prevents such enthusiastic statements as A. Nesteruk's, that the Greek fathers took science as "a mode of the liturgical experience" and that "the roads of the natural sciences […] could constitute a mode of theological experience". Similarly, the Palamite distinction between the created and the uncreated participation in God makes utterly inaccurate Nesteruk's statement that science explores "the *economic* activities of God in the created world". See Alexei V. NESTERUK, *Light from the East: Theology, Science, and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2003, pp. 39, 56.

St. Gregory developed a more nuanced approach that was hierarchical in nature, working with a tripartite scheme according to which:

– Science explores the world and leads to technological inventions;
– Theology interprets reality within the Christian framework, evidencing the glory of God as reflected throughout his creation;
– Spirituality is the privileged path toward personal transformation.

From a different angle, in tune with the trajectory of ancient civilizations, Palamas seemed to have thus mapped the stages of human becoming as information, formation, and transformation (see *Figure 1*[43]). We should be mindful that this scheme – as already stated and in spite of the Byzantine vocabulary – could not be interpreted in terms of the superior and the inferior, referring mostly to the various degrees of competence and relevance to the process of advancement into humanization. Within such a hierarchical scheme, there is room for each domain to bring its specific contribution, an aspect abundantly emphasized by the transdisciplinary approach[44], which can contribute to further our understanding of the Byzantine legacy.
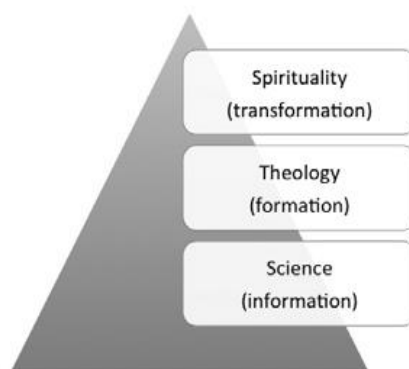

Figure 1

In light of the above, it becomes obvious that someone anchored in the spiritual life and theology can likewise be a practical person and a contributor to the progress of knowledge and science. This aspect is aptly pointed out by Tatakis in what may be taken as a summary of fourteenth century Byzantine culture:

"Generally speaking, mysticism, at its best moments, does not deny knowledge, the outer knowledge. What it denies is that this knowledge leads to the roots, to theory [*i.e.*, contemplation] and to the deification of man. For this great enterprise, it summons the whole man, contracts the antinomies and, with hesychasm, gives primacy to the heart. The mind can find itself only if it is baptized in the heart."[45]

Without being reducible to the otherwise incontestable formative dimension of the liturgical texts, as they are presented in a recent article[46] the last few centuries of Byzantine development should be considered the cradle of a holistic culture that can still inspire.

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[43] Apud D. COSTACHE, "*Queen of the Sciences? Theology and Natural Knowledge in St Gregory Palamas'* One Hundred and Fifty Chapters", p. 51.

[44] Basarab NICOLESCU, *Nous, la particule et le monde*, deuxième édition, revue et augmentée, Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, 2002, pp. 203-205.

[45] Basil TATAKIS, *Christian Philosophy in the Patristic and Byzantine* Tradition, trans. by G.D. Dragas, Rollinsford, Orthodox Research Institute, 2007, p. 165.

[46] Stanley S. HARAKAS, "Faith formation in Byzantium", in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 50, 1-4, 2005, pp. 92-100.

CONCLUSION

St. Gregory Palamas is known as a Byzantine spiritual author, a remarkable theologian, and a polymath. However, he has been accused of being an innovator, and at the same time he has been honored as a traditional theologian. Now the concepts of traditionality and innovation are closely connected with time, and apart from time neither of them can be correctly understood. But traditionality and innovation are not necessarily irreconcilable. Rather, the opposite is true; the one often supplements and completes the other. Tradition innovates. The most authentic innovations have been the products of tradition. Gregory Palamas, as a traditionalist theologian, was a man of innovations. His innovation was both authentic and traditional. He can therefore be very well characterized as a traditional innovator.[47]

On the surface, the Palamite position is deceptively simple: God cannot be known, communicated or participated as he is in his 'essence', but is known, communicated and participated in his 'energy' or 'energies'. God may thus be said to exist in two modes, being equally fully present in both; so that the man participating in the divine 'energy' by grace is authentically sharing the life of God and is 'deified' by his participation. The energies are not identical with the hypostases of the Godhead, rather they are possessed and exercised in common by all three persons. And they are so exercised through all eternity, independently of the world's existence, since God is always εν ενεργεία, always active or actual.[48]

Palamas' presuppositions are three: *first*, that the experience of the hesychasts is real – the light they see is a real light which brings about intimate communion with the divine; *secondly*, that God is inaccessible in his essence; and *thirdly* that the Fathers convey an unchanging truth in its fullness, so that consequently the tenets of hesychasm must be found in the Fathers. The first two presuppositions account for the importance Palamas gives to the gospel account of the Transfiguration, and his innovative exegesis of it as a demonstration of theosis. The third accounts for his extended discussion of patristic texts, particularly from the Cappadocians, Dionysius and, above all, Maximus.[49]

During his controversial debates with Varlaam the Calabrian, Saint Gregory Palama stated that the people's findings, though they are true, do not bring any contribution to Salvation. Nothing of what is needed and useful for Salvation is missing from the teaching of the Holy Spirit.[50] This straight statement of the former Archbishop of Thessaloniki could make some superficially thinking or ignorant persons question the fact that the Orthodoxy is opened to the scholars' huge range of preoccupations related to the knowledge of the world's hidden secrets. This is true, but St Gregory Palamas' statement regards the permanent reference to the Holy Book. It is not the sciences that produce the Purification of ignorance,

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[47] George MANTZARIDES, "Tradition and Renewal in the Theology of Saint Gregory Palamas", in: *Eastern Churches Review. A Journal of Eastern Christendom*, George Every, John Saward, Kallistos Timothy Ware eds., Volume IX Numbers 1-2, 1977, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 1.

[48] Rowan D. WILLIAMS, "*The Philosophical Structures of Palamism*", *ibidem*, p. 27.

[49] In fact one could say without exaggeration that Palamas's spiritual theory arises from the interaction between the hesychast tradition and Maximus the Confessor. See: Norman Russell, "Theosis and Gregory Palamas: Continuity or doctrinal change?", p. 375.

[50] Dumitru STĂNILOAE, *Viaţa şi învăţătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama* (*Life and Teaching of Saint Gregory Palama*), Scripta Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 27.

but the Holy Scriptures and the Christian Truth[51], so the renowned Saint used to say, whom we celebrate on the second Sunday of Lent.[52]

The debate about Palamism is likely to continue for some time. St Gregory Palamas was fond of quoting the proverb: 'Every argument can be answered by some other argument'.[53] On the level of rational argumentation, theological controversy proves unending. But there is one thing, so St Gregory believed, that is always decisive: the experience of the saints. The true aim of theology is not rational certainty through abstract arguments, but personal communion with God through prayer. It was as a theologian of personal experience that St Gregory was acclaimed by the Orthodox Church in the 14th century[54], and it is by the same experiential criteria that his teaching should be assessed in our own day.

The opponents of Palamism were not heretics. But, like many of the Fathers of the fourth century who had reservations about the word *homoousios*, they rejected novel terminology and insisted on what they took to be "the ancestral doctrines" – *ta patria dogmata.* Palamas' torrent of treatises convinced some of them, but his final victory was chiefly brought about by his supporters' capture of the patriarchal office. His version of theosis was enshrined in Orthodox teaching as a result of his canonization by the synod of 1368, but among the intellectuals for whom it was intended it remained – and still remains – controversial[55], despite its grandeur.

At the end, we underscore the great contribution of Palamas, that one concerning the best general description of the essence-energies distinction. It remains that which is implied by the meaning of the word *energeia* itself: it is the distinction between an agent and that agent's activity. In the case of God, however, we must recognize that the range of His *energeiai* is extremely diverse. And some are eternal and others temporal; some are contingent and others necessary; some are best conceived as 'realities' or 'energies', others as activities or operations, and yet others as attributes.[56] Rather than seeking to fit this multiform concept into categories that are foreign to it, we ought to seek to understand it in its own terms, in light of the sources and concerns that shaped Palamas' thought[57]. Only in this way can we truly learn what he has to teach us.

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[51] *Ibidem*, p. 32.

[52] Răzvan IONESCU, "Water and Word – A Study of Memory", in: *Transdisciplinarity in Science and Religion*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, Nr. 3 / 2008, p. 92.

[53] See, for example, *Triads* I, i, I; I, ii, question; I, iii, 13.

[54] Archimandrite Kallistos WARE, "The Debate about Palamism", in: *Eastern Churches Review. A Journal of Eastern Christendom*, p. 63.

[55] Norman RUSSELL, "Theosis and Gregory Palamas: Continuity or doctrinal change?", p. 379.

[56] See D. BRADSHAW, *Aristotle East and West: Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 272.

[57] D. BRADSHAW, "Essence and Energies: What Kind of Distinction?", in Analogia: The Pemptousia Journal for Theological Studies, vol. 6 /2019: St Gregory Palamas, Special Series, Part 4, p. 55.

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MAN AND HIS QUALITY AS AN IMAGE OF GOD IN PATRISTIC THINKING

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ABSTRACT

The notion of divine image is generously described by the patristic literature, each of the authors trying to identify the content of this special characteristic of human being, considered (in different positions) the defining element of the created rational being, indicating the possibility of opening to God not through something external, but from the inside of the human being. Since when they speak of God, the Church Fathers do not consider the reality of the one being, but that of the three persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, as well as when the question of the image of God is raised, they emphasize that this the image by which human nature is conformed is the image of the Son, or the image of the Word. In this article I set out to draw some points on this patristic feature of the Eastern Fathers.

Keywords: archetype; anthropology; creation; divine image; divine likeness; logos.

INTRODUCTION

Patristic thinking did not stop only at the generic consideration of man as the "face of God". Whereas when imparting about God, the Holy Fathers do not consider the reality of the one being, but that of the three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the same when it comes to the question of the "face of God", it is made clear that this *face* by which human nature is conformed is the face of the Son, or the face of the Word.

This identification with the "face of the Son" is also linked to the fact that the face of the fallen man in sin is restored by the saving work of the Son of God, Jesus Christ. Hence a differentiation in "old Adam" and "new Adam", between the pre-fall state and that of the human in Christ. "*Of the Holy Fathers, most confirm, in different ways, the relativity of Adamic perfection, in those they say when they compare life in Adam to that in Christ, and when they distinguish between image and likeness. Indeed, by comparing creation to redemption, the Fathers generally declare that redemption through Christ is the return to original righteousness and the restoration of God's face in Adam. In particular, when they make the connection between creation and redemption, they raise the latter, saying that the state in paradise was not perfect, but was inferior to that in Jesus Christ, among other things, and because it was devoid of intemperance and spiritual life, which is given by Jesus Christ. In other words, restoration and spiritual life in Christ is the end point that the natural man was to reach before the fall, after I Cor. 15, 46 sq., bearing moral trial and, in particular, promoting free will in perfect natural freedom*"[1].

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[1] Hr. Andrutsos, *Symbolic,* Trans. by Justin Moisescu, Edit. Metropolitan Center of Oltenia, 1955, p. 232.

1. HRISTOLOGY IN THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE

The teaching about the quality of the Son's face has a strong biblical foundation from which the Holy Fathers also departed. In the Epistle to the Colossians, St. Paul produces a synthesis of the teaching of Christ - the face of God - presenting it not as a personal opinion but "as a liturgical hymn of the Christian community": "He is the unseen face of God, First - Born of all the building, for in Him were all built, those in heaven and those on earth , the seen and the unseen, either Thrones, or The Lords, or the Beginners, or the Masters. All through Him and for Him have been built, and He is before all, and all in Him are held together, and He is the head of the body, of the Church, He, who is the beginning, the First - Born of the dead, that He may be the first in all" (Colossians 1, 15-18).[2]

The text reveals the Christological aspect par excellence of Pauline anthropology, implicit of the Theology of the Face. This dimension of the term *face* is manifested in the fundamental teaching of St. Paul according to which, in order to be whole, man must bear the face of the heavenly man, that is, of Christ (I Corinthians 15, 49), reach the stature of the age of Christ's fullness (Ephesians 4, 14) and this "that he may no longer be a child." For the apostle of the Gentiles, the majority of man coincides with his christification, and implicitly his destiny is a histological one. "The exhortation of St. Paul *to the faithful man that he* [3]*should appear as a perfect man, to the extent of the age of* Christ's fullness (Ephesians 4, 13), acquire the mind of Christ (I Colossians 2, 16), *the heart of Christ* (Ephesians 3, 17), is not made for reasons of external piety and sentimentality, but he speaks ontologically.[4]

This is based both on the teaching that man is the face of Christ and on the dynamism that the face has. It is the calling of his own nature – the christic nature – as well as the voice of love that calls him to the Absolute Love of the Holy Trinity through which he was created. Therefore, the teaching that man is the face of Christ does not overshadow that of man—the face of the Holy Trinity. It is an explanation rather than a contradiction between the two teachings. "So the Lord has not done mankind only one good as any other, keeping his best part for Himself, but has made us partakers of the very fullness of God, loading himself with all the wealth of gifts that flow from His Being."[5]

This is proven by the Holy Fathers, those who take over the idea of Pauline *Christ – the face of God – have* linked it to the theme of the Face, the man – the *face of God resulting in the teaching of man – the face of the Face.* For St. Irenaeus, Clement Alexandrine, Origen, St. Athanasius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Maxim, St. Gregory Palama and for almost all other Fathers it is clear the distinction that Christ represents the Face of God and man the face of Christ, so that man is the face of the face.

St. Irenaeus says that the image of God is the Son, in whose face man was, and He showed himself at the fullness of time in order to discover that the face was his. The stature of the face implies that of the likeness, and the creation of man participates the whole Trinity, God creating all through His Word, and embellishing them through the Holy Spirit. In this context, the Word is the Archetype by which the Holy Trinity shapes man.

"Man is assimilated to the Logos through the rational part of his soul," and through the intercession of the Logos man becomes a friend of God. "In fact," says Cabasila, "any

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[2] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal,* Trans John I. Ica. Jr. ed. a II-a, Edit. Deisis, Sibiu, 1999, p. 107.

[3] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 67.

[4] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 81.

[5] Nicolae Cabasilas, *Despre viaţa in Christ,* Trans Prof. Prof. Dr. Teodor Bodogae, EIBMBOR, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 34.

friendship leads in forced form to some union; but what could God's love resemble? It seems that the bond and the union between the spouses, on the one hand, and the harmony of listening to the cocks, on the other, would best clarify this mysterious union. Yet even these images are poorly tally and remain far from what they should say. "The purpose of the face is the likeness, which in Clement's conception consists in the participation of our logos in the divine Logos.

An important step in understanding the human being – the face of God is taken by St. Gregory of Nyssa. If at St. Athanasius everything revolves around the Logos and His work, St. Gregory leans on man and the value he has in the universe. "*The object of my research is not at all simple—writes the Saint—being no more important than the wonders of the world, but in a way it is more precious than any of what is known in the world because apart from man no other creature resembles God*." By this likeness man is an integrative part of the universe. If for the stoics and for many of the Holy Fathers man is microcosm, for St. Gregory, he becomes macrocosm. The two terms do not contradict each other, but the first makes sense in the second. Being from this world, the human person shares in its contents, but cannot remain in the sphere of the limited, but aspires to something better, to his archetype to which he is mysteriously bound. "*There is a great difference between the man who was built to resemble the model and what was made after some kind of face around him. For if the face bears no resemblance to the model, then it is not worthy to bear its name. If the imitation is not complete, we are dealing with something else, not with the face or reproduction of the original*."[6]

The approach of St. Gregory of Nyssa is deeply anthropological. Through a thorough demonstration he bases the true status and the authentic purpose of man: that of de-establishing himself and of deified the world in which he lives, and P. Nellas emphasizes this further by stating that "*the purpose of the first man always remains the same. Every man created in the image of God is created to become a face in Christ... Christ paved the way for this goal. Indeed, the birth of God the Word and His iconography in the flesh do not exhaust itself in redemption, in liberation from the consequences of Adam's error*."[7]

This *human connection – Logos* appears insistently in the writings of the Holy Fathers, which proves the importance it has in the formulation of the teaching of faith. The fact that man has as archetype the Logos, is undoubtedly one of the fundamental truths of the Church, but the Fathers have made one more point: The Archetype of man is the Incarnate Logos. Thus, even "*before the hypostatic union of divine and human nature, and even before the fall, man existed for Christ, which means that he had even then, although he had not sinned, the need for salvation, since he was unfulfilled and unfulfilled, child*."[8]

The realization of man as a truly whole being took place through the birth of Christ, which is why St. Basil the Great rightly calls the day of Christ's birth "*the birthday of humanity*"[9].

Nicolae Cabasilas, resuming St. Gregory of Nyssa, states the following: "because for the new man was made up from the beginning the nature of man; mind and desire were made for Him: the mind they received to know Christ, the desire to run to Him, the memory we have to carry in him, for He was the Archetype for the walled. Because it's not the old Adam

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[6] St. Gregory's Nyssa, *Introduction* the *About Making Man*, in vol. *Writings* Part II, Trans Pr. Prof. Teodor Bodogae, PSB 30, Edit. Biblical Institute..., Bucureşti, 1998.
[7] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 80.
[8] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 79.
[9] St. Basil the Great, *the naşterea Christ*, apud P. Nellas, *Op. Cit.* p. 80.

that's the model for the new Adam, it's the new Adam that's the model of the old one... man goes to Christ not for his deity which is the goal of all, but also because of his other nature (the human one).[10] The fact that Adam was created in the image of Christ means that "he received, as the face, the breath of the Spirit and effectively showed himself as a *living soul* (Face 2, 7) ... the man before the fall was not yet able to receive the hypostatic union and find in it his true existence and full spiritual life. Through *the birth of the happy body of the Lord takes place the union of the two* natures *spaced* until then because the common hypostasis *suppresses the distance between divinity and humanity...*"[11].

Then, through the Passion and sacrifice of the Savior's Cross, both sin and the power that the devil had over man are crushed; human nature is freed from enmity with God and is brought to the luminosity and beauty of paradise. Through His Resurrection, man is freed from his service to damage and death; "*descending with the human nature which he took, and through it to death, the Word renewed and made man unsparing. Through the Resurrection, the truly human body of Jesus became and showed himself immortal and spiritual body...*"[12]. Human nature was built in the image of Christ, "*so that the Logos could take From it His Mother and enter the world as a man, so that God would truly become God—man, and man would become truly, according to grace and participation, himself God—man.*"[13] Therefore, man must tend toward his Archetype, "*to participate in the deity by releasing from any possibility of sin and by strengthening in love, so that the Word may unite hypostatically with man and thus appear in Christ's history, may God—Man—be shown.*"[14] Man is called to participate in God, without his nature ever being confused with that of God, without his freedom being diminished; on the contrary, "*in Christ, man finds his primary destiny restores his existence according to the divine Model, rediscovers true freedom lost because of the bondage to which Satan subjected him—by working with the Holy Spirit, to love and know God.*"[15] Spiritualization means "to imitate Christ, that is, to endure His passions on the path of asceticism, to enlighten yourself with the truth revealed through Him in order to reach full life... Any action is directly proportional to the purpose you're pursuing. But the purpose of religious life is deity. But such a great purpose requires a preparatory action to match it... The measure of godliness is God Himself."[16]

2. LIMITS OF HUMAN FREEDOM IN THE PATRISTIC TEOLOGY

The archetype of man is therefore not simply the Logos, but the incarnate Logos. Therefore, the image of Christ is not something impossible for man to achieve, because "*The chip of God is a real possibility, a pledge of engagement that must lead to the wedding, that is, to the hypostatic union, the unmixed but real mixture of divine and human nature. Only then does the iconic or potency-like existence of man become a real existence. Man finds his ontological content in the Archetype.*"[17] Therefore, here on earth is born the new man or the inner man, made in the image of God, "*being like a fetus in the womb of his mother, and*

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[10] N. Cabasilas, *Op.cit.*, apud P. Nellas, *Op. Cit.* p. 77.

[11] Panayotis Nellas, Man – godly animal, p. 137, 139.

[12] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 139-140.

[13] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 142.

[14] Panayotis Nellas, *Man – godly animal*, p. 78.

[15] John Meyendorff, *Christ in thought creştină Eastern* Trans Pr. Prof. Nicolai Buga, Edit. Biblical Institute..., Bucureşti, 1997, p. 137.

[16] Nichifor Crainic, *Sfinţenia – the fulfillment of the human,* Edit. Metropolitan of Moldova Chi minh city Bucovina Iaşi, 1993*,* p. 110, 115.

[17] P. Nellas, *Op. Cit.* p. 79.

after having taken full form is born so-called the second time for the other world, perfect and unvarnished."[18]

The dynamism of the face goes beyond the moral meaning of a similarity seen as the fulfillment of certain norms, revealing an authentic, christic meaning. "*Man—the face of the Word is the great mystery, and the union between man and Christ is a happy target for which all have been founded. This is the divine purpose, thought before the beginning of things, which, by defining it, we say is the final target, previously thought out, for which they are all, and it for none.*" [19] This final target to which every believer aspires, the deity, is possible no other than through God's work in us; protecting us from the evils to which the devil urges us, the Lord has given us the face, to follow Him. "*He who truly partakes in Christ, he cannot fail to do everything as Christ himself did. He who truly loves Christ, he will truly keep His commandments, for it is impossible that, by loving Christ, you do not love His commandments in which the spirit of Christ is expressed.*"[20]

This dynamic aspect was essential for the spiritual literature in which human tension to God occupies the most important place. The face is shaped directly in relation to man's virtue before God and his love for his fellow man. The love of guests and strangers within the monastic community such as that of Nitria or Sketis is telling proof of this. The answer given by an old man, Avva John Cassian, and German, his companion, is revealing: "*the fast is always with me, but you always keep with me, I cannot... Receiving, but through you I owe it my best to rest Christ. And after I spend you, the canon of the station I can win it again.*" [21]

Archimandrite Sophrony describes in an exceptional way the love relationship between man and Christ, which is intended, almost involuntarily, for the love of his neighbor: "*God's love is his own insatus: she does not know and cannot know the satiness. There is no stink, no rinsing in the energy of undisplaced life... In the act of Christ-like love, the Christian gives himself without the remnant of his other lovers: first of all to God, and then, in the power of the Holy Ghost, to all.*"[22] We could say that what man has received, only contoured at creation, receives color through working faith in deeds, or that the Good Painter works with us to realize the similarity. If we have received the face and we must come to the likeness of God, in what way is the likeness expressed, asks Archimandrite Sophrony; and he also replies, "*Especially in the fact that he will bear upon himself the hardships of his brethren, that is, he will count himself guilty of the evil that takes place, and gradually growing in this consciousness, he will receive all death willingly, without even looking where it comes from and what kind it is.*"[23]

CONCLUSION

We must reject everything to look at Christ, but because every man is the face of Christ, we have a duty to look at him and surround him with love. We are not surprised that that old man has renounced the severe rule of fasting precisely to receive the neighbor—the face of Christ, and his gesture is nothing more than a determined step towards salvation and

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[18] N. Cabasilas, *Op. Cit.* p. 22.

[19] St. Maxim the Confessor, *Responses to Talasie* LX, Trans Prof. D. Stăniloae in Filocalia, vol. III , Edit. Humanitas, Bucureşti, 1999, p. 304.

[20] Archimandrite Sophrony, *Naşterea the one in împărăţia the unflinching one,* Edit. Reunification, Alba-Iulia, 2003, p. 251.

[21] Lucien Regnault, *Viaţa daily life părinţilor deşertului in 4th century* Egypt, Trans John, I'm going to I. Ica Jr., Edit. Deisis, Sibiu, 1997, p.156.

[22] Archimandrite Sophrony, *Naşterea the one in împărăţia the unflinching one,* p. 128.

[23] Archimandrite Sophrony, *Naşterea the one in împărăţia the unflinching one,* p. 251.

deity. That is why he becomes an intermediary between the universe and God tending towards loving communion with fellow men according to the paradigm of intra-trinity love.

In conclusion, Christ raised in man the image of God to his full topicality, that is to say to his full communion with God and his fellowmen, and what Christ expects of us is to leave the truffle and raise our gaze to heaven, "for in the other time of our lives only one thing is required: to keep the blessings and gifts shared by Christ, and not to cast out our crown. , which with so much fatigue and effort the Savior has woven us. Only this and is life in Christ, the life that the Holy Mysteries gain, to which, of course, is added the benevolent endeavor of man."[24]

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