

THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF NICOLAS CABASILAS*

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Chapter I

SOTERIOLOGY

Cabasilas' main attempt is not to show the logical necessity of the Incarnation and Redemption but their fruits and grace that are the foundations of our supernatural life and of our union with Christ through the Sacraments.¹ He expresses this idea by various biblical and patristic *metaphores* regarding the ransom paid by Christ to the Father, the deliverance from the slavery of Satan, always insisting on a conception of justice — contrary to that of violation.² The death and virtue of Christ is the basic cause of our reconciliation and reunion with God; of peace and justice.³ By assuming the human nature, Christ associated it with His own divinity so that by participating in the Sacraments we are united with His divinized humanity.⁴ Christ, therefore, became for us the Initiator of the justification.⁵ By His death we received the power to destroy sin and by His resurrection we are made heirs of the new life. His death actually killed our sinful life and as a result of the atonement, we are liberated from the pains of our sins.⁶

Our author obviously does not use the rigorous dialectical scheme of Anselm since for Cabasilas the conception of man's divine and supernatural life is always the predominant element.⁷

* Συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ. 528 τοῦ προηγουμένου τεύχους.

1. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, I, 504-504. 508CD.
2. *Ibid.*, 508A-D; comp. VI, 637A; IV, 592BC, 620AB; VII, 716BCf.
3. *Ibid.*, 509D; II, 533B.
4. *Ibid.*, 508C, 512D.
5. *Ibid.*, 512A.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 536D-537AB, 540B.
7. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, II, 512D.

His expressions: «the payment of ransom» or «the deliverance from the demon's tyranny», are apparently biblical *metaphores* equivalent with other parallel expressions: «death of sin», «clearing off the debt contracted by sin», «destruction of the separation between God and us» — «divine friendship and divine life». These are the constant parallel expressions which precisely represent the whole difference between Anselm's argumentation and that of Nicolas Cabasilas.⁸

We agree with S. Salaville⁹ that the Cabasilian conception of the Justice of God is extremely different from that of Scholasticism and Anselm: namely the death of Christ as a sacrifice was not offered to the satisfaction of Satan, but as justice to God¹⁰, since the expressions: «payment of ransom», etc., as already mentioned by Cabasilas should be understood not in the scholastic and dialectical spirit of Anselm but as literary forms and parallelisms of the redemptive divinization and restoration.¹¹

Always faithful to his basic idea to approach the realization of our supernatural life in Christ, Cabasilas again in a fundamental passage refers to the effects of Baptism. Here we find his remarkable affirmation on the role and participation of the entire Trinity in Redemption. Thus, «the Father made us free; the Son is the ransom of our deliverance; the Holy Spirit is our liberty according to the Apostle: «Wherever is the Spirit of the Lord there is also liberty» (2 Cor., 3, 17). The Father regenerates us; but it is in the Son that we are regenerated; the Holy Spirit is the principle that strengthens us... All three (the Father, The Son, and the Holy Spirit) had in common willed the salvation of man and all together found the means of its realization; but in its accomplishment they did not work in common. This action directly belongs only to the Son: only the unique Son assumed flesh and blood, suffered, died and resurrected...»¹²

All of these considerations rest on the fundamental idea of the divine life coming from the death of sin. Our theologian devotes much time to the examination of the nature of this life. His explanation is

8. Ibid., 512-513. cf. J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la Rédemption. Etudes critiques et documents*, Louvain, 1934, pp. 291-292.

9. Salaville, «Vues Soteriologiques Chez. N. Cabasilas», *REBYZ.*, I (1943) p. 14-15.

10. Cf. *DE Vita in Christo*, I, 508BC.

11. Ibid., 508C, 513B-516C.

12. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, II, 532C-533A; comp. III, 573AB; comp. Cabasilas, *Divinae Liturgiae interpretatio*, Ch. 26, 424CD.

of great importance, since it expresses the complete Cabasilian conception of redemption, and for this reason we cite it entirely:

«This new life is superior to the first, and is more conformable with our nature... This life is not similar to that of the angels because what do we have in common with them? It is man that is fallen: man being fallen, if the resurrected one were an angel, man could not be restored; this would be analogous to the case of a broken statue of which the bronze figure will not receive its first human form but something else; or it will be some other creation if it were not restored to the original statue. Thus, the human life were restored and renovated and became better than the first (of sin) but without change in its nature. All these conditions of the new life have been realized in the life of the Saviour. It is new because nothing is common with the old one (of sin). It is superior since it passes all imagination as the life of God; it is conformable with our nature because it was the life of a man and of Him Who was real man as well as God, except that He did not bear sin in His human nature...»¹³

Later on we find another recapitulation of Cabasilas' soteriological doctrine in connection with the resurrection of Jesus. He refers to many Scriptural quotations: «Only the Saviour making His first entrance in death (Coloss., 1, 18; Apoc. 1, 5) pulled the nature away from the corruption and penetrating as forerunner for us, into the Holy of Holies (Hebr. 6, 20), He delivered our soul from sin. Having slain sin He reconciliated God to us and destroyed the wall of separation. He was sacrificed for us in order to sanctify us in virtue (John 17, 19). As a result of this, only those who participate in His nature, even men, will be delivered from sin, and also those who love His Incarnation and His Passion, practicing His Commandments and conforming their wills to His will.»¹⁴.

Moreover, there is another general résumé¹⁵ where Cabasilas em-

13. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, II, 540CD,

14. *Ibid.*, 544BC.

15. *Ibid.*, IV, 588-592.

phasizes not the scholastic necessity of redemption but the meaning of the new life in Christ and the fruits of Christ's death on the Cross. Thus in order to support this assertion, he associates the idea of the offense by sin towards God with that of the reparation, which the Saviour alone was able to operate. Neither was the Law of the Old Testament sufficient to cause such a reconciliation, since it was simply justice of human order (cf. Rom. 10, 3), a prelude and a preparation to the true justice. On the contrary, the new Law of the New Testament was affirmed by the life and death of Christ Himself, effecting completely our purification and reconciliation with God. Only Christ could give back to the Father all of the honour that belonged to Him and which was injured by the sin of man. And Christ accomplished this by a compensation: that of His life and that of His death. Offering His death on the Cross for the glory of His Father as counter-balance to the offense caused by us, He pays in a superior proportion the homage for which we were indebted to God because of our sins. On the other hand, by His absolutely holy life He restored all the glory of God, the Father. He sanctified and divinized human life since the fullness of the divinity dwelled bodily in Him (Coloss. 2, 9). Thus, our Saviour revealed to us the supreme love and goodness of God.

Our author concludes by emphasizing again that Christ glorified the Father and reconciled us with Him by both His two natures, the human and the divine, and to which corresponds the primary purpose of the Incarnation: to accomplish all justice during His life, and to make known to man by His words and action the man-God whom they ignored.¹⁶ That is why among all the Sacraments, the Holy Eucharist alone causes the complete divinization of man, since it is a continual Incarnation, Death and Resurrection: a repairing of our offence towards God because of daily life's sins after Baptism.¹⁷

In order to understand better the Cabasilian thought in this respect, let us briefly examine here some principal passages of the last two books of the *DE VITA IN CHRISTO*, where the Cabasilian conception of sin, considered always as the greatest and unique evil since it constitutes an *offence to God*,¹⁸ is developed.

In the sixth book Cabasilas declares that through the medita-

16. *De Vita in Christo*, IV, 588-92.

17. *De Vita in Christo*, IV, 589-92BC; comp. Homily in Dormition, ed. M. Jugie, P.O. XIX, no. 5, 6, pp. 499-501.

18. *Ibid.*, VII, 693CD, 692-93A.

tion of Christ's life, the fervent Christians will possess His love and virtue of justice.¹⁸ Meditation itself will show to them the Savior accomplishing with an infinite perfection this virtue: «He gave back to all everything that was due: to His Father, the glory and the obedience... to the tyrant, the fetters, the shame and the contempt by a just judgment...»¹⁹; «Christ, the model of humility Who redeemed us by His blood and Who granted to us the freedom towards the price of a so-powerful ransom»²⁰; «Christ sought by all means our friendship»;²¹ various aspects of the Redemption, defeat of Satan — triumph of the human nature against Satan by Christ's Death and Resurrection»;²² «Christ-God assumed the human nature in order to make men gods»;²³ the Redeemer Christ «is our peace; He it is who united two uncompromised people, destroying in His own flesh the wall of separation and enmity.»²⁴ «His moral beauty fascinates those who love Him»;²⁵ «by His sufferings and blood He redeemed us».⁵

And immediately after such affirmations our author comes to the idea of the extraordinary, ineffable and unimaginable divine mercy manifested by Christ to us through the redemptive work which only He could accomplish:» «...What comparison is possible with that mercy of Christ, Who had not been content to sympathize with our sufferings and misfortunes only mentally or sensibly, but really participated in them? He did not confine Himself to be a mediator for the wicked men, but He undertook all our miseries and He died in our instead»²⁷.

In the seventh book of the *DE VITA IN CHRISTO* he considers sin as the real evil and misfortune of life, since it is an offence and contrary to His will.²⁸ For the faithful Christian therefore, who wants to live a Christian-like life, the highest obstacle and the worst misfortune is sin, since it is against the Commandments and the will of God.²⁹ There is another passage in relation to contrition for sin: «The grief

19. *Ibid.*, VI, 673A.

20. *Ibid.*, 662 CD.

21. *Ibid.*, 665A.

22. *De Vita in Christo*, VI, 665CD.

23. *Ibid.*, 668C.

24. *Ibid.*, 676CD; cf. Ephes. 2, 14.

25. *Ibid.*, 677A.

26. *Ibid.*, 580A.

27. *Ibid.*, 673A-D; comp. *DIV. LIT. INT.*, Ch. 17,19.

28. *De Vita in Christo*, VII, 692-3A.

29. *De Vita in Christo*, VII, 692-963.

for the committed sins, the austerities and tears of repentance lead to the destruction of sin and to the restoration of the spiritual prosperity lost by sin. But, just as only the sorrow that prepares for the love of God is a sane sorrow, in the same way spiritual prosperity is the will conformable to reason and the just measure». ³⁰

The final pages of this book are a triumphant hymn to Jesus' love. They endeavor to show more expressly and all at once all that which we have included in the previous quotations. It should be remembered that Nicolas Cabasilas bases himself on the Scriptural *data*, particularly on John and Paul.

Looking at our total appurtenance on Christ as a practical result of the Redemption, our Doctor writes: «... Our Saviour redeemed entirely the whole man... He sacrificed His Body as well as His soul for our freedom.. His body suffered with kicks; His soul felt pain not only at the moment of His Bodily Immolation, but even before the Passion Itself (Matth. 26, 37). Thus giving of Himself entirely, He redeemed the whole man and especially His will. Since as to the rest, He was completely Master of our nature; only our will had escaped from His empire and for this reason the accomplishment of His entire Redemptive work lies in conquering it...» ³¹

There follows another beautiful passage of a persuasive comparison between the situation of slaves and that of the redeemed souls: «The buyer of a slave did not spend his money because of his interest for this slave, but for his own benefit and comfort, for the labours of the slave. Meanwhile, this slave continually suffers even if he is consumed to the utility and service of his master. In the Christian order the contrary occurs. Christ was offered for the well-being of His servants: He paid the ransom not in order to gain some personal advantage from His redeemed slaves, but only to benefit and free them from any slavery...» ³² «...Precisely for this reason St. Paul urges: «Rejoice in the Lord» (Philipp. 4, 4), designating by the «Lord» Him who redeemed us.

And the Saviour, specifying much more clearly the cause of our joy, calls «good servant» him who takes part in His joy and calls Himself «the Lord» saying: «Enter, good servant, into the joy of thy Lord» (Luke 19,17)... The joy of the servant and the Lord are identical,

30. Ibid., VII, 701B.

31. De Vita in Christo, VII, 716B-D.

32. Ibid., 717A-D. Cf. Rom. 15,3.

not only because the motive is identical but also because there is a reciprocity of sentiments, since Christ «did not consider Himself or think of what was beneficial to Him» (Rom. 15, 3). but He had emptied Himself, *ekenose*, and died for the welfare of His servants...»³³

Recapitulating what he means by «life in Christ», our author once again touches on the conception of the redemptive death freely accepted by Jesus in absolute obedience to His Father:

«To live in Christ is to imitate Christ and live in conformity with Him, which means the priority of the will; it is the submission of our will to the will of God. Christ submitted His human will to His divine will in order to teach and give to us an example of the upright life. And when the hour came, He did not refuse to die for the benevolence of the world... and for the obedience to His Father, obedience that led Him even to the Cross.»³⁴

Let us try to enumerate briefly the principal and predominant ideas constantly placed side by side in the *DE VITA IN CHRISTO* of Nicolas Cabasilas. Sin is an offense to God, a crime against the honour due to God; the redemption of Christ is ransom for sin, victory against the demon, deliverance of humanity, but above all compensation and restoration of the honour of God carried away by sin. This compensation, freedom and victory could only be realized by a «God-Man»³⁵ having the highest manifestation of the glory of God and particularly of His goodness and love. All these ideas are supported by Biblical quotations with one and the same aim and emphasis on the supernatural life that is precisely the divine life acquired by our Saviour, the «life in Christ.»

33. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo* VII, 717A-D.

34. *Ibid.*, 721D-723A: cf. Philipp. 2,8; comp. *De Vita in Christo*, VI, 641-644ABf.

35. *De Vita in Christo*, I, 513ABf, 516BD.

II. THE DIVINAE LITURGIAE INTERPRETATIO

Having already seen in the previous pages the soteriological doctrine of Nicolas Cabasilas, we shall proceed now to analyze the relative supplementary formulas that he offers through the successive chapters of his INTERPRETATIO of the Byzantine Liturgy. In some places there are simple parallel expressions, whereas in other sections they are elaborated more extensively.

A. The Work of Redemption in General.

Chapter 1, PG., 150, 373A: The redemptive economy «raised up the world,» τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνέστησεν.

Chapter 7, col. 384B: «The Passion is the effective cause of our salvation...», τὰ μὲν (πάθη) ποιητικὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν εἰσι...

Chapter 14, col. 400C: «When our Lord with His Cross battered down the wall of separation between God and ourselves... the fount of all graces was opened to all men...».

Chapter 17, col. 405-408, A passage of special significance: «When we were in a most wretched state, when we were His enemies (God's) and in rebellion against Him... He Himself shared in our ills, our misery, our death... Not only did He raise us up after our unhappy fall, but He vouchsafed to gain for us His Kingdom and the greatest of all goods... by His infinite love... It (the redemption) is truth and it is also judgment and justice; for the Saviour, in driving out sin and slaying the devil through His work of redemption, did it not by a display of force or a conquest of power, but by judgment and by justice... That is why Christ declared: «Now is the judgment of the world; now the prince of this world shall be cast out.» (John 12, 31). The blessed Dionysius says that the infinite love of the Divine Goodness destroyed the power which the fugitive throng, that is to say, the host of demons, had over us, not by the might of his superior strength, but... in judgment and in justice...»

Chapter 18, Final phrases, col. 410 C: «That which Christ

achieved by His Passion and Death» is the permanent union of God with men over whom He exercises His Divine Royalty.»

Chapter 35, col. 448 B: «They (the creatures) bow before Him not simply as creatures before their Lord and Creator but as purchased slaves to him who obtained them at the price of the blood of His only Son, for He possesses us by double right: as slaves whom He has made His children. For the same precious Blood increased our slavery and brought about the Divine Adoption.»

Chapter 40, An analogous idea with an interesting distinction: col. 456 BC, «The Son, in inheriting us, possesses us far more highly and excellently than He did by creating us. Through creation, He had dominion over man's nature; through inheritance He has become Lord of our minds and wills; that is the true dominion... But how did He, by inheritance, become Lord of our minds and wills? In this way: we subjected them to Him who came down on earth, Who was crucified and Who rose from the dead; we submitted our minds in recognizing Him as true God and sovereign Lord of every creature; we submitted our wills in giving Him our love, accepted His rule and taking His yoke upon our shoulders with joy. That is how God took perfect possession of mankind and truly acquired us.»

B. The Idea of the Immolation for the Glory of The Father.

The idea of the immolation for the glory of the Father, already included in many of the previous quotations is also developed here frequently.

Chapter 2, col. 376 D: «At the end of His mortal life, Christ became a victim when He was sacrificed to give glory to his Father. Also, He was dedicated to God from the beginning; in the eyes of the Father He was a precious gift; He was acceptable both as first fruit of the human race and also by reason of Law because He was the first-born.»

The same thought of the initial oblation of the Incarnation is found in chapter 6, col. 380 D: «Lord from His nativity became an oblation...»

Towards the end of Chapter 23, col. 420A, an application is made to our spiritual life and its main intention to glorify God, the basic duty for which we were created and redeemed: «Do all to the glory of God.» (1 Cor. 10, 31) May it always and in all things be our aim to glorify God... For we are slaves and owe to our Master this duty for which He first created and then redeemed us.»

Chapter 36 explains the liturgical formula: «One is Holy, One is Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father,»³⁶ and ends with this declaration, «No one has rendered to God the glory which is His due. Therefore, the Lord reproached the Jews saying: «If I be God, where is My Glory?» (Malach. 1, 6) Only His only-begotten Son has rendered to Him this glory. That is why He said when His Passion drew near: «I have glorified thee on earth.» (John 17, 4) How did He glorify Him? By manifesting His own holiness before men, He showed Himself to be holy as the Father is holy. If we regard God as the Father of the All-Holy, the splendour of the Son is the glory of the Father; if we regard Him as God in His humanity, then the destiny and holiness of the Masterpiece are the glory of the universal Creator.»

In this motive of the glory of the Father, Cabasilas insists, in another of his finest passages, on the idea that it is for the Saints that Christ had become incarnate and suffered: «The perfect holiness of the Saints is God's greatest gift to men... Do I say that this perfection of the Saints is His greatest gift? Rather, it is the whole of His gift. For the choir of Saints is the completion and the fruit of all the benefits He has bestowed upon our race; for it heaven and earth and the whole created universe were made; paradise, the prophets, the Incarnate God Himself and His teachings, works, Passion and Death had but one purpose — that men might be raised from earth to heaven, that they might inherit the Kingdom... The Saints are the end of all...»³⁷

We should mention here another significant passage, where the

36. *Divinae Liturgiae interpretatio*, PG, 150, col. 449CD.

37. Chapter 49, col. 480C.

Incarnation and the Redemption are presented as a Trinitarian work. It is connected with the Pauline liturgical formula: «May the grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communication of the Holy Spirit be with you all» (2 Corin. 13, 14). Interpreting this our liturgist writes:

«This prayer... procures for us the benefits of the Holy Trinity—every perfect gift (James 1, 17)... and it asks from each of the Divine Persons His special gift: from the Son, grace; from the Father, love; from the Spirit, communication. For the Son gave Himself as Saviour to us who not only had bestowed nothing upon Him but also were already in His debt, for «While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.» (Rom. 5, 8); His care of us then is in the truest sense a grace. The Father, through the sufferings of His Son, was reconciled to mankind and showered His love upon His enemies so that His goodness to us is given in the name of Love. Finally, the Being rich in mercy (Eph. 2, 4) wished to give to His enemies who had now become His friends the best of Himself and this the Holy Spirit achieved when He descended upon the Apostles. This is why His goodness to men is called communication.»³⁸

C. The Mediation of Christ.

The mediation of Christ by the Incarnation and, above all, by the Redemption is asserted in many repetitions. We have noted that in chapter 44, Cabasilas states the application to this mediation by the Holy Eucharist:³⁹

«What reconciled God to humanity? Simply that he saw his beloved Son become man. Likewise, He is reconciled personally to every man who wears the stamp of the only-begotten, and bears His body, and shows himself to be one spirit with Him. Without these things, each of us remains the old man, hateful to God and having nothing in common with Him.»⁴⁰

38. Chapter 26, col. 424BCf.

39. PG. 150, col. 464BC.

40. Col. 464BC.

And elsewhere: «He (Christ) is the Mediator between God and man not by His words or prayers, but in Himself, personally; because He is both God and man, He has reunited the two making Himself the meeting-ground of both (natures: the divine and human).»⁴¹

D. THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE RECAPITULATES FOR US THE WHOLE ECONOMY OF SALVATION.

Almost constantly throughout the context of our Byzantine theologian, his various ideas accompany a Eucharistic statement. Already from the first chapter of his *DIVINAE LITURGIAE INTERPRETATIO*, he tries to show that the Liturgy in its actions, psalmodies, and ceremonies represents the whole work of Redemption:

«That is why it was necessary that actions of this sort, capable of inspiring such feelings (of reverence, faith, and a fervent love of God) in us, should find a place in the order of the Liturgy. It was necessary not only that we should think about, but also that to some extent we should see the utter poverty of Him Who possess all, the coming on earth of Him Who dwells everywhere, the shame of the most blessed God, the sufferings of the impassible; that we should see how much He was hated and how much He loved; how He, the Most High, humbled Himself; what torments He endured, what deeds He accomplished in order to prepare for us this holy table. Thus in beholding the unutterable freshness of the work of Salvation, amazed by the abundance of God's mercy, we are brought to venerate Him Who had such compassion for us, Who saved us at so great a price: to entrust our souls to Him, to dedicate our lives to Him, to enkindle in our hearts the flame of His love.»⁴²

It is more than obvious, therefore, that for Cabasilas the first and the last word of Christ's mysteries and the fulfilment of the economy of redemption is God's infinite mercy manifested by the love of the Redeemer. It is not, however, permitted to speak about Cabasilas's soteriology as a theology of redemption since it presupposes a

41. Chapter 49, col. 477A.

42. Div. Lit. int. Ch. 1, col. 373D. Comp. De Vita in Christo, VI, col. 661CD; 676CD, 680A.

systematic exposition of his relative ideas. All the previously cited passages from our Father's principal writings seem not to favor such an idea and they lack the Anselmian dialectical scheme. The Goodness and Justice of God are the two predominant elements in his whole soteriology. The justice of God is essentially determined by His love. We have cited in the previous pages many relative passages of Cabasilas with a variety of expressions, but the most explicit is that in chapter 17 of the *DIVINAE LITURGIAE INTERPRETATIO*:

«Not only did He (Christ) raise us up after our unhappy fall, but he vouchsafed to gain for us His Kingdom and the greatest of all goods... by His infinite love... It is truth and it is also judgment and justice... That is why Christ declared: «Now is the judgment of the world; now the prince of this world shall be cast out.»⁴³

This text seems most characteristic and successful in showing that the justice to which Cabasilas as well as Pseudo-Dionysius refer is no other than the justice of God; and that if there is a victory won over the demon, it is not related to the debt paid to him; rather it is a divine triumph of God's mercy and love.

The allegation of the evangelic passage (John 12, 31) as well as the allusion of Psalm XCI, verse 2 about the divine mercy and truth are of special significance. Nicolas Cabasilas follows the Scriptures step by step.

W. Cass and J. Rivière assert that in these passages where the career of Christ is considered «as the debt of honour due to God,» Nicolas Cabasilas presents «an unquestionable relationship» with Anselm of Canterbury.⁴⁴

Does this «unquestionable relationship» presuppose a dependence of Cabasilas on Anselm? Although such a dependence does not seem absolutely impossible despite the one and only important passage⁴⁵ considered by Gass and Rivière, we would rather agree with S. Salaville⁴⁶ stating that such a dependence is uncertain because of the ab-

43. PG. 150, 405-408.

44. J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la redemption. Etudes critiques et documents.* (Louvain, 1931), pp. 299-300; W. Cass, *Die Mystik des Nicolas Cabasilas*, p. 78 the Introduction.

45. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, IV, col. 588-592.

46. S. Salaville, «Vues Soteriologique chez Nicolas Cabasilas», *E c h o*, I, (1943), p. 50.

sence of positive data and, moreover, because of the very different synthesis of the rest of our theologian's writings, in parallel examination.

After having described the similar rites and coincidences between Cabasilas and Anselm, Rivière concludes:

«Non pas que la tentation puisse venir à qui que ce soit d'équiparer ces deux noms (Nicolas Cabasilas and Anselm) dans l'histoire de cette doctrine (of Redemption). Même à ne regarder que le point précis de l'honneur divin, il manque à la sotériologie esquissée par l'émule Byzantin de Saint Anselme, comme l'observait déjà W. Gass, «de soubassement philosophique, le cadre fourni par une conception générale du gouvernement de Dieu.» A quoi il faut ajouter que, loin de s'inscrire dans un système uniforme et cohérent, la pensée du docteur grec se disperse en vues successives où l'explication de l'oeuvre du Christ est tour à tour cherchée dans les directions les plus différentes.»⁴⁷

These «directions les plus différentes» would be: «return of humanity to the moral order; atonement of the punishment — worthy of our faults; repairing of the offense made against God by our sin.» Are they, after all, so much different that they could not be placed side by side in Cabasilas's writings as it happens frequently? Being attached to only one passage previously mentioned,⁴⁸ Rivière exclusively separates it from all the rest of the writings of our author. Thus, he lastly declares:

«Il reste seulement que le docteur Byzantin, au cours des analyses sur lesquelles se porte à bâtons rompus sa curiosité, rencontre une, fois et retient pur son compte l'idée — même de la synthèse anselmienne. Trait fugitif, mais qui ne lui constitue pas moins une réelle originalité par rapport au théologiens de son milieu.»⁴⁹

Is there actually in Cabasilas a literary dependence on Anselm? This question arises again after reviewing the above declaration. Gass and Rivière give a positive answer, referring to the passage where, ac-

47. J. Rivière, op. cit., p. 300.

48. Cabasilas, *De Vita in Christo*, IV, 588-592. P. 72-73.

49. J. Rivière, op. cit., p. 301.

ording to them, our theologian «recontre une fois et retient pour son compte l'idée-mère de la synthèse anselmienne,» but they immediately add that the relationship between Cabasilas and Anselm could be reduced by a sort of unconscious infiltration of the Anselmian thought, possible through the intermediate agent of Thomas Aquinas.

Their conclusion may be accepted with this correction according to Salaville.⁵⁰ During Cabasilas' time the basic writing of Anselm's CUR DEUS HOMO was not yet translated in Greek⁵¹, but there existed a Greek translation of Thomas's SUMMA CONTRA GENTILES by Demetrius Cydones in 1354.⁵² Accordingly, in all probability our theologian could have known from that translation of Cydones the thoroughly Anselmian idea of «satisfaction» in Aquinas' modified formula.⁵²

It seems to me, however, that Nicolas Cabasilas was inspired above all by the Scriptural passages and by the Greek Fathers, and particularly by St. John of Damascus as concerning the Incarnation and the Sacraments and Pseudo-Dionysius in soteriology. After all, Aquinas himself was also inspired by the common patristic source, including St. John of Damascus, in his concept of the Incarnation as the manifestation of God's goodness, wisdom, justice and virtual power,⁵⁴ and by Pseudo-Dionysius in the redemption as a harmony and reconciliation between God and man.⁵⁵

Furthermore, it should be noted that neither the term «satisfaction», *ἰκανοποίησις*, or the verb *ἰκανοποιεῖν* is met with in the Cabasilian vocabulary, nor does the Anselmian idea of «satisfaction» find an echo in Cabasilian thought.

(To be continued)

50. S. Salaville, «Vues Sotériologiques Chez N. Cabasilas,» *Echo*, I, (1943), p. 52.

51. According to G. Mercati, Manuel Calecas, was the first to make such a translation; cf. S. Salaville, m. art., p. 55.

52. M. Jugie, «Demetrius Cydonès et la théologie latine à Byzance aux XIVe et XVe siècle,» *Echo*, XXVII (1928), p. 391.

53. S. Salaville, m. art., pp. 52, 55.

54. *Somma Theologiae*, 3rd. part., quaest. 1, art. 1, *Sed Contra*. cf. 3rd part, quaest. XLVI, art 1, ad 3; art .2, ad 3; quaest. XLVIII, art 3; comp. *De fide Orth.* Ch. 3, 1.

55. *Ibid.* «Respondeo Dicendum...), cf. L. Richard, *Le Dogme de la redemption*, Paris (1932), pp. 118, 119.