

ST. GREGORY PALAMAS AND THE DOCTRINE  
OF GOD'S IMAGE IN MAN ACCORDING  
TO THE *CAPITA 150*

BY

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The past thirty years have seen great progress in the publication and study of the writings of St. Gregory Palamas.<sup>1</sup> Quite naturally, it has been the major themes and concerns of his work that have attracted the greater part of the attention of scholars and theologians: Gregory's defence of the hesychast tradition of the Jesus Prayer and its accompanying spirituality, the uncreated character of the Divine light that appeared on Tabor at the Transfiguration of Christ, and the ineffable distinction between the divine substance and the divine energies. However, the work done so far can only be considered as a beginning. The supporting framework for much of Palamas' theology has been examined only in a cursory fashion. One of the most significant contributions made by Palamas lies in his original and inspired synthesis of the theological anthropology of the Eastern Fathers<sup>2</sup>. The penetrating character of this synthesis is most evident in his teaching on the divine image in man.

The major directions in the Patristic doctrine of the image are familiar through the many studies devoted to the topic.<sup>3</sup> Greek theology distinguishes between the image and the likeness mentioned in Gen 1.26. The former is indefectible and was not lost even in the trans-

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1. See D. Stiernon, 'Bulletin sur le Palamisme' *Revue des études byzantines* 30 (1972) 231-341. For more recent bibliography see J. Meyendorff, art., 'Palamas (Grégoire)', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 12.1 (1984) 105-107.

2. There have been only two major studies of Palamas' anthropology, the first by K. Kern, *Anthropologiya sv. Grigoriya Palamy* (Paris, 1950); and the second by G. Mantzaridis, *Παλαμικά* (Thessalonica, 1973), now translated in part under the title *The Deification of Man* (New York, 1984). The former, although it was a noble beginning, is now dated. The second is a useful general study but pays too little attention to the historical context of the individual works of Palamas.

3. There is a useful summary by G. Kirchmeyer, art., 'Grecque (Eglise)', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 6 (1967) 812-822.

gression of Adam and Eve in paradise; the latter was indeed lost in the fall and can only be regained through struggle and grace. Although there were dissenters, the Alexandrian theologians were largely successful in advocating their opinion that the divine image is to be located in the soul or the intellectual part of man. It was also common to distinguish between the Son who is *the* image of God and man who is *in* the image of God. This in turn implied a Christological dimension to the image in man. Even though the subject was much debated, there emerged from the Patristic period no consistent, systematic or common doctrine of the divine image in man. Near the end of the fourth century, Epiphanius of Salamis, who had something to say on just about everything, offered a few choice words on the topic<sup>4</sup>. In a discussion of a rigorist group led by a certain Audios, Epiphanius reviewed the disparity of beliefs on the subject of the image. Some, like the Audians, held that it was located in the body, others that it was to be found in the soul; others equated it with virtue, while still others understood it as a gift granted in baptism; and there were those who considered that the image was lost in the ancestral fall.

Many are the tall stories recounted by men, but time ought not to be wasted on one faction or the other with their various claims. Rather, one must believe that the image is in man, but especially that it is in every man and not simply in a particular part of men. But where it is or where it is entirely located is known to God alone who by his grace granted to man the gift of the image<sup>5</sup>.

Underlying Palamite anthropology there is the notion of a hierarchical order with God as its source and summit and with man in his proper rank or *τάξις* immediately after God, superior to the angels and to the entire created world. Palamas arrived at this position in its mature form in the *Capita 150* after some ten years of reflection on the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius.<sup>6</sup> The process of assimilating and trans-

4. *Epiphanius, Panarion* 70.3, ed. K. Holl (GCS 37; Leipzig 1933) 3:235-236.

5. *Idem* 3:235. 18-24.

6. *P.G.* 150.1117-1226. This is the most reliable edition of the *Capita 150*. Migne incorporated the *Philokalia* edition into the *Patrologia* with improved punctuation and many conjectures that have turned out to be correct. The first edition was published in the *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπιτικῶν* edited by Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain and Makarios of Corinth (Venice, 1782), pp. 964-1009. Cf. also the revised reprinting in 5 vols. (Athens, 1957-1963) 4:134-187. I will refer to the individual chapters (c. =caput/ita) by their own numbering followed by the Migne column number.

forming the thought of the Areopagite began during the controversy with Barlaam when the Dionysian teachings were a key area of contention. The Calabrian had turned to Pseudo-Dionysius to support his theories regarding the nature of man's knowledge of God.<sup>7</sup> In the *Capita 150* it was once again the question of knowledge that prompted Palamas to elaborate a Christian anthropology with a transformed understanding of the Dionysian notion of hierarchy as its framework.<sup>8</sup>

For Palamas the place assigned to man in the cosmic hierarchy was all-important. The sin of Adam was ultimately the abandonment of his place in the hierarchic order: he turned away from God and subjected himself to the counsel of an abysmally inferior creature.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the rebellion of Satan and his cohorts resulted from the desire to displace God himself in his dominion over the universal order<sup>10</sup>.

In the early chapters of the *Capita 150* Palamas confronted some of the problems raised by the renewal of philosophical and scientific studies in his day<sup>11</sup>. Although not evil in itself, profane wisdom as it was called, suffered from a tendency to deviate from its proper path and to mistake the true hierarchy in the cosmos. The Hellene philosophers both ancient *and* more modern oftentimes traded God's sovereignty over the universe for that of some mythical World Soul. In their pursuit of the pseudo-science of astrology and the mythical meanderings

7. R. E. Sinkewicz, 'The Doctrine of the knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian', *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982) 181-242.

8. Cf. J. Meyendorff, 'Notes sur l' influence dionysienne en Orient', *Studia patristica* 2 (Texte und Untersuchungen 64; Berlin, 1967), pp. 547-552 (reprinted in *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London, 1974), no. XIV).

9. «But God allowed this (the temptation by the Serpent) in order that man, seeing the counsel coming from that inferior creature (For how much inferior is a serpent to man, and clearly so!), might realize how completely worthless it is and be indignant with his subjection to what is obviously inferior and preserve his proper dignity and at the same time his faithfulness to the Creator by keeping his command (c. 42.1152A)». See also c. 44.1152CD and 62.1164A-C.

10. «But Satan aspired in his arrogance to rule contrary to the will of the Creator and; when he left his proper rank in the company of his fellow apostate angels, he was justly abandoned by the source of true life and light (c. 44.1152C). «The evil one did not own, rather he stole power over the earth, whence it is clear that he was not created as ruler of the earth (c. 62.1165B).»

11. For a detailed discussion of these chapters see R. E. Sinkewicz, 'Christian Theology and the Renewal of Philosophical and Scientific Studies in the Early Fourteenth Century: The *Capita 150* of Gregory Palamas', *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986).

of the *Chaldean Oracles*, these men had debased their own high dignity in order to serve created things or even the very powers of evil.

At its best, profane learning has some value for its ability to discipline the mind and train the 'theoptic' faculty of the soul, but in the end it cannot tell man what he really wants to now: it can lead him to the threshold of true knowledge but only the Spirit can guide him through the door. All knowledge, both natural and spiritual, has but one end, viz. Θεογνωσία, but to attain this end the help of the Spirit is required.<sup>12</sup> Only then can man find certainty in his knowledge of God, his understanding of himself, of his proper rank and of his own weakness and need for healing.<sup>13</sup> Such is the only knowledge worth having.

In chapter 34 Palamas described the source and summit of the hierarchy in terms that are unmistakably Dionysian in their inspiration.<sup>14</sup> The supreme Mind is Goodness itself, enfolding within its being all goodnesses (e.g. life, wisdom) in absolute unity and simplicity. Goodness constitutes the very substance of the transcendent nature which can then admit no contraries.

The next level in the hierarchy is occupied by rational and intellectual nature, i.e. angels and men. Palamas explained that this nature is distinguished from God or the transcendent nature by the fact that it does not possess goodness essentially, but rather as a sort of quality (οἷόν τινα ποιότητα).<sup>15</sup> The soul of man and the nature of the angels are susceptible of opposites, namely, good or evil. Palamas would even speak of a quasi-composite nature involving the substance itself and either virtue or its opposite.<sup>16</sup> Life is the essential property of ra-

12. «No such knowledge could ever be called spiritual but rather natural, which does not attain the things of the Spirit (c. 20.1133C).» «Where can we learn anything certain and free from deceit about God, about the world as a whole, about about our own selves? Is it not from the teaching of the Spirit (c. 21-1133C)?»

13. «Knowing God in truth to the extent that this is possible is not only incomparably better than Hellenic philosophy, but also, knowing what place man has before God, alone of itself, surpasses all their wisdom (c. 26.1137BC).» See also c. 29. 1140C.

14. E.g. Ἡ ὑπέρζωος καὶ ὑπέρθεος φύσις; πανάγαθος καὶ ὑπεράγαθος ἀγαθότης; πάντα γὰρ ἢ ἀγαθότης ἐκείνη συνειλημμένως καὶ ἐνιαίως καὶ ἀπλουστάτως συμπεριβάλλει. Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, P.G. 3:640B, 641A, 468D, 694C, 820CD 857B.

15. C. 33.1141.C.

16. «Thus, in a sense, even the angels are composite on the basis of their own substance and one of the opposing qualities, I mean virtue and vice (c. 30.1141A).»

tional nature, endowing it with immortality. However, angels and men do not both possess life in the same way. Angels enjoy life only as the proper attribute of their substance, whereas men possess life not only essentially but also as an activity. This activity or energy is the life-giving power (ζωοποιός δύναμις) that animates the body.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the irrational animals possess life only as an activity of their soul, for they were not granted immortality.<sup>18</sup>

According to the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, the divine outpourings (πρόοδοι) are mediated through the celestial hierarchy of angelic orders to the lower ranks of created beings. Palamas allowed that the angels stand close to God by virtue of their incorporeal nature. The good angels likewise possess a degree of moral and spiritual perfection superior to man in his present state and are thus worthy of a greater honour.<sup>19</sup> Beyond these concessions, however, Palamas was adamant that man take his proper place at the summit of the created order immediately after God and superior even to the angels.

In the early chapters of the *Capita 150*, where Gregory was commenting on various aspects of the Hellenic understanding of the world, he repeatedly insisted that man occupies a unique place in the world and a high dignity rivalled by that of no other creature.<sup>20</sup> The entire sensible world was created for his sake and the kingdom of heaven has been his destiny from the beginning. His body he derived from the material world, and his soul he received from God through an ineffable insufflation. Beyond all other creatures man is *capax dei*: in knowing and receiving God through struggle and grace, in manifesting the greatness

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17. «The soul of each man is also the life of the body it animates, and it possesses a life-giving activity seen as directed towards something else, namely, to the body which it vivifies (c. 32.1141B).»

18. «For the soul is seen to possess nothing other than the activities operated through the body, wherefore the soul is necessarily dissolved together with the passing of the body (c. 31.1141A).»

19. «They are without bodies and are nearer to the utterly incorporeal and uncreated nature. Or rather, those among them who kept to their proper rank and longed for the goal of their being, even though they are fellow servants, are honoured by us and because of their rank are much more worthy of honour than we are (c. 27. 1140A).» «But even though we possess the image of God to a greater degree than the angels, even till the present we are inferior by far with respect to God's likeness and especially now in relation to the good angels (c. 64.1168A).»

20. «The only rational soul is the human one, which is not celestial but super-celestial, not because of its location but by its own nature, inasmuch as it is an intelligent substance (c. 4.1125B).»

of the Artificer, and by virtue of his nature which was united with God in the single hypostasis of the incarnation<sup>21</sup>.

The source and foundation of man's dignity lies in his creation in the image of God. Reflecting on the special character of the divine image in man and considering his exalted rank in the hierarchic order, Palamas chose to follow one of the less travelled paths of the Patristic tradition: he saw in the image a reflection of the Trinitarian persons.<sup>22</sup>

In chapters 35 and 36 Palamas continued the discussion of the divine nature begun in c. 34 by introducing an analogy for the procession of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The supreme Mind (ὁ ἀνωτάτω νοῦς) or transcendent Goodness is also the source of goodness and thus sends forth a Word (c. 35). At this point Gregory paused to examine the possible meaning of such an analogy. The term 'word' can be used in four different senses. Firstly, there is the word which is expressed orally in sounds (ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος), but such a word belongs properly to the body although it is moved by the mind. Secondly, there is the word immanent within us (ὁ ἐνδιάθετος λόγος) which consists of the mental imaging of the sounds of a word before it is uttered externally.<sup>23</sup> Thirdly, the mental concept that immediately precedes the expression in a word can be referred to as a λόγος ἐν διανοίᾳ. Finally, there is the natural, inherent word of the mind, formed by the knowledge which always coexists with the mind.<sup>24</sup>

This analysis, brief as it is, appears at first to show a degree of sophistication that goes beyond previous tradition. However, care must be exercised so as not to read into this analysis more than is really there. Palamas has merely associated a λόγος with each of the faculties of knowledge, which he mentioned later in c. 63: namely, the νοερόν, the

21. C. 24.1136D-1137A.

22. In the later Patristic period, chiefly after the fourth century, there were some who gave the image a triadic character: e.g. John Damascene, *De imaginibus* 3.20, ed. B. Kotter (Patristische Texte und Studien 17; Berlin, 1975); idem, *De duabus in Christo voluntatibus* 30, ed. Kotter (PTS 22; Berlin, 1981); Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* 7 and 10, *P.G.* 91.1088A and 1196A; Pseudo-Anastasius, *In hexameron* 6, *P.G.* 89.931A-932A; Theodoret of Cyr, *Quaestiones in Genesim* 20 (1.28), *P.G.* 80. 108AB; Anastasius the Sinaite, *Homilia 1 de creatione hominis*, *P.G.* 44. 13229CD and 1333B-D.

23. C. 35.1141B: φθόγγων [φθόγγων m] γὰρ οἰοῦναι τύποις κάκεινος ἐν ἡμῖν διατιθέμενος. Where the sense is affected I have corrected the Migne text (m) by consulting the manuscripts (chiefly, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Coislin 100).

24. C. 35.1141C: τὸν ἐμφύτως ἡμῖν... ἐναποκειμενον τῷ νῷ λόγον, τὴν αἰεὶ συνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ γνώσιν.

λογικὸν and the αἰσθητικὸν. The προφορικὸς and the ἐνδιάθετος λόγος must both be associated with the αἰσθητικὸν. There is nothing here that can be compared with Augustine's examination of the various mental acts.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, Gregory's search for a suitable analogy did lead him to a more carefully nuanced notion of λόγος than that usually found in the Patristic tradition.<sup>26</sup>

In the following chapter (c. 36) Palamas went through a similar process to arrive at a fitting analogy for the Holy Spirit. The spirit proceeds from the Father together with the Son. First, the sense of πνεῦμα as breath must be rejected because corporeality is involved: it passes through the lips and accompanies spoken words. Second, the πνεῦμα that accompanies the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος would not be a suitable analogy because temporality is present. Only spirit in the sense of love (ἔρωσ) is adequate, for the Holy Spirit is the ineffable love of the Begetter towards the ineffably begotten Word.<sup>27</sup> The Word also experiences this Love for the Begetter and possesses this Love as a co-procession from the Father and as connaturally resting in himself. Palamas, however, was quite clear in insisting that in his substance or mode of coming to be (ὑπαρξίς) the Holy Spirit belongs to the Father alone and proceeds from the Father alone; only in the economy is he sent forth from both the Father and the Son.

Our mind too, since it is created in the image of God, possesses the image of this highest love in the relation of the mind to the knowledge which exists perpetually from it and in it, in that this love is from it and in it and proceeds from it together with the innermost word. The insatiable desire of men for knowledge is a very clear indication of this even for those who are unable to perceive their own innermost being.<sup>28</sup>

Palamas was in fact exploiting two analogies for the Trinity. The analogy of mind, word and spirit had a venerable Patristic heritage,

25. Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate* 9.4.4. (mens, notitia, amor) and 10.11.18 (memoria, intelligentia, voluntas).

26. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica* 1, ed. J. H. Srawley (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 6-13; John Damascene, *Expositio fidei* 6, ed. B. Kotter (PTS 12; Berlin, 1973).

27. C. 36.1145A: ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνωτάτω λόγου οἶόν τις ἔρωσ ἐστὶν ἀπόρητος τοῦ γεννήτορος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀπορρήτως γεννηθέντα λόγον.

28. C. 37.1145BC.

although it was only rarely associated with the divine image in man.<sup>29</sup> However, the mind's relation of love (ἔρωσ) to its own immanent knowledge (λόγος) represents a transformation of the common Patristic analogy, not in direction of a doctrinal innovation (καινοτομία) but rather as an organic development within the mainstream of orthodoxy. The second part of the present study will explore two possible, contemporary sources which may have influenced Palamas in his treatment of the triadic character of the divine image.

The angels, too, are in the image of God in that they possess a word from the mind, and the love of the mind for the word. This love is from the mind, ever coexists with the word and the mind, and is called spirit since it accompanies the word by nature.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, man possesses the image of God to a greater degree than the angels in three respects. The spirit in man is a sustaining and life-giving power. Man has received the gift of dominion. The character of man's knowledge is threefold.

Earlier in the *Capita 150* Palamas had explained that, although both men and angels possess life essentially, only in man is life also an activity, an energy.<sup>31</sup> In chapter 38 he related this life-bestowing power (ζωοποιὸς δύναμις) to man's spirit. This energy which conserves and gives life to the body is equated with the intellectual love (νοερὸς ἔρωσ) which derives from the mind, exists in the word and the mind, and possesses both the word and the mind in itself. By this love the soul is bonded by nature to the body.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the soul resides in the body not as in a place as if it were encompassed by a shell, but in a dynamic relationship whereby it sustains, encompasses and gives life to the body. In this, the soul reflects the activity of God who sustains, encompasses and gives life to incorporeal beings (i.e. angels and human souls) who are in God and dependent on him.<sup>33</sup>

The second element of the image which places man above the angels in the hierarchy is his dominion over the material world. In his

29. E. g. John Damascene, *Expositio fidei* 6-7, ed. B. Kotter (PTS 12). Kotter's apparatus of *testimonia* gives numerous references to the sources consulted by Damascene (principally, Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa).

30. C. 38. 1145D, cf. c. 43. 1152B.

31. See above, p. 5.

32. «Through it the soul naturally possesses such a bond of love with its own body that it never wishes to leave it and will not do so at all unless force is brought to bear on it externally from some very serious disease or trauma (c. 38. 1148A).»

33. C. 61. 1164D-1165A.



stewardship over the earth man is obligated to serve and obey God alone, for he owes subservience to no other creature.<sup>34</sup> There is no other being superior to man with authority over him, so that man must look to God alone for counsel or at times to the angels who serve God's counsel.<sup>35</sup> With the fall of man Satan stole dominion over the earth which was not rightfully his. And so, God appointed the good angels to keep watch over the affairs of the earth, until man could be restored to the lordship over creation which is his.<sup>36</sup>

Thirdly, unlike the angels, man's knowledge is threefold in character (τὸ τριαδικὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώσεως). Man alone possesses three faculties of knowledge: the intellectual or spiritual faculty (τὸ νοερόν), the rational or discursive faculty (τὸ λογικόν), and the faculty of sense perception (τὸ αἰσθητικόν). The last faculty, which is unique to man among intellectual creatures, is naturally joined to the faculty of reason and contributes its own discoveries to the arts, sciences and other areas of knowledge. It even possesses a certain creative power. Furthermore, the invisible word of the mind can become subject to the sense of hearing when it is converted into sounds; it can be put down in writing and seen with and through the body. «Thereby, God leads us to a clear faith in the visitation and manifestation of the supreme Word through the flesh, in which the angels have no part at all.»<sup>37</sup>

In summary, then, the angelic image reflects only the immanent life of the Trinity, whereas God's image in man reflects both the immanent life and the economic processions of the Godhead. Because of man's corporeity, the image has a Christological and incarnational dimension as well as a pneumatological character. Thus, the divine image in man points not only to God's inner being but also to his self-communication in his Word and in his Spirit.

Nevertheless, all is not well, for man in his present condition is not what he was meant to be. Although the divine image has not been lost, the transgression of Adam and Eve and the personal sins of all men have resulted in the separation of the soul from God, which is a

34. C. 62.1165AB: ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ψυχῆς φύσει, τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικόν τε καὶ ἀρχικόν, τὸ δὲ φύσει δουλεῦν τε καὶ ὑπῆκοον... ὁ μέντοι Θεὸς διὰ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀρχικόν καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης παρέσχε τὴν κυριότητα.

35. C. 43.1152B.

36. C. 62.1165B.

37. C. 63.1165CD. But as Palamas explained in the next chapter, the angels do acquire knowledge of the sensible world by a divine power (θεοειδεῖ δυνάμει), though not by a natural power of sense perception (αἰσθητικῇ καὶ φυσικῇ δυνάμει).

kind of death, and also in the loss of the likeness to God in which man was created. He must therefore recognize his loss and begin the search for his healing.

Palamas described this process at length in chapters 41 to 63, but there is one element in man's return to God which is particularly important in the present context. Man fell through forgetfulness of God and of his own proper rank in the hierarchy, and must therefore find his way back again through remembrance and contemplation.

The ancestors of our race wilfully removed themselves from the remembrance and contemplation of God and by disregarding his command they became of one mind with the deathly spirit of Satan, and contrary to the will of the Creator they ate of the forbidden tree.<sup>38</sup>

The triadic nature posterior to the supreme Trinity... ought to preserve its proper rank... and adorn itself with perpetual remembrance and contemplation of God and with most fervent and ardent love for him. By these it is marvellously drawn to itself, or rather, it would eventually attract to itself the mysterious and ineffable radiance of that nature. Then it truly possesses the image and likeness of God.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, while they lived in that sacred land, it was to the profit of our ancestors... never to have forgotten God, to have become still more practised... and accomplished in the habit of contemplation.<sup>40</sup>

Remembrance and contemplation were for Palamas closely associated with the hesychast way of prayer and in particular with the Jesus Prayer. The three passages quoted above suggest (at least, on hindsight) that there is some connection between this method of prayer and man's growth into the fullness of the image and likeness which is his eternal destiny.

38. C. 46.1153B. Note the phrase: ἐκστήσαντες ἐκόντες ἑαυτούς... τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμης καὶ θεωρίας.

39. C. 40.1148CD. Note the phrases: τῇ διηγεῖται τοῦτου μνήμη καὶ θεωρία καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ, δι' ὧν θαυμαστῶς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπισπᾶται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπεσπᾶτο, ἦν ὅτε τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐκείνης μυστικὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἀγγελίαν.

40. C. 50.1157B.

## TWO CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.

Some fifty years ago, in his important article on St. Gregory Palamas, Martin Jugie made this observation:<sup>41</sup>

Fait remarquable dans l'histoire de la théologie grecque et byzantine, et à notre connaissance, inouï jusque-là, Palamas expose sur le mystère des processions divines une théorie identique à celle de saint Augustin et de saint Thomas.

Jugie was referring to chapters 35 to 37 of the *Capita 150*<sup>42</sup> where Palamas maintained that the image of God in man reflected the processions of the Trinitarian persons. As Palamas knew no Latin, Jugie assumed that he had come across the Greek translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate* made by Maximus Planudes towards the end of the thirteenth century and the translation of the *Summa contra gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas completed by Demetrios Kydones in 1354.<sup>43</sup>

As noted above, Palamas was intermingling two analogies for the Trinity and associated both with God's image in man. The first was that of mind, word and spirit, but it was the second analogy which occasioned Jugie's comment. Here the relation of the mind to its immanent knowledge (λόγος) was described as love (ἔρωσ).<sup>44</sup>

The application of the analogy of love to the Holy Spirit is almost unprecedented in the East, while at the same time it is a hallmark of Augustine's theology of the Trinity. Why ever would such a fiercely anti-Latin theologian as Gregory Palamas turn to Augustine, much less Thomas Aquinas, in the course of a treatise against Barlaam the Callabrian and Gregory Akindynos?<sup>45</sup> Jugie was rightly surprised. There

41. 'Palamas Grégoire', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 11 (1932) 1766.

42. *P.G.* 150. 1141-45.

43. On the former see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII.2.1; Munich, 1959; repr. 1977), pp. 686-87; on the latter see G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota et altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e testi 56; Vatican City, 1931), pp. 160-61.

44. C. 37. 1145BC. A reasonably (but not entirely) accurate translation of c. 35-37 is given by M. E. Hussey in his article, 'The Palamite Trinitarian Models', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 16 (1972) 83-85.

45. Palamas opened his first anti-Latin treatise with the statement. «Once again the terrible serpent and author of evil raises his head against us to whisper his lies.» See *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, ed. P. K. Chrestou (Thessalonica,

is however a very simple historical explanation for Palamas' use of these Trinitarian analogies: he was following a path already laid out by his immediate predecessors, and it had nothing to do with Latin theology.

#### GREGORY OF SINAI (1255-1346).

In the *Acrostic Chapters* of St. Gregory the Sinaite there is a brief and succinct parallel to Palamas' first analogy (the Trinitarian image in man as one of mind, word and spirit).<sup>46</sup>

30. In every aspect God is known and referred to as triadic. He is uncircumscribed, he upholds all things and his foresight provides for them through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. There is no way that can be named, in which any one of the persons can be spoken or thought of apart from or without the other two.

31. In like manner there is in man mind, word and spirit. Neither can mind exist without word, nor word without spirit: they exist in one another and of themselves. For mind speaks through the word and word is made manifest through the spirit. According to this model man bears an obscure image of the ineffable and archetypal Trinity, thus indicating the divine image in which he was made.

These two paragraphs fall within a brief section of the *Acrostic Chapters* (c. 25-32) which deals with dogmatic teachings. Among other things, 'true knowledge of visible and invisible realities' (c. 25) must concern itself with the two principal doctrines of the faith which comprise the 'definition of orthodoxy', namely, the Trinity of persons in God and the two natures in Christ (c. 26). The Trinitarian image in man indicates, at least in an obscure manner, both the individual subsistence of the three persons and their mutual coinherence and unity (c. 30-31). The analogy of  $\text{Νοῦς}$ ,  $\text{Λόγος}$  and  $\text{Πνεῦμα}$  for the Father, Son and Holy Spirit was sanctioned by the God-bearing Fathers in their teaching on the Trinity (c. 32).

While the *Acrostic Chapters* are relatively well-known, the Sinaite's treatise on the Transfiguration came to light only recently when it

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1962) 1:23. The *Philokalia* edition of the *Capita 150* omitted the historical references to Barlaam and Akindynos. See J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Patristica sorbonensia 3; Paris, 1959, pp. 373-74.

46. P.G. 150. 1248D = *Philokalia* 4:35.

was published by D. Balfour.<sup>47</sup> The work bears the title, *Discourse on the Holy Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ*. The passages relevant to the Trinitarian image in man appear in the central section of the discourse.<sup>48</sup>

In paragraph 15 St. Gregory commented on the presence of the three apostles and the two prophets on Mt. Tabor. The former were there as a representation of the Trinity, while the latter represented a type of the economy of Christ who is one yet twofold in nature. Therefore, there was on Tabor a symbolic witness to the two great dogmas of the faith, namely, the Trinity and the two natures in Christ. Gregory had referred to the same two dogmas in c. 26 of the *Acrostic Chapters*.<sup>49</sup>

In para. 18 Gregory launched into a lengthy expansion in the first person on Mt. 17.5, «He was still speaking, when lo, a bright cloud overshadowed them, and a voice from the cloud said, 'This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased; listen to him'.» Three brief passages from this paragraph are of interest to the present discussion.

Him have I manifested and witnessed to and shown in the Jordan.<sup>50</sup>

This is clearly a reference to the Baptism of Christ. Note also that in the Gospel of Matthew the 'voice from heaven' at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration is identical, viz. «This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased (Mt. 3.17 and 17.5).» In one of his homilies St. Gregory Palamas produced a detailed summary of his teaching on the Trinitarian image in man as one of mind, word and spirit.<sup>51</sup> The homily was delivered on the Feast of the Theophany which celebrates the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan. Palamas began his discussion with a reference to Mt. 3.17.

The second passage from the Sinaite's discourse makes a direct reference to the image doctrine.

47. 'Saint Gregory the Sinaite: Discourse on the Transfiguration', *Θεολογία* 52, (1981) 631-81.

48. Idem, pp. 656-66.

49. *P.G.* 150. 1248B = *Philokalia* 4.35.

50. Lines 232-33.

51. *Homily* 60.2. ed. S. K. Oikonomos, *Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Ὁμιλῆαι κβ'* (Athens, 1861), pp. 248-49. This important text is closely associated with the doctrine of the divine image in the *Capita* 150.

In the light of the Spirit you shall see the effulgence of my glory; *in the image the archetype; from your own selves the transcendent.*<sup>52</sup>

The third text offers a brief statement on the nature of the analogy.

No one can see and know me [the Father] unless, as I said, He [the Son] shall have revealed me worthily among those whom he wishes, *as the word reveals the mind hidden within it and the mind reveals in the spirit the word which proceeds from it.*<sup>53</sup>

Para. 19 is devoted to a more detailed examination of this analogy, but in this more developed explanation voice ( $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ ) takes the place of spirit. A word is made known by means of the voice and through the word becomes known the mind which originated it. The word possesses naturally the mind that begets it and mind possesses naturally the word which reveals it. Voice comes forth in the word, through the word and together with the word, manifesting the word that proceeds from the mind. Voice ever accompanies the word and manifests its energy; voice belongs to the word and is called its living and revealing energy. Voice does not derive from the word, for it is hypostatic in substance and possesses its own proper subsistence.

The word is always endowed with mind; it is sent and it proceeds. The mind is endowed with word and ever possesses an essential word. It brings forth the word endowed with mind. The mind knows ever to beget the word manifest in spirit.

Mind is not dissipated in its conjunction with word, but belongs naturally to the word by hypostasis. Word is not dispelled into the air when it comes forth, but remains naturally in the mind as its hypostatic rationality. Spirit is not to be equated with the inhalation and rush of air but with the substantial, living power with its own proper substance which comes forth in the word and produces sound in the air.<sup>54</sup> The conclusion comes in the following paragraph (§ 20):

So this is proven: man, being *the image and glory of the Trinity* in

52. Lines 252-53.

53. Lines 273-75.

54. Gregory of Sinai may be following John Damascene (or his source, Gregory of Nyssa) in these qualifications. See *Expositio fidei* 6-7 (note especially 7.4,  $\delta\lambda\alpha\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ). Palamas qualified the analogy in much greater detail, particularly with respect to the different meanings of  $\lambda\delta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  (*Capita* 150, c. 35-36.).

these respects, possesses substantially and hypostatically mind and word and spirit which are of the same nature and indivisible.<sup>55</sup>

As the above paraphrase of para. 19 clearly shows, the purpose of the analogy was to illustrate the orthodox doctrine of the procession of the persons of the Trinity, their inseparability, their mutual coinherence and their hypostatic reality. One in substance, the divine persons are never separated from one another, yet each person retains a true and real individual subsistence for each exists hypostatically. However, the nature of their union and distinction remains a mystery: *ἡνωμένα διήρηνται καὶ διηρημένα ἕνωantai παραδόξως.*

Not satisfied with the analogy as it stood, the Sinaite would take it still further.

The energy of the word which inheres in us by nature is twelve-fold and as the word comes forth in each of these ways it is known and contemplated under three aspects.

As Balfour aptly put it, the analogy at this point quickly runs to seed.<sup>56</sup>

The texts from the writings of St. Gregory of Sinai are important in that they show a renewed interest in the Patristic notion of mind, word and spirit as an analogy for the Trinity. Nor was the reference to the older Patristic model one of mere static repetition. The Sinaite had no hesitations about developing and clarifying the analogy, particularly by his equation of spirit with voice. And finally, the link was established with the image doctrine.

In his first analogy (mind, word and spirit) Palamas followed the general direction taken by the Sinaite, but because his interest was more anthropological he did not take up his namesake's equation of spirit with voice. St. Gregory of Sinai did however make passing reference to the spirit as *τὴν οὐσιώδη αὐτὴν ζωτικὴν δύναμιν, τὴν καθ' αὐτὴν ὑφεστῶσαν.* Palamas preferred to pursue this idea and brought out the significance of the fact that man alone of all creatures (both rational and irrational) possesses a spirit that is life-giving and self-subsistent. Thus, only man was truly made in the image of the trihypostatic God.<sup>57</sup>

55. Lines 317-19.

56. *Θεολογία* 52 (1981) 636.

57. *Homily* 60.2, ed. Oikonomos, p. 246. In the *Capita 150* Palamas allowed that the angels also are created in the divine image, though in a lesser degree. See c. 38.1145D-1148A and 63.1165CD.

The two Gregories were contemporaries, but there has been some dispute over the question of any direct relations between them.<sup>58</sup> In a recent article D. Balfour has re-examined the historical problems and argued convincingly that both men were closely associated on Mt. Athos between the years 1323 and 1325.<sup>59</sup> Palamas was a young man at the time and he wrote the *Capita 150* more than twenty years afterwards (between 1349-1350). Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Palamas was indeed influenced by St. Gregory of Sinai on the question of the Trinitarian character of the divine image in man.

#### ST. THEOLEPTOS OF PHILADELPHIA (ca. 1250-1322).

Although he was a figure of considerable importance, St. Theoleptos is not well-known today since most of his writings remain unpublished.<sup>60</sup> One of these unpublished works contains some valuable references that contribute to a better understanding of Palamas' second analogy (mind, word and love). The title and relevant passages are as follows:<sup>61</sup>

Μερικὴ διατράνωσις πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἄγουσα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Φιλαδελφείας Θεολήπτου διαφόρως λαληθέντων τῆ σεβασμιωτάτη βασιλίσει Εὐλογίᾳ μοναχῆ καὶ τῆ μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Ἀγαθονίκη μοναχῆ.

##### 1. Fol. 197r.8-197v.3.

Ὁ νοῦς λογιστικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν καὶ ἐρωτικὴν, διὰ μὲν τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως ἐργάζεται τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀρετῶν, θεῖοις λόγοις καὶ διανοήμασιν ἐμμελετᾷ, διασκέπτεται τὰ ὄντα ἀπταίστως, διαλαμβάνει τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀπλανῶς, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς θεογνω-

58. Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 52:53.

59. 'Was St. Gregory Palamas St. Gregory the Sinaite's Pupil?', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 28 (1984) 115-130.

60. A good bibliography can be found in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, edited by E. Trapp, R. Waltber, H.-V. Beyer (Vienna, 1980), s.v. 'Theoleptos' (7509).

61. I give the text (with the appropriate modernization of punctuation and accentuation) as it is found in Ottobonianus gr. 405, fols. 197r-218r. The only other manuscript for this text is Alexandrinus gr. 131, fols. 141r-156r, but it offers no significant variant readings for the passages in question. The *Μερικὴ Διατράνωσις* will appear in the critical edition of the works of Theoleptos which I am preparing for publication.



σίαν ἔρχεται. διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως διακρίνων τὰ κακὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ποιῶν τὰ καλὰ, καὶ ζητῶν καὶ εὐρίσκων τὸν Θεόν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐνοῦται αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς δυνάμεως, διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτῷ συναπτόμενος καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς θεωρίας αὐτοῦ μόνης ἐνευφραϊνόμενος...

2. Fol. 197v.19-23.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐνεργεῖ ὁ νοῦς τῆ τοῦ λόγου δυνάμει παρέχων τὸ κράτος· καὶ οὕτως ἐνεργεῖται τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν θερμοτάτῳ ἔρωτι συνδεόμενος...

3. Fol. 199v.8-18 — *Philokalia* 4:13.α'.1-5.

Φεύγων γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἕξω καὶ συναγόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανάγεται· εἴτουν τῷ φυσικῶς κατὰ διάνοιαν κρυπτομένῳ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ συγγίνεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ οὐσιωδῶς λόγου συνάπτεται τῇ εὐχῇ, καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς εἰς γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνει μεθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ διαθέσεως...

4. Fol. 201r.22-201v.10.

Ὁ Θεὸς λόγος τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν λογικὸν διαπλάσας, συνέζευξεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔρωτος δύναμιν, ὅπως ὁ τῆς φύσεως λόγος τῷ πῶθῳ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεργῶ χρώμενος ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς ἀγαθὰς πράξεις, ἵνα αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἐπιτιθέμεναι τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ χρώματα τῇ εἰκόνι τὴν ἀκριβῆ μίμησιν τῆς θείας ὁμοιώσεως διασφῆζωσι, καὶ οὕτω τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν διαφυλάττηται.

5. Fol. 216v.11-217r.10.

Ὡσπερ τι κάτοπτρον διαυγέστατον δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου διαχύσεως πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκαθαρμένον ὄντα ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναγόμεθα. μακάριοι γὰρ φησι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται. πρῶτος ὁ νοῦς ζητεῖ καὶ εὐρίκει, εἶτα ἐνοῦται τῷ εὐρεθέντι· καὶ τὴν μὲν ζήτησιν ποιεῖται διὰ τοῦ λόγου, τὴν δὲ ἔνωσιν διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης. καὶ ἡ μὲν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ζήτησις γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης ἔνωσις διὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν. τούτων τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν διέρχου, μὴ ἀργῶς ἀλλ' ἐνεργῶς, μὴ παροδικῶς ἀλλ' ἐπιστημονικῶς· μὴ ῥήματα ἐπισκεπτομένη διανοίας ἐκτός, ἀλλὰ βαπτίζουσα τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ βάθος τῶν νοουμένων, ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν ἐλκύσης πνεῦμα.

*An 'aide-mémoire' of point by point clarifications for the statements made on various occasions by the humble Theoleptos of Philadelpheia to the most august princess [Irene Choumnaina Palaeologina] and nun Eulogia and to her companion and subordinate, the nun Agathonike.*

1. The mind is endowed with the powers of reason and love, and through its rational power the mind devotes its labour to the ways of virtue, meditates on divine words and thoughts, conducts precise examination of beings, innerrantly grasps the truth in beings and through the truth attains to knowledge of God. So when the mind uses its rational power to discriminate between good and evil and does the good, when it seeks and finds God, as it is said (Mt. 7.7-8), the mind enters into union with him through its power of love, joining itself to him by means of love and finding its joy in the beauty of contemplating God alone... [Effects of this union: the mind abandons discursive reasoning, takes pleasure solely in contemplation and burning love for God and is illumined by a most sweet and ineffable light.]

2. In this way then, in acting the mind strengthens its power of reason and in being acted upon binds itself to a most fervent love for God... [Deleterious effects follow upon the mind's inclination towards sensible things.]

3. When the mind flees external things and gathers itself inwards, it returns to itself; that is, the mind holds converse with its own word naturally hidden within the discursive intellect, and through the word essentially associated with it the mind joins itself to prayer, and through prayer it ascends to knowledge of God with all its power and disposition of love... [Further development of the same theme].

4. When God the Word fashioned the human mind with a faculty of reason, he joined to it also the power of love so that the natural word might use the soul's desire as an aid in performing good deeds, and in order that the virtues affixed to the soul, like colours on an icon, might assume the genuine imitation of the divine likeness and thus the image and likeness may be preserved.

5. The work closes with a meditation on Christ's Baptism in the Jordan. This is prefaced by a brief passage concerning the incarnation of the Logos (fol. 214r). There follows immediately the discussion of Christ's Baptism (Mt. 3.13-17). The descent of Jesus into the waters of

the Jordan symbolizes our death to sin and his ascent from the water points to our resurrection through the works of virtue. Next, there is a commentary on Mt. 3.16-17. This passage is given in the *Philokalia* 4:15.γ' (fols. 214v-215r). St. Theoleptos then offered this exhortation (fol. 215v): «With humility and hope in God set your mind on the mysteries effected by the Saviour in his Baptism. Behold the theanthropic Word who initiates you into mighty things. Through his descent and ascent he teaches you moral virtue. On the one hand, through the vision of the heavens split asunder he teaches you the natural contemlation of beings (τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν τῶν ὄντων). On the other hand, through the descent of the Spirit upon him in the form of a dove and through the Father's voice witnessing to the sonship of the one baptized, he teaches true Theology (τὴν ἀκριβῆ θεολογίαν)».

This was followed in turn by an exposition of Trinitarian theology (fol. 216r-v): «The Spirit's descent from above upon the Son both indicates the hypostatic procession of the Spirit from the Father and also proclaims his natural relationship to the Son. It also announces that the Father is cause of the Son and the Spirit, of the Son as begetter and of the Spirit as the one who sends forth. The teaching of the Saviour in the Gospels accords with this mystagogy manifested in his Baptism. For the Spirit of Truth (that is, of the Son) proceeds from the Father but rests in the Son as his Spirit without being separated from the Father from whom he proceeds nor being divided from the Son in whom he rests. Rather, the Spirit coexists with and accompanies the Son since he is consubstantial with and proper to him by nature. Drink, receive illumination, satisfy the thirsty and illumine them from the Jordan water made manifest in this Theology and sent forth from the spring of the Gospel. But eskew and reject the Italian appendage with all your will and your strength, for it troubles the pure water of Theology».

Thus, in the context of Christ's Baptism and an exposition of the true Theology of the Trinity, Theoleptos made the statement:

God has given to us the natural word as a very clear mirror so that when we turn away from the dissipation of the world towards that word which has been purified we are led to God. For scripture says, «Blessed are the pure of heart for they shall see God (Mt. 5.8).» First, the *mind* seeks and finds (Mt. 7.7-8). Then, it is united to the one it has found. The seeking is effected through the word and the union through *love*. The seeking through the word is for the sake of the truth and the union of love for the

sake of the good. Read through these things carefully, not in idleness but with perspicacity, not cursorily but with understanding. Do not examine the words apart from their meaning, but rather baptize your mind in the depths of these considerations in order that you may draw forth from them the Spirit.

The second work of St. Theoleptos that contains references to the Trinitarian image in man was published long ago in the *Philokalia* and studied in some detail by S. Salaville.<sup>62</sup> It bears the title, *Discourse Explaining the Hidden Life in Christ and Showing Briefly the Goal of the Monastic Profession*. The revelant passage are as follows:

1. Fols. 17r.20-18v.5 = *Philokalia* 4:7.40-8.12.

Προσευχὴ δὲ ἐστὶ διαλογὴ διανοίας πρὸς κύριον, ῥήματα δεήσεως διανύουσα μετὰ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὀλικῆς ἀτενίσεως· τῆς διανοίας γὰρ συνεχῶς ὑπαγορευούσης τὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ νοῦ ἐναργῶς τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ θείου ὀνόματος προσέχοντος, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεως τὸ φῶς καθάπερ φωτεινὴ νεφέλη πᾶσαν ἐπισκιάζει τὴν ψυχὴν· ἔπεται δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀκριβεῖ μνήμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπη καὶ χαρὰ· ... τῇ δὲ καθαρᾷ προσευχῇ γινῶσις καὶ κατάνυξις· ... νοὸς γὰρ καὶ διανοίας παρισταμένων τῷ Θεῷ δι' ἐναργοῦς ἀτενίσεως καὶ θερμῆς δεήσεως, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ κατάνυξις ἀκολουθεῖ. νοῦ δὲ καὶ λόγου καὶ πνεύματος προσπιπτόντων τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦ μὲν διὰ προσοχῆς, τοῦ δὲ δι' ἐπικλήσεως, τοῦ δὲ διὰ κατανύξεως καὶ ἀγάπης, ὅλος ὁ ἔνδον ἄνθρωπος λειτουργεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ.

2. Fol. 21r.12-22r.19 = *Philokalia* 4:9.31-10.13.

Καὶ ὁρᾶται ἡ προσευχὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαγορεύειν ἀσιγήτως τὸ θεῖον ὄνομα συμφωνία καὶ ἔνωσις νοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ ψυχῆς· ὅπου γὰρ, φησὶν, εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἶμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὖν ἡ προσευχὴ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀπὸ τοῦ διαμερισμοῦ τῶν παθῶν ἀνακαλουμένη καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνδέουσα, τὴν τριμερῆ ψυχὴν τῷ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἐνὶ Θεῷ οἰκιοῦ... γινώσκει διὰ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς εἰκόνας, πᾶσα γὰρ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν· γινώσκεται διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὁμοίωσιν... καὶ ἡ καθαρὰ προσευχὴ, νοῦν καὶ λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνάπτουσα, διὰ μὲν τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπαγορεύει καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἀναφέρει,

62. *Philokalia* 4:4-12 = P.G. 143.381-400. S. Salaville, 'Formes ou méthodes de prière d' après un Byzantin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Théolepte de Philadelphie', *Echos d' Orient* 39 (1940) 1-25.

διὰ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ τῷ παρακαλουμένῳ Θεῷ ἐνατενίζει ἀρρεμβάστως, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν κατάνυξιν, τὴν ταπεινώσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐμφανίζει, καὶ οὕτω δυσωπεῖ τὴν ἀναρχὸν τριάδα, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν ἕνα Θεόν.

1. Prayer is a dialogue of the discursive intellect with the Lord, in which the words of supplication are said through to the end with the mind's gaze fixed entirely on God. For the discursive intellect repeats the *Name of the Lord* without ceasing and the mind clearly fixes its attention on the *Invocation of the Divine Name* and the light of the knowledge of God, like a luminous cloud, overshadows the entire soul. Love and joy follow upon true remembrance of God... [Ps. 76.4]... but knowledge and compunction upon pure prayer... [Ps. 55.10, 50.19]. For when the mind and the discursive intellect present themselves to God by means of a clear gaze and fervent supplication, there follows also compunction of soul. When mind, word and spirit prostrate themselves before God, the first by attention, the second by *Invocation*, and the third by compunction and love, then the entire inner man serves the Lord.

2. Prayer, which consists of the silent repetition of the *Divine Name*, can be seen as the harmony and union of mind, word and soul, for «where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them (Mt. 18.20).» In this way, then, prayer calls the powers of the soul back from their dispersion among the passions, binds them to one another and to itself, uniting the tripartite soul to the one God in three hypostases... [The soul] knows [its own Creator] in the purity of the Image, for every image refers back to its model. It is known by him in the Likeness attained in the virtues... Pure prayer, which joins to itself mind, word and spirit, by means of the word pronounces the *Name of God* and offers up supplication, by means of the mind gazes without distraction towards God upon whom it calls, by means of the spirit manifests its compunction, humility and love, and thus importunes the one God and eternal Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

According to the documents set out above, Theoleptos allotted to the inner man (ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄνθρωπος) or soul three parts (ἡ τριμερὴς ψυχὴ). The mind or νοῦς clearly serves as the governing faculty. It has the

of the *agens*. It stands over the two powers of word and love. At least, that would be the case, were it not for sin and its effects. Because of its present state, the mind must return to itself by fleeing externals and by gathering itself inwards.

The terms that Theoleptos applied to the second faculty are indicative of its function: λόγος, δύναμις τοῦ λόγου, and δύναμις λογιστικῆ or λογική. This faculty of reason is intimately associated with the core of man's being, his νοῦς. It is a λόγος τῆς φύσεως, ὁ φυσικῶς κατὰ διάνοιαν κρυπτόμενος λόγος, and ὁ συνῶν αὐτῷ [νῷ] οὐσιωδῶς λόγος.<sup>63</sup> The proper role of the word lies first in the labour of virtue and then in the acquisition of knowledge, both of beings and of God. At this stage the word assists in the discrimination between good and evil and in the choice for the good. The word meditates on divine things and ascends from beings to God. This process necessarily involves purification. In his own terms Theoleptos was referring to the two areas of πράξεις and θεωρία φυσική as they had long ago been defined by Evagrius.<sup>64</sup>

The ultimate goal for Theoleptos, as it had been for Evagrius, was θεολογία.<sup>65</sup> The mind holds converse with its essential word and thereby joins itself to prayer and through *love*<sup>66</sup> it enters into union with God. Now the mind finds joy only in the contemplation of the divine and ascends to knowledge of God. The Image is found again and the Likeness is restored.

In the last passage of the *Aide-mémoire* Theoleptos indicated that this image is a reflection of the Trinity (ὡσπερ τι κάτοπτρον) within man's inner life. He had been speaking of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinitarian processions. Then, he referred briefly to the mind seeking through the word and the union effected in love. This he had already explained in detail at the beginning of his discourse. Offering no details on the relation of the image to the archetype, he simply invited his readers to ponder the matter carefully and enter into the mystery themselves.

In the *Aide-mémoire* Theoleptos had referred to the mind's use of prayer in the ascent to God. From the *Discourse on the Hidden Life*

63. Cf. Palamas, *Capita 150*, c. 35.1141C: τὸν ἐμφύτως ἡμῖν... ἐναποκειμένον τῷ νῷ λόγον.

64. Cf. A. and C. Guillaumont (eds.), *Evagre le Pontique, Traité Pratique ou Le Moine* (Sources chrétiennes 171; Paris, 1971), pp. 498-99, n. 1.

65. *Idem*.

66. Theoleptos used the terms: ἔρωσ, ἀγάπη, δύναμις ἐρωτική and ἀγαπητική.

*in Christ* it is quite evident that the prayer in question was none other than the Jesus Prayer. The numerous references to the 'silent repetition of the Divine Name', 'pronouncing the Name of God', 'repeating the Name of the Lord' and 'fixing the attention on the Invocation of the Divine Name' are not likely to have any other meaning at this period of the revival of hesychasm in Byzantium. Salaville did not fail to point this out in his article.<sup>67</sup>

In this discourse St. Theoleptos attached to each of the three parts of the soul — mind, word and spirit — its own proper role at the time of prayer. Pure prayer recalls the powers of the soul from dispersion, restores them to harmony and unites the tripartite soul to the Trinity.

The role of the mind is attention: it must gaze without distraction towards God. To the word is given the role of offering supplication in the unceasing repetition of the Name of God. The spirit is called upon to manifest compunction, humility and love. Thus, the inner man calls out to the one God and eternal Trinity. The soul then knows the Creator in the Image by referring back to its model and it is known by the Creator in the Likeness, now restored by the practice of the virtues.

St. Theoleptos was operating primarily in the context of spirituality and his analysis of the three parts of the soul is concerned with the role played by each of these faculties or powers in the process of man's ascent to God. God, however, is a Trinity of persons and Theoleptos understood that the triadic cosmos of the soul is in fact the divine image in which man was created and that the image must reflect its archetype. Towards the end of the *Aide mémoire* Theoleptos took the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan as his starting point for a discussion of the theology of the Trinity and here too introduced the analogy of man's inner life.

The similarities between the doctrine of Theoleptos and that of St. Gregory Palamas in the *Capita 150* are unlikely to be pure coincidence. The terminology is identical and the fundamental elements are common in both. The influence of Theoleptos, rather than that of Augustine, is certainly a more satisfactory explanation for the identification of the Holy Spirit with love. Palamas rose to the defence of the Jesus Prayer when the hesychast practices were attacked by Barlaam. Theoleptos had written in the context of spirituality and associated the tripartite soul with the Jesus Prayer. Last, but not least, St. Theoleptos had been for a time the spiritual father of St. Gregory Palamas.

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67. *Echos d'Orient* 39. (1940) 13-14, n. 4.

At one point in his *Triads in Defence of the Holy Hesychast*, Palamas countered Barlaam's criticisms by asserting that the hesychast practices had been, taught and sanctioned not only by the holy men of old also by more contemporary saints. Among the latter he named Theoleptos.<sup>68</sup>

Certain men, who have born witness shortly before our time and who have been recognized as possessing the power of the Holy Spirit, have passed these teachings on to us by word of mouth (διὰ στόματος οἰκείου) in particular, this theologian, this veritable theologian and surest visionary of the true mysteries of God, who was famous in our day—I refer to the well-named Theoleptos, bishop of Philadelpheia, or rather one who from there, illumined the world as from a lampstand (cf. Rev. 1.20, 3.7-13).

In his biography of Palamás, Philotheos Kokkinos reported that before Gregory became a monk (ca. 1315) he had been initiated by Theoleptos in the ways of sacred vigilance (τὴν ἱερὰν νῆψιν) and spiritual prayer (τὴν νοεράν προσευχὴν).<sup>69</sup>

Gregory received these and other teachings besides from Theoleptos, that truly famous luminary of Philadelpheia, who moved on, or rather went up from the sacred *hesychia* and community of the Holy Mountain to assume the leadership of the Church [of Philadelpheia]. Theoleptos served Gregory as the very best of spiritual fathers and guides, and from him Gregory received an excellent initiation in sacred vigilance and intellectual prayer. In a marvellous way, Gregory attained the habitual practice of this prayer even while he was still living in the midst of the tumults of the world.

As in the case of St. Gregory of Sinai, Palamas was quite young at the time of his association with Theoleptos, but the similarities between their respective writings, on certain questions at least, shows that the teaching of Theoleptos had made a lasting impression on the young man.

By its own self-definition Byzantine theology is strictly traditional, but this traditionalism found two different forms of expression.

68. *Triad* 1.2.12 (99.11-18), cf. 2.2.3 (323.18-19), ed. J. Meyendorff, *Grégoire Palamas. Défense des saints hésychastes* (Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense. Études et documents, fascs. 30-31; Louvain, 1959; repr. with revisions, 1973).

69. *Encomium Gregorii Palamae*, P.G. 151. 561A.



According to the first form, Byzantine theologians would merely pass on and reaffirm the established formulae and doctrinal interpretations expounded by the great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. But this form did not always prove adequate in the face of new challenges to the faith. The second form of traditionalism is equally faithful to the Fathers, but strives for a deeper or more synthetic understanding of the faith, either to meet new challenges on the part of those who strayed from the authentic tradition, or to exhort successive generations of Christians to a renewed commitment to the Gospel. Byzantine theologians are also notoriously verbose, especially those of the Palamite controversies, and there is a real danger that the modern reader will miss a valuable contribution made in a given work. The task of the theological scholar must therefore be to discern what belongs to the second, more creative, form of traditionalism and draw attention to the new contribution being made to theology by the Byzantine writer. This is particularly needful in the case of Palamite studies where important issues have been overlooked or have simply been misunderstood. The focus of attention has been placed too much on the distinction between the divine substance and the divine energies rather than on its fuller theological context and its historical development. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>70</sup> the controversy was in its origins a debate, not over the nature of grace, but over the nature of man's knowledge of God. Now it is necessary to recognize the important role played by theological anthropology in the doctrine of St. Gregory Palamas. I have touched here on only one aspect of this topic which requires a much fuller exploration before the task is complete.

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70. Sinkewicz, 'Doctrine of the Knowledge of God', *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982) 181-242.