

THE MEANING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS IN GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS'S WORK 'THE EVANGELICAL LAW' (ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ)

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DOI: 10.17846/CL.2021.14.2.71-83

Abstract: LAMPROU, Soultana. *The Meaning of Righteousness in Gennadios II Scholarios's Work 'The Evangelical Law' (Νόμος Ευαγγελικός)*. Gennadios II Scholarios, Patriarch of Constantinople, was an outstanding figure in the 15th century who influenced the religious and political life of the Imperial Capital. Numbered in the literary production of Gennadios is the work entitled *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary*, written by the patriarch in the year 1458 at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres on Mount Monoikeion. In the present study, prompted by what has been written in the *Evangelical Law*, we engaged in the selection of quotations from the whole of his literary production, concerning the theme -the righteousness- being discussed in the aforementioned work with the goal of examining, more fully if possible, his teaching and positions on the particular Christian meaning.

In a separate chapter of the *Evangelical Law*, but also sporadically in the aforementioned work as well as in the whole of his work, the patriarch discusses the topic of the virtue of justice in its social as well as spiritual aspects.

Keywords: *Gennadios II Scholarios, Constantinople, Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres, Simonida Asanina, "Evangelical Law", righteousness, virtue of justice*

Gennadios Scholarios (Zisis 1988) was an outstanding figure who influenced the religious and political life of the Imperial Capital. He was born in the year 1400 in Constantinople of a Thessalian father. His secular name was Georgios, and Scholarios was his family name which originates from an ancestor who served in the class of scholars (a military guard of the palaces, or the head of a school).

He received a well-rounded education and later paid close attention to the distinguished teachers of the period. But mainly he was an autodidact due to his natural skills. He learned rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry. He studied Aristotle, knew the Latin language, and translated works by Thomas Aquinas.

Professionally, he was primarily involved with theology and philosophy. He taught grammar, philosophy, rhetoric at the school where he kept his residence and he taught theology at the Academy of the Palace. Moreover, he remained the general secretary of the Emperor and "universal judge of the Romans". He was selected as a member of the delegation of the Byzantines to the Council of Ferrera-Florence (1438 – 1439) where the issue of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches was discussed.

Identifying with his spiritual teacher, Mark Evgenikos of Ephesus, he did not sign the act of union of the council and departed with Georgios Gemiston Plethon and Bishop Demetrios who was the brother of Emperor John XIII Palaiologos.

After the death of his parents and upon closing his school and abandoning his administrative positions, he was tonsured a monk at the Monastery of Charsianeitos in the year 1450. After the Fall of Constantinople he took his nephew, Theodoros Sophianos, and went to Adrianople, where he was freed on request of Mehmet the Conqueror and returned to the Imperial City in the autumn of 1453. He ascended the Patriarchal throne in January 1454 and managed to have beneficial privileges granted by the Sultan to the enslaved people. From May of 1456 on, he reportedly lived as a monk at the Holy Monastery of Vatopaidi of Mount Athos and after the death of his nephew there, he lived at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres where he remained until his death in 1472, and where he is still buried.

The publication of the *Collected Works* by L. Petit, X. Siderides and M. Jugie (1928-1936) convincingly indicates the extent, breadth, and variety of the themes in the literary production of Gennadios II Scholarios, Patriarch of Constantinople. As a teacher of philosophy but also as an authentic exemplar of the theology of the East (Θεοδώρου Ἀγαλλιανού, Λόγος Α΄ Περί τῶν κατ' αὐτόν ἢ κατὰ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ; Theodoros Agallianos 1966, 97.217-219. Compare Blanchet 2008, 32), he wrote dogmatic and apologetic essays, as well as hermeneutical, historical, ethical-pastoral, liturgical works from his youth until his seventies, in addition to poetic and philosophical work, homilies and orations, epistles, grammar, and he also translated Latin works.

His *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary*¹ was written in the year 1458, according to his self-written note in the margin of the Codex Parisinus 1289, at the Monastery of the Honourable Forerunner in Serres on Mount Monoikeion (Papageorgiou 1894, 316).

This important work by the patriarch is contained in a number of manuscript codices (20) stored in libraries in Greece (Mount Athos, Patmos, Zagora) and abroad (at the Vatican, and in Paris, Vienna, Bucharest, and Spain). It is also included in the fourth volume of the *Collected Works of Georgios Scholarios*, p. 236-264 (fig. 1), the publishers of which also took the publication of Sergios Makraios entitled *A Glance at Teaching of the blessed Patriarch Scholarios of Constantinople or the evangelical law*, Constantinople 1806² (fig. 2) (Evangelidis 1896, 74) into consideration for the publication of the aforementioned work for its section on manuscript tradition. We also bring to mind the inclusion on the work of St Nikodemus the Athonite, *The Garden of Graces* (p. 223-249), Ioannina 1819³ (fig. 3). We would also like to mention its

¹ The title in Greek: *Περί τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείας ἢ νόμος εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ.*

² The title of the publication: *Διδασκαλία εὐσύνοπτος τοῦ μακαρίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἢ νόμος εὐαγγελικός, ἐν ἐπιτομῇ σαφῶς καὶ εὐλήπτως ἐκτεθείς, νῦν πρώτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα διὰ προτροπῆς καὶ φιλοτίμου δαπάνης τοῦ πανιερωτάτου καὶ θεοπροβλήτου μητροπολίτου ἁγίου Προύσης κυρίου κυρίου Ἀνθίμου, ἐπιμελεῖα δὲ τοῦ σοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυρίου Σεργίου τοῦ Μακραίου, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τυπογραφίῳ ἔτει 1806.*

³ The exact title of the work is: *Κῆπος Χαρίτων ἤτοι Ἑρμηνεῖα γλαφυρά εἰς τὰς Θ' ᾠδὰς τῆς στιχολογίας ἐκ διαφόρων συνεραισιθεῖσα παρά τοῦ ἀειμνήστου διδασκάλου Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου, ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ προσετέθησαν ἢ Κυριακῆ Προσευχῆ τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν εἰς μέτρον ἠρωϊκόν, ἐν κεφάλαιον ὠφελιμότητων Καλλίστου πατριάρχου, ἐν τεμάχιον ἐκ τῆς χειρογράφου βίβλου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Καλοθέτου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ εἰς τεσσαράκοντα κεφάλαια διηρημένος, συγγραφεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Γενναδίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου, πρὸς τούτοις τεσσαράκοντα χαρακτῆρες ἐπιστολῶν ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ ἕτεροι τύποι ἐπιστολῶν ἀπλοϊκῶν Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Προδρομίτου, εἰς τύπος Διαθήκης, καὶ ἄλλος τύπος Ὁμολογίας, καὶ μία χεῖρ τεχνικωτάτη περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πάσχα, καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας αὐτῆς, τέλος ἐν παράρτημα κύκλων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ὁμοίως περὶ βισέκτου, ἰνδικτιῶνος, καὶ ἐπακτῶν παρά Κωνσταντίνου Σακελλαροπάλου τοῦ ἐξ Ἄρτης, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα νῦν πρώτον τύποις ἐξεδόθησαν διὰ δαπάνης τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἱερομονάχων Στεφάνου καὶ Νεοφύτου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγιωνύμῳ ὄρει Σκουρταίων καὶ συνδρομῆς ἐν μέρει τινῶν ἀδελφῶν φιλογενῶν τε καὶ φιλοχρίστων εἰς κοινὴν ἀπάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ὠφέλειαν, ἐνετίησιν παρά Νικολάφ Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων 1819.*

publication in Modern Greek by the Holy Hesychasterion of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Katounakia-Mount Athos 1997⁴ (fig. 4).

The patriarch, placing his signature on his epistle entitled "To the Lady Sophrosyne, a sister of the most high queen and most pious and most venerable amongst the nuns"⁵ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῆ Σωφροσύνη Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234-235. Compare Petit 1935, xv-xvi. Lampros 1924, 322-324), who is Simonida Asanina, the sister of Theodora Asanina the wife of Demetrios Palaiologos, the Despot of Mystras, according to Lambros (1924, xxxv-xxxvi. Compare Jugie 1935, 157-158); as "the servant of the children of God, Gennadios"⁶ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῆ Σωφροσύνη Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 235.33), provides the information that the epistle is to accompany the work being sent, *Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law*; "I send to you the evangelical law which you shall find in no other book anywhere else"⁷ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῆ Σωφροσύνη Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234.16-17; Compare Zisis 1988, 309; Blanchet 2008, 222; Rigo 2016, 370). In the letter which was composed with the intention of strengthening the nun Sophrosyne in her struggle, he notes that certain aspects of the contents of the work in discussion apply only to men. Nevertheless, he advises her to read, to observe, and to maintain the things of the household. Moreover, it urges Sophrosyne to read the ascetical work of Basil the Great, which describes the rules of the monastics, and to uphold her struggle in these two readings (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Τῆ Σωφροσύνη Ἐπιστολή; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234.17-25).

"Concerning the worship of God first or the evangelical law in summary. Extemporaneously written in an easily comprehensible manner for a friend who seeks it"⁸ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 234-264. Compare Zisis 1988, 308-309. Blanchet 2008, 222). The title of the work clearly defines the content and also the purpose of its composition. For Scholarios, remarkably, the observance of the commandments of the Gospel and, indeed, the moral teaching of the Lord based on his Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5; 6; 7), as it is mentioned in the title and is articulated in the introduction of the work, constitutes the first and most indispensable worship of God, while the second and lesser worship of God is characterised by prayers and psalmody (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.5-10). The evangelical law, which is called 'spiritual' by Scholarios, is above both the natural law and the written law of Moses, given that it was given as a law and taught by the Incarnate Lord and it is He who leads man to salvation (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.13-15-237.5-10).

Indeed, in the introduction of the work, the manner of observing the commandments of God is also indicated, that is, "with love", because He is the creator, the father, and the benefactor of the human race, and "with fear", considering that he is master and eternal judge (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός Προοίμιον; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 236.6-9).

The essay is divided into forty chapters, of which, as mentioned, the introduction comes first and the work concludes with an epilogue. Some of the themes which are described in summary, as is also expressed in the title from the beginning, pertain to: faith, God's omnipresence, love for

⁴ The title of the work is: *Τοῦ σοφοῦ Γενναδίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός (εἰς μ' κεφάλαια)*, Ἱ. Ἡσυχαστήριον τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου, Κατουνάκια-Ἄγιον Ὄρος 1997.

⁵ «τῆ κυρᾷ Σωφροσύνη, ἀδελφῆ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης βασιλίσσης καί ἐν μοναχαῖς ὀσιωτάτῃ καί αἰδεσιμωτάτῃ».

⁶ «ὁ δούλος τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ Γεννάδιος».

⁷ «στέλλω σοι τόν εὐαγγελικόν νόμον, ὃν οὐδαμοῦ ἄλλοθι εὐρήσεις ἐν οὐδενί βιβλίῳ».

⁸ «Περί τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείας ἢ νόμος εὐαγγελικός ἐν ἐπιτομῇ. Αὐτοσχεδίως καί εὐλήπτως ἐξεδόθη μοναχῶ τινι φίλῳ ζητήσαντι» (Paris. gr. 1294).

God, mourning, desire, anger, justice, mercifulness, purity of heart, peace, forgiveness, repentance, humility, forbearance, etc.

The aforementioned work reflects on the general principles of the moral teaching of Christianity and constitutes a type of guide of faith for the Orthodox Christian (Makraios 1806, 3). Although, as it has been noted (Petit 1935, xv-xvi), it does not follow a strict system or internal unity (Diamantopoulos 1935, 471), its usefulness makes its translation into other languages necessary.

Clearly, it would be unfair to the theological depth of the patriarch's systematic thought for us to simply quote the evangelical oracles as they are embodied in the *Evangelical Law*. For this reason, in the present study, prompted by what has been written in the *Evangelical Law*, we elaborate on the selection of quotations from his literary production concerning the themes being discussed in the aforementioned work with the goal to present, more fully if possible, his teaching and positions on the particular Christian meanings.

In a separate chapter of the *Evangelical Law* (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243-245), but also sporadically in the aforementioned work as well as in his work in general, the patriarch discusses the topic of the virtue of justice in its social as well as spiritual aspects. Scholarios differentiates justice into "lower and popular", which is observed on a social level in interactions between people, and into "higher or general", of which the most precise terms are stipulated in the Bible (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Εἰσοδίων 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 171.19-20). Those who follow it are those who observe with voracious desire the commandments of the Lord who with irrational exaggeration pays them a salary in the present and in the future life (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἔργων, ὧν ἄνευ ἢ πίσις ἄκαρπός ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 419.24-31). Occasionally, he considers justice to be identical in meaning to that of virtue (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Παραμυθητικός τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 268.29).

The "lower and popular" justice is social virtue which is taken up with an economic sense, primarily with a political and, certainly, by whoever practices judicial authority (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περὶ τοῦ πῶς διακρίνονται αἱ θεῖαι ἐνέργειαι πρὸς τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὴν θεῖαν οὐσίαν, ἧς εἰσὶν ἐνέργειαι καὶ ἐν ἧ εἰσὶν 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 231.34-36). In analysing those things pertaining to the science of natural philosophy, Scholarios notes that the study of nature, from the practical virtues, uses justice "for the knowledge of the order of the elements and of the location of everything and of balance"⁹, in this manner, also ending up in the perfection of the soul (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐκ τῶν Σιμπλικίου προλεγόμενα τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως; Gennadios Scholarios 1936, 159.27-29).

The "high and general" justice is associated with other virtues which are demonstrated in his work, and it bears fruit and defines the virtuous Christian. Indeed, regarding the cooperation of the virtues and their common goal, the divine purpose for it, he writes characteristically "for as the natural law educates, as does the law which is in writing, and the evangelical law of grace, and those laws of the saints of God, and all together the philosophy concerning moral character, it concerns such things, and leads to blessedness, and on the contrary, also the virtues, and those things which are called evil have order, which the members of men also have, which also have in them practical wisdom, virtue of reason, and righteousness in a different manner, self-control, desire and anger, manliness, and another virtue of intellection, and another of language, and another of labour and in birthgiving, another is brought forth from it, and it prepares the way, and it purifies, and it perfects and opens, through which they accompany man in an orderly

⁹ «διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς τάξεως τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ παντός καὶ τῆς ἰσότητος».

manner to come into the destination of blessedness"¹⁰ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί θείας προνοίας καί προορισμού 12; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 400.18-28). In this manner, he elsewhere calls justice a coming together of peace and calm for the children of God (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καί περὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 334.16-17). A ridge and its passing indicate mercy. This is because no one who is unrighteous can become merciful, given that the latter guards the justice of the divine law and the ordinances of nature (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ἐλεημοσύνης 11; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 101.3-11). Incidentally, he points out that both justice and mercy must accompany fasting, according to the law of the Lord (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ἐλεημοσύνης 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 93.21-25).

In his *Homily on the parable of the publican and the pharisee*, Scholarios illustrates that a righteous person is taken into account or he who, as a member of the community, lives lawfully or the person who is devoted to God, who observes His law; who does not boast about being free of sin and the practice of virtue, because pride, as he explains parenthetically, is the beginning of every sin, moreover, he does not burn out and he does not judge his neighbour, he considers himself a base slave, he counts his shortcomings rather than his good deeds, every success he attributes to God and every shortcoming to himself, he does not pursue acclaim when he fasts or shows mercy, he repents for his offences and does not demand salvation as his due, etc. Of particular interest is his position which comprises a foundation of the complete patristic teaching, that the things mentioned above amount to and correspond to the purification from every prideful thought, reasoning, and deed on the one hand, and with the multifaceted manner of practicing the virtue of humility on the other (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ τελώνου καί φαρισαίου 12; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 69.33-40-70.1-13).

So, every faithful Christian is commanded to embrace justice and, based on the Apostle Matthew (5: 6), to bless whoever is consumed with burning desire and passionate love for this virtue, because, on the one hand it functions as the medicine which protects and delivers one from every demonic and human influence, and on the other, it functions as the means by which God offers future repose. After all, the divine grace which accompanies the righteous man replenishes and strengthens his powers in order to get through his life (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Ευαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243.20-26).

In particular, the patriarch addresses specific social groups which practice judicial, economic, and spiritual authority and indicates the Christian manner of practicing justice. He encourages the political leader to distribute, from the common resources which he administers, to each according to the benefit or offering. He requests the judge not to compromise justice and to apply the impositions of the law fairly in each circumstance and without being influenced by the social order of the judiciary (equality of law, equal rights). The soldier, he says, must follow the order, and neither slander nor harass anyone, nor seize things indifferently for himself other than what is necessary for his wages. The merchant must not deceive the customers with tricks in terms of the quality and the quantity of his wares. He must also avoid covetousness for the securing of

¹⁰ «ὅσα τε γὰρ ὁ φυσικὸς ἐκπαιδεύει νόμος καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ γράμματι καὶ ὁ τῆς χάριτος ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς καὶ οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοι καὶ σύμπασα ἢ περὶ τὰ ἦθη φιλοσοφία, περὶ τούτων εἰσὶν, ἅ πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν φέρει, καὶ τούναντίον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ κακία ὀνομάζονται, ἔχοντα τάξιν, οἷαν καὶ τὰ μόρια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ ἐν οἷς γίνονται, οἷον φρόνησις μὲν, λόγου ἀρετὴ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἕτερον τρόπο, σωφροσύνη δέ, ἐπιθυμία καὶ θυμοῦ, ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἄλλη μὲν ἀρετὴ διανοίας, ἄλλη δὲ γλώττης, ἄλλη δὲ ἔργου καὶ γεννᾶ μὲν ἢδε ἐκείνην, φύεται δὲ ἄλλη ἐκ ταύτης, καὶ ἡ μὲν προοδοποιεῖ, ἡ δὲ καθαίρει, ἡ δὲ τελειοῖ καὶ ἀνάγει, δι' ὧν ὀδεύοντα εὐτάκτως τὸν ἀνθρώπον οὐκ ἔστι μὴ εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας πέρασ ἐλθεῖ».

his livelihood, the inhumane enriching which causes woe to others and weighs them down with interest, so that it can justly serve one's annual needs with self-sufficiency while maintaining capital. He points out that it is very important to determine the time and the place of his commercial activity and, mainly, not to turn, according to what is written to the Apostle John (2: 16), the house of God into a place of business, by turning, as he writes characteristically, the day of piety to a day of impiety (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 243.26-36-244.1-9).

Moreover, addressing the wealthy citizens, he advises them not to take the possessions of the poor illegally, underhandedly or overtly, taking into account the administration of justice of the corrupt judges. And he encourages the poor to labour for wages and even to beg, but under no circumstances to rob graves, temples or, more generally, to steal (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 244.9-13).

The teachers and "guides of reason" are obliged to teach with their reason and to cultivate justice by their deeds. Scholarios, speaking with the words of the Apostle Matthew (5: 19), underlines the importance of accord between words and deeds of the teachers, explaining that in this way, they are justified as the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, while in the opposite circumstance they are called the least because they wrong themselves by their deeds, and, rather than benefiting, by their example they alienate their listeners from the correct teaching and scandalise the conscience of their brothers. Indeed, their sin is so grave, that he considers it better "for him if a millstone were hung around his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea"¹¹ than to cause another person to be scandalized (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 244.34-37-245.1-8).

The exhortations of the patriarch also pertain to church leadership; he prescribes the bishop to be the example of righteousness for his flock, practicing and teaching dispassionately, distributing the degrees of the priesthood and grace without reward, in accordance with the worthiness of each person and further more excluding those who are unworthy of the sacred things. Indeed, he points out the importance of avoiding the sacrilege of Simon (i.e. Simony) by the rulers of the Church, that is of the sale of favours or holy things and of the ordination of clergymen through bribery, addressing, in this manner, the serious problem which the Church confronted at that difficult period, concerning which he composed a related work entitled *Against the heresy of Simony or faithlessness*¹² (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἰρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 239-251). Of particular interest is the position of Scholarios regarding the priest, where he indicates he must be the fairest of all the above, because the priest, as he explains, is neither allowed unfair nor any profitable commercial exchange. His righteousness, in fact, must be superior to that of the Scribes and the Pharisees who while feigning the legal tax, seized the possessions of the poor and orphans without mercy and for their own gain, given that the priest must be attentive to his work, that is, to the occupation of the worship of God and care for the salvation of the souls of the faithful, knowing that God provides for the necessary things for his livelihood. And concerning the monk, he notes that he must unwaveringly keep his promises, he must cut off all worldly desires, be tolerant when he is deprived of his belongings, and consequently, must not express their legal claim, but instead he must pursue poverty and obedience, so as not to lose the Kingdom of Heaven.

Finally, Scholarios, in addressing more generally all classes and men, enjoins the sense of fullness from righteousness more than unrighteousness, the desire to be wronged more than to do wrong, the recognition of justice either originates from the laws of polity or from the sacred

¹¹ «λίθω βαρυντάω τήν κεφαλὴν προσδήσαντας ἐν τῷ πελάγει βυθισθῆναι».

¹² Κατά τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἰρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας.

and divine and, above all, from the law of conscience, by which he is in accord with, as he emphasises, every divine and human law. Below this prism the behaviour of man, who must judge justly in regards to his relationship between God and the ruler, between God and all people, to settle the issues between God and *Mammon* (wealth) justly, to justly determine the relationship between the soul and the body is also prescribed; to thus ascribe to the ruler and to men whatever is beneficial, not to offer any service to *Mammon*, to allow his soul to govern the body, and in every circumstance to offer everything to the Lord and to serve Him in everything (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 245.11-30).

In an important ethical work where Scholarios discusses the difference between pardonable sins and deadly sins, and closely follows the *Evangelical Law* in Sergios Makraios' publication, mentions that the corruption of love which occurs where we wrong our neighbour is difficult to heal. And he explains: because the goodness of God only scrutinises the return of the sinner, it is expressed on the one hand, by the return of the sinner, and on the other, by the love for God put into practice with fervent works of love, and divine justice, however, does not only scrutinise the sins towards one's neighbour but also the satisfaction of the wrongdoer (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί διαφορᾶς τῶν συγγνωστῶν καὶ θανασίμων ἀμαρτημάτων σύντομον καὶ σαφές 4; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 277.32-37).

For the topic that was especially sensitive for him such as the restitution of righteousness, given that he was wronged by his colleagues and resigned from the patriarchal throne, Gennadios advises the faithful not to be gripped by sorrow but to be graceful when they are persecuted for the faith and for righteousness because the wickedness of the persecutors establishes virtue in them firmly and confirms them in the Kingdom of Heaven (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Νόμος Εὐαγγελικός 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 248.1-4. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἔργων, ὧν ἄνευ ἢ πίστις ἄκαρπός ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 420.21-25). It is necessary for us to struggle and to patiently endure the burdens (afflictions) in fulfilling divine righteousness, that we might not be deprived of life eternal (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 180. 18-20).

Indeed, he recognizes the beneficial value of divine justice because the sufferings of life are an incentive for correction in repentance (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τῇ παραίτησει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 222.4-20. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 7; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 179. 17-37. Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατὰ τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἰρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας 6; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 250.23-30). Let us note, moreover, that he calls the wrathful actions of God 'a work of salvation of divine righteousness' because they stop wickedness and corruption from sin, and he includes examples from the Bible (Genesis 19: 12-29) for the effect of those things, such as the ruin of the Sodomites (Tobit 14: 15), and the destruction of the Ninevites (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Παραμυθητικὴ ἐπιστολή 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 299.29-36).

Moreover, in the *Encyclical concerning the fall of Constantinople and the resignation from the Patriarchate*, he believes that the reason for the Fall of Constantinople is divine abandonment due to the faithlessness of the generation. He confesses that the generation was humbled by justice because, while the eternal Logos and God became human for us and gloriously completed that highest humility, it became corrupt and did not avert the disaster. Nevertheless, he clarifies that its fatherly love was not embittered and with a proverbial word he explains "but the smoke of our own sins cleared out the source of compassion in us, and the whole scale of balance of righteousness tipped in our favour, and he who first lifted high the many and innumerable gifts has now

exceedingly humbled himself in mercy”¹³ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπί τῆ ἀλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καί τῆ παρατήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 222.4-20. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων 7; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 179. 17-37. Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Κατὰ τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἰρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας 6; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 250.23-30).

Certainly, the continual reference to the favourite topic of the patristic literature inundates the entirety of the writings of the patriarch, from one end to the other; references to divine righteousness, which he calls excellent (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Εὐχή προοιμισιατικὴ τοῦ ὄρθρου; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 326.15) and is ascribed to the sun (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Λόγος εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς Θεοτόκου 59; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 57.11) and the overseer of righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῆ παραβολῇ τοῦ τελώνου καί φαρισαίου 10; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 68.33), God, all-good creator and father of all.

Because of insubordination, the separation of man from God led him to the furthest point of error and there was no hope of salvation. Only divine righteousness and goodness could heal and save the human race. For this reason, when the fullness of time came, the Son of God became human (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν καὶ Μεγάλην Παρασκευὴν 3; 5; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 138.27-35; 141. 2-23).

As a standard of righteousness, Scholarios considered the super-rational, great, and supernatural good-will of God, that sent the co-eternal and consubstantial Word, who supernaturally took on humanity and made it the medium for atonement through his precious blood for the salvation of humankind and their reconciliation with God (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῆ μεταστάσει τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου 16; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 209.10-17. Compare Romans 3: 25). Indeed, he describes divine clemency just as the Prophet-King David (Psalm 83: 11) proclaimed it; mercy had to meet the truth and righteousness had to embrace peace, the fruit of divine goodwill (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περὶ τῆς λογικῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς δεῦτερον 19; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 500.28-31). Nevertheless, human nature had to submit to justice so that everyone might not receive the benefit irresponsibly (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν Γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 231.12-15).

Until the coming of the Lord, personal righteousness and virtue of man could not remove the impediment of the Ancestral Fall and everyone, righteous and unrighteous, were bound in the dungeons of Hades. By the benevolence of divine *oikonomia*, the bonds of the righteous and faithful were loosed and they were freed from Hades and henceforth found themselves in the land of prosperity, while the faithless and reprobates found themselves in the depths of Hades. It is worth noting that through the death and resurrection of Christ and through the mystery of Baptism, the ancestral sin is washed away and henceforth man has a choice to follow the path of eternal life through repentance (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου ὑπάρξεως τῶν νοερῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων ψυχῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων 8; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 472.35-40-473.1-10. Compare Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητειῶν αἰ σαφέστεραι ἐνταῦθα ἐτέθησαν, πλειστων οὐσῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῶν προφητῶν λόγοις; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 313.30-37-314.1-9; Zisis 1988, 458-460). As a result, he considers the most wretched of men, who, with voluntary blindness, do not see the light of righteousness, and are thus deprived of the benevolence of God and prefer the darkness of error to the beautiful light, which is the Divine Logos (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Εὐχή εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς νυκτός; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 363.29-33).

¹³ «ἀλλ' ὁ καπνός τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτιῶν τὴν πηγὴν ἡμῖν ἀνεστόμωσε τῆς σῆς εὐσπλαχνίας, καὶ ὅλη καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔρρηψε πλάστιγξ, καὶ ὁ ταῖς πολλαῖς καὶ ἀναριθμήτοις ὑψώσας πρότερον δωρεαῖς, νῦν λιάν ἐλεεινῶς ἐταπείνωσας».

God foresees the improvement of each man who walks along the path of truth and goodness and is able to be exalted to the place of prosperity without compulsion and worthily. Divine foreknowledge attends to the good, it shows compassion to the reprobates when they repent and are corrected, but he also attributes divine righteousness to the incurable, as the patriarch characterises them (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ θεοῦ προορισμοῦ τέταρτον 15; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 452.20-22). Based on the parable of the Lord of parable of the rich man and poor Lazarus (Luke 16: 19-31), he affirms that the righteousness of God opens the gates of heaven for the righteous, while, according to the parable of the vineyard labourers (Matthew 20: 1-16), it shows his mercy and clemency to the unrighteous who sincerely repented towards the end of their lives (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ψυχῶν, τί αὐταῖς γίνεται μετὰ τὴν τῶν σωματίων ἀπαλλαγὴν 4; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 511.1-16). Indeed, concerning the spiritual benefit of man he also states limits of life and, furthermore, either administers the endurance of the soul in the body or appoints its release from the bonds of the body by his ineffable words of wisdom and his righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τοῦ θεοῦ προορισμοῦ δεύτερον 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 414.21-25).

Consequently, the place which has been prepared for man is binary; the pure and righteous enter into the place that is proper for them, while the sinners and unrighteous enter the place of darkness and misery. One is by God prepared and offered to those who lived according to their nature, while the other is for those who lived against it. The patriarch illustrates that “the first place the goodness of God prepares it, with his righteousness reckoned together, and the other place His divine righteousness prepares without the goodness to contradict it; because the goodness wills the righteous things”¹⁴ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί θείας προνοίας καὶ προορισμοῦ 9; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 397.34-36-398.1-18).

In addition, as he describes the middle situation of the soul which also represented a topic for discussion at the Council of Ferrara–Florence amongst the Byzantines and Latins, he points out that souls, which despite having repented for their sins before the end of their life, do not immediately ascend to Heaven but are temporarily found in a middle situation because they did not satisfy divine righteousness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί ψυχῆς τέταρτον 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 523.33-38-524.1-9).

Gennadios concludes that at the Second Coming of the Saviour, for their exactitude of Righteousness good people will receive honour for the things they have done, while the wicked will receive justice for their wickedness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Λόγος εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς Θεοτόκου 58; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 55.15-18). In particular, referring to the affinity of soul and body in man and to their common struggle in this life, he emphasises that the presentation of the crown on the day of judgment to those who completed the race struggling in both soul and body are laid up for divine righteousness. Indeed, he clarifies that the crown is counted as the fulfilment of both by the communion of the supernatural gifts of the future blessedness (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Περί τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ψυχῶν, τί αὐταῖς γίνεται μετὰ τὴν τῶν σωματίων ἀπαλλαγὴν 10; Gennadios Scholarios 1928, 517.34-38-518.1-6) and is rendered according to the benefit of the athletes who competed righteously, namely as a reward and not as grace. To highlight the aforementioned things, he underlines the manner in which the verb “laid up for” (ἀποδώσει) is used by the Apostle Paul in the passage *2 Timothy* 4:7¹⁵, where the apostle, in commenting, did not say “the crown is given to me”, which has the sense of a gift rather than grace, but he said “it is laid up for me”, which expresses

¹⁴ «τόν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐτοιμάζει, τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ συμψηφιζομένης (ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτή), τόν δὲ ἡ θεία δικαιοσύνη, τῆς ἀγαθότητος οὐ ἀντιλεγούσης· καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ τὰ δίκαια βούλεται».

¹⁵ «τόν καλόν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσαι, τόν δρόμο τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος».

the rendering of that which is due (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι μείζων πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος 2; Gennadios Scholarios 1930, 429.36-38-430.1-7).

From the above, it is clearly shown that the patriarch precisely defined the manner of achieving the salvation of man, along with the work of divine righteousness in it: “while divine goodness is sought by us, divine righteousness is prepared, and both according to such a supernatural accordance of them and the venerator of everything permitted in our own choosing”¹⁶ (Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τῇ παρατήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης 3; Gennadios Scholarios 1935, 215.8-10).

In closing, we note that from the themes which were presented by way of example it is clear that the outstanding spiritual personality of Byzantium and great figure of Christian literature, Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios, is a distinctly authentic transmitter of the hagiographical and patristic tradition. His robust writing in topics of true faith and of the practice of the virtues, in those things which generally determine the spiritual course of the Christian in the Church with the purpose of achieving spiritual perfection and his salvation, was able to restore and to strengthen the faith of the frustrated generation at the time of the Fall, and he continues to guide the god-loving readers of every period. And moreover, the sanctity of his life made him an authentic exemplar of an Orthodox Christian.

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¹⁶ «τό μὲν τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος ἀφ' ἡμῶν ζητούσης, τό δέ τῆς θείας δικαιοσύνης ἐτοιμαζούσης, καὶ κατὰ τινὰ ὑπερφῶ συμφωνίαν αὐτῶν καὶ προσκυνητὴν τοῦ παντός τῇ ἡμετέρα αἰρέσει λοιπὸν ἐπιτετραμμένου (ἐπιτρεπομένου)».

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