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I CONFESS ONE BAPTISM...



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Interpretation and application of Canon VII
of the Second Ecumenical Council by the *Kollyvades* and
Constantine Oikonomos

(A contribution to the historico-canonical evaluation of the
problem of the validity of Western baptism)

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I. Eastern Orthodox Christian Theology

II. Eastern Orthodox Christian Ecclesiology

CANON VII

of the Second Ecumenical Council,
Constantinople, 381 A.D.

On how heretics are to be received:

As for heretics who convert to Orthodoxy and join the portion of the saved, we receive them in accordance with the following procedure and custom: We receive Arians, and Macedonians, and Sabbatians, and Novatians who call themselves Catharoi and Aristeroi, and Tessareskaidekatite otherwise known as Tetradite, and Apollinarists, when they submit written statements, and anathematize every heresy that does not believe as the holy, catholic, and Apostolic Church of God believes, and are first sealed with holy Myron on the forehead, and the eyes, and the nose, and the mouth, and the ears; and in sealing them we say: "Seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit."

Eunomians, on the other hand, who are baptized with one immersion, and Montanists who in this [City] are called Phrygians, and Sabellians who teach the son-fatherhood [of Christ], and who do other evil things as well; and all other heresies (for there are many hereabout, especially those hailing from the region of the Galatians), all of them that wish to join Orthodoxy we receive as pagans. And on the first day we make them Christians; on the second, catechumens. Then on the third day we exorcise them with the threefold blowing into their face and ears. And then we catechize them, and oblige them to spend sufficient time in the church and to listen to the Scriptures. And then we baptize them.

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FOREWORD

“Ὁ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν,
ὃ ἐώρακάμεν, ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν.
(1 Jn. 1:1)

WHAT IS ORTHODOXY? Orthodoxy is correct practice (...*the Way*), correct dogma (...*the Truth*), correct knowledge of God (...*eternal Life*); the Word of God, the Word delivered, the Word transmitted; the Transmitter, the Tradition...Christ Himself.

And who is Orthodox? Orthodox are the holy Fathers and Mothers of our Church. These are the God-bearers, the Saints; Christified, deified; the rule and measure of Orthodoxy, because they have Him dwelling and abiding in themselves.

We who by the unspeakable goodness of Divine Providence have underservingly been counted worthy to inhabit the Holy Mountain Athos—this blessed Garden of our All-holy Lady Theotokos—have been vouchsafed in our turn to receive through our holy Fathers in God the divine Tradition of our Orthodox faith, the sacred deposit, the very Pearl of great price itself.

This Tradition we hold more valuable than all else, being as it is eternal Truth. To be sure, by virtue of its divine nature it is invulnerable and invincible; susceptible

to errors are imperfect, unperfected human beings; some to make them, and others to suffer the sometimes enduring effects. Understandably, though, we view with apprehension anything that would purpose to alter or misrepresent the Tradition and undermine its authenticity, as a threat to the welfare of mankind which is saved only by the Truth.

Heeding the divine injunction which commands that he who loves God love his brethren also, we feel obliged to contribute to the preservation of the saving Truth within the human race, in the small measure of our own abilities. Hence, glorifying our all-benevolent God without whom we can accomplish nothing good, we proceed with the publication of the English version of Fr. George D. Metallinos' enlightening study, *I Confess One Baptism*. We do so with sober joy and humble satisfaction, anticipating as we do the benefit to our contemporaries that this book will bring, inasmuch as we believe it is an accurate exposition and expression of our Orthodox Christian Tradition and of the patristic mind and teaching on the particular subject with which it deals.

The original Greek text of *I Confess One Baptism*, published in 1983 and currently out of print, was written in Katharevusa, and many passages quoted therein are in an even older form of the Greek Language. The author worked closely with our translator for meaning. Nevertheless something is inevitably lost in the translation, except perhaps the telltale signs of translation itself, for which (and every other shortcoming) we beg the indulgence of the discriminating reader.

This publication would have remained beyond the potentials of our Monastery had it not been for the cooperation of friends and supporters. We would like to thank Archimandrite Damian of the Monastery of the Glorious Ascension, Frs. Paisios and Benedict of Philotheou

Monastery, Reader Vladimir Phelan, Mr. Demetrios Christaphacopoulos, and Miss Elizabeth Papps for their invaluable encouragement and assistance. The entire responsibility, however, for the form and content of this book lies exclusively with St. Paul's Monastery.

+ Archimandrite Parthenios

St. Paul's Monastery on the Holy Mountain
Sunday of the Holy Fathers of the Holy Mountain, 1994

PREFACE TO THE GREEK EDITION

IN THE theological dialogues of our time, the holy sacraments are the center of discussion. Much has been said in the precincts of the Ecumenical Movement about unity and agreement in the sacraments. It follows that this should be even more so the case with holy baptism, the sacrament by which entrance into the Church is accomplished. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the full extent of the patristic tradition's position be sufficiently known in these discussions, so that the course of navigation towards the revealed and only salvific Truth always be discernable.

We selected the subject of the present study with this in mind, when we were very honored by the invitation to participate in the "Theological Symposium" sponsored by the "Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies," which is under the direction of Prof. Panayiotis Christou. The "Symposium" met from 24–27 August 1981 in Thessaloniki, and the subject was the Second Ecumenical Council.

The first part of the present work, i.e. the Interpretation of Canon VII of the Second Ecumenical Council by the *Kollyvades* and by C. Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi, constituted the report which was read at the "Symposium." It was deemed necessary, however, to supplement the report with the historical dimension of the problem, i.e. the same

writers' teaching on the application of this Canon in the life of the Church.

Hence, it is from the bottom of our heart that we thank the P.I.P.S. for providing us with the occasion to compose the present work, and also certain venerable fathers of the Holy Mountain, who not only morally, but also materially contributed to its publication. The sure fact that the Holy Mountain in every age, and particularly today, continues to be the ark in which the Orthodox Holy-Spiritual way of life (hesychastic tradition) is preserved unaltered and the Orthodox Faith remains intact, serves to underline the importance of the *Kollyvades* Fathers of the Holy Mountain—and indeed St. Nikodemos who was surnamed *Hagioritis*, which means “resident of the Holy Mountain”—as bearers and witnesses of Orthodox Tradition.

+ Protopresbyter George D. Metallinos
Epiphany, 1983

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

THE WRITING of this study was occasioned by a specific event relevant to today's interchurch or ecumenical relations and their evident conflict with the authentic ecclesiastical tradition of the Prophets, the Apostles and our Fathers and Mothers throughout the ages. In 1978, I met three German students in Cologne who had already been catechized in the Orthodox tradition. They requested that I assume the task of completing their catechism, and that I "baptize" them Orthodox. This meant that they be received by our Church through the one and authentic baptism performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, with trine immersion and emersion in water.

It being known that the Latins have been called heretics at the Orthodox Church's Eighth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 879) because of the *flioque* heresy, and that after the Council of Trident (16th cen.) the canonical baptism has been completely lost in the West and has been replaced by aspersion or affusion, I therefore sought permission from the Archdiocese of Athens for them to be received by the Church of Greece "by *acrivia*." Permission was granted (for this practice had never been abolished in the Church of Greece), and their baptism took place, according to the

practice of the early Church, on the night of Holy Saturday, 1979.

When this became known, I was strongly attacked, not only by Latins (in Greece and in W. Germany), but also by Latinizing pro-unionists and Uniates within Greece. This led to the beginning of a verbal struggle in the mass media (press, radio, television), during the course of which I decided to write a theological study on the issue, not in order to justify my action—which had the approval of my Church and, of foremost importance, was consonant with the Orthodox tradition—but to present the relevant Orthodox teaching within the actual practice of my Church.

Hence it was with great joy that I accepted the invitation of the “Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies” in Thessaloniki to participate in its August 1981 Conference with the theme the Second Ecumenical Council. For, in treating of that Council’s very important Canon VII (and the corresponding Canon XCV of the Penthekte Ecumenical Council), I would have the opportunity to present the interpretation of it by great figures of the Orthodox Church who not only knew the tradition of our Church as few others did, but also lived it.

I believe that this study, which after the Thessaloniki Conference was completed with a chapter on the application of the Canon within the borders of the Romaic Ethnarchy (i.e. the Orthodox world under Ottoman rule), offers a solution to the problem, a solution defended by our patristic tradition and faith. Especially today, it is necessary that we be well acquainted with this tradition, living as we do in the aftermath of the obscuration brought on by the unforgivable haste of certain ecclesiastical personalities on the subject of Ecumenism, and mainly in the area of relations with the Latin Church (which is identical with the “Vatican State”), due to the interference, once again, of purely secular criteria

in the so-called “Ecumenical Dialogue.” This trend led to the recent decision of the Seventh Plenary Session of the Joint International Commission for the official Theological Dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox (Balamand, Lebanon, 17–24 July 1993). In no uncertain terms, the delegates from the nine Orthodox Churches represented at this meeting (absent were the Churches of Jerusalem, Georgia, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia) propose to their Churches the mutual recognition of sacraments, ignoring Ecumenical Councils, dogma, and history, and thus seeking a *de facto* union with the Papacy.

It is nothing unusual, then, that the Greek-language Uniate newspaper *Katholike* emphasizes paragraph 13 of the Balamand meeting’s “Documentation Supplement” which ends as follows: “It is clear that within this framework, *any re-baptism is excluded...*” Of course, the theologically correct response to this is that Orthodox Church, on the basis of her self-understanding, does not *re-baptize* non-Orthodox converts, but canonically *baptizes* them as having never received the one and canonical baptism of the Church. This, anyway, is the response of the writers whose testimony we invoke in the present study. Aside from all this, any chance recognition of Latin sacraments (and primarily of Holy Orders) on our part notwithstanding leads to the rejection of our whole ecclesiology, of the Ecumenical Councils, and, in a word, of patristic theology (on the basis of which there exist no sacraments amongst the Latins who still, in fact, speak about “*gratia creata*”).

We therefore pray that the local Orthodox Churches, with the encouragement surely of the six Churches that did not participate in the aforementioned meeting and did not sign its decisions, not proceed with the acceptance of the proposals of their representatives at Balamand; for

otherwise highly unfavorable developments are foreseen that will seriously affect Orthodox unity.

This translation was made on the initiative of a very dear colleague of mine, the Greek-American Priestmonk Fr. Seraphim of St. Paul's Monastery on the Holy Mountain. Apparently his good heart perceived the need today for this study. I thank him from the bottom of my heart; and likewise the venerable Elder and Abbot of his monastery, my respected Fr. Parthenios, a zealous proponent of the Apostolico-patristic tradition, who readily gave his blessing for this translation.

I moreover thank the holy Abbot for the decision that St. Paul's Monastery publish the English edition of this study. My own wholly academic labor cannot compare with their uniquely salvific-experiential witness which they wish to preserve by propounding the teaching of their forerunners, the *Kollyvades*.

+ Protopresbyter George D. Metallinos
Pentecost, 1994

ABBREVIATIONS

E = Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis, *Ἐπιτομή τῶν Ἱερῶν Κανόνων* [*Digest of the Sacred Canons*] (unpublished).

P = *Πηδάλιον...* [*The Rudder*], by Agaprios Priestmonk and Nikodemos Monk, 8th ed. (Athens, 1976). Cf English translation by D. Cummings (Chicago, 1957), and particularly St. Nikodemos' footnotes and explanations of the relevant Canons. In this study all references to *The Rudder* are cited and translated anew from the 1976 Greek edition.

M = Athanasios Parios, *Ὅτι οἱ ἀπό Λατίνων ἐπιστρέφοντες ἀναντιρρήτως, ἀπαραιτήτως καὶ ἀναγρηαίως πρέπει νὰ βαπτίζωνται καὶ Ἐπιτομή...τῶν θείων τῆς πίστεως δογμάτων...* [*That Latin converts must indisputably, indispensably and necessarily be baptized, and Digest...of the Divine Dogmas of the Faith*] (Leipzig, Saxony, 1806). Excerpts in: Theodoritos Monk Hagioreitis, *Μοναχισμός καὶ Αἵρεσις* (*Monasticism and Heresy*) (Athens, 1977), pp. 263ff.

O = *Τὰ σωζόμενα ἐκκλησιαστικά συγγράμματα Κωνσταντίνου Πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Οἰκονόμου τοῦ ἐξ Οἰκονόμων, ἐκδιδόντος Σοφ. Κ. τοῦ ἐξ Οἰκονόμων, τόμος Α'* [*The extant ecclesiastical writings of Constantine Presbyter and Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi*, published by Soph. C. of the Oikonomoi], vol. I (Athens, 1862), pp. 398–515.



Patriarch Cyril V of Constantinople (+1775)

INTRODUCTION

THE DEBATE over the validity of the baptism of non-Orthodox who come over to Orthodoxy, a very old problem of the Church,¹ flared up around the middle of the eighteenth century in the see of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, during the reign of Cyril V² beginning in 1750. The reopening of

1 For the history of the problem see I.N. Karmiris, «Πώς δεῖ δέξεσθαι τοὺς προσιόντας τῇ Ὀρθοδοξίᾳ ἑτεροδόξους» [“How should non-Orthodox who come over to Orthodoxy be received?”], *Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* [*The Dogmatic and Symbolic Monuments of the Orthodox Catholic Church*], vol. II (Athens, 1953), pp. 972–1050 (972–1025); T. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* (Oxford, 1964), p. 65ff; Evêque Pierre l’Hullier, “Les Divers Modes de Reception des Catholiques-Romains dans l’Orthodoxie,” *Le Messager Orthodoxe* 1 (1962), pp. 15–23; J. I. Kotsonis, «Αἵρετικῶν Βάπτισμα» [“Heretical Baptism”], *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* [*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*] 1 (1962), col. 1092-1095; A. Christophilopoulos, «Ἡ εἰς Ὀρθοδοξίαν προσέλευσις τῶν ἀλλοθρήσκων καὶ ἑτεροδόξων» [“The coming to Orthodoxy of non-Christians and non-Orthodox”], *Θεολογία ΚΖ*’ (1956), pp. 53–60, 196–205. In these works one may find further bibliography. See also Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft 1453–1821*, p. 35 (bibliography in n. 96); Cf. Vasileios N. Yiannopoulos, *Ἡ ἀποδοξίη τῶν αἵρετικῶν κατὰ τὴν Ζ’ Οἰκουμενικὴν Σύνοδον* [*The Reception of Heretics according to the Seventh Ecumenical Council*] (Athens, 1988) (Reprint from *Θεολογία ΝΘ*’ (1988), pp. 530–579). Dorothea Wendeburg, “Taufe und Oikonomia. Zur Furge der Wiedertaufe in der Orthodoxen Kirche,” *Kirchengemeinschaft—Anspruch und Wirklichkeit. Festschrift für G. Kretschmar* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 93-116. Lothar Heiser, *Die Taufe in der Orthodoxen Kirche (Geschichte, Spedung und Symbolik nach der Lehre der Väter)*, (Trier, 1987).

2 On him see E. Skouvaras, «Στηλιτευτικά Κείμενα τοῦ ΙΗ’ αἰῶνος (Κατὰ

the problem by this Patriarch, who imposed (re)baptism of Western converts, provoked vehement disputes that survived in print as a very rich production of relevant literature.³ Hence this issue, together with the “*kollyva* dispute” that broke out around the same time, theologially stamp the eighteenth century, otherwise relatively poor in theological interest.

The question of how the (early) heretics were to be received was synodically resolved by the early Church through, among others, Canon VII of the Second Ecumenical Council.⁴ Therefore, it was reasonable that, in the solutions also proposed for regulating the matter in the eighteenth century, an interpretation of this Canon be attempted applying it now to the case of the later heretics, i.e. the Westerners in general, and specifically the Latins.

It was in this perspective that the *Kollyvades* of the Holy Mountain,⁵ as offspring of their time, inevitably viewed the

Ἀναβαπτιστῶν) [“Censorious Texts of the Eighteenth Century (Against Rebaptizers)”], *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1970), pp. 50–227 (also in reprint); see pp. 58–60 for bibliography. Important is the article by T. A. Gritsopoulos, *Θ.Η.Ε.* 7 (1965), col. 1193–1197. Cf. same author, «Ὁ Πατριάρχης Κ/λεως Κύριλλος Ε' ὁ Καράκαλλος» [“Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril V Karakallos”], *Ε.Ε.Β.Σ.* ΚΘ' (1959), pp. 367–389.

3 Collected in the above-mentioned work by E. Skouvaras. For the synodal and theological material see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 38 (Graz, 1961; Paris, 1907), col. 575–634.

4 Canon XCV of Penthekte is but a reiteration of it. For the text of this canon, see Appendix I.

5 See Ch. S. Tzogas, *Ἡ περί μνημοσύνων ἔρις ἐν Ἄγῳ Ὁρει κατὰ τὸν υἱ αἰῶνα* [The Memorial-service Dispute on the Holy Mountain in the Eighteenth Century] (Thessaloniki, 1969), with extensive bibliography; C. C. Papoulidis, *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Κολλυβάδων* [The “Kollyvades” Movement] (Athens, 1971); same author, “Nikodème l’Hagiorite (1749-1809),” *Θεολογία ΔΖ'* (1966), pp. 293–313, 390–415, 576–590, and ΔΗ' (1967), pp. 95–118, 301–311; same author, «Περίπτωσης πνευματικῆς ἐπιδράσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους εἰς τὸν βαλκανικὸν χῶρον κατὰ τὸν ΙΗ' αἰῶνα» [“A case of spiritual influence on the Balkans by the Holy Mountain during the eighteenth century”], *Μακεδονικά* 9 (1969), pp. 278–294; Ch. G. Sotiropoulos, *Κολλυβάδες—Ἀντικολλυβάδες* [Kollyvades and Anti-Kollyvades] (Athens, 1981).

Canon in question, the most fundamental for the problem. Being contemporaries of the dispute over the baptism of non-Orthodox,⁶ these very capable theologians lived it from up close, and they took a position on it in their writings, offering a solution to the problem that was in accordance with their own theological principles. Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis⁷ the leader of the *Kollyvades* movement, St. Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain,⁸ and Athanasios Parios,⁹ in absolute agreement with each other, unreservedly sided in favor of Patriarch Cyril's decision and the theology of Eustratios Argentis (1687–1757),¹⁰ who defined the theological and canonical frame of reference of the problem in a systematic and decisive way. The above-mentioned

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- 6 In the course of explaining Apostolic Canon XLVI, after a lengthy note on the validity of heretical baptism, St. Nikodemos characteristically remarks: “All this theory which we did here is not superfluous, but indeed very necessary, simply for all times, but much more today because of the big debate and great controversy going on over Latin baptism, not only between us and the Latins, but also between us and the Latinizers.” *P*, p. 55.
- 7 See Tzogas, pp. 16–28; Papoulidis, *The “Kollyvades” Movement*, pp. 30–32; Theodoritos Monk (Ioannis Mavros), *Νεοφύτων Ἱεροδιακόνου Κανσοκαλιβέτου, Περὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς Μεταλήψεως, Εἰσαγωγή, Κείμενον ἀνέκδοτον, Σχόλια* [*Neophytos Deacon-Monk Kafsokalyvitis, On Frequent Communion, Introduction, Unpublished Text, Commentary*]. (Athens, n.d.); A. Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières du Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Thessaloniki, 1974), pp. 413–431.
- 8 See Tzogas, pp. 46–51; Papoulidis, *The “Kollyvades” Movement*, pp. 35–37; and the other works cited in n. 5 above. Also important is the monograph by Fr. Theocletos, Monk of the Monastery of Dionysiou (Holy Mountain), *Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης* [*Saint Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain*] (Athens, 1959). See also George S. Bebis, “St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite,” in *Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities*, pp. 1–17; Podskalsky, pp. 377–382 (with extensive bibliography); C. Cavarnos, *St. Nicodemos the Hagiorite: An Account of his Life, Character and Message, together with a Comprehensive List of his Writing and Selections from Them* (Belmont, MA: 1974; 2nd ed. 1979).
- 9 See Tzogas, pp. 29–43; Papoulidis, *The “Kollyvades” Movement*, pp. 37–39; Podskalsky, pp. 358–365 (with bibliography).
- 10 Ware, p. 90ff; Podskalsky, pp. 331–335 (bibliography).

Kollyvades,¹¹ each in his own peculiar way, affirm¹² and reiterate

11 We took into account the following works of theirs, in which their relevant teaching is presented:

a. Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis, *Ἐπιτομή τῶν Ἱερῶν Κανόνων* (*Digest of the Sacred Canons*), Characterized by Tzogas as “famous” (p. 26), and composed of 1227 pages of unequal size. It remains yet unpublished in MS 222 (=295) of the Academy of Bucharest, fol. 2a–1227. See C. Litzica, *Catalogul Manuscrilor Grecesti* (Bucuresti, 1909), p. 150. Cf Theodoritos Monk, «Ὁ Νομοκάνων Νεοφύτου τοῦ Κασσοκαλυβίτου» [“The Code of Church Laws and Canons by Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis”], *Κόινωνία* 1H¹ (1975), pp. 197–206. Fr. Theodoritos has prepared the critical edition of this work, and he very kindly made available to us a section of it containing the chapters: 1) “On those coming over to Orthodoxy,” p. 126–147 xvii, and 2) “On Canon Seven of the Second Ecumenical Council and Ninety-five of the Sixth” (fol. 147xx–147xxv), and therefore we express to him our thank and gratitude. Fr. Theodoritos accepts that this work was written while the author resided on the Holy Mountain, i.e. before 1759 (see *On Frequent Communion*, p. 33), and he completed it with later additions until his death (1784). A part of the above-mentioned first chapter (pages 126–127 and 147–148 of the work) was published in his book *M* (*Monasticism and Heresy*), pp. 254–257. It is clear from Neophytos’ work that he knew well the arguments of Cyril V’s opponents. We follow the numbering of the MS used by Fr. Theodoritos (the Greek numerals being replaced by Roman numerals).

b. Nikodemos Monk (Hagioritis), *Πηδάλιον* [*The Rudder*], 1st ed. (Leipzig, 1800). Herein we have in mind the 8th ed. (Athens, 1976). According to the in-depth scholar of the saint’s works, Fr. Theocletos, Monk of Dionysiou, *The Rudder* “is entirely the work of the Saint,” (op. cit., pp. 214–215). In many places in *The Rudder*, St. Nikodemos refers to Canon VII of the Second Ecumenical Council, particularly in the *ad hoc* interpretation of it and of Canon XCV of Penthekte.

c. Athanasios Parios, *Ἐπιτομή τῶν θείων τῆς πίστεως δογματῶν* [*Digest of the Divine Dogmas of the Faith*] (Leipzig, Saxony, 1806). See a small section of this work in *M*. pp. 265–268. Athanasios Parios also wrote a special concise study titled, «Ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Λατίνων ἐπιστρέγοντες ἀναντιρρήτως, ἀπαραιτήτως καὶ ἀναγκαίως πρέπει νὰ βαπτίζονται» [“That Latin converts must indisputably, indispensably and necessarily be baptized”], which survives in cod. 88 of the Holy Monastery of Xenophontos, pp. 394–397, and was published by Fr. Theodoritos, *M*, pp. 263–265. For an excerpt of this, see Appendix V.

12 Our theologians were aware of Argentis’ work, *Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ βαπτίσματος* [*Handbook on Baptism*], 1st ed. (Constantinople, 1756), and 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1757), and they even refer to it: Nikodemos, *P*, pp. 35–36, 55; A. Parios, *M*, p. 266; and *O*, p. 511. Neophytos cites the decision of Cyril V, *E*, p. 147xxv.

Argentis' view and solution of the problem, and thus uphold the Church's early practice as canonically formulated by Sts. Cyprian of Carthage and Basil the Great. Also, the fact that the Priestmonk Jonas,¹³ one of Patriarch Cyril V's most active co-workers in Constantinople and himself a "rebaptizer," was also a *Kafsokalyvitis*, i.e. a fellow monastic of Neophytos, should not, in my opinion, remain unnoticed. Perhaps the Athonite society, and in this case Neophytos, was more significantly involved in this problem than has been known until now. But for the time being, this is but a mere guess which is worthy, however, of further investigation.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, Constantine Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi was called upon to confront this very same problem theologically, the occasion being the important Palmer affair.¹⁴ In three lengthy epistolary dissertations¹⁵—a favorite custom of his—Oikonomos attempted a detailed theological analysis of the

13 See Skouvaras, pp. 68–71.

14 Oikonomos was called upon by A. Stourzas, residing in Russia, to take a position on the problem raised by the case of the renowned Scottish deacon William Palmer, who so wearied both the Russian Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. With this opportunity he wrote the studies listed below. See *O*, pp. 498, 494. On Palmer see Ware, pp. 103–104 (bibliography), and Georges Florovsky, *Aspects of Church History* (Belmont, 1975), pp. 227–238; bibliography, pp. 305–306 (n. 23–26).

15 These are: 1) Notes to the anonymous dissertation "on the rite of the sacrament of Holy Baptism," (1 March, 1850); 2) An excerpt from a letter to A. Stourzas on the same issue (2 March, 1847); and 3) A Letter to a Bishop (30 Dec. 1852). These are published in *O*, pp. 398–485, 486–492, and 493–515 respectively. Oikonomos also deals with the subject of the baptism of heretics in his study: *Περὶ τῶν τριῶν Ἱερατικῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βαθμῶν Ἐπιστολιμαία Διατριβή, ἐν ἧ καὶ περὶ τῆς γνησιότητος τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν κανόνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Προσβυτέρου καὶ Οἰκονόμου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐξ Οἰκονόμων* [*Epistolary Dissertation on the Church's three Sacerdotal Orders, and also on the authenticity of the Apostolic Canons, by Constantine Presbyter and Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi*], (Nauplia, 1835), pp. 131–139, and 144–152 (on Apostolic Canons XLVI, XLVII and L). But what is said here is also included in his above-listed studies.

problem, taking up the position of Cyril V and E. Argentis, and hence also that of the *Kollyvades*.¹⁶ He interprets Canon VII of the Second Ecumenical Council on the basis of the same presuppositions and thinking as they, in order to apply it to Western converts. That is to say that in the case of both the *Kollyvades* and Oikonomos the interpretation of the Canon is not undertaken without presuppositions, but is inseparably interwoven with its application to the later heretics.

Thus, the effort is made by these theologians to preserve the continuity of the Church's tradition, and to express the Orthodox conscience in their own time. Moving within the same spiritual climate, and being theologically well equipped, especially as regards canon law, they make a significant contribution to the treatment of a problem that continues to concern the Church to this day. Their contribution lies not so much in the originality of their interpretation (for essentially they reiterate the theology of Argentis), but in their personal recasting and re-expression of the Church's tradition. Though in a form imposed by the necessity for a detailed confrontation of the argumentation of those who thought otherwise,¹⁷ their response cannot fail to be taken seriously in whatever synodal settlement of the issue may

16 Oikonomos was aware of the existence of Neophytos' *Digest*, and he praises the work in vol. IV of his own monumental work, *Περί τῶν Ὁ' Ἑρμηνευτῶν τῆς Π. θείας Γραφῆς* [*On the Seventy Translators of the Old Testament*], p. 821. Cf. Tzogas, p. 71. In the same work he praises Athanasios Parios and St. Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain (p. 822). In his above-mentioned texts, he uses *The Rudder* (1841 edition) and cites it by name (e.g., pp. 400, 417, 511: "...the most ascetic Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain (in *The Rudder*, p. 31)."¹⁷ He does not hesitate, though, to criticize it. E.g. on p. 460 n., he notes: "And see the inconsistent and wavering remarks in *The Rudder*, p. 16"¹⁷ (of the 2nd ed., 1841).

17 As for the *Kollyvades*, we have ascertained that they are aware of the argumentation developed in the texts of the metropolitans et al. written in opposition to the decision of Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril V. See Mansi 38.

come about, inasmuch as this is demanded by the authority the *Kollyvades* as well as C. Oikonomos carry in our Church, all possible objections aside.¹⁸ The manner employed by the aforementioned writers in dealing with the problem may very well clearly reek of scholasticism and hence naturally be repulsive to modern Greek theological thought, which day by day is becoming less and less scholastic. Yet when placed in the framework of their time, it is more easily understood. Moreover, it also helps us in approaching similar problems in our own time.

It goes without saying that the present work is mainly a study of literature and canon law, but also a parallel study of moral obligation.

18 Opinions on the *Kollyvades* are often contradictory. One may ascertain this from studying the above-named works by Ch. Tzogas on the one hand, and the studies by Theocletos, Monk of Dionysiou, and C. Papoulidis on the other. And even Prof. P. Christou portrays St. Nikodemos as “often wavering between extreme conservatism and extreme modernism,” emphatically stating: “The canonization [of the *Kollyvades*] did not also impose the recognition of their views on the disputed issues.” See P. C. Christou, «Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι καὶ τῷ παρόντι» [“The Holy Mountain, Past and Present”], *Ἀθωνικὴ Πολιτεία* (Thessaloniki, 1963), pp. 64–65. We believe that above scholarly opinion is the conscience of the Church at large, which holds the *Kollyvades* in high esteem, whereas, on the contrary, their opponents it has condemned, at least to oblivion!

CHAPTER I

The Principal Figures

1. The “*Kollyvades*” Fathers of the Holy Mountain

THE APPEARANCE in the eighteenth century of the *Kollyvades* on the Holy Mountain, and in Greece in general, constitutes a dynamic return to the roots of Orthodox tradition, to the “philokalic” experience which is at the core of the Orthodox Church’s spirituality. Their “movement,” as it was called, was regenerative and traditional, progressive and yet patristic. In other words, genuinely Orthodox. Using the scholarly methods of the time (composing writings), they first of all revealed the continuity of hesychasm on the Holy Mountain Athos, and at the same time remained faithful not only to the theoretical formulation of the hesychastic-Palamite theology, but also to its practical applications, i.e. the whole spectrum of the ascetic experience. Through the dissemination of their works and by their struggles in defense of the tradition, they formed the counterbalance against the European “Enlightenment,” and in their own right became enlighteners of their Nation and of Orthodoxy at large.

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