

che Herrschaft zum Diener der Bürger zu wandeln. Die »Gesetze« weisen einen offensichtlich überwiegend strafrechtlichen Charakter auf, da sie mehrere Bereiche des bürgerlichen Rechts gar nicht berücksichtigen. Es läßt sich sagen, die vorgesehenen Strafen, welche sogar die kleinsten Ausschweifungen des privaten Lebens berühren, pendeln je nach den Umständen zwischen dem unerbittlichen Rigorismus und der christlichen Milde; gerade dies bezeugt aber, nach Meinung des Vf.s, umsomehr ihren missionarischen Charakter.

Wird man wohl gegen einzelne Ansichten des Vf.s Einwände erheben dürfen, unterliegt es jedoch keinem Zweifel, daß seine Hauptthese über die missionarische Funktion der »Gesetze« einer festen Grundlage nicht ohne weiteres entbehrt. Außerdem hat er uns einen sehr prägnanten, aufschlußreichen Überblick über den sozialgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Epoche verschafft und bei der Betrachtung der Quellen und der Durchsicht der neueren Literatur seine glänzende kritische Begabung bewiesen.

Hier sei nur am Rande bemerkt, daß der Vf. die Novellen der byzantinischen Kaiser Eirene und Leo VI. nicht in den neueren Ausgaben benutzt (*S.L. Burgmann*, Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene, in: *D. Simon* [Hg.], *Fontes Minores IV*, Frankfurt 1981, 1–36; *P. Noailles – A. Dain*, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI.* le Sage, Paris 1944). Schließlich erweckt P. den Eindruck (S. 234), daß die byzantinische Kirche die dritte Ehe nie erlaubte, was nicht zutrifft, da z.B. der sogenannte Einigungsakt (Τόμος τῆς Ἐνώσεως), der von einer Synode in Konstantinopel im Jahre 922 erlassen wurde, die Schließung der dritten Ehe unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen und begleitet von Bußstrafen ermöglicht. (Vgl. *K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal*, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechtes*, Berlin ³1892 [ND Aalen 1955], S.83.)

Diese Bemerkungen können auf keinen Fall den Wert des vorliegenden Buches schmälern, das jedenfalls nicht nur einen Beitrag zur Rechts- und Missionsgeschichte, sondern auch einen Beleg für die Anpassungsfähigkeit der kirchlichen äußeren Mission an die jeweiligen Umstände darstellt; eine Fähigkeit, die auch in unserer Zeit für die Ausbreitung des christlichen Glaubens unerläßliche Bedingung ist.

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Lison, Jacques, *L'Esprit répandu. La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, Préface de *J.M.R. Tillard*, Paris 1994, 305 pp.

J. Lison's doctoral dissertation submitted at the Catholic University of Louvain is yet another testimony to the significant change in the way which modern Western theology perceives the work of Gregory Palamas.

Despite the fact that until now, save for a few isolated exceptions, the theological teachings of Gregory Palamas have been subjected to methodical polemics mostly on the part of Roman Catholic theologians, L.'s work opens the possibility for an authentic theological dialogue between East and West. In this dissertation Palamas' work is correctly seen within the context of the tradition from which it issues and is interpreted from within the selfsame theological thought of the hesychast theologian and not through the scholastic dioptry, as has usually been the case until recently.

Through the direction of Professor A. De Halleux the author chose the study of the Pneumatology of Palamas, a subject which has traditionally been a bone of contention between East and West but which has great importance for the ecumenical dialogue today, mainly due to its experiential and not so much its academic dimension. With his superb knowledge of the corpus of Palamite works, L. analyzes the teaching of Gregory Palamas on the Holy Spirit in three sections. In the first section, taking the Incarnation as a point of departure, the »economy« of the Holy Spirit is presented as it passes through each Christological event culminating with Pentecost. In this way the »economy« of Spirit is portrayed as closely linked to the economy of Christ. In the second section the author deals with the manifestation and gift of the Paraclete to humanity, examining the relationship between the Spirit and the divine energies and the connection which exists between the »economy« of the Spirit and the energies with the other hypostases of the Divinity. Following in sequence, the author refers systematically to the argumentation used by Palamas during the hesychast controversy to set forth the theological distinction between essence and energies as well as the issue of the participation of created beings in the uncreated energies. The third section elaborates upon Palamas' teaching on the sacramental life, asceticism, prayer and unification with God as well as on the graces and gifts which *theosis* provides through the Holy Spirit within the context of the »vertical« dimension of pneumatology.

This multifold analysis of Palamas' Pneumatology certainly constitutes a most significant and specialized contribution to the study of the theology of the hesychast theologian in the West following the dissertation of J. Meyendorff.

In gleaning certain positions held by L. resulting from his study of the Palamite texts, we must note straightaway that, despite the fact that he is inspired by the Russian theologian of the diaspora VI. Lossky for the concept of the »economy« of the Holy Spirit, his entire presentation of Palamite Pneumatology is connected to Christology. This furthermore exhibits the significant fact that no Person of the divinity is obscured or devaluated with respect to the others in the economy of salvation.

The author also demonstrates that the divine energy is not an impersonal emanation from the divine essence but rather the personal communion of divine life within the context of the circumincession of the Persons of the Trinity and their particular roles within economy. The clarification of the meaning of the en-hypostatic Trinitarian energy which is held in common by the Persons of the Trinity is quite valuable and illuminating with respect to this aforementioned issue and for the prevention of any pantheistic interpretations of the distinction between essence and energies. Along with the above, this clarification also constitutes a weighty answer to those scholars who carelessly ascribe to Palamas' teachings neo-Platonic influences or »essentialism« or even the obscuring of the Triadic hypostases within the context of the unfolding of the economy of salvation.

Finally, L.'s analysis through which the sacramental, baptismal and eucharistic character of divine grace is demonstrated is quite significant. The grace of the Holy Spirit and the eucharistic body of Christ together constitute the source of *theosis* and of the illumination of the faithful. The sacramental life is nothing more than the internalization of the Thaborean light. Hence, the spirituality of the hesychast saint is fully »Christo-centric and eucharistic«, within the context of the particular role of the Holy Spirit for the

transmittal of divine grace to humanity. In this way the author answers to the accusations of certain Western scholars that Palamas develops his conception of the reception of divine grace within an exo-sacramental climate, a Pneumatocratic elitism of the hesychasts, and that he thus proposes an exclusively therapeutic ecclesiology disconnected and independent from the liturgical-sacramental life of the ecclesiastical community.

Without the least desire to mitigate L.'s remarkable contribution to Palamite studies, we nevertheless deem it necessary to proceed on to a few critical observations on isolated positions set forth in his dissertation.

1. The author, following in the footsteps of Vl. Lossky, adopts the term »economy« of the Holy Spirit, of course without progressing to the extreme position of this Russian theologian, i.e. that of an economy of the Holy Spirit independent from the economy of Christ with all the correlative consequences such a position entails. The author also sees Palamas as expressing the ideas of the famed Pneumatological circle of Byzantine theology, a conception which draws its origins from the Russian theologians of the diaspora. Hence, although L. manages to steer away from the dangerous reefs of a Losskian Pneumatomonism, he leaves open the crucial issue of a full and organic *synthesis* of Christology and Pneumatology together with all the consequences which such a synthesis entails for all levels of theology in accordance with Palamas' teachings. The unusual position put forth here according to which the »economy« of the Spirit for Palamas starts with the Incarnation and therefore its activity is absent in the Old Testament (p. 21, 23, footnote 15) should be understood as resulting from this lack of a full synthesis of Christology and Pneumatology. Furthermore, the declaration of the author, that he was unable to find any connection between Pneumatology and the Resurrection of Christ (p. 61), most probably is due simply to a minor academic, scholastic detail. According to Palamas, the Resurrection of Christ is described as »Spiritual« in the same way that the human nature of Christ from the beginning is contiguous with and vivified through the uncreated energies of the assisting Spirit in the specific (*autourgiki*) Economy of the Son. For the hesychast theologian the Resurrection most certainly is accomplished Triadocentrically and does not result from a relation of Christ with some impersonal attribute of the divinity.

2. Lison quite correctly interprets the Pneumatology of Palamas emphasizing that when divine grace is manifested and participated in, the Holy Spirit is communicated without the participation of its essence or its hypostasis. He adds nevertheless that in his earlier works Palamas accepted that the hypostasis of the Spirit makes itself essentially present during its manifestation in the work of economy (p. 71). This point in the total presentation of Palamite pneumatology requires some clarification, otherwise it may not make sense or may even produce an analogous confusion reminiscent of the accusations of Messalianism or pantheism in the theology of Palamas.

On this we must first of all emphasize that the sending of the Spirit to the world occurs by means of a Person and not as a non-essential and non-hypostatic energy of God. The energies are always *en-hypostatic* and not impersonal powers of the Triadic divinity. Of course, within the context of the hypostatic sending of the Holy Spirit we participate neither in the essence nor in its hypostasis, but rather in its uncreated enhypostatic energies. Indeed, Palamas understands that the Spirit »has therefore been poured out essentially for us and after us, this has been manifested through the Spirit itself granting divine

power; it is always present to us essentially in its hypostasis, and although we participate neither in the essence nor in the hypostasis, we do participate in the grace» (Logos Apo-deiktikos II, On the Proceeding of the Holy Spirit 64, Gregory Palamas Writings I, ed. by P. Christou, p. 135). However, the adverb »essentially«, besides its Trinitarian nuance, has an anthropological connotation in Palamas' thought. According to the Cappadocian fathers (Basil – Gregory the Theologian), the Holy Spirit dwells »essentially« in man. This, as Palamas interprets it, is tantamount to the charismatic outpouring of the Spirit within the very depths of created being. The energy and not the essence nor the hypostasis of the Spirit penetrates and fills the essence of the soul of man transforming it into the spiritual temple of God together with the body joined to it. In the same way that the soul exists »essentially« in every member of the human body, the *theosis* of the saints also will be complete in man according to the degree of unity between soul and body. The »essentially« refers, in this different context, to the human soul and does not mean that the sanctification granted by the Holy Spirit belongs in an exclusively personal way to the Holy Spirit only or even that the very essence or the hypostasis of the Paraclete is what is participated in during sanctification.

3. With reference to the controversial issue of the *filioque*, L. simply acknowledges that Palamas' contribution to this question is very great and is due to what he claims is Palamas' openness to the Western conception on this issue: that the Spirit's activity originates from the essence of the Son as well as from that of the Father, thus witnessing to the homoousion as well as to the mutual circumincession of the divine hypostases (p. 95–96). We must remark here the surprising fact that L. avoided the employment of Palamas' two Convincing Words on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Ἀποδεικτικοὶ λόγοι περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος), a fact which weakens the fullness and coherence of his interpretation of Palamite Pneumatology. The contribution of Palamas to the *filioque* question here referred to by L., which in fact comprises the only acceptable version of the *filioque* for Orthodoxy, however, cannot be understood without his teaching on the double procession of the Spirit (eternal and in time) which can be interpreted only upon the basis of the distinction between essence and energies in God, between theology and economy, the monarchy of the Father and the incommunicability of the particular hypostatic properties. However, in order to avoid anything which could possibly revive the unproductive *filioque* controversy, L. shies from making any reference to Palamas' arguments on the *filioque*. This has the result of depriving this otherwise excellent dissertation from exhibiting a deeper and more balanced reciprocal relationship between Pneumatology and Christology, through which the inseparable, essential, energetic and interpersonal link between Christ and the Spirit is manifested in eternity as well as in economy.

4. In the last part of his dissertation L. maintains that nowhere does Palamas directly allow for a horizontal ecclesiological dimension in his Pneumatology. He judges this as being supposedly due to the monastic stance of the hesychast theologian which renders him less sensitive with respect to the community of saints in the ecclesiastical community (pp. 218–219, 265–267). Hence, Palamas is portrayed as projecting a vertical perception of communion with God and, together with this, an individualistic version of salvation within the framework of a vertical Pneumatology. Note that the above views are suspiciously repeated by J. M. R. Tillard who prefaces this dissertation, thus reviving the

classic armoury of anti-palamite argumentation. Lison justifies the lack of an ecclesiological dimension in the Pneumatology of Palamas for the most part through VI. Lossky's position that the Holy Spirit is not a link of unity between the faithful, rather it promotes the personal differentiation of the faithful within the context of their *theosis*.

On this it must be stated first of all that nowhere in his writings does Palamas exclude the horizontal dimension of Pneumatology and nowhere is he seen to be uninterested in the total structure of the ecclesiastical community. A cursory reading of the *Homilies* of the hesychast Archbishop of Thessaloniki is a proof in point. Indeed, the Holy Spirit never deals with the life of disconnected individuals, as if it were a matter of the private inspiration of a specific class of the privileged, a class which is distinguished from the common body of the Church. According to the hesychast Saint, inspiration is indeed a personal experience but it occurs only within the specific and historical context of the eucharistic community, in this way the issue of inspiration is seen in its ecclesiological fullness. The activity of the Spirit brings forth unity in Christ through the sacraments, and together with this it confirms the various functions and gifts in the Church as events of communion with Christ for the benefit and up building of the ecclesiastical body.

Pneumatology in the theology of Palamas is not reduced to »sociology« – at any rate, how could this be possible since grace is uncreated, not created – rather, it constitutes the criterion for a solid theology and life, according to which *gifts* and *institutions* are synthesized harmonically. This is the mystical life of the Church which is lived experientially in the liturgical and ascetic dimensions of the life of the faithful. If Gregory Palamas emphasized through his Pneumatology the charismatic life of *theosis*, he did not do this independently of the sacraments, but rather as a new elaboration upon the historical and institutional dimension of the life of the ecclesiastical body, as a re-constitution of the unique Christological event.

Stavros Yangazoglou, Thessaloniki

Kempgen, Sebastian, Die Kirchen und Klöster Moskaus. Ein landeskundliches Handbuch, (Sagners Slavistische Sammlung Bd. 21), München: Verlag Otto Sagner 1994, 698+C S., Anhang, 135,- DM.

Der Autor, Professor für Slawische Philologie an der Universität Bamberg, hat in mehr als zehnjähriger Arbeit alle Kirchen und Klöster Moskaus dokumentiert, die es in den 80er Jahren in »Moskau überhaupt noch – in welcher Form auch immer – als Bauwerk gibt«. In seiner Auslegung »als Bauwerk« ist Kempgen allerdings sehr großzügig: Er erfaßt sogar jene Kirchen, von denen nur noch »einige Reliefs« erhalten geblieben sind. So führt er z. B. die Erlöserkathedrale (einst die größte Kirche Moskaus) auf, die 1934 gesprengt wurde, um an ihrer Stelle einen »Palast der Sowjets« zu errichten. Zwar wurde der »Palast« nie erbaut und auf dem freien Gelände wurde unter Chruscev schließlich ein Freiluftschwimmbad errichtet, doch konnten einige der »Reliefs vor der Sprengung gerettet werden, die sich bis heute in der Außenmauer des Donskoj Klosters befinden« (S. 206). Ein anderes Beispiel: Die Kazaner Kathedrale auf dem Roten Platz »gegenüber der Stirnseite des GUM«, wo sich »jahrzehntelang ... nur eine unmotiviert Grünfläche be-