REFERENCES TO PAUL IN WORKS "AGAINST JEWS"
OF THE OTTOMAN OCCUPATION PERIOD

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KEYWORDS: “Against the Jews”, patriarch, Gennadios Scholarios, Meletios Pegas, Israelites, Christology, justice, person

The literary tradition of works “Against Jews” dates back to the early Christian period. The relationships between the Church and Judaism remained unchanged throughout history. The tension remained the same, a fact which is evident in the “Against the Jews” treatises, which have come to us and of which some have been published.

After the 15th century authors such as Parthenios Doxaras, Gennadios Scholarios, Gerasimos Vlachos, Georgios Koressios, Neophytos Kauskalivitis and others contributed to the pertinent apologetic literature “Against the Jews”.

In our current presentation, which is part of a broader study concerning the use of Biblical references in the “Against Jews” works of the Ottoman Occupation period, we will present the references to Paul only in two of these works: one by Gennadios Scholarios Patriarch of Constantinople and one by Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria.

The benchmark for all anti-Judaism texts, dialogues and prose, is certainly not the New but the Old Testament, namely the books of the Old testament Canon, as any kind of dialogue should be initiated on a common

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1About the authors of “Against the Jews” see Mc Giffert, Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, entitled. "A Comparison of Paiskos and Philon of the Jews against a Monk", Marburg 1889, pages 12-20. O. Zöckler, Der Dialog im Dienste der Apologetik, Gütersloh 1894, p. 13.6.
basis. In this case, this basis is made up of the books of the Bible which are acknowledged by the Jews too, as divinely inspired. In these texts, however, extensive use of New Testament extracts is also observed, since throughout the New Testament we encounter a variety of references to figures, prophecies and quotations from the Old Testament. The Christians of Jewish origin were quite familiar with these references which are more frequent in New Testament texts that were originally addressed to Christian Churches founded on older Jewish Communities.

1. Gennadios Scholarios, Patriarch of Constantinople (1403-1472)

The two works against Jews by Gennadios are closely connected to one another and are the following:

a. "A Review of the Fallacies of Judaism as Seen in the Light of the Scriptures, the Facts and the Christian Truth, in the Form of a Dialogue".

b. "From the most Clear of the Prophecies Concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, most of which Found in the Major Woks of all the Prophets".

In his first work, which is in the form of a dialogue, Scholarios offers arguments, as a Christian who is discussing with a Jew, which are very solid and based upon the logical interpretation of quotations from the Scriptures and the understanding of historical facts.

In total, there are 61 references to the Scriptures, of which 43 are from the Old and the rest 18 from the New Testament. In his first work we can find 22 such references (20 from the Old and only 2 from the New Testament) and 39 in his second work, which is a compilation of prophecies regarding Jesus as the Messiah with interpretational comments by Scholarios. This is the reason why in this work there are more references to the Scriptures, 16 of which are from the New and 23 from the Old Testament.

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2Regarding patriarch Gennadios Scholarios' personality see Θ. Ζίζης, Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος. Βίος, Συγγράμματα, Διδασκαλία, [Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 32], Thessaloniki 1980.


4Θ. Ζίζης, Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος. Βίος, Συγγράμματα, Διδασκαλία, ibid p. 294-295.
What is evident, in both of the two works, is the Patriarch’s wide knowledge of the Scriptures and his unique ability to make references to the Scriptures and draw his arguments from them.

His references to the works of Paul, five in total, are all found in his second book, and this is quite reasonable since, as we have already mentioned, the New Testament references in the first work are only two (2) (Mat. 11.3 – Joh. 5, 46).

One of the main issues raised in the dialogue is that of whether the whole of Israel is to be rejected. This is an issue thoroughly discussed in a manner which helps keep the doors open for the return of the Jews to the right faith through repentance. Gennadios’ arguments are reinforced by the references to Paul, as the above-mentioned issue is one also raised by Paul in his epistle to the Romans, in particular in the unit which discusses the relation between Israel and the gentiles5.

Scholarios changes the question that Paul poses “I say then, has God cast away his people? God forbid* into an affirmative “...the Lord has not cast his people away”, thus offering hope to his Jewish interlocutor. The apostle proceeds by saying “For I also am an Israelite, of (Gennadios omits ‘of’) the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin*”. Paul’s example reveals the truth that Israel has its share in the Lord’s plan for the salvation of humankind. However, the main condition for salvation is not lineal descent from Abraham. Because “nor are they all children because they are Abraham’s descendants, but: “through Isaac your descendants will be named”. That is, it is not the children of the flesh who are children of God, but the children of the promise are regarded as descendants*. Being a child of Divine promise Isaac is considered God’s child. This way the conviction that lineal descent from Abraham is the only prerequisite for salvation is proven misleading and false.

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5Rom. 9,11
6Rom. 11.1
7Complete Works III, 312
8Rom. 11,1. See Complete Works III, 312
9Rom. 9, 7-8
The Patriarch combines Rom. 11,1 and Rom. 9,7 introducing the idea that “not everyone from Israel has been saved”\(^\text{10}\), as a conclusion. He writes: “The lord has not cast away His people; For I also am an Israelite, seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin\(^\text{11}\) thus not everyone from Israel was saved\(^\text{12}\) (P.D)/Nor yet, because they are descendants of Abraham, are they all (his)children”\(^\text{13}\). In reality, however, the extract comes straight from the Old Testament and Isaiah, the prophet.

In this way Gennadios founds his arguments on solid ground that cannot be doubted by his Jewish interlocutor. He proceeds, then, with a reference to Is. 10, 22: “For though your people, O Israel, may be like the sand of sea, only a remnant within them will return”. Paul repeats the prophecy in Rom. 9, 27 in order to remind us that God’s plan encompasses the salvation of Israel.

The Patriarch’s interpretation of the Jewish remnant, is that these are the Jews who were saved, namely the apostles along with the Israelis who accepted the apostolic message, among who were the three thousand who believed on the Pentecost\(^\text{14}\), the great number of those who believed\(^\text{15}\) and “many more who later believed”\(^\text{16}\). Therefore, Scholarios’ interpretation affords a dynamic and timeless meaning for Isaiah’s prophecy regarding the saved remnant of Israel, as it relates to the right faith to Jesus Christ, who is the incarnated Son of God, the Messiah, all the prophets talked about.

This right faith is defined in Paul’s cited quotation which follows in Scholarios’ work, and which is also taken from the Romans epistle: “Christ is the culmination of the law so that there may be righteousness for everyone who believes”\(^\text{17}\). Here, Scholarios comments that “people no longer follow the Law and the prophets”\(^\text{18}\). And this is so, because nobody can be saved by

\(^{10}\)Complete Works III, 312

\(^{11}\)Rom. 11, 1.

\(^{12}\)Complete Works III, 312

\(^{13}\)Rom. 9, 7.

\(^{14}\)Act. 2,41

\(^{15}\)Act. 4,32·5,14,16·6,2

\(^{16}\)Complete Works III, 312

\(^{17}\)Rom. 10,4

\(^{18}\)Complete Works III, 314
conforming to the Law and so, they have to follow the new way to salvation which runs "through faith" to Jesus Christ. People are sealed by the Spirit and "restored in God's image", "all sins are remitted" in the mystic waters of baptism, "atonement and forgiveness of sins are offered" through repentance.

Gennadios reinforces the salvific presence of Jesus in the world by making a reference, once more, to Paul: "God's Word became for us righteousness and holiness from God". This quotation is a synthesis of John's: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God... The Word became flesh..." and Paul's: "It is because of him that you are in Christ Jesus, who has become for us wisdom from God—that is, our righteousness, holiness and redemption".

Patriarch Gennadios notes that with Jesus Christ a new meaning was given to the concepts of righteousness and holiness. The Old Testament practices which were based on the Law and which were seeking righteousness and holiness did not lead to salvation. With Jesus, righteousness ceases to have a legal meaning; people are offered the opportunity to mystically partake in God's righteousness: "He offers righteousness through our eternal partaking in the Spirit" stresses Scholarios as he analyses all the parameters through which righteousness may be obtained.

Jesus dominates both of Gennadios' works as he attempts to lead his Jewish interlocutor to the truth by means of a well organised discourse. For Israel, this faith to Jesus Christ should simultaneously lead to a disposal of the old and the adoption of a fresh outlook to faith, ethos and life. This truth is clearly depicted in one of Paul's quotations: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, the new creation has come: The old has gone, the new is here!". This reference is used by Scholarios in order to stress the fact that Jesus is the new forefather of humankind, the New Adam: "Just as Adam is the Father of this

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19 Complete Works III, 314
20 Complete Works III, 314
21 Joh. 1, 1, 14
22 1 Cor., 1, 30
23 Complete Works III, 314
24 2 Cor. 5, 17.
Age, in the same way Jesus is the Father of the Time Future. In this way Scholarios, once more, attempts to bridge the gap between Old and New Testament for his Jewish interlocutor.

2. Meletios Pegas Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria (1551-1601)

Meletios Pegas wrote a brief treatise against Jews in Latin, which was later translated into Greek and Slavonic and was published by Cyril Loukaris in 1593. The full title of the first Greek translation was the following: "Apologia to Jews Defending the Piety of Christians, by our Master Meletios the Holy Pope of Alexandria." The second translation written by Pegas' Student Maximo Peloponnese was under the title: "Meletios Pegas’s Against Jews, a translation to Common Greek by Maximos the monk-priest [Peloponnese] in Egypt, 1606." This is the translation we will be using in our current study of Pegas’s references to Paul.

The original Greek edition in Lvov, Ukraine, as well as that in Slavonic in 1593 has not been, located yet and it is, thus, not into our possession. Maximos' personality is our strong guarantee that this is a faithful

\[\text{25} \text{Complete Works III, 307}\]
\[\text{26} \text{About Cyril Loukaris see. Ch. Papadopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Αλεξάνδρειας (62-1934), Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, σελ. 646. G. Hatzioannou, Κύριλλος Λουκάρης, Αθήναι 1954, σελ. 31.}\]
\[\text{28} \text{Analysis of the content of the work, see A. Kontalis, «Μελέτιος Πηγάς καί Κύριλλος Λουκάρης τά "Κατά Ἰουδαίων ἔργα τους" », Λημνοσια 19 (2013) 462-466.}\]
\[\text{29} \text{About the life and work of Maximos Peloponissos see G. Podskalksky, Η Ελληνική Θεολογία επί Τουρκοκρατίας 1453-1821. Η Ορθοδοξία στη σφαίρα ἑπορφις των Δυτικών δογμάτων μετά τη μεταρρύθμιση, μεταφ. Ι. Μεταλλήνος, εκδ. ΜΙΕΤ, Αθήναι 2005, σελ. 210, υποσ. 146.}\]
\[\text{30} \text{See Maximos’ translation is kept in a code in the National Library of Greece (=NLG), code number 1896. The code consists of 497 pages and it dates back to the end of the 16th beginning of 17th century. It is a literary work with a varied content. The work is contained in ff. 158-200 L. Politis, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων της Εθνικης Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος, αρ. 1857-2500, συνεργασία Μ. Politis, Αθήναι 1991, σελ. 20-21.}\]
\[\text{31} \text{About the Difficulties, see A. Nikolopoulos, «Μαξίμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου Ἐξήγηση τοῦ "Κατά Ἰουδαίων" ἔργου τοῦ Μελετίου Πηγά», Παρνασσός 37 (1995) 311, footnote 20.}\]
References to Paul in works “Against Jews” of the Ottoman Occupation Period

translators. Maximos was Pegas' student and his aim was the same with that of the author: that translated into common Greek the work would be read by as many readers as possible, and thus, more Christians would benefit from it. “So that a lot of people would benefit from it”\(^{32}\) writes Pegas.

Pegas urges his spiritual flock to seek spiritual reinforcement in the study of the Holy Bible\(^{33}\). Believers are thus aided in two ways. They create solid foundations for their Christian faith and they are provided with strong arguments in their debates with the various enemies of the Christian Church.

Following a brief account of the facts related to the original writing of the work in Latin and its subsequent translation in Greek, the author starts listing his arguments with the following phrase “any kind of disputation initiated by all those, and in particular the Jews, against Christian piety is in fact either against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ or against those who are with Christ”\(^{34}\).

Meletios offers abundant references to the Bible in his attempt to refute the Jewish arguments. It is clear, however, that although he makes specific allusions to the Old Testament figures (prophets such as David and Isaiah and fathers such as Moses and Abraham) whom he cites, he does not do the same with his references to New Testament citations. The reasons for this are quite evident, as we have already mentioned. The author’s main pursuit, through these references to the Old Testament figures, is to bridge the gap between himself and his Jewish interlocutors, by foregrounding commonly accepted Biblical quotations and truths which cannot be doubted by them.

The apparent absence of specific citations from the New Testament does not mean that Pegas’s text is void of the Word of the Gospels or of the apostles. On the contrary, there are quite a few. A careful study of the texts reveals a great number of Christological testimonies. Jesus is certainly “a sign which shall be spoken against”\(^{35}\) as Pegas puts it. Pegas, thus, manages to incorporate a finely composed Christological text in his work. In an

\(^{32}\)NLG, mss, 1896, f. 159r
\(^{33}\)NLG, mss, 1896, ff. 160r-160v. (Joh. 5, 39-40).
\(^{34}\)NLG, mss, 1896, f. 162v.
\(^{35}\)Luc. 2, 34.
enlightened mode, he manages to illustrate the accordance between the Messianic prophecies and their historical implementation in Jesus.

What is quite evident is the influence that Paul’s Christology, as it is revealed in his epistles, has had on Pegas’ work. In particular, we mention, the pertinent chapters from Paul’s epistle to the Hebrews (chapters 7-10), where Jesus is presented as the Messiah, the real High Priest, with His heavenly altar emerging as far more important than the one in the Temple of Solomon36.

The quotation that follows is an extract from Pegas’ work where the implied references to Paul have been highlighted:

“Jesus was to be the High Priest not of the present gifts but of the gifts to come. In other words, He was to be a priest of Heavenly mysteries of which worship according to the Law was just a type and an image; he was to come and become the High Priest, by entering through the archetypal curtain of the temple which was not made by human hands, the Heavenly tabernacle, the Most Holy place, in order to offer the perfect gift and the eternal sacrifice, His Body. This sacrifice was offered only once in order to bring reconciliation and peace between the human race and the Heavenly Father; and thus, despite our isolation, to offer us peace and to connect us to God. He became the corner stone which binds and unites people to each other and to the Father; and thus, He brought peace and forgiveness and Holiness and redemption”37.

Through Jesus, the new High Priest, the Jewish Clergy and High Priest are transcended: “Such a high priest truly meets our need—one who is holy, blameless, pure, set apart from sinners, exalted above the heavens”38.

37NLG, mss, 1896, ff. 175v-176r.
38Heb. 7, 26.
This Heavenly dimension is juxtaposed to that of the present goods, and introduces Jesus as the High priest of the goods to come, the archetypes of which can be found in the worship according to the Law: "But when Christ came as high priest of the good things that are now already here...".

The curtain of the Temple as well as the Most Holy place have been but a reflection of archetypical Heavenly and mystical experiences, and the apostle speaks of how "our forerunner, Jesus, has entered" the inner sanctuary behind the curtain and in particular "He entered the Most Holy Place once for all by his own blood". This once and for all sacrifice of our Lord on the Cross was that brought redemption to the world: "He sacrificed for their sins once for all when he offered himself". The fallen human race which was fighting God, made peace with Him and was reconciled with the Heavenly Father: "For He Himself is our peace, who has made the two groups one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility, by setting aside in his flesh the law with its commands and regulations. His purpose was to create in himself one new humanity out of the two, thus making peace, and in one body to reconcile both of them to God through the cross, by which he put to death their hostility" and "But now he has reconciled you by Christ's physical body through death to present you holy in his sight, without blemish and free from accusation". This concept of reconciliation and peacemaking does not solely refer to the vertical relationship between man and God; it also has a horizontal dimension, uniting people to each other and to Heaven: "and through Him to reconcile to Himself all things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross".

The Lord emerges as the cornerstone of a new structure, the Church, where all the believers are stably bound and united with each other: "built on

39 Heb. 9, 11.
40 Heb. 6, 19-20.
41 Heb. 9, 12.
42 Heb. 7, 27.
43 Eph. 2, 14-16.
44 Col. 1, 22
45 Col. 1, 20.
the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone. There is no earthly concept or image of peace that can be compared to that offered to Christians by Jesus Christ, as well as to the fruits that this peace bears in the hearts of the believers. This is the reason why Paul prays that “...the peace of God, which transcends all understanding, will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.” Because, continues Paul, Jesus Christ “...has become for us wisdom from God- that is, our righteousness, holiness and redemption.”

In this extract from Pegas’ work we have located eleven hidden references to the apostle, six of which are Paul’s and five from the epistle to Hebrews which has been attributed to the apostle.

Meletios refers to the connection between sin and death, primarily the spiritual death, that springs from the rejection of God, and secondly the physical death; in the following extract, he writes: “human nature challenged God and was thence surrendered to a fair punishment. And death became the agent of hell (punishment), while sin was the cause and the starting point of this hell.” The influence of Paul is, although not referred to, quite evident: “Therefore, just as sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin, and in this way death came to all people, because all sinned. "For the wages of sin is death...."

The incarnated Son of God inherited the salvation of all the nations “but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things.” In the introduction of the epistle to Hebrews the author attacks the belief of Jewish exclusiveness regarding their relationship with God. At

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46 Eph. 2, 20.
47 Phil. 4, 7.
48 1 Cor. 1, 30.
49 See the note by Origenes: “In conclusion I would say that the ideas are Paul’s but the phrasing and linking of ideas is by someone who had memorized what the apostle had said, in exact the same way that one would comment on the teachers words.... but who was it that wrote the epistle, only God knows.” Eusebios of Caesarea, The History of the Church, 6, 25.
50 NLG, mss, 1896, f. 167.
51 Rom. 5,12.
52 Rom. 6, 23.
53 Heb. 1, 2.
the same time this universal dimension to this inheritance presupposes Jesus’
God-manhood; as Pegas puts it: “Christ had to be man and God at the same
time ….. Jesus Christ had to be God-man, because he had to be a mediator
between God and people.” This special mediatory quality of Jesus is fore-
grounded by Paul in his epistle to Timothy: "For there is one God and one
mediator between God and mankind, the man Christ Jesus”.

The Jewish Levite clergy has its origins in the Aaron order and their
duties included what the Law ordered for God’s worship, a kind of worship
that could no longer fulfill its mission as, according to Pegas “those shadowy
sacrifices, the slain of animals, the offerings and worship which were by the
Law had only a little power and they were temporary, since they were man-
made mysteries of an earthly quality, on which God cannot repose or find
delight”. This is a fact verified by the Psalms: “Sacrifice and offering you did
not desire … burnt offerings and sin offerings you did not require” and “For
You do not delight in sacrifice, otherwise I would give it; You are not pleased
with burnt offering”. The same idea is echoed in Isaiah: “The multitude of
your sacrifices—what are they to me?” says the Lord. “I have more than
enough of burnt offerings, of rams and the fat of fattened animals;”.

Therefore, Jesus’ High priesthood is of a different type as He proceeds to offer
Himself as a sacrifice and to offer His own sacrifice “not of blood, but of
bread and wine” and "for this reason God the father did not mean for the
Son to become a high priest in the order of Aaron … but in the order of
Melchizedeck, who was a priest not in Aarons order but in another order
created by him”. The influence of the epistle to Hebrews is quite clear in this
context. The author analyzes the need for Jesus to emerge as the new
Melchizedeck, inaugurating, thus, the eternal spiritual worship of the Church

54NLG, mss, 1896, f. 171.
55I Tim 2. 5.
56NLG, mss, 1896, f. 175v.
57Ps. 40.6.
58Ps. 51.16.
59Is 1, 11.
60NLG, mss, 1896, f. 172v.
61NLG, mss, 1896, ff. 172v-172v.
as this was prophesied by David: “The Lord has sworn and will not change His mind, You are a priest forever, in the order of Melchizedek.”

EPILOGUE

We have briefly presented here the representative work of two of the top Orthodox writers of the Ottoman Occupation period: that of the first Patriarch of Constantinople after the city’s fall, Gennadios Scholarios, and that of Saint Meletios Pegas, patriarch of Alexandria. The study focused on their references to Paul in their “Against the Jews” works and it makes clear that Christian Apologetics are deeply rooted in the Bible, as their work is based on what the Lord and Messiah, the apostles and Paul, in particular, have said about the failure of the Jews to comprehend the end of the Old and the beginning of the New Divine Economy. There are no racial or racist motives behind the production of these works; their aim is to lead to the salvation, by convincing the Jews that the Messiah has already come and that the Old Testament prophecies have been fulfilled in Jesus. Jesus is the new High Priest who has abolished the Old Jewish worship. Finally, the two authors' aim is to reinforce the Christians faith in Jesus, as the new leader of all the Christians beyond any kind of racial discrimination and as the Creator of a new creation in the Church.

\[P\text{e. 110, 4.}\]
ΠΑΥΛΕΙΕΣ ΑΝΑΦΟΡΕΣ
ΣΕ «ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ» ΕΡΓΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Παρουσιάζονται οι Παύλειες άναφορές στά «Κατά Ιουδαίων» έργα τοῦ Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου, Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καί τοῦ Μελετίου Πηγᾶ, Πατριάρχου Αλεξανδρείας.

Ἡ ἐπιχειρησιακολογία τοῦ Γενναδίου, ως χριστιανοῦ ἕναντι τοῦ Ἰουδαίου εἶναι πολύ ἰσχυρή. Στηρίζεται στήν ἑρμηνεία ἁγιογραφικῶν ρητερίων καί ἱστορικῶν γεγονότων καί ἐνισχύεται ἀμέσως ἀπό παύλειες άναφορές (Ῥωμαίους κεφ. 9-11), ὅπου τοιχίζεται τό θέμα τής μή ἀπορρίψεως ὁλοκλήρου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, διότι τό ἱσραηλιτικό γένος ἔχει μερίδιο στό σχέδιο τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Ὁ Μελέτιος Πηγᾶς στό ἔργο του ἑναρμονίζει τίς μεσσιανικές προφητείες πρός τήν ἱστορική πραγμάτωση στό πρόσωπο τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅπου διαπιστώνται ἡ ἐπίδραση τοῦ χριστολογικοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου ἀπό διάφορες ἐπιστολές του, ὅπως καί τῶν σχετικῶν κεφαλαίων τῆς πρὸς Εβραίους Ἐπιστολῆς (κεφ. 7-10), ὅπου ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός τεκμηριώνεται ὡς Μεσσίας καί ὅτι ὡς ἀληθινός μέγας ἀρχιερέας, εἶναι ἀνώτερος κάθε Ἰουδαίου Ἀρχιερέα.

Οἱ παύλειες άναφορές στά «Κατά Ιουδαίων» έργα καί τῶν δύο πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔχουν στόχους σωτηριολογικοὺς. Επιδιώκουν νά πείσουν τούς Ἰουδαίους ὅτι τὸ Μεσσίας ἦλθε καί ὅτι οἱ προφητείες τῆς Π.Δ. ἐκπληρώθηκαν στὸ πρόσωπο τοῦ Χριστοῦ.