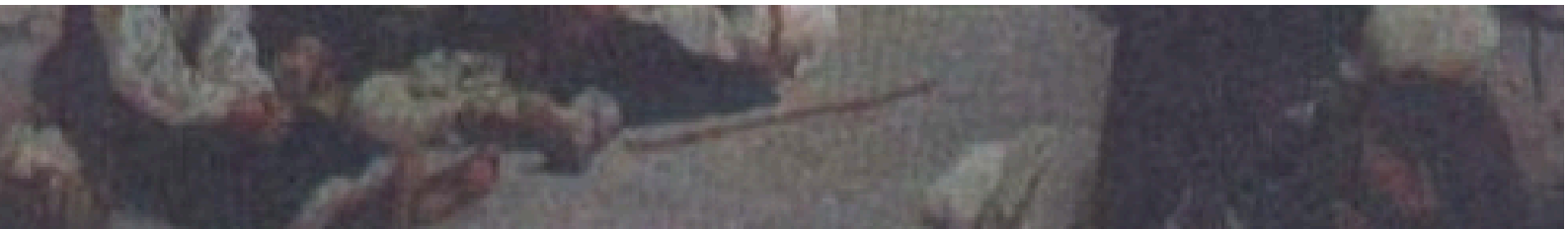
Adam Zoernikav

Orthodox theological treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone

Volume I & II



ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL TREATISE

ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

FROM THE FATHER ALONE

Made by

Adam Zoernikav

of Baturin in Little Russia

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PREFACE

To the Benevolent Reader

Greetings and abundant health

To illuminate the name of our Author and to amplify the commendation which he deserved—something which the Author, long since piously departed, seems justly to demand from us as a kind of tribute—nothing more splendid or praiseworthy can be found than the lamentable voices and sorrowful sighs of that great man, renowned for his admirable magnitude of learning and wisdom, Theophanes Prokopovich, formerly Archbishop of Great Novgorod in the Russian Empire and Vice-President of the Ecclesiastical Senate or Most Holy Synod.

For after he had thoroughly read through this work of our Author and weighed with equal balance the momentous matters with which it is pregnant, but understood that the Author himself had been treated rather unjustly while he lived in Little Russia, he could not help but take up his pen and, dipping it in tears instead of ink, smear upon paper what follows:

> *"I wished to add a preface in which I would express not so much a commendation of the work (which surpasses all praise) as the life, homeland, age, and, if possible, even the facial features of this Author, the most learned man in human memory. But I could not investigate these and such matters: so obscure among us are the most learned men and lights of the Church, and of no price or importance! For even while he lived, he was judged worthy of scarcely a few obols, indeed was held in derision; while at the same time the most idle and stupid men, who nevertheless with great pomposity and nearly burst cheeks boasted themselves Philosophers and Theologians, had and flourished with the greatest wealth, not only for ornament and splendor, but even for petulance and disgust. O times! O customs!*

> *Should I call it the stupidity or madness of our people, divinely sent upon the sins of this insolent age! Whenever I consider these things, I feel a certain darkness spread over my eyes, I am torn in my bowels, and nearly suffocated with indignation; when the emotion finally cools, I am also bathed in tears, and I both rage and pity our most wretched and miserable times. For consolation, however, I am accustomed to use the sentence of Great Basil, which he expressed at the beginning of his Letter to Simplicia the heretic: 'Men rashly both hate the better and love the worse.' Yet I will not cease meanwhile to take care that, if I can in any way, I may seek more certain knowledge about this most wise Author, and strive to find at least some resemblance of his face in another man from the narration of those who saw him, and then I will attach the promised preface to this work."*

Thus far did that Archbishop mourn our Author.

Therefore, as you see, benevolent Reader, that supreme man could not speak more honorably and weightily about our Author than when he wrote above frankly and wisely that our Author's work surpasses all praise. Anyone who reads through this work with somewhat more attention and with a mind freed from the crowd of emotions will discover by experience that this judgment of his is true and solid.

In this one matter, you might not unjustly say there is scarcely anything more monstrous: that this Author, however much he excelled by far in abundance and variety of learning, as long as he lived in Russia, was not deemed worthy of ample honors and ornaments, not of income of gold and silver, not of generous and abundant provisions of life, but on the contrary was scarcely considered worth four obols (as the proverb goes), indeed was a laughingstock and was hissed off the stage as if from a theater. This not only Theophanes noted in memory, trusting those reporters who survived from the Author's age, but the Author himself did not conceal in silence when he recorded the history and wanderings of his life.

Nor do we think it should be left unmentioned that the Author, speaking of those very few coins by whose expenditure some good grace was returned for his exquisite learning, also mentions a certain old horse worn out by age, which he calls "retired," with whose possession the most illustrious Duke of Little Russia, who held the reins of power at that

time, very liberally honored this supreme hero and standard-bearer in the literary arena.

Therefore, we cannot restrain ourselves from declaiming with Theophanes against the vices of this uncouth age: O uncultivated and Cyclopean times! O Boeotian talents! O the rudeness of such nobles, not much different from the stupidity of a horse!

Furthermore, the life of the Author and his described wanderings, which we mentioned a little above, was found by chance in the library of the Metropolitan of Kiev, which is in the Cathedral Monastery of the same dedicated to Divine Sophia, nearly eighty years after the Author’s death was completed. But since the Author had not put the finishing touch to the delineation of his life and wanderings, and that delineation itself contains words obliterated by the gnawing of time and therefore for the most part cannot be read, and moreover touches upon not a few events of lesser importance which it does not matter to know publicly; by these circumstances it has been brought about that we have thought to subjoin to this preface only a kind of epitome of the life and wanderings of Zornikav, following his guidance, as long as we could follow the traces of Zornikav.

But regarding the remainder of his age, where or in what condition of life the Author passed his time and exchanged life with death, we have not yet been able to learn from any account in which there would be no doubt. There are indeed some who affirm that he gave his name to the brotherhood of monks and bound himself to their institutes; but in what college or monastery of monks he embraced this way of life, there is no agreement among all.

For a great part constantly affirm that this man was tonsured in the Monastery of St. Nicholas near the city of Baturin (formerly the metropolis of the Duke of the Cossacks), which is commonly called the Krupice Monastery, according to the custom received for initiating monks, and died in the same place. Many others, on the contrary, say that he bound himself with monastic religion in the great monastery of Kiev, famous for its crypts of relics, and having gained the friendship of many and the favor of the Archimandrite himself, departed from human life not long afterward.

Thus it finally seems more consonant with truth that our Author

embraced monastic institutes and thus died. For when he could not emerge from the evils by which he was oppressed and overcome his harder fortune (divine Providence providing for his affairs by more secret care), he finally willingly and gladly freed the faith which he had given when he stayed in Oxford in England.

For in this place, after he thoroughly understood from indefatigable reading of books that the true praise of orthodoxy was only with the Eastern Greek Church, he immediately strengthened his mind to make an excursion into Russia, caring nothing if as a guest and stranger he should experience even the most unjust fortune; although, if he had been outside Russia, he could have arrived at glory and splendor of name.

Now it helps to allege the cause which drove the Author to write this work (just as another of the same argument opposed to some Jesuit's little work on Russia, whose manuscript copy, but needing correction in many places, is at hand).

That cause certainly proceeded from nowhere else than from the Author's most ardent fervor and supreme zeal for investigating and seeking out orthodoxy by all traces and means. For just as he tracked and scented this from the first times of his age with all care and supreme effort, so when opportunity was given to him in the library of Oxford Academy to read books, as we said above, with the celestial Spirit more kindly helping his efforts, he investigated, drew out from darkness, and brought into light.

And it came about that, unless he had then given fullest assent to the known truth, he would have thought himself to be condemned and punished. Therefore, both to fix his own mind in the discovered truth with the deepest roots, and to hold up a torch to others for investigating the same and to show an easy and plain way, he applied his mind to composing this excellent work to be handed down to posterity, and bent the powers of his talent.

Nor would you miss singular prudence and skill in our Author, if you consider the method and manner which he used in composing this work. For having weighed in secret estimation a matter of such importance—that is, the dogma of the Greek Eastern Church concerning the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, not also from the Son—and knowing that this doctrine could not be demonstrated

by clear and perspicuous oracles of Sacred Scripture, he thought he would do something worthwhile if he undertook to demonstrate the opinion of the Orientals by the unanimous consent of the holy Fathers and Doctors of both the Greek and Latin Church, who lived in perpetual succession from the age of the Apostles to the end of the eighth century (for at the end of the eighth century the consensus of the Latin Church with the Greek expired in this chapter of doctrine).

Since if it is subjected to the eyes and minds of all how with one mind and one mouth the Fathers and Doctors of both Churches agreed among themselves in this moment of doctrine through the course of eight centuries, it is necessary for each one to confess openly and frankly that the Church of Christ received and learned this very sense, this very exposition of the utterances of Sacred Scripture (which concerning such procession might seem more obscure) from the Apostles themselves; and therefore taught without any distortion through eight complete centuries, and preserved as a certain treasure committed and entrusted to it with good, solid, and perpetual faith.

Whoever has once professed this will have no delay in opening his opinion as to which society finally, after the division of parties was made, rightfully sustains the title of the Catholic Church and claims the name as its own: whether the Greek Eastern, which still patronizes the ancient opinion, or the Latin Western, which has introduced and intruded into the number of articles of faith a new confession unaccustomed and unheard of in the entire Christian republic through so many lapses of centuries, and has added an appendix to the Symbol?

The method which the Author undertook for demonstrating truth, trusting in divine Providence, he finally executed with many labors and many vigils in such a way that this work can stand with the reverence of all. For the series which he used in collecting and arranging the testimonies of the Fathers through eight continuous centuries before that unhappy origin of dissension and separation of minds, and for the space of two centuries after, is perpetual, just, uniform, and most similar to itself.

As for the coherence of individual testimonies, you certainly see it taken from their very veins and bowels, so to speak, and in no way to be overthrown. Moreover, whatever could be objected by adversaries in passing, whatever difficulty could be exhibited, all of this has been

skillfully and acutely handled, and excellent provision has been made for easily scattering all the tricks of the heterodox.

Finally, the very treatment of matters is perspicuous, plain, consonant with nature, and by no means forced—the thing itself speaks.

There was one thing that succeeded less elegantly under the Author's hand: namely, that better and more correct editions of the holy Fathers could not fall to his lot; but some which carried off every point, such as those of the Paris Benedictine monks (to whom certainly does not apply that verse: "We are a number and born to consume the fruits," and to whose example all others ought to compose themselves), had not even come into public light in the Author's age.

Certainly to a great extent, as we can easily suspect, the Author could have spared himself from enduring dishonest labors if he had been better equipped with such editions. For these editions of which we speak vindicated the opinions of the holy Fathers from corruptions in many places, in such a way that it cost our Author much sweat to restore to wholeness those opinions which were everywhere depraved and adulterated in older editions.

So that this matter may appear more evidently as a proof, it should be sufficient if we make mention of at least one passage from the writings of St. Basil, which exists in Book III against Eunomius; which passage is now celebrated on the lips of many by that very name, because the Synod of Florence, moved by the question raised about this matter—on which side the fault falls, Greeks or Latins, that this passage was violated—spent almost an entire year on resolving this controversy. Finally this matter most full of contention was fully evolved from its difficulties and placed in the clear through the recognition of the works of St. Basil made by the Benedictine monks whom we just mentioned.

This inconvenience which fortune had presented to the Author could easily be remedied if annotations which would present testimonies from the newest editions of the Fathers were subjoined to his treatise in place of a supplement; in which matter indeed we would gladly have offered our work, unless the Treatise itself, sent to press more quickly than expected, had left our wish frustrated and our plan unaccomplished.

Nor indeed, to add this also, should it be passed over in silence that our

Author, while offering his service to others for investigating truth, can and ought to be commended by the judgment of all, even by this alone: that in this polemical argument (in which type you otherwise see fighting carried on even to mockeries, even to spittle, indeed to kicks and fists, as they say), he conducted himself with such moderation of mind that he vomited no poison of bitterness against those feeling differently, and attacked absolutely no one with a more biting style; evidently he believed this business was given to him: that by smoothing and softening the ways of the Lord, he should strike out, remove, and entirely exterminate all rough places which could be stumbling blocks.

Since the Author himself added neither a preface nor an index to this work, we found it necessary to append an index at the end of this work.

Furthermore, that the manuscripts of this excellent and golden work lay in certain Russian libraries surrounded by thick darkness for such a long duration of time and did not come into light through the ministry of the typographic art, no other cause can be alleged than the ignorance of some concerning these manuscripts (being rather rare), and indeed the tardiness and negligence of others.

Indeed Theophanes, whom we commemorated at the beginning of this preface, in the years 1718 and following, when he was summoned from Kiev to Petersburg and had already been created Bishop of Pskov, was maximally solicitous about vindicating this writing from darkness, as is evident from the fact that in the same years, undoubtedly by his authorship and admonition, two mandates existed in the name of Imperial Majesty Peter I, the earlier to the Metropolitan of Kiev Joasaph Krokowski, the later to the Cathedral Vicar Gregory Goshkiewicz of the Metropolitan already then deceased, by both of which the autograph book of Zornikav, which had formerly been for the use of Theophanes when Rector in the Kiev Academy, was commanded to be transmitted to the Senate without delay and evasion; although it is not equally clear whether what was ordered was accomplished or was interrupted by some given obstacle.

Moreover, why the same Theophanes in the further course of his life, when he himself was daily more flourishing and could have executed his choice without any difficulty, nevertheless did not execute it: this indeed is what we cannot perceive by any probable conjecture.

And these are the things, benevolent Reader, about which you ought to be made more certain by this preface. What remains, we wish all those who have not yet been illuminated by the splendor of truth to be asked and admonished more fully, that they read and reread this work with that plan and that zeal with which the Author himself applied his work and industry to undertaking and completing this labor; namely, that above all he might both find truth and open a door to others for attaining and acquiring the same.

May God the Best and Greatest, who once opened Lydia’s heart to attend to Paul’s speech, also open the Reader’s breast, so that he may more readily admit into his mind that truth which is demonstrated in this work, and embrace what is admitted; indeed, truly, following the example of our Author, may he also be struck with wonderful and unusual horror at the very threshold of recognized truth, so that unless he humbly venerates what he recognizes as true, he immediately thinks himself damned and accursed.

For this terror of the approaching Lord is undoubtedly a forerunner, which seizes whomever it will—condemned indeed by their own reckoning, but absolved and justified by the sentence of most benign God, and suddenly transfers them into the sacred assembly of those who from the age of the Apostles to our times have believed and believe orthodoxly.

Farewell, benevolent Reader, in Christ the Lord, and favor those who favor you.

VITA AUCTORIS

Life of the Author

Adam Zornikav was born in the city of Borussia, specifically in Königsberg, the capital of Prussia. His father was Christian Zornikav, a goldsmith by profession, of Holstein origin. His mother was Maria, daughter of a Königsberg goldsmith named Thamm. Adam's birth occurred in the year of Christ 1652, on the 21st of September. As an infant, his parents had him baptized according to the customary rites of their homeland. As a boy, he was sent to school, where he first learned the basics of Latin. Later, advancing further in his studies, he devoted himself to the Latin language, logic, and the sacred writings of the Lutherans.

After some time, Adam passed from adolescence into adulthood, having lost both parents. Since, as a young man, he was torn between conflicting studies, upon the advice and encouragement of his teachers, he continued his schooling as he had begun, diligently applying himself to all the disciplines taught there. Thus, with his mind well-prepared for higher learning, he began to consider attending university, where he might devote himself to theology, Roman law, civil governance, or even medicine.

Initially, he enrolled at the University of Königsberg (founded by Albert, Duke of Prussia, and called the Albertina). There, influenced by the authority of renowned scholars, he first turned to philosophy; later, he focused all his thoughts and studies on theological matters, seeking to understand divine truths in the theological schools.

At the Albertina, he studied under two highly learned professors of theology: Dreier and Sedler. These men, though calling themselves Protestants, differed so greatly from other Lutherans and Western

Christians that they seemed to profess a unique form of religion. Sedler, in particular, often debated against Lutheran doctrines. Under their guidance, Adam began to believe that Lutherans were not the sole possessors of truth, even though he had been born and raised among them. They taught that one should rely not on Luther's authority or that of the Lutherans, but on the consensus of the Catholic Church, the Holy Fathers, and the Councils—leading Adam to acknowledge that Protestants and Latins erred in many points.

During this time, Adam encountered the confession of the Eastern Church by Metrophanes Critopoulos (written in Helmstedt). This Eastern confession pleased him so greatly that he felt a singular inclination toward the Eastern Church.

After four years at Königsberg, divided between theology and philosophy, Adam grew disillusioned with theological studies and resolved to devote himself instead to Roman law. He left for Jena, believing it better suited to his aspirations. There, he immersed himself in legal studies—but by year's end, he stumbled upon Bokhorn's dissertations on the Roman Empire, supplemented by Strigel's commentaries. One passage struck him deeply:

> *It greatly benefits a young man to choose a suitable place to establish himself; for often, what goes unnoticed in one's homeland is highly valued abroad. Thus, greater honors and riches await those who select a place where their skills are prized.*

Persuaded by this, Adam surveyed all Christian kingdoms and republics—and ultimately fixed on Russia, a realm favorable to the arts and sciences. Yet he hesitated, fearing that Russian sacraments and rites (especially their alleged requirement to rebaptize Western converts) might obstruct him. Resolving to examine the Church Fathers and Councils first, he prioritized eternal salvation over worldly success.

Though lacking immediate access to these texts, he threw himself into civil studies, acquiring political books and spending over a year mastering statecraft. Later, he befriended mathematicians, studying geometry, astronomy, military architecture, and even astrology (to judge it fairly). Amid this, he discovered polemics against the Eastern Church, which he read voraciously, noting all arguments from both sides. By

chance, a Lutheran pastor supplied him with patristic writings—where he found the Fathers' teachings on: The Procession of the Holy Spirit, the necessity of immersion in baptism, giving the Eucharist to infants, and other disputed points.

These readings settled his mind—yet when his source refused further books, Adam, despairing of access in Jena, resolved to go to Oxford and use its Bodleian Library. After three years in Jena, he departed for England, passing through various regions before reaching London and then Oxford.

There, he daily frequented the Bodleian, meticulously studying the Church Fathers, Councils, ecclesiastical historians, and other relevant works. Over time, he became certain of the Eastern Church's truth—so much so that he deemed it a moral failure to reject it once known. Henceforth, he scorned temporal ambitions, preferring to live as "the lowliest servant in the camp of truth" rather than in worldly honor.

Leaving Oxford, he went to Cambridge, further expanding his theological and scholarly notes. From there, he returned to London, consulting the Cotton Library's manuscripts to quench his scholarly thirst.

Next, he traveled to Paris, refining his knowledge of civil and military sciences. After exhausting Parisian resources, he prepared for Italy, hoping to meet Eastern Christians who might facilitate his journey to Russia.

He traversed Lyons, Turin, Milan, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, and Padua, learning all he could. Finding no Russian envoys or merchants, he considered Austria, Bohemia, or Poland instead—finally choosing Poland (bordering Russia) and proceeding to Warsaw.

There, by chance, he met a Lithuanian man traveling to Vilnius and joined him. In Vilnius, he befriended an elderly Russian priest, who, upon hearing his desires, gave him a letter of recommendation to Lazar Baranovych, Archbishop of Chernihiv.

After bidding Vilnius farewell, Adam journeyed to Chernihiv, presenting himself to the Archbishop—a man of virtue and erudition, who recognized Adam's learning and sincere wish to join the Greek Church. With kindness, the Archbishop ensured he lacked nothing.

In time, under the Archbishop's guidance, Adam wrote a confession of

faith, refuting Lutheran errors and submitting it. Soon after, with proper Eastern rites in Chernihiv's Church of the Holy Princes Roman and David, Adam was chrismated and confirmed into the Eastern Church.

Now part of the Eastern flock, Adam traveled to Kyiv to venerate relics and confer with the Archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (renowned for his learning). The Archimandrite gifted him relics and a holy cross.

Returning to Chernihiv, Adam met the Hegumen of the Baturyn Monastery (called Krupitsky). As Christmas (Old Style) approached, Adam, eager to receive the Eucharist, went to Baturyn to confess his life's sins to the Hegumen. After thorough preparation, on December 25, he partook of the Holy Mysteries for the first time in the Eastern Church.

Meanwhile, news of Adam reached the Hetman of Left-Bank Ukraine (then residing in Baturyn), who often summoned him for discussions. Adam expressed his wish to serve the Tsar in Moscow, but the Hetman dissuaded him, offering patronage instead. Convinced, Adam entered the Hetman's service.

Back in Chernihiv, he informed the Archbishop, who blessed his decision and sent a glowing recommendation to the Hetman. Adam then settled in Baturyn, devoting himself to scholarship and military cartography (mentioned in his journals). His major works included:

I. A treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (from the Father alone).

II. A refutation of Theophil Rutsky's (Jesuit) work on the Filioque.

These earned praise from Theophan Prokopovych (later Archbishop of Novgorod), who declared:

> *Adam Zornikav wrote a massive work against the Latins and another refuting Theophil Rutsky—both so erudite that nothing more could be desired on the subject.*

The first treatise is now published, while the second remains unprinted.

Final Days

Accounts differ on Adam's later life. Some say he took monastic vows in Baturyn Monastery; others claim he joined the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. In

either case, he died in monastic habit, his soul freed from “the prison of the body.”

TRACTATE I

In Which It Is Demonstrated That the Eastern Holy Fathers, with Unanimous Agreement in the First Ten Centuries, Believed That the Holy Spirit Proceeds from the Father Alone

From the First Century

Saint Mark the Evangelist, first Bishop of Alexandria, in his Liturgy, Volume II of the Library of Greek Fathers, Greek-Latin Paris edition, year 1624, page 37:

> *We ask and beseech you, O good lover of the human race, send forth from on high, from your holy and prepared tabernacle, from your uncircumscribed boundaries, the Paraclete himself, the Spirit of truth, the Lord who gives life, who is consubstantial with you, proceeding from you, sitting on the throne of your kingdom with you and with your only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.*

He speaks to God the Father, as he adds below: “who sits on the throne of your kingdom with your only-begotten Son.” Therefore he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but not also from the Son at the same time. We shall see before the end of this treatise how much the words of the Fathers, in which only the Father is commemorated in the procession of the Holy Spirit, oppose the Latins and show that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

How the Latins corrupted these very words of Saint Mark in the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit is clear from the Latin edition of the Library of Holy Fathers; but we shall deal with this in another treatise. For now it suffices to note that since the Latins have so often corrupted the words of the Holy Fathers, who teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father without adding “and the Son,” it is entirely established

from this that the equal words of the Holy Fathers are opposed to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: for otherwise they would not have needed emendation or correction.

Saint James the Apostle and first Bishop of Jerusalem, in Clement of Rome, or whoever the author is, Book I of Recognitions, near the end, page 20 of the Latin Cologne edition, year 1570:

> *Do not think we speak of two unbegotten Gods, or that one is divided into two, or, as the impious say, that the same became male and female of himself, but we say the only-begotten Son of God is not from another beginning, but ineffably born from him himself. Similarly we also say concerning the Paraclete.*

He says that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from no other beginning than from the Father. Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, just as the Son is begotten from the Father alone.

Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, in his book on Divine Names, Chapter II, before the middle, page 171 of the Greek-Latin Paris edition, year 1615:

> *The subsistences, by reason of the ineffable divine fecundity, are by no means converted into each other, and the Father alone is the superessential fountain of Divinity, so that the Son is not the Father, nor the Father the Son, but the proper praises of each of the Divine subsistences are preserved inviolate.*

He distinctly says that the Father alone is the fountain, or cause and producer of Divinity, or of the Son and Holy Spirit. For fountain, cause, principle, and producer are the same in meaning of the word, where the word fountain is taken of production, and not merely of temporal effusion. Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son.

What the Latins commonly object to these words of Dionysius, and similar words of other Fathers, by which they teach that the Father alone is the cause and principle of the Holy Spirit—that by the words fountain, or cause and principle, the Holy Fathers mean an unproduced fountain, cause, or principle, and therefore such words of the Holy Fathers do not oppose the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, since he has it not

from himself but from the Father to be the fountain or principle of the Spirit—this objection of the Latins, I say, we shall refute near the end of this treatise.

Furthermore, the same Saint Dionysius, in the middle of the cited chapter, page 173:

> *Again, that the Father is the fountainhead Deity, while Jesus and the Spirit are the fecund shoots of Divinity, if it is lawful to say so, divinely planted and like flowers and supersubstantial lights, we have received from the Holy Scriptures. But in what way these things are, we can neither speak nor understand.*

Here again he teaches that the Father is the one fountain of the Son and Holy Spirit; and therefore just as the Son is begotten from the Father alone, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Finally, at the beginning of the same chapter, page 166:

> *That 'I am who am,' unless they understand it said of the whole Deity, and strive to circumscribe it only in part; how will they understand that: 'Thus says he who is, who was, who is to come, the Almighty'? And that: 'But you are the same.' And that: 'The Spirit of truth, who is, who proceeds from the Father.'*

Here Cichonius objects in his refutation of Eusbius Pimenius, page 138:

> *But it was never so believed in Gaul, of which he himself was an Apostle; yet the Gauls were most studious of the works of their Apostle. How then would Dionysius teach what the Gauls could never read or see in him? How could what was preached by Saint Dionysius to the Gauls have been preached, of which there existed no trace in any Gallic church? Indeed, no nation published so many books for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as did the Gauls. Moreover, in the Synod of Aachen, year 809, they added to the Creed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son—which they would never have done if Saint Dionysius's doctrine had been that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.*

But it is false that it was never believed in the Gallic churches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or that there was no trace of

this doctrine in those churches: for, to say nothing of the fact that for the first eight centuries the entire Gallic church also believed by constant consensus in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; certainly when near the end of the eighth century some introduced into the Gallic churches the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, the remaining Gauls condemned this dogma, and this lasted for several decades; as we demonstrate these very things from Latin writers themselves in another treatise.

But the Gauls afterward could not read or see in Saint Dionysius's writings the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. As if it were not familiar to heretics to be blind even to the most distinct words of Holy Scripture itself, much less to the words of some Father, however clear. Therefore, when we see heretics everywhere twisting the words of Holy Scripture, which they nevertheless concede should be followed in all things as the very word of God, and drawing them to their own sense; what wonder if they did the same concerning the words of some Father, even though approved by them?

Moreover, those of the Gauls who in the ninth century published writings for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son were induced to this for no other reason than to defend the novelty of that dogma when condemned either by the remaining Latins or by the Orientals. Furthermore, the Gauls did not first insert in the Council of Aachen, year 809, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. For it is clear from the 69th letter of Albinus Alcuin, who died in the year 804, that some of the Gauls had already dared this before. Therefore that council was finally convened to settle the disputes that had arisen about that addition already inserted. But we shall deal with this elsewhere.

The words of the clerics of Achaia are well known, writers of the life of Saint Andrew, by which they write that they were taught by Saint Andrew:

> *To believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and remaining in the Son; to show that there is one Spirit in the Father and Son, and that this is the only-begotten Son, which is he who begot.*

Here indeed, as the Latins are accustomed to object, they by no means include the Son under the word Father when they teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father: for they immediately add: "and

remaining in the Son.” Therefore they understand only the Father when they teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and not also the Son; moreover they wish to show that there is one Spirit in the Father and Son, and that the Son is equally God, just as the Father also is.

Therefore, to show this, they premise that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son; where certainly they would have assumed the same middle term concerning the Son as concerning the Father to infer the same conclusion: namely that there is one Spirit in both, and that the Son is one God with the Father, because he proceeds from both; if they had believed that the Father and Son agree in this, especially since this argument would certainly have been more manifest. Therefore it is established from this that these clerics of Achaia believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not also from the Son.

Moreover, what the faith of Christians of this age was is clear from the words which the pagan author of the dialogue inscribed Philopatris recites, found in Lucian, mocking the Christian faith with impious and blasphemous mouth, page 121 of the Greek-Latin Paris edition, year 1615. For introducing one asking: “By whom then shall I swear to you?” he replies:

> *By God reigning on high, great, ethereal, and eternal, the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one from three and three from one. Have this as your Jupiter, consider this as God.*

Hence therefore it is established that Christians of that age believed that the Father alone is the one principle of the Son and Holy Spirit, and did not join the Son with the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Otherwise that author would not have omitted to add this as well, since he wishes to show by what reasoning according to Christians the Trinity is believed in one Deity, and how one subsistence has its origin and existence from another.

From the Second Century

Saint Justin Philosopher and Martyr, in his exposition of faith, Greek-Latin Paris edition, year 1615, page 380:

> *Thus therefore we understand that the Son is begotten from the Father, as light shining from light. We hold the same notion concerning the Holy Spirit. For just as the Son is from the Father, so also is the Spirit, except that there is some difference in the mode of existence; the one indeed went forth generatively as light from light, but the other proceeded from the light as light not generatively, but processively. Thus we know him coeternal with the Father in substance, one and the same; thus proceeding from there beyond all suffering; thus the unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in unity.*

Justin, about to explain whence each subsistence has its existence, first teaches that the Son is begotten from the Father, namely from him alone. But he adds, following the words of Saint James the Apostle praised above: “We hold the same notion concerning the Holy Spirit.” Therefore he believed that the Holy Spirit also is produced by the Father alone. Hence he adds: “For just as the Son is from the Father, so also is the Spirit, except that the Son is begotten, but the Holy Spirit proceeds.” Just as, he says, the Son is from the Father alone, so we hold the same notion concerning the Holy Spirit. For from the same Father there is only a difference in the mode of existence between the Son and Holy Spirit, since one is generated, the other proceeds. Therefore Justin distinctly teaches here that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Furthermore, he knows no other difference between the manner by which the Spirit and Son are from the Father, except this: that the Son is begotten from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds. But if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son, there would certainly also be this difference between the manner by which the Son and Holy Spirit are from the Father: namely that the Son is from the Father alone, but the Holy Spirit would also be produced by the Son. Since therefore there is no other difference between the manner by which the Son and Holy Spirit are from the same Father than that which is according to the diverse mode of existence: it is clearly evident that Justin by no means believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Finally, his purpose here is expressly to show the origin of the subsistences; but he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, from whom the Son is begotten. But that he also proceeds from the Son, he is entirely silent and ignorant of. Therefore it is distinctly established from this that he did not believe such a thing.

Furthermore, the same author at the beginning of the praised exposition, page 373:

> *One indeed is the God of the universe, who is known in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For since the Father begot the Son from his substance, and produced the Spirit from the same: by the best right those who participate in one and the same essence are dignified with one and the same Divinity. How then, someone will say, does that which begets not differ from that which is begotten; and that which proceeds from that from which it proceeds? Indeed the Father is unbegotten, from whom both the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

He wishes to show the unity of Divinity in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit from the very production and origin of the subsistences. Therefore, about to teach what is the origin of the Son and Holy Spirit, he commemorates only the Father alone as having produced both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, just as the Son is begotten from the Father alone.

Finally, in the same exposition, page 377:

> *Sometimes the Apostle attributes him (the Holy Spirit) to the Father, saying somewhere: 'You have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God and the Father'; and again the Son himself calls him the Spirit of truth, since he himself is the truth, and he also teaches that he is the Spirit of the Father, namely proceeding from the Father.*

Athenagoras, Christian Philosopher, in his apology for Christians after the beginning (found after the works of Justin in the praised edition, page 10):

> *The Son is the primordial offspring of the Father, which proceeded not as made, but so that it might be the idea and perfection of all things. Although we also say that the Holy Spirit himself, who operates in those pouring forth prophetic words, so emanates from God (namely the Father, for he had just named him) and reflects back to him, as rays emitted from the sun return.*

Having thus far taught that the Son is born from the Father, he adds: "Not only the Son, but also the Holy Spirit is from the same Father. For

the Son, he says, is the offspring of the Father, although the Holy Spirit also emanates from God." Therefore he knows only the Father from whom the Son is begotten, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.

From the Third Century

In the books of **Clement of Alexandria**'s Stromata and Paedagogicus, as well as in his Protrepticus to the Gentiles, nothing occurs concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, which he would have expounded more fully in his books on prophecy and the soul, if they had not perished; just as in Book V of the Stromata, he promised that he would treat the Holy Spirit in several of these books.

Origen, the Alexandrian Catechist, flourished in this age; in his works there occur passages which deny that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have one and the same essence, which passages others teach were not from Origen himself, but were finally inserted into his works by heretics. And certainly elsewhere he again teaches that the Son was born from the very Divinity of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds. Among these, what occurs in Book IV of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans at Chapter V, in the middle, Part II of the works, of the Basel Latin edition, year 1571, page 523, is especially noteworthy:

> *But if both the Spirit of charity, and the Son of charity, and the God of charity are found: it is certain that both the Son is to be understood from one fountain of Paternal Divinity, and the Holy Spirit.*

From this he teaches that from one fountain of Paternal Divinity, that is, from the Father alone and one, are both the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Again in Volume I of the explanation of John, in the latter part of the exegetical works, published at Rouen in the year 1668, page 17:

> *John confirmed this by saying: In the beginning was the Word; he understands the Word to be the Son, who is said to be in the beginning because he is in the Father.*

He repeats the same in Book X of homilies on various places of the New Testament, Homily XXI:

> *But if ‘beginning’ is the proper name of the Father: no less will the first subsistence of Divinity alone be the beginning, than the Father alone also is.*

It is clear to anyone that here the word ‘beginning’ is restricted to the production of divine persons, and is not understood to also concern the creation of other existing things. In this sense, indeed, the Son is also called the beginning in Sacred Scripture.

Furthermore, in Book I On First Principles, Chapter II, near the end, Part I of the aforementioned Basel edition, page 764:

> *The principal goodness is to be understood in God the Father, from whom both the Son is born and the Holy Spirit proceeding, without doubt retain in themselves the nature of his goodness, which is in that fountain from which the Son was born or the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

By these words he again acknowledges only one fountain or principle, the Father, from whom both the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds: “Which is in that fountain,” he says, “from which the Son was born or the Holy Spirit proceeds.” Therefore, there is only one and the same fountain of the Son and Holy Spirit. But he had said before that this fountain is the Father: therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, just as the Son is begotten from the Father alone.

Again in Book VII on the Epistle to the Romans, on Chapter VIII, after the beginning, Volume II of the works, page 563:

> *Just as there are many sons of God, as Scripture says: I have said: You are gods, and all sons of the Most High: yet there is one Son by nature, and only-begotten from the Father, through whom all are called sons; so there are indeed many spirits, but there is one who truly proceeds from God himself, and grants to all others the grace of his name and sanctification.*

Finally, Homily XVII on Numbers, Volume I, page 239:

> *Although our Savior is also a river that gladdens the city of God, and the Holy Spirit is not only himself a river, but also to those to whom he has been given, rivers flow from their belly; and God the Father says: They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, from which fountain, namely, these rivers proceed.*

St. Gregory Thaumaturgus in his exposition of faith, which is called "kata meros," page 99 of the Paris edition, year 1621:

> *If anyone says: how is there one God, if indeed the Son is God from God? we will answer by reason of the principle: as the Father is one principle. Again the impious will say: how will there not be three Gods, three persons, if they have one Divinity? We will say: because the Father is the principle of the Son, and this one is the image and offspring of the Father, and is not his brother, and the Holy Spirit is similarly the Spirit of God.*

He teaches that the Father is one principle of the Son and Holy Spirit; and when the Son is referred to that one principle, the Father namely, along with the Holy Spirit: hence there is one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Therefore St. Gregory Thaumaturgus acknowledged only one producer of the Son and Holy Spirit, God the Father namely.

Furthermore, in the faith which he learned from St. John the Theologian, as manifested in Gregory of Nyssa's oration on the praises of Thaumaturgus:

> *And one Holy Spirit who, having existence from God, was manifested through the Son, namely to men.*

St. Thaumaturgus proposed to show the origin of the subsistences, so that he might demonstrate from this that there is one Divinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. But he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, just as the Son is begotten from the same one alone. Therefore the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit. The Son is not. Moreover, to be manifested to men and to have existence are not the same thing. For the Holy Spirit also manifests the Son, since no one comes to knowledge of the Son unless he is illuminated by the Holy Spirit, while the Holy Spirit also manifests the operation of the Son. Hence John Damascene in Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter VII, says that the Holy Spirit is "the substantial power itself, considered according to itself in its own person, proceeding from the Father and resting in the Word, and manifesting it." But he had premised: "We understand the Spirit co-affecting the Word and manifesting its operation, not an expiration lacking subsistence. Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit is not the cause of the Son." To manifest to men, moreover, is a work ad extra, and is done

finally in time. But to produce in divine matters is God's work ad intra, and is accomplished before all ages. Therefore, very different are: to be manifested to men, and to have existence. Now St. Thaumaturgus by the words adduced says that the Holy Spirit has existence from the Father, but not from the Son, but only that the Holy Spirit is manifested to men through the Son. Therefore he entirely excludes the Son from the procession of the Holy Spirit. For if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would not have taught by different reasoning that the Father and Son are referred to the Holy Spirit, but would certainly have joined the Son equally with the Father in the production of the Holy Spirit.

[Objection]: Cichovi objects in question 6, on the procession of the Holy Spirit, page 18:

> *To restrict 'pephykénai' to temporal manifestation is not fitting: because the Holy Fathers not infrequently say that the Holy Spirit is said to be of the Son, because through the Son he is 'pephykós'; but the Holy Spirit is eternally the Spirit of the Son.*

It is indeed true in their sense that the Holy Fathers acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is manifested eternally through the Son: but does it therefore follow that equally the words adduced deal with eternal and not temporal manifestation by St. Thaumaturgus? where he himself clearly restricted 'pephykénai' to temporal manifestation. Nor does it follow: The Holy Spirit is said to be of the Son because he is manifested through the Son; therefore equally the manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the Son is eternal, just as the Holy Spirit is eternally the Spirit of the Son. For St. Damascene in his oration on the Sabbath says that the Spirit is called of the Son because he is imparted by the Son to the faithful. "The Spirit is called of the Son," he says, "because through him he is manifested and imparted to created things." Yet the Holy Spirit could not yet be imparted eternally to created things, which were then still uncreated. Although therefore the effusion of the Holy Spirit is temporal, not eternal, just as his manifestation through the Son made to men: yet rightly and solidly it is inferred from this that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son. For the Holy Spirit could not be distributed to the faithful from the substance of the Son, or be manifested to men by the Son, because he is one God with the Father and himself; unless the Holy

Spirit were the Spirit of the Son, that is, consubstantial with the Son.

You will say moreover that it does not hinder that St. Thaumaturgus said the Holy Spirit is manifested to men through the Son, for temporal manifestation supposes eternal manifestation. But here St. Thaumaturgus, excluding every other manifestation, wants his words to be taken only about temporal manifestation; and if you explain the manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the Son made from eternity concerning his production: expressly in this place, as we have seen, St. Thaumaturgus excludes this from the cause of the existence of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, how, I ask, would temporal manifestation necessarily suppose eternal manifestation? The Holy Spirit certainly also manifests the Son in time: but is therefore also the manifestation of the Son made eternally through the Holy Spirit? The Latins could never affirm this, since they explain eternal manifestation concerning production.

You will say furthermore: it is established from Cyril of Alexandria that the word ‘pephykós’ signifies rather produced, existing, emanating, than manifested. But what consequence is this: Cyril signifies ‘produced’ by the word ‘pephykós’; therefore the word ‘pephykós’ signifies ‘produced’ rather than ‘manifested’ simply? Indeed, St. Cyril elsewhere, as in Book II on John, Chapters III and V, and Book IV on John, Chapter V, teaches that the generation of the Son is signified by the word ‘mission’: but does the word ‘to be sent’ therefore signify rather ‘to be produced and generated’ than ‘to be sent temporally’? Never afterwards could this sense obtain in the adduced words of St. Thaumaturgus. For what sense would there be: The Holy Spirit was produced or brought forth through the Son to men, brought forth, I say, to men?

Moreover, the same Saint Thaumaturgus in a fragment on the Trinity, published from the library of Augusta Vindelicorum in the year 1608, together with the book on the Trinity which is ascribed to St. Cyril of Alexandria:

> *The Father begets the Son and is Father, and the Son begotten is the Word and remains Son, similarly the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father is the Holy Spirit through whom all things are sanctified.*

In the exposition moreover of faith against Elipandus, page 101 of the works of the aforementioned Paris edition:

> *God the Father also has the perfect Holy Spirit from God poured out through the Son into adopted sons, living and life-giving, holy and sanctifying those who participate in him, not as a breath emitted by man, not subsisting per se, but living from God.*

From God, that is from the Father: for he had equally said before that the Holy Spirit was poured out from God through the Son, where certainly by the word God he understands the Father. Finally there:

> *With the Father remaining unbegotten, the Son begotten from the Father by true generation, not by making from will, and the Holy Spirit from the substance of the Father eternally emitted through the Son, having the power of sanctifying all creation.*

But how the Holy Spirit is said to be emitted eternally from the Father through the Son, through the Son, I say, we will show elsewhere, where we solve the objections from the writings of the Eastern Fathers, from the words of the holy Fathers themselves.

From the Fourth Century

The Catholic Church having been afflicted thus far with the most serious persecutors of Christians, could not emerge into that happiness with which it shone when Christian Emperors ruled; whence also the following times were much more fruitful in learned men, who left us their monuments. Among these, St. Athanasius the Confessor presents himself first, and the most constant assertor of the one Divinity of Father and Son against the Arians. In the Greek-Latin editions of the works of St. Athanasius there occurs indeed a certain book of twenty questions; but if Athanasius were as clearly the author of this book as his writings about faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit are established: an illustrious argument would equally be produced from this against the Latins for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. But these questions do not have Athanasius as author, but Gennadius, the first Patriarch of Constantinople after it was captured by the Turks. For his dialogue on the Christian faith is the same as those questions, as is clear to those inspecting both. But also he who first published those questions among the works of Athanasius in the year 1600 at Heidelberg,

Peter Fleckmann, in the collection of various readings subjected to the same edition, page 90:

> *These (questions namely), because in the second codex, which we used in the first volume, they were found plainly (except for the Symbol) at the end of the works of divine Athanasius, therefore they are placed here, although they lacked both the name of the author and title.*

So those questions had neither the same title nor the name of Athanasius prefixed in the manuscript itself, so that there is no doubt at all that they have Gennadius as author. Nevertheless, it is certainly established from elsewhere that Athanasius believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Thus against the Tropici of Sabellius concerning the eternal substance of the Son and Holy Spirit, Volume I of the works published in Paris in the year 1627 in Greek and Latin, page 651:

> *We are also separated from the Judaizers, who corrupt Christianity into Judaism, and from those who, denying God from God, assert one God just like the Jews, and who affirm that the Father alone is God (according to the words of the Savior, John XVII) not because he alone is unbegotten and the sole fountain of Deity, but because they consider him more unfruitful or sterile than that he should beget the living Word and true Wisdom.*

He shows that the Father alone is called God because he alone is the fountain of Deity, that is, of the Son and Holy Spirit. Therefore the Father alone is the producer of Son and Holy Spirit. Moreover, he teaches that the Father is signified by the proper name of principle, when in John Chapter I it is said: In the beginning was the Word, in oration V against the Arians at the beginning, Volume I, page 501:

> *According to John, the Word was in the same beginning (the Father), and the Word was with God. For God is the beginning, and because the Word is from the beginning, therefore also the Word was God.*

But we have already pressed this above concerning similar words of Origen.

In Dialogue I on the Trinity, Volume II, page 160:

> *Anomoeus: Is there no difference between Father and Son and Holy Spirit? Orthodox: In nature, no; in will, no; but in generating and being generated, and emitting and proceeding. Anom.: What is to generate, to be generated, to produce and to proceed? Orth.: Because the Father begets, that is, has begotten: the Son truly is begotten, that is, has been begotten; and the Father himself emits the Spirit, that is, has emitted: the Spirit however proceeds, that is, has proceeded. Anom.: Is this the difference? Orth.: Yes.*

He denies any other difference in the Trinity except that which consists in generating, being generated, producing and proceeding; but showing how through these very things the subsistences differ from each other, he says the Father has begotten the Son and produced the Holy Spirit. The Son however is only begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeds; but concerning the Son he does not add at the same time that, just as the Father begets and emits, so also he himself is begotten and emits. Since therefore Athanasius acknowledges this difference alone in the Trinity: he clearly also by these denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For if there were no difference in emitting and proceeding regarding these: it is clear that the Holy Spirit simply does not proceed from the Son either.

From this moreover he mentions only one hypostasis, the Father namely, from which the Holy Spirit proceeds: for thus he continues on page 163:

> *Anom.: We also say all things are from God. Orthod.: But some things indeed are from his command as created, the Son however is from his hypostasis as generated, the Spirit however as proceeding. Anom.: Do you also say the Spirit is from hypostasis? Orthod.: From where else otherwise? Anom.: Where is it written that some things are from command, others from hypostasis?*

And then on page 176:

> *The Father has neither Father nor maker to whom he refers his origin, nor cause of existence, as from hypostasis. The Son however has the Father indeed, but has no maker to whom he refers his origin: for he was not made, but begotten. The Holy Spirit however does not have the Father: for he was not begotten; he has no maker to whom he refers his origin: for he was not made; but he has God as cause, whose Spirit he is, from whom he also proceeds. Anom.: Do not other spirits*

> *also proceed from him? Orthod.: We too are begotten from God, but as we who are generated from God were not generated from the womb of his subsistence: so also spirits going out from God are not from the mouth of his subsistence. But the Holy Spirit is the Spirit from the mouth of subsistence.*

Thus first he teaches so often that the Holy Spirit proceeds from hypostasis, not from hypostases, and from the hypostasis of the Father indeed. But if one subsistence produced the Holy Spirit: certainly the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit. Indeed in the premised words he was saying clearly:

> *Do you also say the Spirit is from hypostasis? From where else otherwise?*

From nowhere else therefore than from the subsistence of the Father, or, which is the same by force of the word, not from another than the Father's subsistence, or from the Father alone, he teaches by these that the Holy Spirit proceeds; and hence in the following, where he treats extensively of the producer of the Holy Spirit, he names not the Son, but only the subsistence of the Father. For he continues:

> *Anom.: If both the Son is from subsistence and the Spirit is from subsistence: are they brothers? Orthod.: On this account the Son is said not only from subsistence, but also from the womb; and the Spirit not only from hypostasis, but also the Spirit of the mouth: so that the difference is not made according to the reason from hypostasis, but according to the reason from womb and mouth.*

First he says that the Son and Holy Spirit are from the same hypostasis, from the hypostasis of the Father namely: for the Son is from this; nor, except this one hypostasis, does he know the cause of Son and Holy Spirit. Furthermore, if Athanasius had thought the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son: when asked whether, since the Son and Holy Spirit are from the same hypostasis, they are brothers, he would certainly have responded that they cannot be brothers also for this reason, because the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Finally he says the Son and Holy Spirit differ not by reason of this, that both are produced from one and the same subsistence; but by reason of

this, how they are produced from there: since namely the Son is from the womb, the Holy Spirit however from the mouth of the subsistence of the Father. But if the Son and Holy Spirit do not differ in this, that they are from one subsistence of the Father, but only in this, how they are from the same subsistence: it is clear that the Holy Spirit, just as the Son owes the cause of his existence to the Father alone, proceeds from the Father alone equally. For if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son: certainly the Son and Holy Spirit would also differ in this, that they are produced from one hypostasis. For with the Son produced by the Father alone, the Spirit would be produced by the Father and in addition by the Son. He adds from there:

> *How God begets the Son, I do not curiously investigate: and how he emits the Holy Spirit, similarly I do not curiously investigate: but I believe the Son is begotten ineffably and without passion; and the Holy Spirit proceeds similarly ineffably and without passion.*

From this also it is clear that Athanasius has spoken thus far about the hypostasis of the Father: for this one produced the Son by generating; and therefore thus far he understood only the hypostasis of the Father.

Athanasius, Dialogue I against Macedonius, Volume II, page 278, thus speaks to Macedonius:

> *Just as the Son, having all things in nature as Son, says: I do nothing from myself; so that he might refer the principle of good things to the Father: so also hear about the Spirit saying this: for having all things himself in his nature, as Spirit of God, he refers to the cause, saying: He will not speak from himself, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will announce future things to you; and that: He will take from mine and announce to you. But he said he takes, not as ignorant, but as referring both the operation and grace of the Spirit to the cause.*

He says about the Holy Spirit that those things which he hears, he will speak, and the rest, so that he is referred to the cause. But showing who is the cause of the Holy Spirit, he names only the Father:

> *He will take from mine, the Holy Spirit will hear what he will speak; about the Holy Spirit these things are said on account of the cause, the Father namely.*

Therefore he believed only the Father to be the one producer and cause of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, when the Latins explain these words of Christ: “He will take from mine,” concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: equally certainly Athanasius, if he had approved the same dogma, would have explained those words concerning Christ, not concerning the Father; since he clearly confesses those words are to be understood concerning the cause of the Holy Spirit. Now since he explains the same words by reason of the Father: it is clear that he by no means believed the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from both Father and Son.

Moreover, in the Symbol according to the Greek text, Volume II, page 32:

> *The Father is made by no one, neither created nor generated; the Son is from the Father alone, not made nor created, but generated; the Holy Spirit from the Father not made, nor created, nor generated, but proceeding.*

Showing from where the Son draws his origin, from where the Holy Spirit, he says the Son indeed was begotten from the Father, the Holy Spirit equally proceeds from the Father, not from the Son. Therefore he believed only the Father equally to be the producer of the Holy Spirit and generator of the Son. Otherwise he would not have commemorated only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit. But how the Latins corrupted these words from there, we will show from their own confession in the prior Treatise on corruptions.

Objection Cichovius objects in question on the procession of the Holy Spirit, page 33:

> *Even if he had not added the word: Son; by this very fact, that he says the Son is from the Father alone, but does not say the Holy Spirit is from the Father alone, he clearly signifies the Son is from the Father alone, but the Holy Spirit is not from the Father alone.*

Response But it was by no means necessary that Athanasius, to show that the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father alone, just as the Son is generated from the Father alone, should add in so many words: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone: for it sufficed to name one subsistence of the Father. For if one subsistence of the Father

produces the Holy Spirit: certainly the Father alone is understood to be the principle of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the sense of the words of Athanasius is this: The Son is begotten from the Father alone; the Holy Spirit proceeds from the same Father. Where certainly anyone sees that no less in the latter proposition is the little word “alone” to be understood; since the production of the Holy Spirit is referred equally to the same Father alone from whom the Son is begotten.

Furthermore, Dialogue III against Macedonius, Volume II, page 213:

Macedonius: Is not the Spirit from the substance of God therefore? Orthodox: Absolutely. Maced.: Will he therefore be the same as the Son? Orthod.: But the Son is generated from the essence, and on this account the only-begotten Son, the Spirit however proceeds from the essence. For ‘the Spirit proceeds from me’ is written, he is not generated; and the Son says: ‘the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father,’ not who is generated.

Dialogue II on the Trinity, Volume II, page 186:

If he who is from the Father sees the Father, and the Father himself sees him; what is, and is said, and is believed to be invisible, is not to be referred to him himself, nor to the Son who is from him, nor to the Holy Spirit, who is from him, namely the Father.

Dialogue I against Macedonius, Volume II, page 269:

Before Father and Son and Holy Spirit nothing existed, but from the Father the Son was born, and the Holy Spirit proceeds.

Book on the common essence of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, under the title: That the Trinity is consubstantial, Volume I, page 235:

One God the Father, from whom are all things, and the Word indeed from him generatively, and the Holy Spirit processively.

Epistle to Serapion against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature, Volume I, page 175:

Therefore those who think badly about the Holy Spirit do not also think rightly about the Son. For if they had thought rightly about the Word of God, they would also have thought rightly about the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, who is proper to the Son, who is given by the Son to the disciples and to all who believe in him.

And on page 186:

Just as he himself, about to promise (the Holy Spirit), does not say he will send the Spirit, but the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father.

Again on page 195:

Since the Son is one living Word: there ought to be one perfect and full sanctifying and illuminating life, namely the power and faculty and gift of him, which is said to proceed from the Father: because from the Word, who is to be confessed as shining forth from the Father, he is sent and given.

And near the end, page 208:

Truth itself testifies saying: I will send you the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, whom the world cannot receive, that is, he who denies that he is from the Father in the Son.

Book IV against Arius, much before the middle, Volume I, page 467:

We do not introduce three principles or three Fathers, like the Marcionites and Manicheans, since we do not adduce three suns for comparison, but one sun and splendor, (and the light itself from the sun in the radiance) one light from the sun in the splendor.

Athanasius compares the unity of the three subsistences with the sun, its splendor and light. But the light, by which he denotes the Holy Spirit, he derives from the sun, not also from the splendor; from the Father, I say, not also from the Son. The Latins from this, when they saw these things agree less with their opinion, perverting the words of Athanasius with the worst faith, read the same in Latin thus: “and one light from both.” But about corruptions elsewhere.

In the exposition of Faith near the end, Volume I, page 242:

The Holy Spirit, who is the progression of the Father, is always in the hands of the Father sending and of the Son bearing, through whom he filled all things.

Finally in the refutation of the hypocrisy of Meletius, Eusebius, and Paul of Samosata concerning consubstantiality near the end, Volume I, page 573:

It is impossible for the Spirit to be co-glorified in the glory of the Trinity, if he does not proceed from God through Jesus, but is made from God like a work, as they say.

And these are from the writings of Athanasius.

Didymus of Alexandria, Book II on the Holy Spirit after the beginning, among the works of Jerome of the Paris edition of the year 1602, Volume VI, Column 500:

From all things therefore which the preceding discourse has discussed, the Holy Spirit having been demonstrated incorruptible and eternal according to the nature of Father and Son, removes all ambiguity and suspicion about himself, lest he be thought one of created substances, he who is the Spirit of God, whom the words of the Savior in the Gospel declare to go out from the Father: 'When the comforter comes,' he says, 'whom I will send you, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness about me.'

And after some things, Column 501:

That the Holy Spirit goes out from the Father is to be understood thus, as the Savior testifies that he went out from God, saying: I went out from God and came. And after a few things: Therefore it must be believed by ineffable and faith-alone-known speech that the Savior is said to have gone out from God, and the Spirit of truth to go out from the Father, speaking: 'the Spirit who goes out from me.' And beautifully, 'who proceeds from the Father,' he says: for although he could say either concerning the Lord or concerning the Almighty; he touched none of these, but says from the Father, not that the Father is other than God Almighty, because it is even wicked to think this; but according to the property and understanding of the Parent, the Spirit of truth is said to go out from him. For although the Savior

> *frequently says he went out from God: nevertheless the property and, so to speak, familiarity, about which we have already treated often, he assumes more for himself from the name of Father, saying: I am in the Father, and the Father in me. This Holy Spirit therefore, who goes out from the Father, will testify, the Lord says, about me, bearing testimony similar to that testimony of the Father, about whom he says: The Father who sent me bears witness about me.*

In this place Didymus explains the words of the Savior: “When the paraclete comes, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father”: yet never, where he treats so extensively of the procession of the Holy Spirit, does he mention that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, but everywhere he commemorates only the Father as producer of the Holy Spirit; which alone argues that Didymus was ignorant that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Again in the same place after many things, Column 504:

> *Because the Holy Spirit is sent from the Father in the name of the Son, having the property of the Son, according to which he is God; not however sonship, that he might be the Son of him (the Son namely): he shows that he is uniquely joined to the Son.*

That the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Son, he shows from this, that the Holy Spirit is uniquely joined to the Son. Therefore equally for the same reason the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son: otherwise the Holy Spirit would not be uniquely joined to the Son, but would moreover depend on the Son by reason of cause. Indeed, if he had believed the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would have responded suitably and necessarily: therefore the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Son, because he is not generated from him, but proceeds.

Finally in the same place, Column 508:

> *Although the Holy Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father, and God gives the Spirit to those asking him: nevertheless, because all things that the Father has are mine, the Spirit of the Father himself is mine, and he will take from mine.*

Ephrem the Syrian, Deacon of the Church (whose authority in the Church was so great already from his death that, as Jerome testifies in his book

On Ecclesiastical Writers, his writings were considered according to the Sacred Scriptures), in his sermon on confession and self-reproach much after the beginning, Volume III of the works published at Rome in the year 1589, page 104:

> *God, because he foresaw that nothing of the things he made could comprehend him, produced the Son without beginning from his substance, and the Holy Spirit not from necessity or any cause. And after he had taught how the Son was not made but truly begotten from the Father, concerning the Holy Spirit he adds: Moreover the Holy Spirit was not begotten, but proceeded from the substance of the Father, not imperfect nor promiscuous. For he is not now Father, now Son, but the Holy Spirit having the fullness of goodness and proceeding in testimony of Divinity: because not by any perturbation, or time, or necessity, or change, or any other cause did the Father beget the Son, but by nature removed and free from all necessity, which he established through his hypostasis, and the Father wanting another consort, not whom he begot, but produced the Holy Spirit from his substance, not before the Son, lest we say his will was subjected to necessity; nor did he fear human doubt about himself, how namely, since he is impassible, he begot, having the demonstration of the Holy Spirit. Because not generating (the Holy Spirit) he produced according to himself: so also generating the Son, he begot according to himself without perturbation. For the Father was not diminished when the Holy Spirit proceeded, so that we might think the generation of the Son passible. Moreover, that we say the Holy Spirit after the Son, this is signifying not of time, but of person: since the Spirit and Word have one and the same essence and substance free from principle. For we also in pronouncing a word move our spirit, and with the word we produce spirit. The Father needed no time in the generation of the Son; nor did he produce the Holy Spirit with any interval of time after the Word. Therefore Divinity is also coeternal with the most holy Trinity.*

Ephrem extensively explains how the Son is generated, the Holy Spirit produced; but treating of the procession of the Holy Spirit, he so often teaches that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Father alone after the Son; nor does he ever mention that he also proceeds from the Son. Indeed, teaching how the Son relates to the production of the Holy Spirit, he does not teach that the Holy Spirit was produced from the Son whom

the Father had generated.

Objection and Response Regarding the Holy Spirit's Dependence on the Son

They object, however, with the words: "Since the Holy Spirit depends on the Son." For how could the Holy Spirit depend on the Son unless by reason of being a principle? But first, in response: It is clear from the words cited that Basil the Great did not understand "cause," as he immediately adds: "From the Father, indeed, He has the cause of His existence." For when he uses the disjunctive here, it is evident that in the preceding words, Basil did not speak of the cause. If, however, he had understood "cause" in the cited words, the sense of Basil's words would be: "Since the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from the Son." This would be the same as saying that the Holy Spirit depends on the Son as a cause, but has the cause of His existence from the Father. What connection do these words have? Would not the holy Father be said to speak nonsense if he spoke thus? Furthermore, when the holy Basil uses these words to show the subsistential property of the Holy Spirit, if he had understood "cause" in these words, he would have surely concluded that the subsistential property of the Holy Spirit is to exist from the Son, just as he inferred from saying there that the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from the Father, that His subsistential property is to subsist from the Father. Therefore, he did not understand "cause" when he said the Holy Spirit depends on the Son. The true sense of Basil's cited words is clear from this: Basil had shown how we can find the connection and conjunction of the subsistences, namely, that one necessarily ascends from one to another, so that the properties of the subsistences might be revealed. Now, he ascended from the Holy Spirit to the Son thus: "All gifts we have from the Holy Spirit, but by knowing Him, we also have knowledge of the Son of God, since not only the Holy Spirit works those gifts, but the Only-Begotten is their cause." Therefore, repeating this (as the conclusive word "therefore" indicates), Basil says: "Because, therefore, the Holy Spirit, from whom all good is given to creatures, depends on the Son." Thus, with the words "depends on the Son," he signifies what he had previously taught, that one ascends from the Holy Spirit to the Son, because not only is the Holy Spirit the cause of His

gifts, but the Son is also, as he had also stated in the preceding words: “from whom all good is given to creatures,” which he had similarly taught earlier.

Further Evidence from Basil’s Writings

Furthermore, in Book V Against Eunomius (Volume II, page 122), he says:

> *God is not like man; He generates truly, and what is begotten from Him is a Word, not human; He truly brings forth the Word from Himself and emits the Spirit through His mouth, not as a human spirit. For neither is the mouth of God corporeal, and the Spirit is from Him, not from elsewhere.*

It is clear that Basil understands the Father when he says, “God generates,” for only He generated the Son; thus, he signifies the subsistence of the Father, for it is this that generates the Son, not the essence, which neither generates nor is generated. Likewise, when he adds: “And He emits the Holy Spirit,” he understands the subsistence of the Father, which produces the Holy Spirit. But Basil adds: “The Spirit is from Him and not from elsewhere,” that is, as shown, from the subsistence of the Father and not from elsewhere. Therefore, when he adds “not from elsewhere” to the subsistence of the Father, he clearly shows that nothing other than the Father’s subsistence produced the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father’s subsistence.

Therefore, Basil says:

> *The Spirit depends on the Son, but has the cause of His existence from the Father.*

For he uses the disjunctive: “from the Father, indeed.” He shows by the preceding words that he did not understand “cause,” and that the cause of the Holy Spirit’s existence pertains not to the Son but to the Father. Then, in explaining the procession of the Holy Spirit, he does not teach that the Spirit proceeds equally from the Son, but from the Father alone. Lest the Son be considered a simultaneous cause of the Holy Spirit, or lest someone think the term “Father” includes the Son, he expressly adds

how the Holy Spirit relates to the Son, namely, that He is known together with Him. Finally, he adds:

> *The Son has no property in common with the Father and the Holy Spirit; for the Son would have the property of the Father if He produced the Holy Spirit as the Father does.*

For this does not befit the Holy Spirit.

Objection and Response

They object, however, with the words: “Since the Holy Spirit depends on the Son.” For how could the Holy Spirit depend on the Son unless by reason of being a principle? But first, in response: It is clear that Basil the Great did not understand “cause” in the cited words, as he immediately adds:

> *From the Father, indeed, He has the cause of His existence.*

For when he uses the disjunctive here, it is evident that in the preceding words, Basil did not speak of the cause. If, however, he had understood “cause” in the cited words, the sense of Basil’s words would be: “Since the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from the Son.” This would be the same as saying that the Holy Spirit depends on the Son as a cause, but has the cause of His existence from the Father. What connection do these words have? Would not the holy Father be said to speak nonsense if he spoke thus? Furthermore, when the holy Basil uses these words to show the subsistential property of the Holy Spirit, if he had understood “cause” in these words, he would have surely concluded that the subsistential property of the Holy Spirit is to exist from the Son, just as he inferred from saying there that the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from the Father, that His subsistential property is to subsist from the Father. Therefore, he did not understand “cause” when he said the Holy Spirit depends on the Son. The true sense of Basil’s cited words is clear from this: Basil had shown how we can find the connection and conjunction of the subsistences, namely, that one necessarily ascends from one to another, so that the properties of the subsistences might be revealed. Now, he ascended from the Holy Spirit to the Son thus:

> *All gifts we have from the Holy Spirit, but by knowing Him, we also have knowledge of the Son of God, since not only the Holy Spirit works those gifts, but the Only-Begotten is their cause.*

Therefore, repeating this (as the conclusive word “therefore” indicates), Basil says:

> *Because, therefore, the Holy Spirit, from whom all good is given to creatures, depends on the Son.*

Thus, with the words “depends on the Son,” he signifies what he had previously taught, that one ascends from the Holy Spirit to the Son, because not only is the Holy Spirit the cause of His gifts, but the Son is also, as he had also stated in the preceding words: “from whom all good is given to creatures,” which he had similarly taught earlier.

Further Writings of Basil the Great

In Book V Against Eunomius (Volume II, page 120), he asks:

> *Why is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son? Not because He is not from God through the Son, but lest the Trinity be suspected of having sons from sons, as in humans, and be thought to have an infinite multitude.*

But you will say: “If the Son is the image of God, and the Spirit is the image of the Son, why is the Spirit not called the Son of the Son?” For you have used this most firmly for impiety: either you command us to understand Him as the Son or as a creature, and because He is not called the Son, you blaspheme that He is a creature, who is the cause of creatures, who sanctifies and deifies the creature, who is glorified by the name of God and Lord, who fulfills divine operations. Therefore, since He seems to you unworthy of the name of Son, as if He were alien to the Father and the Son, see how He makes those who are sanctified sons. If you are a son of God through the Spirit, how is the Spirit alien to sonship? If you are God through the Spirit, how is the Holy Spirit alien to divinity? Again, you will ask: “Why then did He not take the name of Son?” You do not deign to heed what has been said, but you seek the reason for what has not been said, just as a Sadducee, not accepting the resurrection but

curiously investigating its mode, and rejecting what is said by what is not said. And if we remain silent, unwilling to scrutinize the things of God, you think the glory of the divine Spirit is overcome because the name of Son is not given to Him, as if we could not ask the same of you. For if you confess that through the Spirit infinite adoptive sons are made, why is the Spirit not also called an adoptive Son, especially since He is greater than those who are adopted by His grace, and for this reason, He should not be rendered lesser in name? But we, according to our ability, respond to ourselves (for as far as you are concerned, since the same question applies to you, it would suffice to remain silent). We say, therefore: to say a Son from a Son would have led the Trinity of divinity into suspicion of multiplicity among those who hear; for it would have been easy to think that if a Son is generated from a Son, and from this another would be generated, and again another, progressing to a multitude. For this reason, the Apostle openly proclaimed that the Spirit is from God, saying that we have received the Spirit who is from God; and he made it clear that He was poured out through the Son, calling Him the Spirit of the Son, as well as of God; and calling Him the mind of Christ, as well as the Spirit of God, as if of a man: but he refrained from calling Him the Son of the Son. And there is one Father, God, always remaining the Father, always existing, who is. There is one Son, begotten by eternal generation, the true Son of God who is always present with the Father without beginning, always existing, who is God, the Word, and the Lord. There is one Holy Spirit, truly the Holy Spirit, according to what is written. And first, when Basil asks here: “Why is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son?” he faces great difficulties, as is clear to all, for there is no need to inquire into the reason, but simply to deny it. But if he had ever believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, he would have resolved it with one word: for this reason, because the Holy Spirit is not begotten from the Son, but proceeds. Again, the argument of the heretics: “The Son is the image of the Father, the Spirit is the image of the Son; therefore, the Holy Spirit is the Son of the Son,” he cannot resolve, but at least rejects as absurd. But again, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, he would have shown that it follows only that the Spirit is produced by the Son, with no necessity that He is also begotten by the Son; and thus, he would have resolved the objection without any difficulty. In what follows, he denies that the Holy Spirit is

the Son of the Son because, if a Son were generated from the Son, it would seem to people that another Son must be generated from the Holy Spirit. But according to this reasoning, and thus according to Basil's mind, it similarly follows that the Son does not produce the Holy Spirit. For just as where the Son generates another Son, so too where the Son produces another, it could seem to those listening that the Holy Spirit must produce another: the reasoning is the same. For the same reason that, if the Son generates the Holy Spirit, it could seem that the Holy Spirit must generate another; likewise, if the Son produces the Holy Spirit, it could seem that the Holy Spirit must produce another. Therefore, it is clear from this that St. Basil the Great held it impossible for the Holy Spirit to proceed or be generated from the Son.

Basil's Question on the Holy Spirit as Son of the Son

Basil the Great asks in this place: "Why is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son?" not because this question was raised by Catholics, but because heretics inferred that the Holy Spirit is a creature since He is not the Son of the Son. For these are Basil's words:

> *For you have used this most firmly for impiety: either you command us to understand Him as the Son or as a creature, and because He is not called the Son, you blaspheme that He is a creature.*

He responds to this question:

> *Not because He is not from God through the Son is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son, but lest the Trinity be suspected of having sons from sons.*

In the earlier words: "Not because He is not from God through the Son," he means nothing other than that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Father and the Son. For He proceeds from the Father as the cause, through the Son, that is, after the Son is generated, as the one true God with the Father and the Son. For the heretics denied that the Holy Spirit is God and claimed He was alien to the Father and the Son because He was not the Son of the Son. Thus, Basil could express that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son and the Father in no other words than by

mentioning His eternal procession: for it is from this alone that the Holy Spirit has it that He is one true God with the Father and the Son. With these observations, whatever objections the Latins are accustomed to raise from this passage of Basil collapse. First, as Bellarmine says, Basil could not have asked: “Why is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son?” if He did not proceed from the Son, but only from the Father. For, as has been said, Basil does not raise this question of his own accord, but because the heretics claimed the Holy Spirit was a creature because He was not the Son of the Son.

Further Objections and Responses

They further insist that the Fathers faced great difficulty with this question; yet, if they had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, they could have resolved it with one word, responding: “The Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Son because the Son is not the principle of the Holy Spirit.” But this has already been addressed above. First, if Basil had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, he would have necessarily shown that the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Son because He is not begotten by Him, but proceeds. Furthermore, it would be absurd if, to resolve the question “Why is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son?” Basil had responded: “Because the Son is not the producer of the Holy Spirit,” no less than if, when asked: “Why are the angels not the creators of the world?” he responded: “Because the angels are not the producers of the world.” For when the Holy Spirit is said to be the Son of the Son, it is supposed that the Son is His principle; thus, that question cannot be solidly resolved if you respond that the Son is not the principle of the Holy Spirit. For no less is it asked by this: “Is the Holy Spirit not the Son of the Son?” than “Is the Holy Spirit not produced by the Son?” as is clear from the example given. Nor did the heretics ever object that the Holy Spirit is not produced by the Son in any other way than by generation, to infer that the Holy Spirit is alien to the Son. Nor did it ever enter St. Basil’s mind, even in a dream, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. How, then, could Basil respond to that question of the heretics: “Because the Son is not the principle of the Holy Spirit?” when he conceived no other way of producing the Holy Spirit than generation itself.

Additional Objections

They further object: If, when Basil responds: “Not because He is not from God through the Son,” the word “through” signifies not “cause” but “with,” he would have said nothing. For no one could have suspected Him to be the Son of the Son, but rather should have suspected Him to be the Brother of the Son. But it has already been said in what sense Basil uses those words: for it is false that he uses them to show that someone could suspect the Holy Spirit to be the Son of the Son.

They insist again that Basil’s response means this: “The Spirit is from the Son, but through another mode of production than generation, and therefore is not called the Son.” But by what reasoning do they prove this to be Basil’s meaning? None, indeed. Rather, when Basil explains how he said the Holy Spirit is from God through the Son, he does not teach, as the dissenters wished, that He is from the Son but through another mode of production than generation; but rather that He shines forth through the Son, while having His existence from the Father. For he says:

> *The Apostle openly proclaimed that the Spirit is from God; and he made it clear that He was poured out through the Son, calling Him the Spirit of the Son, as well as of God; but he refrained from calling Him the Son of the Son.*

But the holy Fathers, as is clear from the example of Gregory of Nyssa, explicitly distinguish “shining forth through the Son” from “cause,” as we will see later.

Conclusion

You will finally say: How could Basil respond that there would be a danger of multiplying the Trinity if the Son were from the Son, if the Holy Spirit neither proceeds from the Son nor through the Son? For then there would be no internal order of one from another; thus, there would be no danger of a Son being from the Holy Spirit. Is it not absurd, when it is posited that the Holy Spirit is the Son of the Son, that Basil shows that it follows that the Trinity would be suspected of having sons from sons? How, then, would there be no danger of multiplying the Trinity if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? But since the matter is clear, we proceed.

Further Writings of Basil

In Epistle CCC (Volume II, page 1070), Basil says:

> *For if He (the Holy Spirit) were superior to God, He would not be from God. For it is written: 'The Spirit is from God.' If He is from God, how is He older than He from whom He is? What madness is it, when there is one unbegotten, to say another is superior to the unbegotten? Nor is He prior to the Only-Begotten. But if He is not from God, but is through Christ, He is not at Holidays all. Therefore, this innovation regarding order brings about the annihilation of His existence and is a complete denial of the faith: it is equally impious to reduce the Spirit to a creature or to establish Him as superior to either the Son or the Father, whether in time or in order.*

In Oration Against the Sabellians (after the middle, Volume I, page 606), he says:

> *The Father, having a perfect essence and needing nothing, is the root and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

And near the end (page 610):

> *Just as there are many sons, but one true Son, so too, though many things are said to be from God, properly the Son is from God, and the Spirit is from God; because the Son came forth from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Yet the Son is from the Father generatively, while the Spirit is from God ineffably.*

Response to Objections

You will say: If St. Basil here meant that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, instead of the last words, he would have said: "The Spirit is from the same Father in a mysterious way"; but since he used a term common to the Father and the Son, he thereby signified that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But near the end of the cited words, it is clear that Basil understands the Father by the term "God," for after saying that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from God, he explains this by expressly adding: "because the Son and the Holy

Spirit proceeded from the Father." Showing the diversity by which each is from the Father, he adds that the Son proceeds generatively, while the Holy Spirit proceeds in an ineffable way from God; thus, by the name "God" here, he understands the Father. Furthermore, the name "God" is common to the Father and the Son. But when it comes to the production of subsistences, the holy Fathers very often understand the Father alone by this name, as is clear from this passage of St. Basil and the words of other Fathers.

In Book of the Holy Spirit, Chapter XVI (Volume II, page 181), he says:

> *The Spirit of the mouth of God is the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father.*

In Commentary on Psalm 32 (Volume I, page 203), he says:

> *As the Word, the Founder, established the heavens, so too the Holy Spirit of God, who proceeds from the Father; that is, He who is from His mouth, so that you do not think Him to be something external from creatures, but glorify Him as subsisting from God, encompassing all virtues in Himself.*

And a few lines later:

> *This Spirit is written as the Spirit of His mouth; but we find elsewhere that the Word is also called His mouth: so that our Savior and the Holy Spirit are understood to be from the Father.*

In Liturgy (Volume II, Library of Greek Fathers, Paris, 1624, Greek-Latin edition, page 49), it says:

> *The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the way, sanctification, power, true light, from whom the Holy Spirit appeared, the Spirit of truth, the gift of adoption.*

In Epistle CCCI (Volume II, page 1071), he says:

> *You have believed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: do not betray this deposit in any way, the Father as the principle of all; the Son, the Only-Begotten, begotten from Him, true God, perfect from perfect, living image, fully showing the Father in Himself; the Holy Spirit, having existence from God, the source of holiness.*

In Book of the Holy Spirit, Chapter XVIII (Volume II, page 189), he says:

> *The Holy Spirit is joined to the Father and the Son in the manner that unity has a property to unity: and the demonstration of communion, which is according to nature, can be sought not only from this, but because He is said to be from God, not as all things come from God, nor generatively as the Son, but as the Spirit of His mouth.*

Finally, in Epistle XLIII (in the middle, Volume II, page 810), he says:

> *Now if someone says 'Spirit' alone, he also includes in the confession that of which He is the Spirit; for since He is the Spirit of Christ and is from God, as Paul says: he who has drawn the Spirit has also drawn the Son and the Father together with Him.*

But since it has already been shown from the same epistle of Basil, near the beginning, that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, it is clear that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is entirely contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. For this epistle, and what it teaches about the Holy Spirit, was expressly confirmed by the holy universal Fourth Council of Chalcedon. For thus it states in its address to Emperor Marcian (Volume IV of the Councils, Paris edition, 1671, column 825):

> *The great Basil, minister of grace, wonderfully declared the evidence of the subsistences in his epistle and diligently taught the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.*

And these are from the writings of Basil the Great.

St. Gregory the Theologian, Bishop of Nazianzus

In Oration on the Correct Doctrine and the Appointment of Bishops, which is number XXIX (Volume I, Paris Greek-Latin edition, 1609, page 490), he says:

> *The Father would be base and unworthy of Himself as the principle if He were not the cause of the divinity that exists in the Son and the Holy Spirit. For it is necessary both to preserve one God and to*

confess three subsistences, that is, three persons, each with its own property. In my judgment, one God is preserved if we refer the Son and the Holy Spirit to one cause, neither compounding nor mixing them, even though we understand one and the same motion and will of divinity, so to speak, and the identity of essence. We preserve the three hypostases if no mixture, dissolution, or confusion is devised, lest otherwise everything be overturned by those who excessively exalt unity beyond what is proper. Finally, the reasoning of the properties will be established for us if we think and proclaim the Father as the principle without beginning and the principle, I say, as the cause and source and eternal light; but the Son we affirm as not without beginning, but as the principle of all things. When I say 'principle,' do not interpose time or suppose any medium between the Generator and the Generated. The question is: How is there one God when there are three subsistences of divinity? He responds that there is one God, first because of one and the same nature; second, because the Son and the Holy Spirit have one and the same cause. Now, if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son, the Son and the Holy Spirit would not have one and the same cause, for the Son is not begotten from Himself. Furthermore, by 'one cause,' he understands only the Father. For he said: 'The Father would be a base cause if He were not the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit.' Again: 'The Father is the cause and principle and source in divinity.' He shows, therefore, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God with the Father because the Son and the Holy Spirit are referred to one cause, the Father, or, what is the same in meaning, to one producer, the Father. Therefore, the Father alone is the producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit; thus, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son. Furthermore, he says: 'Finally, the reasoning of the properties will be established for us if we think of the Father as the principle,' namely, of the Son and the Holy Spirit. If, however, it is the property of the Father to be the principle of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, then the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit. Finally, he adds: 'The Son is the principle of creatures'; but he does not add that the Holy Spirit is similarly a principle. He would not have omitted to add this if he had believed such a thing, as the Latins or those who Latinize have always done.

Similar Teachings in Other Orations

He has similar teachings in Oration XXXVII on the Holy Spirit (page 601):

> *For us, there is one God because the divinity is one: and those that are from Him (the Son and the Holy Spirit) are referred to one (namely, the principle, the Father, I say), even though three are believed. And a little later: Therefore, when we look to the divinity and the principal cause and the principle of one (the Father), we form one thing. But when we look to those in which the divinity exists, and which exist from the first cause without any time and with equal glory, there are three that are worshipped.*

In these places, he similarly shows that the three subsistences are one God because the Son and the Holy Spirit are referred to one principle, the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. He calls the Father the principal cause here and elsewhere because the Son is also a cause, namely of creatures, but having this from the Father; for in this sense, he taught in Oration XXIX that the Son is a principle, as is clear from the end of the words cited from there. No less does he call the Father the principal cause of the Holy Spirit than of the Son; therefore, it cannot be inferred from this that St. Gregory acknowledges another, less principal cause of the Holy Spirit. For even the Latins have never posited another, less principal cause with respect to the Son. Nor does he know any other cause of the Holy Spirit except that principal cause: for he says there is one cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, namely, the principal cause. Therefore, it is not thereby supposed that there is some less principal cause of the Holy Spirit, since there is no other cause of the Son besides the principal cause. But more on this at the end of this treatise.

Furthermore, in Oration XIII, which is on Peace II (page 209), he says:

> *If we were to introduce the majesty of the Son and the Spirit by confessing them as without principle or referring them to another principle (than the Father), it would truly be feared that God would be dishonored or that something dangerous would be set up against God by us. But if you exalt the Son and the Spirit, you will not place them above the Father, nor remove them from this cause, but refer them to that glorious generation and admirable procession. I will press you a little: O you who are so zealous for the unbegotten and without*

> *principle, who more greatly dishonors God? He who establishes Him as the principle of such things as you introduce? Or he who establishes Him not as the principle of such things, but of those similar to His nature and equal in glory, and thus such as our doctrine wishes them to be? And a little later (so that it may be clear that he has spoken of the Father thus far): Is there anything greater for God than to be the Father of the Son and similarly the producer of the Spirit?*

Therefore, he understands the Father as the principle that generated the Son and produced the Holy Spirit. He says: “If we referred the Son and the Holy Spirit to another principle than the Father.” But if there is no other principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit than the Father, how could the Son also be the principle of the Holy Spirit? Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son.

In Oration XXIII in Praise of Heron, near the end (page 420), he says:

> *Also circumscribe the doctrine of our piety and faith, instructing us thus, that we acknowledge one unbegotten God; likewise, one begotten, namely, the Lord, the Son, to be called God when spoken of separately, but Lord when named with the Father: the former because of His nature, the latter because of the one principle; and finally, one Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, or also proceeding, also God.*

Where he says that when we speak of the Father and the Son together, the Father is called God, the Son Lord, and this because of the monarchy or one principle, namely, the Father: for He is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, there is one Father, the principle in divinity, and thus He alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit. If, likewise, because of the one principle, the Father is called God, and the Son at least Lord when both are mentioned together, it follows that just as the Son is not called God, so too He is not the principle. How, then, could the Son be the producer of the Holy Spirit? Hence, he teaches elsewhere so often that the monarchy or one principle holds in divinity. For in the same oration, a little later (page 422), he says:

> *See that you do not embrace the one principle with impious honor, contracting or circumcising divinity.*

And in Oration XL on Holy Baptism (page 668), he says:

> *I give you the identity of nature of the three infinites: one God each if considered separately, as the Father, so the Son, as the Son, so also the Holy Spirit, each with His own property preserved; God again these three if thought together: the former because of the identity of substance, the latter because of the monarchy or one principle.*

Here, too, as in the cited words from Oration XXIX, he teaches that the three subsistences are one God because they are referred to one principle, namely, the Father, as is clear from the cited passage. Therefore, there is one Father, the principle, and thus He alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit.

Likewise, in Poem III, entitled Precepts to Virgins (Volume II, Paris edition, 1611, page 68), he says:

> *You too, holy Trinity, come to us kindly. Come, I pray, good one, to us, who always in one from one come together, and here you shine with bright minds; but you will cast more splendid rays upon us in the ethereal hall, with which God shines forth as one, the Begetter, the Begotten, and the Holy Spirit: for the integral divinity stands in the integral number and faith of the Trinity.*

He sings that the Trinity comes together in one from one; therefore, there is one producer at least, one principle of divinity, which is surely God the Father. Therefore, the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, in Oration I, which is an Apologetic for His Flight (Volume I, Paris edition, 1609, page 17), he says:

> *It is not fitting to be so affected by love for Christ that we neither preserve the name of Son for Him nor the prerogative of cause for the Father, which He has as Father and Generator. For it would be a cause of small and base things, indeed basely and unworthily, if it were not the cause of the divinity and goodness considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit; in the former, I say, as the Son and Word, in the latter as proceeding, not as some dissoluble breath.*

Here again, he assigns the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit to the Father alone: he says that the name of Son must be preserved for the Son, and the prerogative of cause for the Father. Therefore, the Father alone is the cause and producer of the Holy Spirit. Nor is there any basis

for someone to say that the Theologian here calls the Father the cause only with respect to the Son, when he adds: “which He has as Father and Generator.” For when he had just said: “The prerogative of cause must be preserved for the Father,” he immediately adds: “For it would be a cause of small things if it were not the cause of the divinity considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit.” He clearly signifies here that when he previously called the Father the cause, he meant the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. But when he adds: “The cause, which He has as Father and Generator,” this does not contradict it. For the production of the Holy Spirit is a consequence of paternity, and it is immediately connected and understood with it, just as the person of the Father is simultaneously understood as the Generator of the Son and the producer of the Holy Spirit.

Likewise, Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XLIV on Holy Pentecost (page 711), says:

> *The Holy Spirit is powerful, omnipotent, even though all things that are of the Holy Spirit, just as those of the Only-Begotten, are referred to the primary cause.*

It has just been said why he calls the Father the primary cause. Therefore, he says that all things, both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, are referred to the Father. But if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son, He would not refer all things to the Father: that is, He would not owe His entire subsistence and existence to the Father alone, as the Son does, but would equally refer all His things to both the Son and the Father. Since, therefore, he does not distinguish the Son and the Holy Spirit with respect to origin, but teaches that just as the Son, so too the Holy Spirit refers all His things to the Father, he clearly shows by this that there is one producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit, namely, the Father.

Continuing the Orthodox Theological Treatise in the same style

Similar Teachings in Other Orations

He has consistent teachings in Oration XXXVII on the Holy Spirit (page 611):

> *Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit, such as being given, sent, distributed, breath, promise, intercession, and, lest I enumerate each one, must be referred to the principal cause (the Father), to show from whom the Spirit is, so that three separate principles are not received, as if there were many gods.*

He teaches that all things said more humbly about the Holy Spirit must be referred to the principal cause, namely, the Father, and not also to the Son. But since the Holy Spirit is said to be sent, given, and promised no less by the Son than by the Father, he would have necessarily said that these things must be referred not only to the Father but also to the Son if he had believed the Son to be equally the cause of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he knows one Father from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, as he also adds: “To show from whom the Holy Spirit is.” From these words, it is further clear that the sense of Gregory Nazianzen is that what is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit is said with respect to the cause, or signifies by these that the Holy Spirit exists not from Himself but from another as the cause; “to show,” he says, “from whom the Holy Spirit is.” But in showing from whom the Holy Spirit is, he names only the principal cause, namely, the Father: “These,” he says, “must be referred to the principal cause, to show from whom the Spirit is.” Therefore, he teaches by this that the Father alone is the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit.

Further Evidence from Gregory’s Writings

He has similar teachings in Poem III on Principles, which is about the Holy Spirit (Volume II, Paris edition, 1611, page 163):

> *But if the sacred Scripture or pious writers say something about the Begotten or the Spirit, as if they were inferior to the supreme Parent, take this, whatever it may be, prudently as said. For from this, it is shown that each derives its cause from the Father, not that their divinity is separated from Him: so that you do not worship with diverse cult what is not many but one dominion.*

By these, he again teaches that whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit must be referred to the Father: for by these, it is shown that He derives His origin from the root of the unbegotten principle, namely,

the Father, as the Greek text has. But what can be gathered from this for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone has already been urged concerning similar words. We proceed.

In Oration XXIV on the Arrival of the Egyptian Bishops (Volume I, Paris edition, 1609, page 429), he says:

> *All that the Father has is the Son's, except the cause; but all that is the Son's is also the Spirit's, except filiation and those things said of Him corporeally for my sake as a man and for my salvation.*

But if the Son is not the cause, how could the Holy Spirit proceed from Him? You will say that the term "cause" refers to the cause of the Son, not also of the Holy Spirit. But in what sense St. Nazianzen is accustomed to use the term "cause" is clear from the passages cited thus far, among others from the words praised from Oration I, in which he expressly explained the term "cause," though he had said the Father has it as Father and Generator, as the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, he says: "All that the Father has is the Son's, except the cause; but what is the Son's is also the Spirit's, except filiation." Here, he would no less have excepted the cause from the Holy Spirit if he had believed the Son to be His cause. For he excepts this from the Son with respect to the Father; thus, it would be absurd if he neglected to except the cause, which he excepted from the Son only with respect to the Father. Therefore, it is clear from this that St. Gregory the Theologian did not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son.

In Oration XXIII on Heron (Volume I, page 421), he says:

> *I truly call the Son the Son: because alone, and of the alone, and solitarily, and only. For He is not also the Father, and wholly the Son, and entire, and from the beginning. But if the Son is only the Son and wholly the Son, how could He also be the cause? For He who is only begotten does not also generate or produce; or He who is wholly caused does not also produce. But since, according to the words of St. Gregory the Theologian, the Son is only and wholly begotten, caused (for this is implied by being only and wholly the Son), He could not be the producer of the Holy Spirit.*

In Oration XXXI on the Saying of the Gospel: When Jesus Had Finished These Words (near the end, page 507), he says:

> *If you despise the Holy Spirit, the Son cares nothing for your honor: for though He is not as the Son from the Father, He is from the same Father.*

Indeed, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would have given this reason: “If you despise the Holy Spirit, the Son cares nothing for your honor, because the Holy Spirit equally proceeds or exists from Him”; nor would it have been necessary, to show that he who despises the Holy Spirit despises the Son, to name the Father, as the one from whom both the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced. But since, to show this, he has recourse to one and the same principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, it is clear from this that St. Gregory Nazianzen did not believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Furthermore: “Though,” he says, “not as the Son from the Father, yet from the same Father.” Therefore, he believed that the Son is generated and the Spirit proceeds from one and the same Father at least; while he further teaches that just as the Son, so too the Holy Spirit is produced from the same Father.

In Oration XXXVII on the Holy Spirit (page 598), having thus far taught that the Holy Spirit is indeed from the Father, but not in the manner of filiation, but processively, he introduces someone who asks for some likeness to show that from one and the same, one is begotten, another is not begotten:

> *Give me, therefore, you say, from the same, one a Son, another who is not a Son, and yet of the same substance with Him: and I will admit God and God.*

The Theologian does not deny that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one and the same, namely, the likeness that the other required; but he denies that anything can be compared with the divine nature: otherwise, he would entirely wish to present what is desired with respect to every number. Thus, he proves that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one and the same.

> *Give me, he says, also another God and the nature of God: and I will give you another Trinity with the same names and things. But since there is one God and one supreme cause, how then shall I represent a likeness to you?*

But if the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one and the same, namely, the Father, for the Son is from Him: surely, the Holy Spirit proceeds from one and only the Father, and not also from the Son. Nor could the Holy Spirit and the Son be said to be produced from one and the same if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son: for the Son is not from Himself, but rather they would be produced from different things than from the same. Finally, when the Theologian had shown that human things cannot be compared with God, he nevertheless offers this likeness (page 599):

> *Are not Eve and Seth from the same Adam? From whom else? But were both begotten from him? By no means. What then? Is one a segment, the other a Son? Yet both are the same among themselves: for no one will deny that they are humans.*

Therefore, just as Seth was begotten from Adam alone, and Eve proceeded as a segment, so too he shows that in the Trinity, it is the same, namely, that from one and the same Father, the Son is generatively, and the Holy Spirit processively. Note also the words: “Eve and Seth from the same Adam: for from whom else?” If, therefore, either Seth had been begotten or Eve had proceeded as a segment from another than Adam, they would not be from the same Adam in that way. Likewise, it follows that if the Holy Spirit were from another than the Father, for example, from the Son, the Son and the Holy Spirit would not be from the same; yet he teaches so often that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the same.

In Oration XXVI on the Composite Method of Discourse (page 445), he says:

> *We must acknowledge one Father, without principle and unbegotten; one Son, begotten from the Father; one Spirit, who has subsistence from God, conceding to the Father the property of being unbegotten, to the Son the property of generation, and to the rest, a sharer in nature and glory and majesty equal to the Son. These things we ought to acknowledge, these to confess, here to fix our step; but lengthy nonsense and profane novelties of words we should relegate to idle men.*

He says that the Holy Spirit has subsistence from God, that is, from the Father, just as the Son is also generated from the Father; for the rest, there is one divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Here, therefore,

he commands us to rest, to confess these things, not to scrutinize further, not to invent new terms. Whence, then, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, if we must acquiesce in the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, and if it is not permitted to invent new terms?

In Oration XXXV, which is the First on the Son (page 563), he says:

> *How is it, then, that they (the Son and the Holy Spirit) are not equally without principle, since they are coeternal? Namely, because they are from Him (the Father), though not after Him. For what is without principle is also coeternal. But what is eternal is not entirely without principle, as long as it is referred to the principle (the Father). Therefore, with respect to the cause, they are not without principle; but it is clear that the cause is not entirely prior to those of which it is the cause: for the sun does not precede its light in time. But with respect to time, they are without principle: for they are not under time.*

In Oration XXIII in Praise of Heron, near the end (page 422), he says:

> *Common to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is not to be made and divinity; but to the Son and the Holy Spirit, to be from the Father. Proper to the Father is to be unbegotten, to the Son to be begotten, to the Holy Spirit to proceed.*

In Oration XXXIX on the Holy Lights (page 630), he says:

> *The Father is the Father and without principle: for He is not from anyone; the Son is the Son and not without principle: for He is from the Father. But if you take principle as time, He is also without principle: for He is the maker of times, not under time. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit, proceeding indeed from the Father, not in the manner of filiation or generation, but of procession.*

In Oration XXIX on Doctrine and the Appointment of Bishops (page 463), he says:

> *You hear that the Spirit is, who proceeds from the Father; by what this is done, do not inquire.*

In Oration XXXV, which is the First on the Son of God (page 562), he says:

> *Unity moved from the principle (cause) into a duality stood in the Trinity; and this for us is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Namely, the former is the generator and producer, yet without any affection, without time, in an incorporeal manner; of these, one is the offspring, the other the procession.*

He commands them to subsist also with respect to the procession of the Holy Spirit, which the Son Himself set forth in clear words, namely, that He proceeds from the Father. Therefore, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son must be avoided, since the Son Himself does not speak of it.

In Oration XXXVII on the Holy Spirit (page 597), he says:

> *He who proceeds from the Father is not a creature; insofar as He is not something begotten, He is not the Son.*

In Oration XIII, which is on Peace II (page 209), he says:

> *As much as God is superior to creatures, so much more magnificent is it for Him to be the principle cause, that He be the principle of divinity rather than of creatures. Again, a little later: Does it escape you that when you establish God as the principle of the Son and the Spirit as if of creatures, you do not honor the principle, and those that flow from it are dishonored; the former, because you establish it as the principle of base and small things unworthy of divinity; the latter, because you make them small, not only created but also the most contemptible and base of all created things? But I, establishing the principle of divinity as without time, inseparable, infinite, honor the principle, and those that proceed from the principle: the former, because it is the principle of such things; the latter, because they are such and from such a principle.*

In Oration XXIII in Praise of Heron, near the end (page 421), he says:

> *Prescribe that we do not assert the Son and the Holy Spirit to be without principle, lest we deprive the Father of His property. For they are by no means without principle; and yet in a certain way, they are without principle, which is indeed said: for they are not without principle with respect to the cause, for they are from God, though not after Him, as light is from the sun; but with respect to time, they are without principle: for they are not under time.*

In Oration XXXII to the 150 Bishops of the Second Ecumenical Synod (page 520), he says:

> *The union is the Father, from whom and to whom those that follow (the Son and the Holy Spirit) are referred, not so that they are confused or mixed, but so that they cohere.*

In Oration XL on Holy Baptism (page 669), he says:

> *I desire to proclaim the Father greater, from whom the other two equal Persons have, both because they are equal and because they are: (for this is conceded to me by all). But I fear that the principal cause, lest I establish it as the cause of lesser things, and by such a prelation, I dishonor it. For the glory of the Father is not the depression of those that have their cause from Him. For this term 'greater' is not to be referred to nature, but to the cause.*

In Poem entitled Praise of Virginity (Volume II, page 43), he says:

> *But from the Begotten, another Son is not begotten, who would seize equal honor with the Father: for the Father remains entirely the Father, and this Son also remains entirely the Son, alone from the alone, with the Holy Spirit, (which proceeds from the supreme Father, yet similar in all things to the Father) joined in nature: for God is one and shines forth as one in threefold light.*

But when he says that the Father remains entirely the Father, it is spontaneously understood that no other subsistence can be the Father except the first; which would happen if the Son generated another Son. Again, when he says: "The Son remains entirely the Son," it is similarly understood that He alone is the Son, and not another; thus, He cannot generate another. For it is one thing to say in this sense: "The Son is entirely the Son," and another to say simply: "The Son is wholly the Son."

In Poem III on Principles, which is about the Holy Spirit (Volume II, page 163), he says:

> *Proceeding from the Father, endowed with divine strength.*

And in Poem of the Swans, Book of Himself Against the Envious (page 187), he says:

> *The Father is our root and source of good things, from Him is the Son, who is also the Word, the begotten light, the expressed seal, as it were, of the One without principle; from the same also the Spirit, of a nature without time, God, my God, and God, threefold unity.*

Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus

In Heresy LXXVI, which is of the Anomoeans, against Chapter XI of Aetius (Basel Latin edition, 1578, translated by Janus Cornarius, page 309), he says:

> *The Father is unbegotten and eternally begot the Only-Begotten, existing with a nature befitting Himself; because He alone begot one Only-Begotten, and alone as the Generator produced the Spirit on account of the Only-Begotten, who exists together with the Son, begotten without beginning.*

He clearly says here that the Father alone produced the Holy Spirit; therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

But the Jesuit Petavius, in the Greek-Latin edition of Epiphanius' works (Paris, 1622), when the Greek has the words monōi epi monogenei (only with respect to the Only-Begotten), translates this passage thus: "And produced the Spirit alone with the only Only-Begotten Generator." But indeed, epi constructed with the dative sometimes denotes "with"; yet the sense indicated by Petavius cannot hold here, namely, that God the Father and the Son together produced the Holy Spirit. For it implies saying: "The Father alone and the Son alone produced the Holy Spirit," as Epiphanius' words would have it according to Petavius. For if the Son alone produced the Holy Spirit, how did the Father also produce Him? Or if the Father alone produced the Holy Spirit, how did the Son also produce Him? But Epiphanius' words are consistent only if epi is expounded as "on account of," or "after," or "besides," or in some similar way, as is clear to all. Again, Epiphanius immediately adds to these words: "Who together with the Son, begotten without beginning, coexists." But if, when he says that the Father alone monōi epi monogenei produced the Holy Spirit, his sense was that the Son is equally the producer of the Holy Spirit, he would not have added these very words. For he would have already signified this with the words by which he called the Son the cause

of the Holy Spirit, just as he does not add this with respect to the Father. But furthermore, it is clear from other passages that Epiphanius believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

In Exposition of the Catholic Faith, appended to the heresies (Volume I, Petavius' edition, page 109), he says:

> *The Trinity, which always is and never receives addition, and has nothing in itself inferior, but is reduced to one unity and one principle of God and the Father.*

Therefore, both the Son and the Holy Spirit have one principle or producer at least, the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

At the beginning of Ancoratus, Number II (Volume II, page 7), he says:

> *Therefore, one God the Father and the only true God, and not according to the fabricated gods that some Greeks thought were gods, though they are not gods; but the only true God (namely, the Father): because the Only-Begotten is from the alone, and the Holy Spirit is alone.*

He clearly teaches that both the Only-Begotten generatively and the Holy Spirit processively are from the Father alone. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. The Jesuit Petavius, in his Latin translation, reads it thus: "Since the Only-Begotten alone from the alone and the Holy Spirit alone proceeded from Him." But these last words, "proceeded from Him," are not in the Greek. For Epiphanius stands by this at least: "because the Only-Begotten is alone from the alone, and the Holy Spirit is alone." Since even Petavius himself admits that the words "and the Holy Spirit alone" imply that the Holy Spirit is understood to be produced from the Father, just as the Son, it would be absurd if the words "and the Holy Spirit alone" did not also refer to "from the alone." For what sense is there in: "The Father alone is God, because the Son is from the alone and the Holy Spirit," unless both the Son and the Holy Spirit are referred to "the alone"? It is clear that Epiphanius' words have no other sense than this: because the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father alone.

In the same Ancoratus, Number IV (page 9), he says:

> *It suffices that one bears the entire connection of the Trinity, and to understand the Son, true God, and the true Spirit from the Father.*

If, therefore, the remaining subsistences subsist from one at least, namely, the Father, the Son is generated from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Here, Petavius translates: “It is enough that one Person, which is connected with the entire Trinity, must be attributed, and the Son, true God, and the true Spirit must be understood from the Father.” But if Epiphanius’ sense is that one Person at least, namely, the Father, is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

In Heresy LXV, which is of Paul of Samosata (after the beginning, Number III, Volume I, page 609), he says:

> *But he does not say only God (naming the Father), because the Father is the source; but only God, removing as far as he is concerned the divinity and subsistence of the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

The sense of these words, as is clear to all: therefore, sacred Scripture says the Father alone is God because He is the source of the Son and the Holy Spirit. But if, therefore, the Father alone is called God because He is the source, it follows that the Father alone is the source or producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

In Heresy LXXIV, which is of the Pneumatomachians (long before the end, Volume I, page 900), he says:

> *Since there are many spirits, this one is supreme above all spirits, as existing always from the Father, and not existing from others made from nothing. For there are many spirits, but one is the Holy Spirit, just as one is God, and one is the Only-Begotten Son of God, so also the Holy Spirit of God; but from God and in God. But the Only-Begotten Son is incomprehensible, and the Spirit is incomprehensible: but from God and not alien to the Father and the Son. Nor does He coalesce with the Father and the Son in some confusion, but the Trinity, always existing, is of the same essence, not of another essence from the divinity: for the divinity is not other than the essence, but is itself the divinity, and the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the same divinity.*

And with some intervening words (page 901):

The Spirit is neither a confused Spirit nor a brother to the Father and the Son: but the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father, so that the Trinity is inexpressible in the glorification of identity.

In Heresy LXXVI, which is of the Anomoeans (after the beginning, Number III, Volume I, page 915), he says:

We have the Only-Begotten Son of God, the same in divinity and dignity with the Father, and equal through a true image and likeness, not varying, but unchanged, as the Son truly and consubstantially begotten from the Father. So too with the Holy Spirit, because He proceeds from the Father, even if He is not begotten; because the Son is the Only-Begotten.

And with some intervening words (page 918):

If we seek a generator for the unbegotten, so as not to lose the true opinion about Christ, it will be found that there is no longer one Father, nor a Father of a Father, but infinite Fathers of Fathers, while they are sought; and there is no longer one God who always is, and had nothing before Himself, and always perseveres and remains, from whom the true Only-Begotten Son is begotten and is, and His Holy Spirit is from Him: but there will be, while they are sought, many gods.

In Heresy LXVII, which is of the Hieracites (Volume I, page 711), he says:

But concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, he does not assert according to Origen's opinion (namely, Hierax), but truly believes the Son to be begotten from the Father, and concerning the Holy Spirit, that He is from the Father.

At the end of Ancoratus (Volume II, page 123), he says:

The holy Creed holds inviolate: I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified together, who spoke through the prophets.

In Heresy LXXVI, which is of the Anomoeans, against Chapter II of Aetius, he says:

> *Neither did the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit receive from another nature, nor did He give participation of His own nature to another nature; nor according to some affection or emanation, so that the Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit were from Him (the Father), did He effect an alteration of nature: but as the preeminent unbegotten and uncreated nature always was from the beginning, so it always manifestly proclaimed the preeminent generation and the Holy Spirit to us, unchanged.*

And against Chapter VIII of Aetius (page 944), he says:

> *The Father is generative of the Only-Begotten alone, and not of another still after the one, and from Himself produced the Holy Spirit, and not another Spirit. But He is the Creator and maker of those things that were made by Him and always are. Therefore, not many sons are begotten, nor do many spirits proceed from Him, the same divinity always remaining in the Trinity, and having glorification.*

Against Chapter XIV of Aetius, Number II (page 954), he says:

> *We confess Him both as generator and creator free from passion: for He begot the Only-Begotten free from passion, and not suffering; and He emitted from Himself His Holy Spirit, not suffering division.*

And against Chapter XXII (page 967), he says:

> *We do not say that every essence is unbegotten, nor every one begotten from God: for He who begot the begotten from Himself and emitted from Himself His Holy Spirit, the Spirit of those things that are the Son's, a participant, did not beget all, but one, wherefore He is also the Only-Begotten; and He emitted one Holy Spirit from Himself.*

Again (page 969):

> *Not because He begot the Only-Begotten, nor because the Only-Begotten was begotten, nor because His Holy Spirit was emitted from Him, does it introduce passion to the holy Trinity.*

Again there:

The generation is not corporeal, but spirit from spirit, and the Son from the Father; similarly, the Holy Spirit is from Him, the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit of Christ, not created, not begotten, not a brother, not a father, not a grandson.

And against Chapter XXIII (page 970), he says:

There is indeed, according to another opinion, and not according to equality in all things, the unbegotten nature to the begotten Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit from it; not, however, as a cause, as that which is to that which is not. For He who is begotten is not from nothing, nor is He who begot non-existent, nor is the Holy Spirit from Him.

And against Chapter XXV (page 972), he says:

The Son does not have the name of made, nor of created, the angels and the faithful know Him begotten from the Father, and worship Him existing from Him who is, and the Holy Spirit from Him.

Against Chapter XXVII (page 974), he says:

For this reason, we do not worship all that is below the essence of God Himself; but it is fitting to give adoration only to the unbegotten Father, and to the Son who is from Him, and to the Holy Spirit who is from Him and through the Only-Begotten.

And then:

These are made and created: but the Father, uncreated, has the Son begotten from Him, and not created, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from Himself, and not made.

Again there:

Not from the fact that He was begotten does the Son suffer the cause of passion, nor the Holy Spirit because He proceeds from the Father: for neither is the Father, because He begot and produced from Himself, found under the cause of passion, but He created all other things after the Son and the Spirit.

Against Chapter XXVIII (page 975), he says:

Since the unbegotten nature is essence, and from itself and not from nothing, purely and without passion, begot the Only-Begotten without time and without beginning; and from itself produced the Holy Spirit, and not from nothing: clearly in the holy Catholic Church, the consubstantial Trinity is orthodoxly proclaimed.

Against Chapter XXIX (page 976), he says:

By itself, the essence is God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and not a diverse essence: for He is neither a brother, nor begotten afterward, but inexpressibly befitting the name of the Father is the consubstantial Son; and befitting the Father and the Son is the Holy Spirit from Him, through Him, and from those things that are His.

Against Chapter XXXII (page 980), he says:

In the unbegotten nature, God undoubtedly remains, who created and made all things from nothing: the Father, begetting from Himself the consubstantial Son, befitting His eternity, and the Spirit proceeding from Him, existing befitting His consubstantiality.

Again:

Neither is the essence distended nor contracted, but the Father, existing as spirit, truly begot the Son, and from Himself produced the Holy Spirit.

Against Chapter XXXIII (page 982), he says:

The Son is indeed from the ever-Generator Himself: wherefore the generation is from Him who is, and the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him; so that the Trinity is in one uncreated unity.

Against Chapter XXXV (page 984), he says:

The Holy Spirit exists eternally and is emitted from the Father, who also always exists with the Father, and does not begin to be from time.

Finally, against Chapter XXXVI (page 986), he says:

> *We do not call the generation a work, nor a creation, but a generation essentially begotten from the Father purely, consubstantial with the Father, and which is worshipped together; and the Holy Spirit from Him, and not alien, therefore also to be worshipped together.*

In Heresy LXXIII, which is of the Semiarians (Number XVII, page 863), he says:

> *The Easterners signify the Holy Spirit, whom sacred Scripture calls the Paraclete, as subsisting from the Father through the Son.*

In Heresy LIX, which is of the Cathars (after the middle, Number VIII, page 500), he says:

> *Peter warns us about the Holy Spirit, saying to Ananias and his wife: 'Why has Satan tempted you to lie to the Holy Spirit? You have not lied to man, but to God.' Because the Spirit is from God and not alien to God.*

Hence, in many places, he distinguishes the Son from the Father concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit; and he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, not from the Son, but at least receives from the Son, according to the voice of the Savior: "He will receive from Me."

In Heresy XLVIII, which is of the Phrygians or Montanists (near the end, page 414), he says:

> *There is one Holy Spirit, who divides to each as He wills; but He is called the Spirit of piety, and is said to be the Spirit of Christ, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, and receiving from the Son, not alien to the Father and the Son.*

In Heresy LVII, which is of the Noetians (before the middle, page 482), he says:

> *The Savior says about the Holy Spirit: 'The Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father; He will receive from Me': to show that the Father is in substance, the Son in substance, the Holy Spirit in substance.*

And a little later (page 483):

> *From the Father Himself, the Spirit also proceeds, existing in substance, and in truth the perfect Spirit of truth, who illuminates all things, who receives from the Son, the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit of Christ.*

In Heresy LXXII, which is of the Sabellians (after the beginning, page 314), he says:

> *Nor did the Holy Spirit ever call Himself Christ, but the Spirit of Christ, and who is given through Christ, and proceeds from the Father, and receives from the Son.*

And after some words (page 515):

> *The Spirit is always with the Father and the Son, not a brother to the Father, not begotten, not created, not a brother to the Son, not an offspring of the Father, but proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.*

And after the middle (page 518):

> *The Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son, always one God, first, and who after.*

In Heresy LXV, which is of Paul of Samosata (after the middle, page 613), he says:

> *The Savior says about the Holy Spirit: 'I will send you another Paraclete.' See the words: 'I will send,' and 'another,' and 'I'; to show that the Father is in substance and the Holy Spirit in substance. For He says about the Holy Spirit: 'He will glorify Me, because He will receive from Me'; and what does He say? 'He who proceeds from the Father and will receive from Me.'*

In Heresy LXVII, which is of the Hieracites (near the end, page 714), he says:

> *Even if we do not say the Spirit is begotten, because the Son is the Only-Begotten: yet Christ says the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from Me. Therefore, He who proceeds from the Father and receives from Me cannot be without the Father.*

In Heresy LXIX, which is of the Arians (page 741, long after the beginning), he says:

The Holy Spirit is not equal to other spirits: for He is the one Spirit of God, the Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

And a little later (page 742):

The Holy Spirit, as the Father and the Only-Begotten know, is neither begotten nor created, nor alien to the Father and the Son, but proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

And long before the middle (page 752):

The Holy Spirit is God from God, through whom we are called temples of the Spirit, if we have made the Spirit Himself dwell in us: for the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son, as the Only-Begotten Himself confesses.

Again, after some words (page 757):

All things were created by God; but the Son alone was begotten of God, and the Holy Spirit alone is procession from the Father and received from the Son. But all other things are created, and neither proceeded from the Father nor received from the Son, but from the fullness of the Son.

And some after the middle (page 774):

They dare to say that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, who is uncreated, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

Again, long after the middle (page 780):

How was the Spirit created, of whom testimony is given that He proceeds from the Father and receives from Me?

Finally (page 788):

The Savior says: 'Go, and I will send you the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and receives from Me.'

In Heresy LXXI, which is of the Photinians (near the end, page 833), he says:

> *The same sacred Scripture refutes you, where the Lord, confessing about the Holy Spirit, says 'Who proceeds from the Father, and shall receive of Mine.'*

In Heresy LXXIV, that of the Pneumatomachians, at the beginning (page 887):

> *The Spirit of the Lord is said to proceed from the Father and to receive from the Son.*

And much before the end (page 898):

> *If the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and, as the Lord says, 'shall receive of Mine,' just as no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father: so I dare to say that neither does anyone know the Holy Spirit, except the Father and the Son, from whom He proceeds, and from whom He receives.*

Again (page 900):

> *The Spirit indeed is the Holy Spirit, but the Son is the Son: yet the Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son, is third in nomenclature.*

In Heresy LXXVI, that of the Anomoeans, after the beginning (page 918):

> *It is necessary, however, to know one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.*

And after some things (page 921):

> *The Father, through the Son and His Holy Spirit, who proceeded from Him and received from the Son, made and established all things.*

And against the chapter of Aetius (page 945):

Through the one (Son), who is named neither according to grace nor by a bare appellation, but according to truth, the remaining sons were created by one Father, through one Son, with the Holy Spirit proceeding from Him and receiving from Him.

Against chapter XV (page 955):

The Begetter always remains, having the Begotten from Himself, and His perfect Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.

Against chapter XX (page 964):

The Father is truly true God, as the Son testifies, who saw the Father; and the Son is true light, who is known by the Father and testifies of Himself; and the Spirit of truth, this Spirit, who is not alien, but proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.

Against chapter XXVIII (page 975):

The Trinity always exists: the Father, the perfect Father; the Son, the perfect Son begotten from the Father; and the Holy Spirit, the perfect Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

Against chapter XXXI (page 979):

God is free from every cause, having all in Himself, not having the Son after times or through repentance, or His Holy Spirit, but fittingly for Him to always have the begotten Son, having the Son, and this only-begotten, always having the Father in Himself: He also has the Holy Spirit existing from the Father and receiving from the Son, always having Him.

And in the Ancoratus after the beginning, Vol. II (page 11):

The only-begotten is the one Son Himself; the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit Himself, the Spirit of God, always existing with the Father and the Son, not alien from God, but existing from God, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

And after a few words:

The Spirit indeed is the Holy Spirit, but the Son is the Son: but the Spirit proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

Again (page 12):

The Holy Spirit has a unique name, not having the name of the Son, nor the nomenclature of the Father; but the Holy Spirit is so called, not alien from the Father. For the Only-Begotten Himself says: 'The Spirit of the Father, who proceeds from the Father, and shall receive of Mine;' so that He may not be considered alien from the Father and the Son, but of the same essence, of the same Deity.

Again (page 16):

Nor does anyone know the Spirit, except the Father and the Son, from whom He proceeds, and from whom He receives.

Finally, there on page 124:

We believe in Him, who is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the perfect Spirit, the Spirit Paraclete, uncreated, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa

In his Tract on Common Notions after the beginning, Vol. I of the Parisian Greek-Latin edition of his works, year 1615 (page 917):

Again, all human persons do not have their being from the same person according to a continuous succession: but this one from that, and that one from this, leading to many and diverse beings, also causing causes. But in the Holy Trinity, the matter is not so: for there is one and the same person of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Therefore, we also properly affirm one cause of causes, one God: since He exists together with these.

This is also equally objected to the Latins by Gregory of Thessalonica some centuries ago in his apodictic treatise I, page 10 of the Greek London edition;

> *but what could be more explicit than those words? He teaches that from one and the same, or sole, person of the Father, both the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds: for men do not derive their origin from multiple persons, nor do the Son and the Holy Spirit receive their origin from multiple subsistences.*

In Book I against Eunomius, in the appendix of Gregory of Nyssa's works edited by Gretser in Paris, Greek and Latin (page 100):

> *The Father is without beginning, and unbegotten, and is always understood as Father. But from Him, in the same continuous series, indivisibly, the only-begotten Son is co-understood with the Father. And through Him, and with Him, before any thought of an intervening void or a destitute interval can creep into the mind, the Holy Spirit is apprehended as conjoined to both; nor is He inferior in existence or posterior to the Son, so that the only-begotten could ever be conceived without the Holy Spirit: but the Holy Spirit indeed has the cause of His existence from the God of the universe, just as the only-begotten light. But shining forth through that true light, He is separated by no interval or diversity of nature from the Father and the Son.*

By these words, He distinctly refers the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Father alone, and not to the Son simultaneously, though He adds that the Holy Spirit shines forth through Him at least.

What He means by "shining forth through the Son" He showed by the preceding words:

> *Through Him, He says, and with Him, before any thought of an intervening void or a destitute interval can creep into the mind, the Holy Spirit is apprehended as conjoined to both.*

Therefore, for Gregory of Nyssa, for the Holy Spirit to shine forth through the Son is the same as for the Holy Spirit to be conjoined to both the Father and the Son through the Son and with the Son. Namely, while the Son is begotten without any product, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, with the Son as a product; concerning which Nyssen's doctrine follows later.

He has similar things in the following (page 132):

> *We will not apprehend a ray from the sun, but another sun from the unbegotten sun in mind and thought, which exists simultaneously with the first through generation, equal to the first in all things, in beauty, power, splendor, magnitude, brightness, in short, in all other things that are in the sun. And again we will establish another such light in the aforementioned manner, not separated by any temporal interval from the begotten light; but shining forth through Him indeed, but receiving the principle of its hypostasis from the primal light.*

Thus, again, He attributes the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Father alone, and adds that the Holy Spirit at least shines forth through the Son. For it is clear to anyone that in the parallel sayings of Gregory of Nyssa, “to shine forth through the Son” and “to have existence from the Father” do not signify the same thing. For He distinguishes these two: “Through Him,” He says, “the Son shines forth, but is produced from the Father; these must therefore be different.”

And so also in the preceding pages (78):

> *The Spirit is conjoined to the Father, inasmuch as both are uncreated. Again, He is distinguished from Him, because He is not the Father, as the Father is. But He is conjoined to the Son, both inasmuch as both are uncreated, and inasmuch as both have the cause of their existence from the God of the universe; He is distinguished from Him by His own property, that He is not produced from the Father as only-begotten, and that He is manifested through the Son Himself.*

To show how the Holy Spirit is distinguished from the Son, He says that He is produced by the Father, but not generatively; but He by no means adds that He is also distinguished from the Son by procession from the Son, but only adds that He is manifested through the Son, while He has the internal cause of existence from the Father. Therefore, He believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

You will object, however: Gregory of Nyssa continues:

> *But again, since creation exists through the Son; lest anyone should think that the Spirit has some commonality with it, from the fact that He is manifested through the Son: He is distinguished from creation by immutability and immobility.*

You will say, therefore: “If being manifested through the Son did not imply a cause, He would not add, ‘since creation also is produced through the Son;’ lest anyone should think that the Holy Spirit has commonality with creation, as if He were also creation, from the fact that He is manifested through the Son.” He distinguishes creatures from the Holy Spirit at least by the properties of the divine nature. Thus tacitly conceding that both creation and the Holy Spirit are indeed produced through the Son, yet the Holy Spirit is distinguished from creatures. But that Gregory of Nyssa does not imply a cause when He says that the Holy Spirit shines forth or is manifested through the Son, has just been shown. Nor were Nyssen’s words: “since creation also is produced through the Son,” but only: “since creation is produced through the Son.” Nor, furthermore, does He add from His own mind, but from that of the heretics, that the Holy Spirit could be seen as a creature, since He is manifested through the Son: because creation also exists through the Son. Therefore, for Gregory to satisfy this objection of the heretics, it was not necessary for Him to show that the phrase “manifested through the Son” did not signify a cause; but in any way it was sufficient to assert that the Holy Spirit is not a creature, since, for example, He is immutable, immobile. For the heretic might have thought that the Holy Spirit had something in common with creation, from the fact that the Holy Spirit is manifested through the Son, and creation exists through the Son. If finally He had acceded to the opinion of the Latins, who explain “manifested through the Son” as concerning the cause: He would certainly have given this reason for the diversity, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the subsistence of the Son, while creatures are produced from nothing through the Son; for thus, by two words equally, He would have solved that whole argument. Therefore, nothing could be equally objected to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone.

In Book I, “That there are not three Gods,” near the end, Vol. II of the works (page 459):

> *We indeed confess that the divine nature is free from difference or variation; we do not deny the difference that is considered concerning cause and effect, by which alone we perceive one to be distinguished from the other: namely, because we believe that one is the cause, and the other is from the cause, and that which is from the cause. Again, we consider another difference: for one is immediately from the first;*

> *the other through that which is immediately from the first: so that the property of the only-begotten may remain without ambiguity in the Son, and it may not be doubted that the Spirit is from the Father, with the Son intervening as a medium, both preserving His own property of being only-begotten, and not keeping the Spirit from His natural relation to the Father.*

He teaches that there is no other difference between the subsistences than by reason of cause and effect; and between the effects, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit. Again, He shows this to be the difference, that the Son is begotten from the Father without any intervening product; the Holy Spirit indeed from the Father, but through the Son: lest, namely, if both the Son and the Holy Spirit were similarly from the Father, both should be believed to be begotten from the Father. When therefore He had said that the Holy Spirit is from the Father through the Son, explaining this, He adds below: “the Son, who intervenes as a medium, not keeping the Spirit from His natural relation to the Father:” thus teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son in no other way than because the Spirit, produced by the Father, with the Son already begotten, is the Holy Spirit from the Father. But while Nyssen, by these words, explicitly wants to show how the subsistences differ from each other by reason of cause and effect: it is clear from this alone that He believed the Father alone to be the producer of the Holy Spirit. For He teaches that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced from the Father alone, the difference being only that the Son is produced without any intervening factor, while the Holy Spirit is produced with the Son intervening, or as a product, and thus exists from the Father through the Son. If therefore this is the only difference between the origin of the Son and the Holy Spirit: then not the Son, but the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit. But if He had adhered to the Latin opinion, He would certainly have taught that the Holy Spirit also has existence from the Son; since He is here explicitly proposing to teach the origin of the persons, and by what alone the subsistences differ from each other. In this sense, furthermore, He places the difference of the subsistences in order alone.

In Book I against Eunomius, in the appendix of Nyssen’s works, previously cited edition (page 164):

> *Furthermore, the same must be said by us concerning the Holy Spirit, whose difference is established in order alone. For just as the Son is conjoined to the Father, and His having being from Him does not make Him posterior in existence: so again, the Holy Spirit is conjoined with the only-begotten, with the Son (the cause) being mentally priorly understood as subsisting in the mind (Filio) by reason of the cause. For temporal intervals have no place in that life which precedes all eternity, so that, if the reason of the cause is removed, the Holy Trinity differs in no respect from itself.*

Petavius, Book VII on the Trinity, Chapter III. Cichovius, throughout, Cichovius, question VI (page 54). You will say: But Nyssen said that there is no other difference in the persons than that one is cause and the other is from the cause. Therefore, the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit; for the Holy Spirit did not produce the Son. But Nyssen's words were these:

> *We do not deny the difference that is considered concerning cause and effect, by which alone we perceive one to be distinguished from the other: namely, because we believe that one is the cause, and the other is from the cause, and that which is from the cause. Again, we consider another difference: for one is immediately from the first; the other through that which is immediately from the first.*

Thus, therefore, He does not simply teach that in divine things alone one differs from the other because one is cause and the other is effect; but at the same time He shows that a difference concerning the effect must again be considered: while one of the effects is immediately from the first, the other through that which is immediately from the first. The meaning of Nyssen's words, therefore, when He says that one is distinguished from the other by the sole difference concerning cause and effect, is this: that one is cause, the other is immediately from the first, the other from the first through that which is immediately from the first.

You will say, furthermore: how then do the Orientals say that the Holy Spirit is immediately from the Father alone, when Nyssen here expressly acknowledges mediation? How also would the Son and the Holy Spirit be distinguished by disparate relations, when Nyssen here teaches that the persons are distinguished by the sole difference of cause and effect? How finally would the "dia" (through) signify "with," when Nyssen here testifies that the "dia" signifies "mediation," which it certainly does not

signify “with”? But, as for the first point, when the Orientals teach that the Holy Spirit is immediately produced from the Father, they understand it in terms of cause, namely, that just as the Son is begotten from the Father alone, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds; but not in terms of order, in which the Holy Spirit is from the Father alone. Now Nyssen acknowledges mediation at least in terms of order, as has been shown above from His own words: namely, while the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, with the Son begotten. Furthermore, Nyssen equally implies that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ by disparate relations, that is, by generation and procession, while He teaches that the subsistences are distinguished at least by the difference of cause and effect. For the meaning of these words is not that one is always cause, and the other is effect, as has been shown before; but He equally teaches that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ from each other at least by reason of the effect, while He adds that another difference of the effect is considered, while one is immediately from the first, the other through that which is immediately from the first, as we have seen His words above. But from the fact that the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, one is immediately from the Father, the other produced from the Father through the Son. Finally, when the Orientals say: “the Holy Spirit produced from the Father with the Son,” their meaning is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, with the Son produced. For the Oriental Church always observes this order; but that mediation, which Nyssen acknowledges, does not imply more, as we have seen above.

Cichovius, question VII (page 84): You will persist, moreover:

> *He who proceeds not immediately from the first, but mediately, or through him who is from the first, does not proceed from the Father alone; but the Holy Spirit, etc. Therefore, etc.*

But the solution to this argument is self-evident from what has been said before. For if you understand the major premise in terms of cause, then the minor premise is certainly false: for the Holy Spirit is not mediately from the Father in terms of cause. But if you understand it in terms of the order in which someone is from a cause: granting the minor, the major itself is most false, so that, with the major thus distinguished, it is clear to anyone that nothing can be inferred from it. From the Book of the Same, Chapter XI:

Indeed, Damascene, while in Book I of On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter XI, states:

> *We acknowledge one God in the sole properties of paternity, filiation, and procession, and we recognize a distinction according to the relation of cause and caused.*

He shows that the properties of paternity, filiation, and procession are distinctive of the divine persons, not merely conceptual but according to cause and caused. Thus, where the relation of cause and caused does not apply, no real distinction is found. In this sense, the Fathers teach that the subsistences differ according to the relation of cause and caused, as has been shown by the example of Nyssen. Moreover, the meaning of Damascene's cited words is that the subsistences differ according to the relation of cause and caused, since one is the Father who generates, another the Son who is generated, and another who proceeds—properties he had enumerated in the immediately preceding text. That this is Damascene's meaning is abundantly clear from his words in Book III of On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter V, where he says:

> *We acknowledge the difference of the hypostases in the three properties alone: in the causal and paternal, the caused and filial, and the caused and processive.*

Furthermore, the cited words of Damascene were quoted incompletely, for they read in full:

> *And according to cause and caused, and the perfection of subsistence, that is, the mode of existence, we understand the difference.*

Therefore, he teaches that the subsistences differ by paternity, filiation, and procession in such a way that these properties are diverse modes of existence. Indeed, filiation is the mode of existence of the Son, and procession is the mode of existence of the Holy Spirit, as the entire Eastern Church has always taught, and as Damascene himself states in Book I of On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter X. Simply put, according to Damascene, the Holy Spirit and the Son differ by filiation and procession. And in this sense, he said in the cited words that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ according to the caused, for if the subsistences, while

differing in their mode of existence, also differ according to cause and caused, as Damascene's words state, and the modes of existence of the Holy Spirit and the Son are procession and filiation, it necessarily follows that the Son and the Holy Spirit, insofar as they differ by filiation and procession, differ according to the caused.

Cichovius, in his work:

It is therefore clear from this that when the Fathers teach that the subsistences differ according to cause and caused, their intention is by no means that one subsistence must always be the cause and another the caused. Rather, the Father is the cause, the Son is caused generatively, and the Holy Spirit is caused processively.

Petavius, Book VII on the Trinity, and Cichovius, Question VI (page 54):

Lastly, you may object, citing the words we have praised from Book I against Eunomius by Nyssen:

> *Just as the Son is united with the Father, such that although He has His being from Him, He does not exist subsequently, so too the Holy Spirit is united with the Only-Begotten.*

Therefore, just as the Son is united with the Father for no other reason than that He receives His being from Him, so too the Holy Spirit is united with the Son for the same reason. However, the meaning of Nyssen's words is quite different. His aim was to show that the Holy Spirit has always coexisted with the Son, and that the Son is not temporally prior to the Holy Spirit, as he adds:

> *For temporal intervals have no place in that life which precedes all ages.*

Since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son is produced from the Father, which he signifies with the words, "In the sole concept of the mind, according to the relation of cause, the person of the Holy Spirit is understood after the Son," he seeks to show that this does not prevent the Holy Spirit from having always coexisted with the Son. He brings forth the example of the Son, who is always united with the Father, although He has the cause of His existence from the Father. This, then, is Nyssen's meaning. By no means does he cite these words to show the

reason why the Son is united with the Father in order to infer that the Holy Spirit is similarly united with the Son for the same reason. Rather, as stated, he cites them to show that just as the Son's being generated from the Father does not prevent Him from being always united with the Father, so too the Holy Spirit's being produced after the generated Son does not prevent the Holy Spirit from being understood as always coexisting with the Son. Therefore, the words, "So too the Holy Spirit is united with the Only-Begotten," should not be referred to the cause and reason by which the Son is united with the Father, but rather to what he had just said about the Son being united with the Father, as is clearly evident from this. Finally, what they inferred: "Therefore, just as the Son is united with the Father for no other reason than that He receives His being from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit is united with the Son for the same reason," could, in their sense, be entirely conceded to them: namely, that the Holy Spirit is united with the Son for the same reason that the Son is united with the Father, because just as the Son is from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. The resolution of what they further object from these words of Nyssen is clear from the genuine sense of those words given above.

Homily III on the Lord's Prayer

The property of the Father is to be without cause; this is not seen in the Son and the Spirit. For the Son came forth from the Father, as Scripture says, and the Spirit proceeds from God and the Father. However, just as being without cause, which is proper to the Father alone, cannot be attributed to the Son and the Holy Spirit, so too, conversely, being from a cause, which is proper to the Son and the Spirit, cannot be conceived of the Father. But since it is common to the Son and the Spirit not to be unbegotten, lest any confusion arise concerning the subject, one can again find an unmixed difference in their properties, so that what is common is preserved, and what is proper is not confused. For the Only-Begotten Son is called by sacred Scripture as being from the Father, and thus far the discourse establishes His property. But the Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and bears witness to being of the Son. For, as it is said, "If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him." Therefore, the Spirit, being from God, is also the Spirit of Christ.

But although the Son is from God, He neither is nor is called the Spirit of the Holy Spirit, nor is this relative designation reciprocal, such that, according to a similar discourse, it could be reciprocated by resolution, so that as we say the Spirit of Christ, we might also call Christ the Spirit of the Holy Spirit. First, he says that it is proper to the Father not to be from a cause, and hence this does not apply to the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are from a cause. To give the reason for this, he adds: because the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father. Therefore, when he seeks to show what the cause of the Holy Spirit is, he names only the Father, just as he does for the Son. It is clear, then, that he believed the Father alone to be the producer of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Again, when showing how the Holy Spirit and the Son differ from one another by their mutual relations, while agreeing in that both are from the cause, the Father, and neither is unbegotten, he teaches that they differ only in this: that although both are from the Father, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, but the Son is by no means the Spirit of the Holy Spirit, since the term “Son,” like the term “Spirit,” cannot be reciprocated. Here, surely, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son, he would necessarily have added this difference between the Holy Spirit and the Son: that the Son is from the Father alone, while the Holy Spirit is from both the Father and the Son.

Beccus, from whom we cited this passage, in his collection of opinions on the procession of the Holy Spirit, among the golden theological works, as Peter Arcudius calls them, published in Rome in 1630, page 102:

> *In place of the words, “The Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and bears witness to being of the Son,” he reads: “The Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and bears witness to being from the Son.”*

But we will show in a treatise on corruptions that these words of Gregory of Nyssa were read corruptly, so that dissenters have no objection to raise. For Nyssen explicitly says here that the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished by this: that the Son is from the Father alone up to that point, but the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son. Hence, this homily was suppressed by the Easterners. For the passage is read corruptly, and Nyssen, as Beccus and others cite his words, does not say that the Son is only from the Father alone, such that it would be

understood that the Holy Spirit is not likewise from the Father alone. For Nyssen's words were:

> *For the Only-Begotten Son is called by sacred Scripture as being from the Father, and thus far the discourse establishes His property.*

Thus, the phrase "up to that point" is joined with the following words, "the discourse establishes His property," and not with the preceding, "The Only-Begotten Son is from the Father." Nyssen's meaning is that sacred Scripture says the Son is from the Father, but the discourse of Scripture stops there and does not also call the Son the Spirit of the Holy Spirit, just as sacred Scripture says the Holy Spirit is from the Father and bears witness to being of the Son. Nor can it be said that this homily of Nyssen was suppressed by the Easterners, for it has not yet been published in Latin by the public press. For how many manuscripts exist in the East that the Latin world does not know? Or how could it be affirmed that it is nowhere found, even among the manuscripts of Latin libraries, when many, indeed very many, manuscripts are held in them that have not yet been published? Finally, that this homily is nowhere found—does it necessarily follow that it was suppressed by design? Have not many other writings of the Fathers also perished? Rather, we might more justly accuse the Latins of the same crime, who, when many writings of their own existed for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, suppressed all these or still suppress them, and who similarly so often corrupted the holy Fathers where the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone was explicitly asserted. But of this elsewhere.

Gregory of Nyssa: Further Writings

In his Book on What It Means to Be in the Image and Likeness of God, among various works of Gregory of Nyssa, published in Ingolstadt in 1590 by Fronto Ducaeus, page 35:

> *And do not say further, nor curiously inquire into these words: If the Trinity is God, how is it one? If it is one, as is said, how is it a Trinity? And if the Son is the Word, how can it be that the offspring lacks a beginning no less than the generator? And if the Holy Spirit is from the Father, how is He not begotten but proceeding? Or which did the*

> *Father produce first, the Son or the Holy Spirit? If both simultaneously, is there a brotherhood and a twin birth in the Trinity? But in what way do we discern the diversity of generation and procession in incorporeal, immobile, and immutable beings?*

From this, it is clear that at least from the Father, and not simultaneously from the Son, the Holy Spirit was believed to proceed by the Catholic Church of that age. For where Nyssen shows that subtle arguments should not be woven nor everything inquired into concerning the production of the Holy Spirit, and thus proposes various questions on this matter, he never mentions the Son in connection with the production of the Holy Spirit, but only the Father. Therefore, it is clear that Christians at that time did not join the Son to the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, how could he have asked whether the Father produced the Holy Spirit before the Son if he had believed the Holy Spirit to be from the Son?

In his Oration on Saint Stephen, near the end, Volume I of his works, page 796:

> *Through the light of the Father, that is, through the Holy Spirit proceeding thence, the unbegotten light is beheld.*

Finally, in his Book on the Trinity against the Jews, explaining those words of David: “By the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and by the Spirit of His mouth their power,” Volume I, page 993:

> *The Spirit of His mouth is the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father.*

Caesarius, Brother of Gregory the Theologian

In Dialogue I, shortly after the beginning, Volume I of the Greek Fathers, page 549:

> *The Son and the Holy Spirit did not come forth from the Father in a human manner by division, section, or dimension, but as rivers from a fountain, which are from Him, in Him, and with Him; and as rays from the sun, which are in Him, with Him, and from Him; and as flame and light from fire, which are with it and from it.*

And a little later:

> *The divine and most holy Spirit, not begotten indeed, but proceeding and produced from the cause, the Father.*

And a little further, page 550:

> *The Father begot the Son and produced the Spirit in a manner according to nature ineffable, without any time, before all ages.*

Thus, so often when Caesarius seeks to explain from whom and how the Holy Spirit is produced, he mentions only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, just as in the generation of the Son. Therefore, he neither knew nor believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son.

Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium

Among his sentences and excerpts, page 139, of the Paris Greek-Latin edition of his works, 1644:

> *I say that the Son is begotten without time and beginning, always coexisting with the Father as God; but I believe the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from God the Father, and I do not call the procession of the Spirit generation.*

And then, page 142:

> *Truly, the grace of the Paraclete and author of life! That Spirit of truth, I say, whom you said proceeds from the Father without time. I seek that most true divine Spirit of yours, that untainted grace, the blessed procession of the Father, uncreated, desirable, and again eternal with the Son and God the Father without beginning.*

The faith of Amphilochius would be clearer if his book on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which Jerome testifies he wrote in his Book on Ecclesiastical Writers, were extant.

Saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople

In his Homily on the Holy Spirit, Volume VI of the Paris-Heidelberg Greek-Latin edition of his works, page 205:

> *Just as He said, "The Spirit of God," and Scripture added, "Who is from God," so too it is said, "The Spirit of the Father"; and lest you think this is said according to a property, the Savior confirms: "When the Paraclete comes, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father." There, "from God"; here, "from the Father." What He had attributed to Himself, "I came forth from the Father," He also ascribes to the Holy Spirit: "Who proceeds from the Father." Therefore, the Spirit is both from God and the Spirit of the Father and proceeds from the Father. What does "proceeds" mean? He did not say, "is begotten": for what is not written, we must not think. The Son is generated from the Father, the Spirit proceeds from the Father. What power does the name "proceeds" have? So that Scripture might pass over the name of generation, lest you call the Son the Holy Spirit, it says the Holy Spirit, "who proceeds from the Father." It presents Him as proceeding, like water gushing from a fountain, according to what was said of paradise: "A river went forth from Eden," it proceeds and gushes. The Father is called the fountain of living water according to the prophet Jeremiah, who says: "Let the heavens be astonished at this, and let the earth tremble greatly: for my people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water." Defining the Father as the fountain of living water, it presents the living water proceeding from the fountain of life: "who proceeds from the Father." What proceeds? The Holy Spirit. How? As water from a fountain. Therefore, if the Evangelist John, declaring the Holy Spirit, called Him living water, and the Father says, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water," the Father is the fountain of the Holy Spirit, and hence He proceeds from the Father. It is said, therefore (let me repeat), the Spirit of God, and the Spirit from God, the Spirit of the Father, and the Spirit who is from the Father, the Spirit of the Lord (the Spirit of God, the Spirit from God, the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit who proceeds from the Father, the Spirit of the Lord), the Spirit of the Son.*

Besides the fact that, where he treats so extensively of the procession of the Holy Spirit, he mentions only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, which alone argues that Saint Chrysostom was unaware of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, he asks: Who is the fountain? What is the cause of the Holy Spirit? He responds: Scripture has defined the Father as the one from whom He proceeds. Therefore, it is clear from this that Saint Chrysostom believed the Father alone to be the producer of the Holy Spirit.

In his Homily on the Mystery of Baptism, Volume V of his works, at least in the Greek edition published by Henry Savile in Eton, England, 1612, page 684:

> *But since the Savior called the Holy Spirit living water, why did He call Him living water? So that you might learn that He is from the fountain of God. The living water is the Holy Spirit, the fountain of living water is God; thus, so that you might learn the fountain, you may know whence the living water comes. "Rivers of living water will flow from his heart." This water He spoke of the Holy Spirit, which the faithful were to receive. If the living water is the Spirit, let us seek its fountain. Who is the fountain? Jeremiah says: "Thus says the Lord: Let the heavens be astonished, and let the earth tremble, for my people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water." You see the fountain of water, God; the living water, the Holy Spirit. The fountain of living water is the Father; the river coming from the fountain is the Son; the water of the river is the Holy Spirit: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water." The prophet Isaiah also says of the Son: "And the Lord will appear, like a clear river in a thirsty way." You see the fountain, the river, the living water.*

Likewise, he seeks here to inquire who is the fountain or cause of the Holy Spirit. He responds that it is the Father, and he does not add the Son: therefore, he believed the Father alone to be the fountain or producer of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, if you ask a Latin or anyone else who believes the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, from whom does the Holy Spirit proceed? He will never name the Father alone but will always respond that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

In his Sermon on the Trinity, well before the end, Volume VI of the cited Greek-Latin edition of his works, page 200:

> *Believe that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, and the Spirit is also consubstantial. For if He proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, the Spirit is not different from the essence of God.*

In his Homily I on the Incomprehensible Nature of God, Volume I of the Greek-Latin edition, page 332:

> *I know that God begot the Son, but how, I do not know. I know that the Spirit is from Him, but how He is from Him, I do not know.*

In his Homily II on the Epistle to the Ephesians, Chapter I, among the commentary of Saint Chrysostom on the Epistles of Paul, published in Heidelberg in Greek and Latin, 1603, page 1041:

> *God gave His Son as a pledge of peace and covenant, and the Holy Spirit, who is from Him.*

In his Sermon against Heretics, near the middle, Volume V of the Paris Latin edition of Chrysostom's works, 1588, column 1029:

> *Macedonius refused to worship the Spirit, who proceeds ineffably from the Father.*

Finally, in his Homily on Psalm 115, Volume I of the cited Latin edition, column 977:

> *The Macedonians did not believe that the Holy Spirit, who proceeds ineffably from the Father, is God.*

Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais

In Hymn II, page 316, of the Paris Greek-Latin edition of his works, 1630:

> *One fountain, one root,*
> *And a threefold form shone forth.*
> *Where the depth of the Father is,*
> *There too is the radiant Son,*
> *The eternal bud of the heart,*
> *Wisdom, the author of the world;*
> *And the uniform light*
> *Of the sacred breath shone forth.*
> *One fountain, one root*
> *Gave the fullness of goods,*
> *And a supersubstantial offspring*
> *Fervent with generative motions:*
> *Even the shining creators*
> *Of the wondrous splendors of the blessed.*

He says that the one fountain and root is the Father, namely of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as he then explains. Therefore, the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit, just as of the Son.

In Hymn I, page 314:

He indeed, the principle arising from Himself,
The author and Father of beings,
Never created, seated
Above the lofty summit of heaven,
Bathed in the splendor of eternity,
The steadfast God resides.
The holy unity of unities,
The first monad of monads,
The simplicity of summits,
Which united and brought forth
With a supersubstantial birth.
Whence, flowing forth
Through the primordial form,
The unity, poured out in an ineffable manner,
Attained a threefold power.
But the supersubstantial fountain
Is crowned with the beauty of its offspring,
Which flowed from the center
And revolve around the center.

From the Fifth Century: Saint Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria

In his Confession on the Trinity, published by Johannes Vegelinus in Augsburg in Greek and Latin from the Augsburg Library, 1608, together with the Book on the Trinity ascribed to the same Cyril, page 119:

Of those three subsistences, the one that is entirely without principle is called the Father. Of the other two, this one is the Son, that one is the Holy Spirit, both emanating from the Father, but not in the same way. For the Son is generated; the Holy Spirit proceeds, or rather is generated and proceeds simultaneously. For it is not that, as the Son came forth from the Father generatively, so too the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, such that we posit a first, a second, and a third. Away with such blasphemy and the Greek plurality of gods! For in these, there are Heaven, Saturn, Jupiter—fathers, sons, and grandsons. For there is one cause and connection for the two persons, the Father, to whom they are referred, who are from Him.

Likewise, Gregory of Thessalonica, in his first apodictic oration, page 20 of the Greek London edition, objected to the Latins some centuries later. Therefore, Cyril explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. He condemns this doctrine as blasphemy, arguing that when the Son is posited as the cause of the Holy Spirit, and the Father as the generator of the Son, two principles, two causes, are introduced; and thus, there would not be one God but many. Indeed, he does not condemn in these exact words those who say the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son together; but at least those who posit the Father as the producer of the Son and the Son as the producer of the Holy Spirit. Yet, it is clear to anyone that his meaning is that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son in any way. For if He proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, surely the Father alone, and not the Son together, is the producer of the Holy Spirit. But Cyril's words were: "The Son and the Holy Spirit emanated from the Father; for the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son." And when giving the reason why the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, it suffices to say: "For there is one cause for these two persons, the Father." Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son together.

In his response to Theodoret's refutation of his ninth anathema, Volume VI of his works, published in Paris in Greek and Latin, 1638, page 229:

> *He was and is His Spirit, just as certainly He is the Father's, and this the divine Paul explains to us quite well. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, according to the voice of the Savior, but He is not alien to the Son; for He has all things with the Father, and this He Himself taught, speaking of the Holy Spirit: "All things that the Father has are mine; therefore, I said to you, He will take from what is mine and announce it to you."*

When Nestorius, introducing two persons of the Savior, was sowing the seeds of his heresy, Cyril wrote twelve anathemas against him. In the ninth, he condemned those who say the Spirit is not proper to the Son but alien to the Son. Theodoret, critiquing these twelve anathemas, where he addresses these words of Cyril, says: "If where Cyril says, 'The Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son but proper to Him,' his meaning is that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son and proceeds from the Father, he teaches well. But if his meaning is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from

the Son, he teaches impiously and blasphemously. For the Son of God taught with the Apostle that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father." We will see Theodoret's exact words below. Therefore, Cyril, refuting the objections Theodoret had written against his twelve anathemas, when he comes to this objection of Theodoret, repeats the cited words: namely, that the Holy Spirit indeed proceeds entirely from the Father, but is proper to the Son according to sacred Scripture and not alien to Him. Thus, Cyril proposes two senses of the proposition he asserted: "The Holy Spirit is proper to the Son," which Theodoret had suggested: either He is called proper to the Son because He proceeds from the Father and is at least consubstantial with the Son, or because He proceeds from the Son. Cyril, in the cited words, shows that he follows only the former sense. For he responds: "Indeed, the Holy Spirit proceeds entirely from the Father according to the voice of the Savior, yet He is not alien to the Son." Therefore, he believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son together. Moreover, how, if he had believed the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, when Theodoret had condemned this doctrine as blasphemy and impiety, would he not have shown how gravely Theodoret erred in daring to condemn a truth, a Catholic dogma of the Catholic Church, as blasphemy and impiety? Furthermore, when Theodoret said: "If he calls the Holy Spirit proper to the Son because He proceeds from the Father, he teaches well; but if because He proceeds from the Son, Cyril teaches badly," for the Son of God said that He proceeds from the Father, Cyril responds: "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the voice of the Savior, the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son but proper to Him." By this response, he shows that Theodoret was correct regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. For when Theodoret, from the words of the Savior, had shown that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son but from the Father, Cyril responds: "Indeed, the Holy Spirit proceeds entirely from the Father according to the voice of the Savior, yet He is not alien to the Son"; thus, he approves Theodoret's entire argument and what he inferred from it. Finally, this proposition, "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He is not alien to the Son," means nothing other than: "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, the Spirit is not alien to the Son." You may say first that Cyril overlooked Theodoret's bad response because the issue at hand was not the

procession of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, it sufficed for Cyril to show in his dispute against Nestorius, in which he was then engaged, that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son but proper to Him. But do I not respond to all the words of a dissenter if another somewhere proposes a most grievous heresy or condemns a Catholic dogma as impiety and blasphemy, and I do not similarly note this other heresy and infamy? Since, therefore, this was Cyril's purpose in that refutation of Theodoret, who, I ask, would have so carelessly neglected to defend or at least assert a Catholic dogma of the Catholic Church condemned as impiety and blasphemy? Indeed, how could he, when Theodoret had condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as blasphemy and impiety, have wished to appear to agree with Theodoret in his response rather than oppose him, when he repeats verbatim the former sense of this proposition, "The Holy Spirit is proper to the Son," praised by Theodoret, and not the latter? Furthermore, Cyril's purpose was indeed to defend that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son but proper to Him; but it is false that this does not pertain to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The sense of the proposition pertains to the treatment of the proposition itself; but Theodoret had objected to Cyril concerning the sense of this proposition, and Cyril similarly in his response gives his opinion on the sense of this proposition: how, therefore, would the procession of the Holy Spirit not have come under consideration in this dispute between Cyril and Theodoret? Others, however, quite differently, have claimed that Cyril, in this response, entirely affirmed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, when he explicitly adds: "The Son has all things of the Father." But if we look at Cyril's own words, he does not cite this proposition, "The Son has all things of the Father," to show that the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Son as from the Father; but at least to show that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son. For he was saying: "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He is not alien to the Son, for the Son has all things of the Father." Nor should we consider what the Latins draw from these words of the Savior; but we must see for what purpose and to what conclusion Cyril brought forth this proposition. It is also false that from the fact that the Son has all things of the Father, it follows in any way that the Holy Spirit is also produced by the Son. But of this elsewhere. You may further say: It is certainly a constant dogma of the Eastern Church that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father

through the Son. But Theodoret, in the cited words, denies that the Holy Spirit exists not only from the Son but even through the Son. If, therefore, Cyril, because he did not blame Theodoret regarding his doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit, or rather agreed with him, believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son, it would equally follow that Cyril affirmed, indeed held as a Catholic dogma, that the Holy Spirit does not proceed through the Son, which is absurd. Cyril, in this place, with Theodoret, entirely denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son. But by this, he is by no means contrary to the Catholic dogma by which the Holy Spirit is believed to proceed from the Father through the Son. For when Theodoret denies that the Holy Spirit has existence from the Son or through the Son, his meaning is that the Spirit proceeds neither from the Son as a cause or principle nor through the Son as a cause or principle. For Theodoret never suspected that Cyril held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son together, but that He at least has existence from the Son; as Theodoret himself says in his Letter to the Monasteries, Cyril denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father but says He is from the Son, as we will see his words below. Therefore, Theodoret condemns the dogma that teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father but from the Son or through the Son; and thus, what follows from this, he condemns those who say the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son alone or through the Son alone. But since, if the Holy Spirit exists not from the Father but from the Son alone or through the Son alone, the Holy Spirit would exist from the Son as a cause or through the Son as a cause, it is clear that this dogma of Theodoret is by no means opposed to the Catholic dogma of the Church by which the Holy Spirit is believed to proceed from the Father through the Son. For the sense of this dogma is not that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son as a cause, but at least that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son is generated. But of this elsewhere. What else the Latins have objected concerning this passage of Cyril, we will resolve in their appropriate place.

Cichovius: On Cyril and Theodoret

Cichovius, page 316, Tribunal:

At least let us note that it is absurd to claim that the dogma denying

> *that the Holy Spirit has subsistence through the Son was condemned among the Nestorians, and that this is clear from Cyril citing and refuting Theodoret's anathemas. We have seen above Cyril's own words that he addresses to those of Theodoret. Did he, even with a single word, blame Theodoret for denying that the Holy Spirit has existence either from the Son or through the Son? Who, therefore, would not marvel at the audacity of a man so boldly lying? It is equally absurd when he adds that Cyril refuted Theodoret's anathemas; for Theodoret did not write any anathemas, but rather refuted Cyril's anathemas, against which Cyril then defends his anathemas, in whose defense he responds to Theodoret concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

But let us proceed.

Similar to what we just cited, from the defense of the ninth anathema, Cyril has throughout, in his Letter to John, Bishop of Antioch, Volume V of his works, Part II, page 108:

> *It was not they who were speaking, but the Spirit of God and the Father, who indeed proceeds from Him, but is not alien to the Son according to the reason of essence.*

He seeks to show that despite the fact that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, the Holy Spirit is not alien to the Son. How, then, would he have shown that these do not oppose each other unless he had simultaneously presupposed that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son? Moreover, he uses disjunctive particles: "He indeed proceeds from the Father," he says, "but is not alien to the Son"; or, which is the same: "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him, He is not alien to the Son." These surely mean the same as if it had been said: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and does not proceed from the Son"; or, "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, He is not alien to the Son." He further adds: "But He is not alien to the Son according to the reason of essence"; although He proceeds from the Father. Therefore, according to consubstantiality, the Holy Spirit is at least united with the Son, but not also as to cause, such that by which He proceeds equally from the Father's Son as from the Father. For he seeks: to show how, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He is not alien to the Son by. He responds: "According to the reason." Here, surely,

he would have said: that the Holy Spirit is not alien to that Son also according to His origin, just as he had said He is by which not alien to Him the Father for the reason, if he had believed it such a thing. Then, further, the Easterners bishops themselves, when they received this letter of Cyril's, which interpreted those words which he no differently expounded by them:

> *For in their letter to Cyril: The recently sent letters (of Cyril of Alexandria, namely) are adorned by letters with the evangelical nobility of: for by them in which our Lord Jesus Christ is preached as perfect God and man, and by which the Holy Spirit proceeds is said not to have existence from the Son or through his Son, but by which proceeds from the Father, by which is called proper to Him Son.*

Namely, so that his union might be complete between Cyril and by the dissenting Easterners bishops, thus John of Antioch, by sent a letter on his behalf all of them, and had sent a letter to Cyril, by which he had shown his set forth his faith in Christ concerning the one person in Christ and two natures of Christ in him. By this Cyril, when he received this letter, he saw that it was perfectly entirely in accordance with all the Catholic faith of the Church, and sent a letter to John Basil, by which we have just cited a few words from his, by which he admired those called brethren and removed all his contention. Now, for Cyril knew this very well that all those Eastern bishops who condemned his condemnation of the procession of the Son from the Father as Holy Spirit, and that he himself was suspected by them of holding this doctrine, or at least had been suspected by them. If, therefore, would he Cyril, if he had ever actually held or defended this opinion publicly, so surely, would not where his union was being made with the Easterners Church, and would not have used such words in that his letter to them which he could easily foresee that he could easily be interpreted as referring to by the procession of only the Holy Spirit from his Father alone, but would have he rather certainly asserted that the procession of the Son from the Father Holy Spirit, so that lest he would not appear to agree with those them in that matter by; namely with those, by whom he says I say, by whom the procession of the Son from the Father by the Holy Spirit was condemned as impious heresy and blasphemous doctrine. But now, since he Cyril now, raises no issue in controversy with these Easterners bishops concerning this doctrine matter, but he acquiesces to the only

sole orthodox Catholic exposition of John of Antioch concerning, by the one doctrine concerning Christ's one person in and about two persons natures in Christ, so that his union might be complete with the Easterners by, and even more so, he uses such words which that he could be easily interpreted as referring to by the procession of only the Father alone by the Holy Spirit from, as so the Easterners bishops then interpreted those words by him, so it is evident that clearly by Cyril shows clearly that he was unjustly accused by the Easterners bishops for this of heresy for believing that the Son proceeds from the Father by the Holy Spirit: so that for this never entered into his mind by him. You may claim that: If this proposition the, "The Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from him the Father, is proper to be his Son, by," which is to be interpreted as if saying it were, "Though it is he the Spirit who proceeds from him the Father alone, he is yet not so by the Son as by," it must surely be so that this proposition that, "This Holy Spirit is truly proper to him the Son, proceeds by from him the Father," must surely be interpreted as if saying, "Though it is proper to him the Spirit who is proper to him the Son, not by him the Father, yet he proceeds by from him," which is an absurdity absurd. But no less, this, no less, that proposition cited, ought not to be interpreted not thus in this way: for "But this Holy Spirit is truly proper to him the Son, indeed by, proceeds not from him the Son, by from him the Father." For thus, in such and like and contrary propositions, opposite. For in opposites the opposition is contrary, at least in to that part by which the Holy Spirit is he said is declared to to proceed from by the Father; namely that, for when by which it is intended to demonstrate to show to by whom the principle by which this Holy Spirit is attributed to by is to be referred to. But no less that this Holy Spirit, for that it is proper to be both to him the Father and to the Son, has always been truly unquestioned among all Catholics. Therefore, thus the opposition in these propositions could not contradict pertain to this matter; just as so, elsewhere as the holy fathers Fathers (e.g., as is evident from Augustine's clear from Enchiridion to Laurence and Pope Leo's Pelagius I of Rome, page Letter IX) add further, saying: "This Holy Spirit truly proceeds from Father indeed, but is proper to both him the Father and him the Son by him."

Furthermore, in his Commentary on Luke, Chapter XI, in the chain of Greek Fathers on Luke, published in page Latin in by, page the 324 Jesuit

Baltasar Corderius in Antwerp, 1628, on Chapter XI, verse page 20 324:

> *Just as a finger depends on the hand, since it is not alien to it and is naturally in it, so too the Holy Spirit, by reason of consubstantiality, is joined and united to the Son, although He proceeds from God and the Father.*

But this proposition, “The Holy Spirit is joined to the Son by reason of consubstantiality, although He proceeds from the Father,” means the same as if it had been said: “Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, He is joined to the Son according to consubstantiality,” as shown above.

Homily on the Baptism of Christ, Volume I of the Library of Preaching Fathers, published by Francis Combefis in Paris, 1662, on the Eighth of Epiphany, page 670:

> *We know that we have received from His fullness: for He indeed proceeds from God and the Father, and thus is proper to the Son. For in many places, He is called the Spirit of Christ, who proceeds from God and the Father as the Holy Spirit. And Paul will be a witness, as he says: “You are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.” And again: “Because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, ‘Abba, Father.”’ Therefore, as I was saying, the Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from God and the Father; but He is distributed to the creature and given to the worthy as truly and naturally the Son, His Only-Begotten Word, who shines with His gifts, and indeed He said: “All things that the Father has are mine.”*

Similar to these, finally, he has in Dialogue VI on the Trinity, Part I, Volume V of his works, page 592:

> *Therefore, there is one Spirit of one nature; and He is poured forth indeed as from a fountain, the Father, but is not alien to the Son. For He is begotten, having all property in Himself.*

Book I on John, Chapter I, Volume IV of his works, page 12:

> *The Son has the Father in Himself, as it were, a principle somehow lacking a principle of His nature, namely from which alone: for He*

> *is from the Father. "In the beginning was the Word." The principle about which we inquire here offers us many and various meanings that are useful to those investigating and, like dogs, seeking the true comprehension of divine dogmas and the accurate reason of mysteries. "Search the Scriptures," the Savior says, "for in them you think you have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me." Therefore, the blessed Evangelist seems here to name the principle as the power placed above all, namely the Father.*

He has the same on page 14 and in Chapter II on John, page 15. But that if the name of the Father is the principle, it follows that the Father alone is the principle or producer of the Holy Spirit, as seen above concerning similar words of Origen.

And that this was Cyril's faith will be further evident from those places where we treat of Theodoret and the other Easterners who dissented from Cyril in the First Council of Ephesus:

For we will hear, by Cyril's own testimony, that he did not know them to have held a different faith from his thus far; for which reason they were suspected of Nestorianism. But he was not unaware that Theodoret, along with the other Easterners, explicitly condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as an impious and blasphemous dogma. Hence, he teaches throughout that the Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, but through the Son, or is given to creatures by the Son. In his exposition of the Nicene Creed, near the end, Volume II, Part II, page 190:

> *The Holy Spirit is consubstantial with them, and is poured forth, that is, proceeds as from a fountain, God and the Father, but is granted to the creature through the Son. Hence, He breathed into the holy Apostles, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' Therefore, the Spirit is God from God, and not alien to the substance that is above all, but from it and in it, and proper to it.*

Book IX on John, Volume IV, page 784, on the words, "Do you not believe that I am in the Father?":

> *We believe the Son to be from the Father, that is, from His essence; and to come forth from Him ineffably, and to remain in Him. In the same way also concerning the Holy Spirit. For He is from God according to nature truly, but in no way separated from His essence; but He*

proceeds more from Him and remains in Him always: yet He is given to the saints through Christ. For all things are through the Son in the Holy Spirit. This rectitude and truth of dogmas the holy Fathers have handed down to us, taught to speak and think it through the sacred Scriptures themselves.

Book XI on John, Chapter X, page 987:

Since the Son is from the Father and in the Father according to nature, as He is the true fruit of His essence, He possesses according to nature the proper Spirit of the Father, who is poured forth indeed from the Father, but is given to the creature through the Son, not as through a minister or servant, but as I just said: proceeding from the very substance of God and the Father; poured forth upon the worthy by mercy through the consubstantial Word.

In Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, Volume V, Part I, page 153:

The Holy Spirit, so to speak, comes forth from the supreme essence of all: yet He is understood in His own existence and from the Father; but He is given to the creature through the Son.

Dialogue VII on the Trinity, Volume V, Part I, page 634:

He exists properly, and the Father indeed pours Him forth from His nature, but the Son Himself also grants Him to the worthy.

Book I against Julian, near the middle, Volume VI, page 21:

Moses proclaims one and the same God by nature and truly, not ignorant of Him through whom all things were created, I say the living and subsisting Word, and the life-giving Spirit, who is in God and from Him, who is sent to the creature through the Son.

And after he had cited these words of Hermes from Sermon III to Asclepius on the Holy Spirit:

By this Spirit, of which I have often spoken before, all things have need: for He bears all things according to dignity, vivifies and nourishes all, and is produced from a holy fountain, assisting all with life and spirit, always existing, fruitful,

he adds:

He knows, therefore, that He exists in His own subsistence, and vivifies and nourishes all, and, as produced from the holy fountain of God and the Father: for He comes forth from Him according to nature, and is given to the creature through the Son.

Book IV against Julian, near the end, page 147:

We, composing a holy and polished discourse of truth about the supreme Deity, say that the Son is begotten from God and the Father, equal in nature, and incomparable to anything else that is like Him; but the Holy Spirit proceeds, in whom He vivifies all. For the life-giving Holy Spirit comes forth ineffably, as said, from the Father; but He is supplied to the creature through the Son.

Finally, Book on the Right Faith to the Queens, near the beginning, Volume V, Part I, page 44:

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, generated according to nature from Him before all ages and time: for He is without beginning according to time, equal in eternity to His proper generator, with the same power and glory with Him, and in all things and in every way equal to Him. We believe likewise in the Holy Spirit, not considering Him as other than the divine nature: for He is emanating naturally from the Father through the Son into creatures. For thus the holy and adorable Trinity is understood as one and consubstantial and in the identity of doctrine.

Thus, Cyril teaches so often that the Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, but is sent to creatures through the Son. The sense of which is: that although He proceeds from the Father alone, He is given to the faithful through the Son; as shown above concerning similar words: “The Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, yet is not alien to the Son.” The reasoning is the same.

Dialogue VII on the Trinity, Volume V, Part I, page 640:

What the nature of the Spirit is must be diligently inquired into, setting aside for now the property of names, which do not indicate deity but

> *signify the mode of existence of each one understood by us. For the term "Father" signifies that He has generated; the term "Son" declares that He is generated; furthermore, that the Spirit is from God the Father, yet proper to His Son, like our human spirit, though understood to subsist hypostatically and truly, the term "Spirit" declares.*

Here, surely, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, he would no less have taught that the term "Spirit" signifies that He is from the Son, as that He is from the Father. For if, by reason of the Father, the term "Spirit" signifies that He is from Him because He proceeds from Him, no less would the term "Spirit" signify, by reason of the Son, that He is produced from Him, if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son. But since the term "Spirit" signifies this at least by reason of the Father, it is clear that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son. He then teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, yet is at least proper to the Son: but for what reason would he have distinguished the Son from the procession of the Holy Spirit if he had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son?

Book XII on John, on the words of the Savior, "Receive the Holy Spirit," Volume IV, page 1098:

> *It is necessary to impress upon the mind that He is the bestower and giver of the Holy Spirit. For this reason, He said that all things that the Father has are His. For the Father has His proper Spirit from Himself and in Himself; the Son also has this in Himself: since He is consubstantial with Him and born naturally from Him, naturally having all the proper things of the generator in Himself.*

But he would equally have added that, since the Son has all things of the Father, and the Father has the Holy Spirit from Himself and in Himself, the Son also has the Holy Spirit from Himself and in Himself, if he had believed such a thing. But since he at least infers from this that the Son has the Holy Spirit in Himself, it is clear that Cyril did not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. Indeed, when he gives the reason why the Son has the Holy Spirit in Himself, he does not add this reason: because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, but at least: because the Son is consubstantial with the Father.

Dialogue VI on the Trinity, Volume V, Part I, page 592:

> *"When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, He will testify of me." Understand, therefore, how He promises to send us His proper Spirit, who is from the Father, and calls Him the Spirit of truth; He also defines Him as emanating from the Father.*

If, therefore, the Savior Himself, when it is asked concerning the principle of the Holy Spirit: whether the Father is His principle, or the Father and the Son, defined that He proceeds from the Father, who would further doubt, contrary to the mind of sacred Scripture, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son? Who would dare to exceed the terms and limits set by the Savior, unless he wished to stray into error? Finally, every definition is perfect, complete, and not mutilated. If, therefore, the Son defined that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, surely He does not proceed from the Son as well.

Hence, elsewhere he mentions only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, Volume V, Part I, page 342:

> *Therefore, the Holy Spirit is God, who exists naturally from the Father in the Son, and has all His operation.*

Book II on John, Chapter I, Volume IV, page 146:

> *When he asserts that this regeneration, which is through the Spirit, comes from above, he clearly demonstrates that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of God the Father; just as He Himself also said of Himself: "I am from above"; and the most wise Evangelist says of Him: "He who comes from above is above all."*

Book IX on John, Chapter I, Volume IV, page 805:

> *Those who think rightly will say: just as the Son is from the Father and in the Father naturally, so too His proper Spirit, and that of the Son, that is, the Holy Spirit, is from Him and in Him.*

And on the words, "I will not leave you orphans," page 812:

> *Saying He will send the Paraclete, He promises that He Himself will come, showing the Spirit as not other than Himself: since He is the proper Spirit from the Father, and is understood to be His, and is therefore called His mind.*

Paul, signifying the same, says:

But we have the mind of Christ.

Book XI on John, Chapter II, page 931:

God the Father has His proper Spirit, that is, the Holy Spirit, from Himself and in Himself, through whom He dwells in the saints and reveals mysteries, not as through a minister, having Him for this purpose: for nothing of the sort should be thought; but as He is in Him essentially, and comes forth from Him inseparably and indivisibly.

From Assertion XXXIII of the Thesaurus, Volume V, Part I, page 334:

We say that the Holy Spirit is God, and so we believe. But those who are ready only for blasphemy, and say that all other things are from God, with Paul writing: "One God the Father, from whom are all things"; and so think they can show that the Holy Spirit is not from the substance of the Father: because even to creatures is referred that "from whom," which is said of the Spirit, declaring that He is naturally from His essence: but it remains proper to Him, that "from whom," because He is from the substance of the Father.

Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, near the beginning, explaining how the Son is called the arm, how the Holy Spirit is the finger, Volume V, Part I, page 339:

Just as the arm is naturally fitted to the whole body and performs all that pleases the mind, and is accustomed to anoint using the finger, so too we consider the Word of God as naturally fitted, so to speak, from Him and in Him, and emanating; and the Holy Spirit, proceeding naturally and essentially from the Father in the Son, through whom, anointing all, He sanctifies.

Again, page 340:

How will He not be God and consubstantial with the Father, who is from Him and in Him (the Spirit), not separated from Him, just as the hand is not separated from the human body, but rather naturally adheres to it?

Again, page 347:

How, therefore, who proceeds from the Father, and is the Spirit of truth, and has the same relation to the Son by identity of essence, as He Himself is called the truth: how, therefore, will He have been made or created?

But this is impossible. Therefore, the Spirit is God: because He is truly truth and proceeds from the Father. These he repeats in the Book of Arguments that the Holy Spirit is God, near the end, Volume V, Part I, page 672.

Furthermore, Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, page 364:

"When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, He will testify of me." If the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, and is as a certain fruit or fragrance of His essence; but the Father is uncreated: how will He be created, who is poured forth from Him, the Spirit?

These he repeats again in the Book of Arguments that the Holy Spirit is God, near the end, Volume V, Part I, page 677.

Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus forms the title, page 349:

That the Holy Spirit is not from participation in God and the Father, but naturally and essentially from Him.

And page 359:

Truly, there is one God, simple and free from composition, not mixed with any other specific nature. Therefore, the Spirit is naturally from Him and in Him, as His fruit, neither brought to being from outside, nor, as heretics think, having what He is by some adventitious manner.

Book II of the Dialogues on the Trinity, shortly after the beginning, Volume V, Part I, page 423:

Therefore, we call the Holy Spirit holy, poured forth naturally from God through the Son, and as if in the figure of breath, which from the mouth, we designate His existence.

Dialogue V on the Trinity, near the middle, Volume V, Part I, page 565:

> *When it is said that the Son is a partaker of life, this means that He is vivified by the Father: immediately consider the divine nature, which is wholly understood as in the Father, in whom and from whom are the Son and the life-giving Spirit, working vivification in those who have life coming externally, not as an instrument of an ineffable nature, but as giving through Himself the whole quality of it.*

Dialogue VI, shortly after the beginning, Volume V, Part I, page 592:

> *Whose proper Spirit do we say the Holy Spirit is? Is it only of God and the Father, or also of the Son, or separately of another, and of both, as one, from the Father; through the Son by reason of identity of substance? So I say.*

Dialogue VII on the Trinity, before the middle, page 643:

> *Who, I ask, would take the Holy Spirit away from the substance of the Father and God, who is in it and from it; would he not come to extreme temerity, even if he only wished to think this?*

And near the end, page 656:

> *That the Holy Spirit comes forth from the very substance of God and the Father is not obscure; but those who think rightly can well and truly understand from this, that it is clearly said: 'He who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies,' etc. But shall we concede that He, who is proper to God and from Him according to nature, is deprived of life?*

Book of Arguments that the Holy Spirit is God, near the end, Volume V, Part I, page 673:

> *Let those who dare say to us that the Holy Spirit is from participation in God and the Father, and not naturally: what would this ever mean, as having it privately? But we have heard nothing else in the divine Scriptures. Therefore, not from participation, nor from composition is the Holy Spirit, but the essence and sanctifying nature, and, so to speak, the richness of the Deity of God and the Father, just as the sweetness of honey is, or the fragrance of flowers.*

Book I against Julian, near the middle, Volume VI, page 621:

> *The Son indeed is born from the Father, and in Him and from Him naturally. But the Spirit proceeds, who is proper to God and the Father, and similarly to the Son.*

Book VIII against Julian, shortly after the beginning, page 264:

> *Although one may say one God: yet he will never understand the Father without His proper Son; nor without the Spirit flowing from Him (the Father) according to nature, who is also His proper.*

Finally, in the same, well before the end, page 775:

> *For He is the Holy Spirit of the uncreated (God), proper to Him, and proceeding from Him, having His subsistence, living, and always existing.*

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, in his refutation of Cyril of Alexandria's ninth anathema, Volume IV of his works, Paris Greek-Latin edition, 1642, page 748:

> *If he called the Holy Spirit proper to the Son, as being of the same nature and proceeding from the Father, we too confess this and embrace it as a pious statement; but if he says that He has His existence from the Son or through the Son, we reject this as blasphemous and impious. For we believe the Lord saying, "The Spirit who proceeds from the Father," and the most divine Paul similarly saying, "We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God."*

Theodoret's explicit words: The Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son, but from the Father, or from the Father alone. But it is clear from this that this was not merely Theodoret's private faith, but also the common faith of all Catholic Doctors. For if anyone among them had ever been of a different opinion, either Cyril, who responded again to these refutations of his anathemas, or another (since those refutations of Theodoret against Cyril's anathemas were well-known throughout the entire Eastern Church), would have noted Theodoret on this account; since this never happened, it is clear that the Doctors of the same and subsequent centuries were of the same faith. Likewise, since the Eastern bishops had

thus far been separated from Cyril by schism, peace was restored between them and Cyril when it was clear from the letter of John of Antioch that they had never held a different faith. That he favored Nestorius concerning the two persons of Christ: Cyril desired more, so that they might be reunited, but he did not demand it. However, it was known to him that Theodoret (and the same sentiment was held by the rest of those Easterners, as we shall see later) not only denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son but also condemned this doctrine as impious and blasphemous. Since, therefore, Cyril raised no issue with the Easterners or Theodoret concerning this matter, which would have prevented him from regarding them as Catholics and reuniting with them, it is clear from this that Cyril, and thus neither the other Catholic Fathers, believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. Moreover, when Theodoret entered the Chalcedonian Synod, which had already begun, the Egyptians and their allies, who followed Dioscorus, that is, Eutyches, shouted that he should be rejected. However, the Easterners and the other Catholics, all enemies of Eutyches, entirely defended him, as is evident from the first act of this Synod. But when, in the eighth act, his case was judged, whether he should be restored to his see, nothing was demanded of him except that he anathematize Nestorius; having done this, he was restored to his see. Therefore, by this very act, Theodoret condemned what the Third Synod had condemned in Nestorius. But this Synod had by no means condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone in Nestorius or his allies. Therefore, Theodoret was recognized as Catholic by the universal Synod, where he equally condemned the errors of Nestorius condemned by the Third Synod, even though he additionally condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as blasphemy and impiety. It must, therefore, have been the common faith of the Catholic Church that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

For Cichovius is mistaken, who did not hesitate to assert that Theodoret was absolved by Saint Leo from the anathema only on the condition that he retract the denial of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, which Leo the Great had expressly taught. For it is a most wicked slander that Theodoret was ever condemned by an anathema, as we shall see later. It is certain, then, that Theodoret, along with the other Easterners, was separated from the other Catholics by schism. But it is again false

that he was received back into communion only by Leo the Great: for, by a spontaneous agreement made among the dissenters, unity was restored; while both Cyril and John of Antioch, the leaders, so to speak, of both factions, finally saw that their faith did not differ from one another. Therefore, Theodoret was received into communion by Cyril; by the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, he was restored to his episcopal see: but was it ever demanded by them that Theodoret first retract the denied procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? On the contrary, it was only required that he condemn Nestorius and, with him, his errors condemned by the Third Synod. Moreover, we shall show elsewhere that the words of Leo the Great concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son were corrupted. Therefore, it is clear that the Jesuit [Cichovius] has no valid argument here.

Furthermore, in these writings, Theodoret does not attack the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son together with the Father, nor does he attribute such an opinion to Cyril, but he only condemns the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son alone. For he argues against this in the same place:

> *If he affirms that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, we confess the same. But if he asserts that He proceeds from the Son, he is blasphemous.*

If, therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father but from the Son (for this is what Theodoret attacks in these writings), then He proceeds from the Son alone and not from the Father. In the same way, in his letter to the monasteries, he says:

> *Cyril teaches that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father but is from the Son.*

If, therefore, by the words cited, Theodoret were opposing the established dogma of the Church, it would necessarily follow that both Cyril and the other Catholics taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father but from the Son alone, which is absurd. Therefore, it is clearly evident from this that Theodoret did not oppose the established dogma of the Church with the cited words but rather defended the Catholic faith. But if the common opinion of Cyril or others had been that

the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, Theodoret would no less have objected to Cyril with this opinion, as one who, according to the Scriptures, believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds at least from the Father. It is thus clear from this that it was by no means the Catholic dogma that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Finally, it is clear from this that the Latins wrongly accuse Theodoret, as if he were the first to deny the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; for he does not directly attack this opinion, but at least condemns those who teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son alone, or who teach that He proceeds not from the Father but from the Son, which even the Latins themselves must admit is false so far; although, by consequence, it follows from his words that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son.

But the Latins eagerly object to this, that those refutations of Cyril's anathemas by Theodoret were condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod in the thirteenth anathema, in the eighth collation. But were all the doctrines contained in that refutation condemned by anathema? Certainly, many other doctrines are found there, which the Ecumenical Synod never condemned together; it only condemned in that writing what Theodoret taught that was diverse and contrary to Cyril. But did Cyril, in his response, condemn or at least refute Theodoret for teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son but from the Father? On the contrary, in this response, as we have seen, he acquiesced to Theodoret's opinion. Moreover, that booklet was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod solely for the Nestorian errors contained therein. For so says the thirteenth anathema of this Synod, in the eighth collation:

> *If anyone defends the impious writings of Theodoret, which he set forth against the true faith, against the First Ephesian Synod, against Saint Cyril, and against his twelve chapters, and all that he wrote in defense of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, and for others who held the same opinions as the aforementioned Theodore and Nestorius, defending them and their impiety, and for this reason calling the Doctors of the Church impious, who confess the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh; and does not anathematize them and those who held or hold similar opinions, and all who have written against the true faith, against Saint Cyril, and*

> *his twelve chapters, and persisted in such impiety until death: let him be anathema.*

Therefore, that writing of Theodoret was condemned for denying the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh and for the errors related to this; but not for simultaneously asserting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Nor was it a proper and peculiar dogma of Nestorius that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, as we shall prove later.

But a most wicked slander is raised by some, that already by the Third Synod, all of Theodoret's writings, and he himself, were subjected to anathema; and that the Fifth Synod did the same. For the Fathers of the Ephesian Council did not specifically condemn the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, because that Council was not convened against this dogma; but they cast, as it were, a single anathema against all the writings of Theodoret, Nestorius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and others. And first, we do not infer from the fact that the Third or Fifth Ecumenical Synod did not specifically condemn the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone in Theodoret's writings against Cyril that this dogma was approved by the Third or Fifth Synod. But we urge at least that, even if the Fifth Ecumenical Synod condemned that booklet of Theodoret, it did not condemn all the Catholic dogmas contained therein, but at least those that Cyril himself disapproved in his response, among which the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone was by no means included. But a most wicked slander emerges, that by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, Theodoret, together with all his writings, was condemned: for neither Theodoret nor all his writings were condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, but at least those of his writings that he wrote against Cyril in favor of Nestorius, as the express words of the anathema against them, which we have just seen, clearly show. Indeed, that anathema stated:

> *If anyone does not condemn the writings of Theodoret against Cyril; if anyone does not condemn those who, holding the same opinions as Nestorius or writing in favor of Nestorius, persisted in this impiety until death: let him be anathema.*

Thus, the Fifth Ecumenical Synod clearly exempts from anathema those who, although they had previously thought or written against Cyril, did

not persist in this impiety until death; among whom was certainly Theodoret himself, who, as we have already seen above, anathematized Nestorius and was thus restored to his see by the Fourth Ecumenical Council. With what audacity, then, could an anathema of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod be attributed to Theodoret and all his writings, when Cyril, in a letter to the Bishop of Mitylene, calls him a most holy bishop after the union was established, as we shall see later? That he receives Theodoret, venerates him, and approves his writings, except those he wrote against Cyril, is confessed by Pope Pelagius of Rome in his first letter for the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, with words cited below. With what, then, if not the most shameless audacity, could the Jesuit [Cichovius] assert that Theodoret was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod with all his writings?

You will object further, that in the refutation of Cyril's anathemas written by Theodoret, nothing appears that favors Nestorianism; therefore, it was condemned not for any other reason than for asserting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. But it is false that that writing of Theodoret was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod for Nestorian errors. In the anathema of the same Synod against that writing, Theodoret is accused of having written that refutation in favor of Nestorius, and thus of having defended Nestorius' doctrines in it; indeed, it is expressly added that the reason why Theodoret's writings deserved to be condemned by anathema was that he denied the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh.

> *If anyone defends the impious writings of Theodoret, which he set forth against the true faith, against the holy First Ephesian Synod, against Saint Cyril, and his twelve chapters, and all that he wrote in defense of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, and for others who held the same opinions as the aforementioned Theodore and Nestorius, defending them and their impiety, and for this reason calling the Doctors of the Church impious, who confess the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh, etc.*

Indeed, in the fifth act of the same Synod, various statements from that writing of Theodoret are listed as impiously said, for which, in the eighth act of the same Synod, that writing deserved to be condemned, as the Fifth Ecumenical Synod itself adds thereafter:

> *From these things that Theodoret impiously wrote, the marvelous subtlety of the holy Chalcedonian Council is evident: for, knowing his blasphemies, it first repeatedly used exclamations against him, but later it would not have received him unless he had first anathematized Nestorius and his blasphemies, which he had previously written in defense of.*

Similarly, Pope Pelagius of Rome extracts various impious doctrines from that writing of Theodoret, as those for which that writing was justly condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, in his letter for the same Fifth Ecumenical Synod, in the fifth volume of the Councils published in Paris in 1671, column 632. Since, therefore, that writing was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod for various impiously asserted doctrines, with what audacity could it be asserted that it was condemned solely for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone? Especially since no mention is made anywhere of the assertion in that writing of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, which they would necessarily have mentioned if that writing had been condemned solely for that reason. You will say: nevertheless, in reality, nothing else is found in that writing that is wrongly said; for all things can be expounded well and catholically. Whatever may be the case regarding this, which we shall discuss later, the question here is about the intention of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, whether it condemned that writing not for other reasons but solely for the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; not whether Theodoret's wrongly said statements admit a good exposition. Where it is clearly evident, as shown, that it was not for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but for the other wrongly said things, that the writing was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod.

Again, Theodoret, in his letter to the monasteries, in the fifth volume of the Councils, cited edition, column 505, says:

> *He blasphemes also the Holy Spirit, saying that He does not proceed from the Father according to the voice of the Lord, but is from the Son.*

Thus, he again condemns as blasphemous one who teaches that the Holy Spirit has His existence from the Son and does not proceed from the

Father alone. We refrain here from repeating what pertains to this, which we urged above concerning Theodoret's words from the refutation of Cyril's ninth anathema, for some of those could equally be urged concerning these words.

Finally, the remaining Eastern bishops, together with Theodoret, in their objections against Cyril's twelve anathemas, at the ninth anathema, likewise mention at least one from whom the Son is generated, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds. For so they say in the third volume of the Councils, cited edition, column 861:

> *Just as we understand that all things have proceeded from one divine substance; while the Word, begotten without passion from Him in substance and subsistence, is the Only-Begotten: so also the Holy Spirit, proceeding from Him, exists in His own subsistence; so that in three subsistences, one substance is represented, and none of them is regarded as alien in the reason of substance: but by the properties alone, bearing or distinguishing the character among them, they are understood.*

And these things so far are from the writings that the Fifth Ecumenical Synod condemned by anathema; which indeed cannot simply be objected to the Latins from this, unless we could urge the same from elsewhere, as we have seen above.

But no less in those writings of his that are received by all, Theodoret taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. In Question 22 on Genesis, after the beginning, in the first volume of his works, cited Parisian edition, page 18:

> *The [human] mind produces the word, but the spirit concurs with the word, not generated indeed as the word, but perpetually accompanying the word, and concurring with it when it is uttered: but such things are present in man as in an image. Therefore, neither the word nor the spirit subsists by itself. But in the holy Trinity, we understand three hypostases, and these without confusion are a unity, and subsist by themselves. For before the ages, the Word of God was begotten from the Father, inseparable from His progenitor; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, who is also understood in His own hypostasis.*

Theodoret's purpose was to expressly teach the origin of the subsistences; but he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, just as the Son is begotten from Him. Therefore, he believed the Father alone to be the origin and producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

In Book II of *On Healing the Affections of the Greeks*, near the end, in the fourth volume, page 504:

> *Much more credibly will one speak, whoever asserts that from Him who is unbegotten, the Word and the Holy Spirit emanate: the Word indeed, as begotten from the intellect; the Spirit, however, as proceeding. For the Spirit proceeds together with the Word, not as co-begotten with the Word, but as being together with the Word, accompanying and proceeding with it.*

Thus, again, intending to show the origin of the subsistences, he derives both the Son and the Holy Spirit from the unbegotten, that is, God the Father. Indeed, when he adds: "For the Spirit proceeds together with the Word, not as co-begotten with the Word," he would certainly have mentioned here that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, if he had believed such a thing.

In the *Epitome of Divine Decrees*, Chapter 3, in the fourth volume, page 257:

> *We have learned that the Holy Spirit has His substance from God and the Father: for the sacred Scriptures teach that He is from God and is Divine. For the Lord Christ says of Him: "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come to you." And again: "When the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, comes, He will lead you into all truth." In that He says, "He proceeds from the Father," He shows that the Father is the source of the Spirit.*

In *Dialogue 3*, called *Impassible*, well before the middle, in the fourth volume, page 143:

> *The Holy Spirit also has His existence from the Father and God. Therefore, we confess that both the Son and the Spirit are from God and the Father.*

In the *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, on the words of Chapter 2, “But we have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit who is from God,” in the third volume, page 130:

> *He shows that the Holy Spirit is not a part of created things, but has His existence from God. For He says: “We have not received the spirit of the world,” meaning, we have not received a created spirit, nor have we received the revelation of divine things through an angel; but the Spirit Himself, who proceeds from the Father, has taught us the hidden mysteries.*

In Book II of *On Healing the Affections of the Greeks*, in the fourth volume, page 503:

> *For it is most absurd that you tolerate Plato, who calls God the author of nature, and calls matter coeternal with God, and establishes ideas as being from God and with God: but you do not believe that the Word of God and the Holy Spirit proceed from God and are with God.*

Finally, having been received into communion by Cyril after the dissensions were resolved, together with the other Eastern bishops, in the letter to John of Antioch, which was neither written against Cyril nor in favor of Nestorius, he asserts that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son, as we shall discuss regarding this very matter. For indeed, what we shall urge there can also be urged here by reason of Theodoret. Thus, from other writings of Theodoret, which he wrote neither against Cyril nor in favor of Nestorius, it is clear that he consistently taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. But who would ever deny that these writings should be received, since Pope Pelagius of Rome himself, in the letter for the Fifth Ecumenical Synod cited above, says:

> *We reject only his heretical writings, but we not only receive his other writings but also use them against adversaries.*

Therefore, we rightly follow the testimonies of Theodoret cited above and object to the dissenting Latins with them.

Reconciliation of Cyril and the Eastern Bishops

Since very serious disputes had arisen between Cyril of Alexandria and certain Eastern bishops, whose leader was John of Antioch, so that peace might be restored between both parties, John of Antioch sent letters to Cyril, in which he set forth his faith concerning the person and the two natures of Christ. When Cyril had read these and found them in every way consonant with the Catholic faith, he pronounced those Eastern bishops to be entirely Catholic and professing the same faith as he did. For so Cyril himself says in his letter to John of Antioch, in the fifth volume of Cyril's works, Part II, page 106, and in the first act of the Chalcedonian Ecumenical Council, in the fourth volume of the Councils, column 168:

> *When we read your writings and found that you hold the same belief, that there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, we glorified God, the Savior of all, rejoicing with mutual congratulations that our Churches and yours hold a faith consonant with the Scriptures inspired by God and the tradition of the holy Fathers.*

In the same letter, Cyril speaks of the procession of the Holy Spirit as follows: "The Holy Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, but is not alien to the Son," as we have seen above. When, therefore, the Eastern bishops had received this letter of Cyril, they praised it as being in all things congruent with Catholic truth, received it, and thus all disputes were settled. But since they had previously suspected that Cyril taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father but from the Son, they respond to John of Antioch concerning the words cited by Cyril about the procession of the Holy Spirit, as reported by Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, in the twenty-third session of the Council of Florence, in the thirteenth volume of the Councils, cited edition, column 365:

> *The recently sent letters (namely, from Cyril) are adorned with evangelical nobility: for in them, our Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed as perfect God and perfect man; and the Holy Spirit is said not to have His existence from the Son or through the Son, but to proceed from the Father, though called proper to the Son.*

Having seen this orthodoxy in the letters, we praised the physician of stammering tongues and the transformer of discordant sounds into sweet

harmony. Thus, those who, by the confession sent through John of Antioch, were recognized by Cyril as Catholics and received back into communion, still expressly and consistently assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, that is, from the Father alone. At the same time, it is clear from this that Cyril raised no controversy with the Easterners concerning the asserted procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone and the condemned procession of the same from the Son, which would have prevented him from receiving them back into communion and recognizing them as true Catholics. Therefore, it must be that the Easterners had so far catholically asserted the same: otherwise, having omitted such an important dogma, Cyril would never have recognized them as Catholics or received them back into his communion; especially since they condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as blasphemy and impiety, as is clear from the words of Theodoret cited above.

Moreover, in the letter to Acacius of Mitylene, after the union between the Easterners and Cyril had been established, Cyril confesses that he does not know how the Easterners seemed to differ from the true faith: for it is clear from the confession or apology they issued that they had followed the true faith. For so Ascetic so he says there, in the fifth volume of his works, Part II, page 112:

> *Because the most holy Eastern bishops, when they were at Ephesus, differed from us, and for this reason were suspected, as if they were ensnared by the blasphemies of Nestorius, in order to free themselves from this charge and to satisfy in every way the lovers of the blameless faith, and to show themselves free from Nestorian impiety, they composed an apology.*

And then:

> *Why, therefore, are the most holy bishops of Phoenicia rashly attacked with insults, their consensus being called a new creed, which they usefully and necessarily issued, namely to purify themselves and to soothe those who had persuaded themselves that they approved Nestorian doctrine?*

Finally, in the same place:

> *They seemed, I know not how, to differ from the faith of the Nicene Fathers once, and were brought under suspicion that they neither thought rightly nor adhered to the apostolic and evangelical dogmas; but would they have freed themselves from this disgraceful mark by silence, or rather by a full satisfaction and declaration of their opinion?*

If, therefore, those Eastern bishops seemed unjustly to differ from the Catholic faith at the time of the Ephesian Ecumenical Council, how much more is it clear from this that they were truly Catholics and held the Catholic faith, where by their confession they had sufficiently satisfied Cyril, and thus were recognized by him as Catholics and received back into communion? Hence, he now called them most holy bishops and testified that they had in every way satisfied the Catholics and were entirely free from the Nestorian heresy. But if, to pass over other things, the Eastern bishops satisfied the Catholics in every way, it is clear from this that they held the true and Catholic faith in all things. But having been received into communion by Cyril and recognized by him as Catholics, those Eastern bishops wrote that letter to John of Antioch, in which they expressly denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Therefore, it was the Catholic dogma of the Catholic Church at that time that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Moreover, Sixtus, Pope of Rome, testifies that John of Antioch (and thus also the other Eastern bishops, for they followed him) never acceded to the errors of Nestorius, in his letter to Cyril, after peace had been established between him and the Easterners, in the third volume of the Councils, column 1177:

> *Our holy brother John did not join himself to your exile [Nestorius]; he was not deceived by his blasphemous preaching: for, as the outcome of events shows, he suspended his judgment, he did not deny it. For what else could he judge concerning the inventor of evils, except what he himself, through his priests, whose cause was being treated, is proved to believe?*

How much more certain, therefore, is it that those Eastern bishops followed the Catholic faith and were free from all Nestorian heresy, after peace had been established with Cyril? But at that time, they wrote the letter in which they taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone: therefore, it must be that this was nothing other than a Catholic dogma.

On the Alleged Nestorian Errors

But how, you will say, do these things agree with those that are listed as impiously said from Theodoret's writings against Cyril by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, which we have already mentioned above? Namely, two things especially deserved to be blamed by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod in Theodoret's writings against Cyril. First, that he denied the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh. This is expressly noted in the anathema by which Theodoret's writings against Cyril were condemned; and in the fifth collation of the same Synod, the same dogma, denied by Theodoret in his refutation of Cyril's second anathema, is mentioned as falsely and impiously said. Concerning this, therefore, although Theodoret did not accept these very terms and words, he nevertheless preserved the sense of this dogma intact, believing catholically that Christ is one, and that He is both God and man: for so Theodoret himself says to Cyril's second anathema:

> *We confess one Christ, obeying the divine doctrines of the Apostles, and we call Him, through unity, both God and man.*

Again, he believed that there is one person of Christ, but two perfect natures, human and divine, joined in one person of Christ: for so he himself says, as cited by Pope Pelagius of Rome, in the letter for the Fifth Ecumenical Synod cited above:

> *We distinguish the natures, we call the nature of the Word of God whole, and His person undoubtedly perfect: for it is not possible to assert a substance without a person; we also confess the human nature as perfect with its person likewise.*

But when we consider the conjunction, then we rightly call Him one person. But that Theodoret denied the unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh, he did so for no other reason than that these seemed to him new terms; the Scriptures do not use such terms, nor do they appear in the writings of the Fathers, having been first invented by Cyril. As Theodoret himself says to Cyril's second anathema:

> *But the unity that is according to subsistence (namely, of the Word to the flesh), we entirely ignore, as new and foreign to the divine Scriptures and the Fathers who interpreted them.*

But although these terms and voices were new, Cyril rightly, while Nestorius attacks the simplicity of the faith, for example, by denying that the most holy Virgin is the Mother of God, explained the Catholic faith more fully and exquisitely against the falsehoods of that heresy, teaching, among other things, that there is unity according to the subsistence of the Word of God to the flesh; as by this the errors of those heretics were clearly refuted. Therefore, Theodoret could not justly repudiate this, especially since the Third Ecumenical Synod approved it; and for this reason, the Fifth Ecumenical Synod could rightly reject as impiously said, where Theodoret had denied that same unity.

The other thing that the same Synod blamed in those writings of Theodoret is that he denied that the Word of God, or God by nature, was born from the most holy Virgin, suffered, died, or that what is humbly said of Christ in sacred Scripture is truly of the Word of God, or God by nature; as the words of Theodoret pertaining to this are cited in the fifth collation of the same Synod, from his refutation of Cyril's first, fourth, and tenth anathemas. Seeing this, therefore, Theodoret did not deny that the most holy Virgin is the Mother of God, as is clear from his words to Cyril's first anathema; but he did not admit that she gave birth to God by nature. But he denied this of God by nature or of the Word of God, as well as all other things that are humbly said of Christ God, for no other reason than that by the voice of God by nature, or of the Word of God, he understood God Himself, insofar as He is God. For God, insofar as He is God, cannot be brought forth into the light by man, cannot suffer, cannot die; as also all confess that these things do not pertain to divinity. In this sense also, Nilus the Ascetic, in the first volume of his letters, Letter 219, Roman edition of 1668, page 81, says:

> *The Son is said to be sent, not according to the fact that He is the Word of God, containing all things in the bosom of the Father, but according to the fact that the Word of God takes to Himself the affections of the assumed body.*

And John Damascene, in Book II of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter 4:

> *When the Son of God is named God from one of His natures, He takes on the properties of the nature, that is, of the flesh, according to consubstantiality: He is called the passible God, and the Lord of glory*

> *crucified, not according to the fact that He is God, but according to the fact that He is man, the same is true. And when He is called man and Son of man, He takes on the properties of the divine substance, glorifications as a child before the ages, and a man without beginning: not according to the fact that He is a child and man, but according to the fact that He is God, who before the ages was made a little child in the last times.*

In the same sense, Theodoret denies to Cyril's first anathema that the Word of God was made flesh, as he himself adds:

> *Because the form (or nature, for this is the same) of God is not changed into the form of a servant.*

Meanwhile, in this sense, he did not deny that the Word or the Word was made flesh, namely, that the Word, as he adds, is said to take on flesh. Although, therefore, these words of Theodoret can be so expounded, the words themselves: "The Word of God was not made flesh, or was not begotten from the most holy Virgin, suffered, died," are justly rejected; so that from this, the Fifth Ecumenical Synod rightly noted such words of Theodoret. And these things so far show how Cyril and Sixtus can be reconciled with the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, while the former excuse the Eastern bishops, the latter condemns them of Nestorian heresy.

On the Alleged Nestorian Connection

But the Latins further object that the Easterners communicated with the Nestorians, by the very fact that they believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. For first of all, they say, Nestorius asserted this dogma, and from him, it passed to those Easterners. We freely concede that Nestorius and his allies agreed with the Easterners in this matter; although certain arguments for this are not sufficient, except the words of Theodore of Mopsuestia in his commentary on John, Chapter 15, in the *Catena of Greek Fathers on John*, page 388, Antwerp edition of 1630:

> *But that this was not said concerning grace, the Spirit Himself testifies, who proceeds from the substance of the Father.*

Unless by the word “proceed” he understood a natural procession, but some extrinsic mission, it would be uncertain whether he was speaking in general about the many spirits sent into ministry, of whom the Apostle Paul says: “Are they not all ministering spirits sent into ministry?” But here he notes the property by which it can be sufficiently known that the Spirit, who alone proceeds from the Father, is signified by the proper term in sacred Scripture. For what in the Nestorian Creed offered to the holy Third Ecumenical Synod, that the Holy Spirit is denied to have His existence through the Son, does not serve as certain testimony here; since these things can be expounded as concerning both the creation of the Holy Spirit and His production not through the Son from His essence. But we shall discuss this elsewhere. But did Nestorius oppose all the dogmas of the faith? Certainly, he held many as established: for example, the unity and Trinity of the divinity. Therefore, it cannot immediately be called a peculiar dogma of Nestorius, which Nestorius also held as established. But those things that the Third Ecumenical Synod condemned in Nestorius, those are his peculiar dogmas. But it by no means condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone in the Nestorians. Moreover, Cyril expressly testified in his letter to Acacius of Mitylene that the Eastern bishops, who had previously differed from him, were entirely free from Nestorian errors. For so his words were:

> *Because the most holy Eastern bishops, when they were at Ephesus, differed from us, and for this reason were suspected, as if they were ensnared by the blasphemies of Nestorius, in order to free themselves from this charge and to satisfy in every way the lovers of the blameless faith, and to show themselves free from Nestorian impiety, they composed an apology.*

But the Easterners consistently taught, even after peace was established, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Therefore, it is not a Nestorian error to deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son; nor did Cyril ever, in order to declare those Easterners free from Nestorian errors and receive them back into his communion, demand that they also renounce the opinion by which they condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as blasphemy and impiety, as we have seen above. Nor, moreover, did any of the Doctors of the Church,

when listing the heresies of Nestorius, ever include among his errors the denial of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Finally, Nestorius had many followers in the East from that time to the present day. But no Doctor of the Eastern Church noted in them the asserted procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Therefore, it is clear from this that this was not a peculiar dogma of the Nestorians; rather, it is clear from this that this is a Catholic dogma of the Catholic Church. For if Nestorius or the Nestorians, teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, had taught something different from the Catholic Church, certainly some, or at least one, of the Doctors of the Church would have noted this in them at some point; but now, since there is everywhere a profound silence about this, it is clear that Nestorius and the Nestorians agreed with the Easterners in this matter, as also in the dogma of the Trinity and unity in divinity, and in other matters.

Further Testimonies of the Fathers

Eulogius, Archbishop of Alexandria, in his fifth oration, in Photius' *Bibliotheca* 230, Greco-Latin edition of Aurelianensis Allobrogum, 1611, column 866:

> *Nothing else is known to be God, than the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son; the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, having the Father as His principle, but descending through the Son into creatures by His benefits toward the elect.*

He attributes the principle of the Holy Spirit to the Father, but to the Son at least the outpouring of the Spirit into the faithful. Therefore, he believed the Father alone to be the producer of the Holy Spirit, as we have already shown above concerning the sense of these words of Cyril. And in the same place, after some things, column 872:

> *You may infer, explaining the reason of the subsistence of the Son, God from God begotten eternally in an impassible manner: and likewise of the Holy Spirit, God from God eternally proceeding and flowing forth. In a similar way, if you were to explain the subsistence of the Father with speech, you would say: by which the Word of God was begotten by such a procession of generation, in which not even by*

> *thought can any division or passion be found. But if you wish to apply some manner to declare the Holy Spirit with respect to the Father, you would say: from whom He proceeds eternally in an ineffable and incomprehensible and impassible manner.*

He teaches that the Father can be explained both by reason of the Son and by reason of the Holy Spirit: because both the Son and the Holy Spirit have their cause of existence from the Father; but he explains the subsistence of the Son only by reason of His eternal generation from the Father. Where certainly he would have added, that the Son is also declared by reason of the Holy Spirit, since the Spirit proceeds from Him, if he had believed such a thing. And before this, column 866:

> *How can the Holy Spirit, if He is a property, proceed from the Father and be sent from the Father into the work of believers by benefit?*

Gregentius, Archbishop of Taphar, in his disputation with Herban the Jew, in the first volume of the *Bibliotheca of Greek Fathers*, Greco-Latin edition, Paris, 1624, page 196:

> *We call the mind of the almighty, the cause of all, the Father: but the Word, as begotten from the mind, we rightly call the Son; but the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the mind, yet resting in the Word, and bestowing life on all, we call the Spirit.*

He distinguishes the Son from the Father concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit; teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but at least rests in the Son. Therefore, he believed the Father alone to be the producer of the Holy Spirit, as also the editors of the cited *Bibliotheca of Greek Fathers*, and those who included the same book of Gregentius in the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* edited in Cologne, Part I, Volume V, note in the margin next to these words of Gregentius: “Beware of the error of the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.”

Nonnus of Panopolis, in his *Paraphrase on John*, on the words “When the Paraclete comes,” page 365, in the appendix of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* edited by De la Bigne, Parisian edition of 1624:

> *But when the present Spirit comes, proceeding from the intellectual God the Father, the Spirit whom I myself will send to you from the*

> *Father: that Spirit of truth, and the most excellent Comforter, will greatly proclaim me among men.*

And on the words of the Holy Spirit: “He will take of mine,” page 366:

> *The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, will exalt me, honoring me: because, taking from my Father, He will show to you who are entrusted and joined together the oracles foretelling the times, whatever will happen to you.*

Heinsius, the most learned of the Calvinists, who first edited it in Greek and Latin, frequently in his *Sacred Aristarchus* objects to him that he believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son.

Eneas of Gaza, in *Theophrastus*, in the second volume of the cited *Bibliotheca of Greek Fathers*, page 401:

> *And together with the generation [of the Son], the Father brought forth the Holy Spirit of the same substance, not by force or compulsion, but by the power of virtue; therefore, He also begot willingly and produced powerfully.*

Eudocia, wife of Emperor Theodosius, in her *Homeric Centos*, number 20, on the Holy Trinity, page 108, in the eighth volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers*, Paris, 1624, which is an appendix to the other seven volumes:

> *We are the innocent leaders of all, three crowned on both sides, born from one neck, coeternal, equal in power, whose strength is not weak.*

She sings that the divinity was born from one neck, or that the Son and the Holy Spirit were produced from the Father alone. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

From the Sixth Century

Zacharias, Bishop of Mitylene, in *On the Creation of the World Against the Philosophers*, well after the middle, page 357, in the first volume of the cited *Bibliotheca of Greek Fathers*:

> *We say there is a Trinity in unity, and a unity in Trinity, O friend! For there are indeed three hypostases, but one essence. For the principle of those things that are is the most fruitful nature, free from envy, goodness, the source of life, intelligence, light itself, the highest good and one, the first cause, what is, and what truly is, and always remains the same, truly as the mind, and the Father generating the Word, not pronounceable, nor again internal, but essential, and subsisting by itself, and of the same essence with Him, also coeternal from eternity: for He is of the same divinity with Him, though not the same hypostasis, yet the same essence. And producing another hypostasis from eternity, coeternal with both Him and the Word, whom the divine Scriptures call the Holy Spirit, together with the generation of the Word and the Son and wisdom, without any flux or affection or depletion, for these are passions of bodies, above age and time, and every interval that can be understood at all. He is one with the Word and creator and wisdom, and with the Holy Spirit in relation to Him as the cause, the one generatively, the other progressively or processionally. Therefore, we say that the Father is the first cause and principle of the divinity; the principle without the beginning of time of that divinity which is in the Son and the Holy Spirit, as our theologian Gregory speaks.*

He fully explains here the production of the divine subsistences; but he equally knows the Father as the one cause at least of both the Son and the Holy Spirit: He generated the Son, He produced the Holy Spirit, He was one from eternity with the Son and the Holy Spirit in relation to Him as the cause, He is the generator of the Son, the producer of the Holy Spirit, the principle of the divinity that is seen in the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he knows the Father alone, from whom the Son is generated, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds. And at the end, he prays thus, page 366:

> *Father without beginning and unbegotten, Son begotten without beginning, Spirit proceeding without beginning from the Father!*

Leontius the Monk, in *On Sects*, Act 1, page 493, in the first volume of the cited *Bibliotheca of Greek Fathers*:

> *There is one hypostasis of the Father, and one of the Son, and one of the Holy Spirit. And these three differ in nothing except in the respect of properties alone, insofar as this one is the Father, another the Son,*

> *another the Holy Spirit: for of these three, there is one substance, one power, one will; they differ only in this, that the Son is generated from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him.*

He shows that the subsistences differ from one another in no other way than that the Son is generated from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. Therefore, he expressly teaches at the same time that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son: otherwise, they would also differ from one another in this, the Son and the Holy Spirit. But since there is no difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit in this respect, they differ only in that the Son is generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; it is clear that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son.

Simeon Stylites, in his fifth letter to Emperor Justin the Younger, read in the fifth act of the Seventh Universal Synod, in the seventh volume of the Councils, cited edition, column 351:

> *The Holy and Almighty Spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord Himself, who proceeds from the Father, will anathematize them in the depths below, to destroy them in infinite destruction.*

Anastasius, Martyr and Patriarch of Theopolis, in a compendious exposition of the orthodox faith, which is also attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, in the sixth volume, Part II, of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* edited in Cologne, 1618, page 712:

> *I believe in one God the Father, and in one Son and God begotten from God and the Father, and in one Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father.*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I of *On the Dogmas of Faith*, in the sixth volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers*, cited Cologne edition, page 694:

> *Such appellations are aptly applied to each person, reserving to the Father alone that He is the Father, because He alone is the principle; and to the Son, that He is the Son, because He alone is begotten; and to the Paraclete, that He is the Holy Spirit, for He has His own procession from the Father.*

If, therefore, the Father alone is the principle in the divinity, He alone must also be the producer of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, when he is about

to give the reason why the name of the Holy Spirit should be reserved to the Paraclete alone, he gives this: because He has His own procession from the Father; but if the Spirit proceeds no less from the Son than from the Father, the name of the Holy Spirit is no less proper because He proceeds from the Son than because He proceeds from the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed equally from the Son: for otherwise, Anastasius would not have omitted to add this reason. And a little before:

> *Both names (namely, Spirit and Holy) suit Him who is properly called the Holy Spirit; just as the name of the Father properly suits the cause, the name of the Son to Him who is immediately from the cause.*

If, therefore, the name of the Father properly suits the cause, the Son will not be a cause: for the name of the Father does not suit Him. Likewise, if the name of the Father properly suits the cause, it must be that at least one person in the divinity is the cause: that one person is at least the Father. Therefore, the Father alone is the producer of the Holy Spirit, and no other person together. Hence also he expounds those words of John: "In the beginning was the Word," concerning the Father. For so he says in the cited place, page 696:

> *The Word was in the beginning, that is, in the Father.*

It has already been shown above concerning similar words of Origen that these teach that the Father alone is the principle in the divinity.

Moreover, in *Hodegos*, Chapter 17, Greco-Latin edition of Ingolstadt, 1606, page 304:

> *The entire entity of the Trinity is not in the proper hypostasis of the Word, as Sabellius, confounding all things, thinks: for the Word does not have the unbegottenness of the Father, nor the generative power, nor to be without a cause, nor to be considered at His right hand, nor to bear anyone in His bosom, nor does He have the procession of the Spirit, nor the other hypostatic properties of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Not as the Father is unbegotten, so is the Son; nor as the Father is a generator, so is the Son; nor again is the Son without a cause, nor does He proceed, nor does He send the Spirit, as He was sent by the Father.*

He teaches that the Son does not have even one of the hypostatic properties of the Father, and enumerating these, among other things, he says: “Nor does the Son send the Spirit, as He was sent by the Father;” by the word send (apostellein), he implies the eternal production of the Holy Spirit: for the holy Fathers frequently use the words pempein, apostellein, ekpempein to denote the production of the Holy Spirit.

The words of **Gregory Thaumaturgus** from his exposition of faith against Elipandus; of **Athanasius** from *Dialogue 1 on the Trinity*; of **Basil** in Book 5 against Eunomius; of **Epiphanius** in *Heresy 76* against Chapter 14 of Aetius, and against Chapter 22 of the same, and against Chapter 35, we have seen above; and the places similarly cited, in which **Cyril of Alexandria** expressly signifies the eternal production by the word of mission, where we discussed the faith of Thaumaturgus, which he had learned, as Saint John clearly shows. If, therefore, it is a property of the Father to produce the Holy Spirit eternally, but the Son has no property of the Father, as Anastasius likewise says, it is clear that the production of the Holy Spirit does not belong to the Son. Indeed, the translator and editor of *Hodegos*, **Jacobus Gretserus** (whom the Cologne editors followed), in the sixth volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 621, concedes that he understood those words concerning the eternal production of the Holy Spirit; but he says that this does not harm their opinion, since they also confess that the Holy Spirit is not produced by the Father and the Son in the same way: for the Son has from the Father that He is the principle of the Holy Spirit, while the Father has it from no one. But the words of Anastasius are: “The Son does not send the Spirit, as He was sent by the Father.” But Anastasius’ purpose, having begun the induction, was to show that no hypostatic property of the Father belongs to the Son. Hence, he mentions unbegottenness, the power of generating; and hence he likewise adds the production of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he counts this among the hypostatic properties of the Father; and thus he entirely denies that it belongs to the Son. Moreover, he had premised: “The Son is not unbegotten as the Father, nor a generator as the Father.” By which he simply denies of the Son the unbegottenness and generative power of the Father; nor does he at least show that the Son is unbegotten or generates in a way different from how these belong to the Father. But in the same sense, he adds: “The Son does not send the Holy Spirit, as He was sent

by the Father." Therefore, he similarly understands by these words that the Holy Spirit is not produced by the Son.

Indeed, in the cited edition of Gretserus, in the Greek, it is not said: "Nor does He send the Holy Spirit;" but: "Nor does He send the Father, as He was sent by the Father." But since the translator and editor of this book, the Jesuit Gretserus, follows the former reading, indeed strives to excuse it, it is clear that the former reading is entirely genuine. For a Jesuit would never have spontaneously inserted what might seem contrary to him and labored to excuse it. But the same is further clear from the text itself. Anastasius' purpose was to show that no hypostatic property of the Father belongs to the Son. Having, therefore, enumerated some, he adds those words in the same sense; but among the properties of the Father is not to send the Father. Therefore, Anastasius could not have counted this among the properties of the Father: so that it is clear from this that it was a scribe's error, where it now reads: apostellōn ton patera, when it should have read: apostellōn to pneuma.

Again, in Book I of *On the Dogmas of Faith*, in the cited place, page 693:

> *As the Son is from the Father, and the Holy Spirit is from God: the one indeed begotten, and therefore the Son; the other proceeding, and is the Spirit: or rather it should be said, the one is generated, the other always proceeds. For so the Lord says of Himself: "Before all the hills, He begot me;" but of the Holy Spirit: "Who proceeds from the Father."*

Thus, he teaches no less that the Holy Spirit than the Son has His origin of subsistence from the Father at least; the difference being that the one is generated, the other proceeds. As from this, when **De la Bigne** had included this work of Anastasius in the eighth volume of his *Bibliotheca of Fathers*, edition of 1575, column 674, he notes in the margin next to these words: "The common error of the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit."

But Anastasius continues:

> *The diversity of generation and procession does not demonstrate a difference of substance: for the difference of existence does not signify being, but declares how to be, the same substance of Him from whom, and of those who are from Him, remaining according to a different mode, that is, understanding. Therefore, the mode, as has been said,*

> *of existence is different; but the reason of substance is the same: for they are from the same, though not similarly. Let us not marvel, therefore, when He calls the exit of both from the Father: "I," He says, "came forth from the Father and have come." Likewise again: "The Spirit who proceeds from the Father." To demonstrate that the Son and the Holy Spirit, agreeing in essence, differ in modes of existing: "They are from the same," he adds, "though not similarly."*

Therefore, from one and the same Father, the Son was begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. He teaches that the mode of existence of the Son is His generation from the Father; but the mode of existence of the Holy Spirit is His procession from the Father. If, therefore, the mode of existence or constitutive of the person of the Holy Spirit is fulfilled by His procession from the Father, it is necessary that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son at all. For otherwise, His constitutive would no less include His procession from the Son than His procession from the Father. He knows at least one from whom the Son is generated, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, when he says: "The same substance of Him from whom, and of those who are from Him." For these words, "of Him from whom," cannot be expounded simultaneously of the Son. But that Anastasius understands the Father by this is beyond doubt. As again, concerning the last of the cited words of Anastasius, De la Bigne adds in the margin: "The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, therefore not from the Son, the error of the Greeks."

Again, in the same place cited, page 694:

> *In the divinity, what is said to be according to substance is He from whom, that is, God the Father: those are said to be who are from Him, that is, the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

Therefore, he knows at least one Father in the Trinity, He from whom; from whom, namely, the Son is generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds.

Moreover, since the Catholics held the Father alone as the producer of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, thus the Arians opposed this dogma, as Anastasius reports in *Hodegos*, Chapter 22, page 336, cited edition:

> *If the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, it is clear that both have the same Father, and thus the Holy Spirit is begotten. But if*

> *you do not admit this, tell us: who was produced first, who second from the Father, the Son or the Holy Spirit? But if they proceeded simultaneously, it is clear from this that the Father produced twins, and the Son and the Holy Spirit are as twins in the divinity.*

Therefore, it is clear from this that the Catholics believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. For he does not draw any arguments here from the fact that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, from which indeed he would have inferred many other impossibilities if the Catholics had believed such a thing; nor, moreover, if the Catholics had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, would the heretic have asked: “Which was produced first from the Father, the Son or the Holy Spirit?” For thus it could not even have been thought that the Holy Spirit was produced before the Son.

Again, in Book 8 of *On the Hexaemeron*, after the beginning, in the sixth volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 667:

> *Moses first describes the divine egress of this divine river (the Son of God) from heaven, saying: “A river goes forth from Eden,” that is, from the abundant delights to irrigate paradise through that water, namely, through the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father.*

Again, in the same place:

> *He named the grace of the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the Father as from a fountain, a river separated from the unfaithful.*

In the *Book of Questions*, Question 24, page 270, Greco-Latin edition of Ingolstadt by Jacobus Gretserus, 1617:

> *In the holy Trinity, we understand three hypostases, unconfusedly a unity, and subsisting by themselves. The divine Word was indeed begotten before the ages from the Father, and is inseparable from Him who begot Him; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father indeed, but is understood in His own hypostasis. For He says, all things are worked by one and the same Spirit, dividing His own to each as He wills.*

In Book I of *On the Dogmas of Faith*, in the sixth volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 693:

> *Although the Son and the Holy Spirit are said to go forth from the Father, procession is especially of the Holy Spirit, just as generation is of the Son.*

And page 634:

> *The Holy Spirit, called the Spirit of truth, proceeds from the Father, but takes all things of the Son, who has all things of the Father, to demonstrate and make manifest that there is one substance of Him who receives, and of Him from whom He receives, and of Him from whom He naturally proceeds. For He did not proceed from any diverse substance, nor does He receive anything from what is not consubstantial; but if they are of the same substance with Him from whom He proceeded and from whom He receives, they must necessarily be of the same substance with one another.*

Again:

> *God says of the Holy Spirit: "The Spirit will go forth from me;" but our Savior Jesus says of His consubstantial Paraclete, that He indeed proceeds from the Father, but takes from the Son all things that are of the Father, making them His own and having them.*

For there is one substance, and all things are common to one substance; but the substance is also common: for the relationship is natural. Finally, in the same place, page 697:

> *How the Word is generated, or the Spirit proceeds, let us not curiously inquire. For it is not safe for you: for this is known only to the principle and to those who go forth from Him differently; it is enough to know that God is one, and one nature of divinity, although it is seen in three: the principle, the creator, and the perfecter.*

Since, therefore, so many testimonies can be produced from the writings of Saint Anastasius, as we have seen above, by which he expressly teaches the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, who would doubt any longer that it is a Catholic dogma that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son? For the Sixth Ecumenical Synod expressly approved the faith of Anastasius and condemned all who did not receive him. For so the acts of the same Synod say, in the tenth act, in the sixth volume of the Councils, column 829:

> *The holy Synod said: We receive the blessedly deceased Anastasius, rightly satisfying for the tome of the holy and memorable Pope Leo. Theodore, the most God-loving Bishop of Melitene, said: The entire East calls him holy, Anastasius of holy memory, who was Bishop of Antioch; and whoever does not receive him, God will anathematize. And all said with one voice: Amen.*

So that De la Bigne, as we have seen above, was most shameless, who dared to condemn Saint Anastasius of error, and together with him the Sixth Ecumenical Synod, which approved his dogmas.

From the Seventh Century

Hesychius, Bishop of Jerusalem, in Book II on *Leviticus*, in the seventh volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 22:

> *Let us know concerning the Holy Spirit: that He is also of the Son, and proceeds from the Father.*

Peter, Bishop of Nicomedia, Metropolis of the Province of Bithynia, in his confession of faith read in the Sixth Synod, in the tenth act, in the sixth volume of the Councils, column 841, reports the words of the Creed concerning the Holy Spirit thus without alteration:

> *I believe also in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified.*

Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his letter to Sergius, read in the Sixth Synod, in the eleventh act, in the sixth volume of the Councils, column 856:

> *I believe also in one Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father God, to be acknowledged as light and God Himself, truly coeternal and consubstantial and co-reigning with the Father and the Son, of the same substance and nature, as also of the divinity.*

Macarius, Bishop of Antioch, though a Monothelite, in his confession of faith, read in the eighth act of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod, in the sixth volume of the Councils, column 744:

> *I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, and manifested through the Son, namely to men, the life, the cause of the living, immortal sanctity, the bestower of all sanctity.*

Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the Syriac ritual, in a certain prayer, a few lines before he speaks of the anointing of the chrism of the baptismal water, in the seventh volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 531:

> *Have mercy on us, God the Father almighty, and upon these waters that are sanctified, from the prepared dwelling of Your habitation, and from Your ineffable bosom, send that Paraclete, Your Holy Spirit, that awakener, that Lord, that equal in essence, that proceeding from You, that equal in the throne of Your kingdom, and of Your only Son, our Lord and God and Redeemer Jesus Christ.*

Saint Maximus the Martyr, in his letter to Marinus, speaks thus, as cited by Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, in the twenty-third session of the Council of Florence, in the thirteenth volume of the Councils, column 376:

> *The most holy Pope who now is, the inhabitants of the royal city noted not as many synodal heads as you wrote, but only two, one of which pertains to divine matters, because, they say, he said that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son; the other pertains to the incarnation, because he said that the Lord, as man, is without original sin. And to the first, they brought the consonant opinions of the Roman Fathers, and also of Cyril of Alexandria from his holy commentaries on John, through which they demonstrated that they by no means assert that the Son is the cause of the Spirit: for they knew one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, of the one according to generation, of the other according to procession; but they signify that He proceeds through Him, and by this reason show the communion of the same essence without any variation.*

These things are also reported to have been so by Anastasius the Librarian in the ninth century, in his letter to John the Deacon, in the fifth volume of the Councils, column 1771. Thus, not only the author of that letter but also the entire clergy of Constantinople expressly denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, who from this further noted the papal synodal letters as erroneous.

The same **Saint Maximus the Martyr**, in *On Virtue and Vice*, Century I, Chapter 4, in the seventh volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 366, which is also cited by John Cyparissiotes in his exposition of the material of what theologians say about God, Decade 9, Chapter 10, in the eleventh volume of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers* of Cologne, page 547, and by Euthymius in *Panoply*, Title 2:

> *One God, the generator of one Son, the Father, and the source of one Holy Spirit: a unity not at all confused and an indivisible Trinity: a mind without beginning. The sole generator of the Word according to substance, lacking origin, and the sole source of eternal life, namely, the Holy Spirit.*

He says one God (by which he understands the Father) is the generator of the Son and the source of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, one and the sole Father is both the generator of the Son and the producer of the Holy Spirit, as he likewise adds: “The sole (namely, the Father) generator of the Son, and source (or producer) of the Holy Spirit.”

Moreover, in his scholia on **Dionysius the Areopagite**, Chapter 2 of the *Book on Divine Names*, page 116, in the Greco-Latin edition of Dionysius’ works, Paris, 1615:

> *He speaks now of the procession of the ineffable Trinity to three persons; that God the Father, without time or motion, and by the power of love, proceeded into the distinction of persons, remaining without division and diminution in His own totality, united above measure, and simple above measure, proceeding into existence by His own splendor, as a living image; and by the most holy Spirit with adoration, and proceeding from the Father from eternity, as the Lord teaches. But by goodness, He was multiplied into the principle of divinity, consisting in three persons, who is the cause and source of all things.*

These things also **Gregory the Theologian** says in his books against Eunomius. Here the Saint Martyr expressly intends to explain by what reason there are three persons in the divinity, and how the Son and the Holy Spirit were produced. He praises only the Father, who produced both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, one and the sole Father is both the generator of the Son and the producer of the Holy Spirit. And page 113:

> *He calls distinctions those adorable existences subsisting by themselves, that is, the inexplicable splendor of the Son from the Father, but the inconceivable procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father.*

Where the Latin editor notes in the margin: “The error of some Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.” Finally, page 118:

> *Note the venerable and awe-inspiring names of the most pure Trinity: the Father is the fountainhead divinity, but the Son and the Holy Spirit are the fruitful germs of divinity, that is, of the Father.*

Finally, in Chapter 4 of **Zacharias**, as cited by Beccus in his collection of the sayings of the holy Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and by Bessarion in his dogmatic oration, in the thirteenth volume of the Councils, column 418:

> *The Holy Spirit, just as He is according to the essence of God and the Father, so He is of the Son according to essence, as proceeding ineffably born from the Father through the Son essentially.*

Cosmas of Jerusalem, in Hymn 9, which is the first for Pentecost, page 721, in the appendix of the *Bibliotheca of Fathers*, Paris, 1624:

> *The strength itself coming today, the good Spirit, the Spirit of the wisdom of God, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, and seen, given, through the Son to us faithful, in whom the nature of His sanctity dwells, in which He is seen.*

And then he prays to Christ:

> *From Your Spirit into all flesh, as You said, You have poured forth abundantly, and all Your things are filled with knowledge: for You, the Son, were born without seed from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds indivisibly.*

The author of the *Book on the Trinity*, which is circulated under the name of **Cyril of Alexandria**, in Chapter 10, near the end (in the sixth volume of Cyril’s works, Parisian edition of 1638, published separately):

> *But it must be known that we do not say the Father is from anyone; but we say that He is the Father of the Son. But we do not say the*

> *Son is without a cause, nor the Father; but we say that He is from the Father and the Son from the Father. But we say the Holy Spirit is from the Father, and we call Him the Spirit of the Father. But we do not say the Spirit is from the Son; but we call Him the Spirit of the Son (for whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ, says the divine Apostle, etc.). And we confess that He was manifested and given to us through the Son: for He breathed, He says, and said to His disciples: "Receive the Holy Spirit." Just as from the sun, the ray and the splendor: for He Himself is the source of the ray and the splendor; but through the ray, the splendor is given to us, and it is He who illuminates us and is participated in by us. But we do not call the Son the Spirit, nor from the Spirit.*

Where certainly it is expressly denied with clear words that the Holy Spirit is from the Son.

But they object to this, as also to similar words of **John Damascene**: that it is by no means said here that the Holy Spirit is not from the Son, but only that the Holy Spirit is not said to be from the Son. Although, therefore, the Holy Spirit is entirely from the Son, it is at least shown by these that He is not said to be from the Son. But those who object to this willingly choose to be blind to the most lucid ray of truth. For in that entire passage, the author, intending to teach what is false or true, used no other voice than this: "we say," or "we do not say." Thus, he said: "We do not say the Father is from anyone," signifying by this that the Father is not only not said to be from anyone, but that it is also simply false that the Father is from anyone. Thus, he further said in this sense: "We say the Father is of the Son," not only signifying by this that the Father is said to be of the Son, but that He is truly of the Son. And so he went on to say: "We say the Son is from the Father. We do not say the Son is the Father. We say the Holy Spirit is from the Father. We do not say the Son is the Spirit, nor from the Spirit." The sense of these is certainly: that the Son is from the Father, but He Himself is not the Father; the Holy Spirit is from the Father: but the Son is not the Spirit, nor from the Spirit. But by the same reason, he adds: "We do not say the Spirit is from the Son." Therefore, he similarly denies by these words that the Holy Spirit is from the Son. The same is then clear from the simile he subjoins: "Just as," he says, "from the sun, the ray and the splendor: for He Himself is the source of the ray and the splendor; but through the ray, the splendor is

given to us.” Since, therefore, he shows by this simile how he had previously declared the origin of the subsistences; but here he says that the splendor and the ray are at least from the sun, as from a source; but through the ray, the splendor is given to us: it is clear that the sense of the preceding words was that the Father is indeed the source of the Son and the Holy Spirit; but through the Son, the Holy Spirit is at least communicated to us.

You will say, Yet it is certain that the holy Fathers often did not use certain words or shrank from them, as is clear, for example, from the word “unbegotten”, yet we all approve these. But these things are far different. For here, moreover, it is clear from the very sense of those words by which the Holy Spirit is denied to be said to be from the Son: namely, that it is denied by the same reason by which the Father is not said to be from another, nor the Son is said to be without a cause, or the Spirit, or to be from the Spirit. From which it is clear, as shown, that it is simply denied by this that the Holy Spirit is from the Son. Otherwise, indeed, if such clear words could be perverted, the certainty of all dogmas would be destroyed. For to any Catholic dogma, where something is denied, for example, that the Holy Spirit is not created, it could be objected: that the Fathers indeed denied this, but only as it is not said to be the same: but in reality, they thought that the Holy Spirit is created; and so on. Or, that the matter may appear more clearly, where this author denies that the Son is not said to be without a cause, nor to be from the Spirit, it could similarly be objected: that the Son is at least not said to be without a cause, or to be from the Spirit; but in reality, these things are true.

The same author, moreover, in Chapter 10, cites these words of Gregory the Theologian:

> *We say one God, the holy Trinity, with the Son and the Holy Spirit referred to one cause.*

Therefore, the Father alone is the cause or producer of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, as we have also shown above concerning the force of these words of Gregory the Theologian.

Again, in the same place, from the same Theologian:

> *When, therefore, we look to the divinity and the first cause, and the one principle, and one and the same (so to speak) motion and will of*

divinity, and to the identity of substance, power, action, and dominion: it is one that we imagine in ourselves. But when we look to those things in which the divinity is, or, to speak more precisely, which are the divinity, and to those that are understood there intemporally from the first cause, of the same glory, and without separation, that is, to the subsistences of the Son and the Holy Spirit: they are three that are adored.

But we have similarly shown above concerning similar words of Gregory the Theologian that the sense of these words is that the Father alone is the principle or producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

In the same place, Chapter 7:

We believe in one Father, the principle and cause of all things, not made from anything, but alone without cause and generation, indeed the creator of all things; the natural Father of His only begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior, and the producer of the Holy Spirit.

Chapter X:

One Holy Spirit, the Spirit proceeding, namely from the Father, not by way of filiation, but by procession.

Chapter VI:

Likewise, when we have learned about the Spirit of God, who accompanies the Word and makes its efficacy manifest, we do not conceive of a state devoid of subsistence, but an essential power, which is considered in itself in a peculiar hypostasis, proceeds from the Father, and rests in the Word, and declares and expresses it.

Chapter VIII:

Nor is there another generation that can be compared to the generation of the Son of God: for there is no other Son of God. For even if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it is not, however, in the manner of generation, but of procession; which is another mode of existence, no less surpassing our comprehension than the generation of the Son. Therefore, whatever the Father has, belongs to Him, except unbegottenness, which signifies neither a difference of essence nor

dignity, but a mode of existence. Not unlike Adam, who is unbegotten: for he is a creation of God; and Seth is begotten: for he is the son of Adam; and Eve proceeded from Adam's rib: for she herself is not begotten, and they differ from each other not in nature, since they are human beings, but in the mode of existence. Again: Only the Son is begotten, for He is begotten of the Father's essence without beginning and time; only the Holy Spirit is not begotten of the Father's essence, but proceeds; which the divine Scripture thus teaches: meanwhile the mode of generation and procession is incomprehensible to mankind.

Chapter IX:

We believe also in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, and resting in the Son, to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son, as also consubstantial and co-eternal, proceeding from the Father, and imparted through the Son and perceived by every creature. Finally, in the same Chapter, the Father is the principle and natural cause of all things, of their existence and manner of existence. The Son is from the Father by generation, while the Holy Spirit is also from the Father, but not by generation, but by procession. And indeed, we understand what the difference between generation and procession is: but we do not know in any way what the mode of the difference is. At the same time, also the generation of the Son from the Father, and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, whatever the Son and the Holy Spirit have, they have from the Father, and their very being as well. And if there is no Father: neither is there a Son, nor a Holy Spirit. And if the Father has nothing: neither does the Son have, nor the Holy Spirit. But because of the Father, that is, because the Father exists, the Son and the Holy Spirit exist; and because of the Father, that is, because the Father has these things, the Son and the Holy Spirit have all that they have, except unbegottenness, generation, and procession.

From the Eighth Century

John Damascene, in his *Epistola de Trisagio*, near the end of page 321 of his works in the Greco-Latin edition published in Basel in 1577, states:

Since we do not enumerate three Gods but one God, due to the virtues of the Father being the Word and the Spirit, the Father is the Father

> *and not the Son, for He is not from anyone. The Son is the Son, for He is from the Father, so as not to be the Father, so that there is one Father. The Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, for He proceeds from the Father through the Son and the Word, yet not in a filial manner. For if the Son of the Father, who is the Son, and the Son who is the Spirit, were to have other sons, this would extend infinitely. If, however, the Spirit were the Son of the Son, He would have a son, and that son another, and there would be many gods and many lords, a multitude of gods, and not one God. But for us, there is one God the Father, His Word, and His Spirit. The Word, truly subsisting, is begotten; hence, He is the Son. The Spirit, subsisting in Himself, is a progression and production, indeed from the Father of the Son, but not from the Son, as the Spirit of the mouth of God, pronounced by the Word.*

Therefore, toward the end of these words, he clearly teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, is of the Son, but does not proceed from Him. Then he says that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not three Gods but one, because the Son and the Holy Spirit are virtues of the Father, or, as he states in the preceding words to be cited, because the Son and the Holy Spirit are referred to one cause, namely the Father, whom he names here. Hence, he teaches that there is one God in three subsistences, because they are referred to one Father as their cause or producer. As he soon adds, the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the same through the Son. Therefore, the Father alone, as the generator of the Son, is also the producer of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, to show that the Holy Spirit is not, nor can be, the Son of the Son, he offers this reason: because then the Holy Spirit would generate another son, and that one another. From this, it is again clear that Damascene did not believe the Holy Spirit to have its principle of existence from the Son. For by the same necessity, if the Holy Spirit, as the Son of the Son, were to generate another, it follows that if the Holy Spirit were produced from the Son, He would produce another Spirit, and so on infinitely, as we have shown above regarding similar words of Saint Basil the Great.

Again, in his oration on Holy Saturday:

> *We worship the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him, who is also called the Spirit of the Son because He is manifested through Him and imparted to created things, yet not*

having His subsistence or existence from Him.

But Hugo Etherianus, in Book III, Chapter Last, objects that this passage was already corrupted in his time. For he says there:

In the aforementioned sermon, against the tradition of the fathers, it was inserted by some seeking solace in falsehood rather than investigating the paths of truth, that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son.

He proves this by the sequence of the words, the difference in style, and the erroneous insertion of a clause irrelevant to the matter. As if Damascene had taught this in only one place and not in many, as we now demonstrate, so that he could be said to be foreign to this doctrine. What difference in style is there here, or what irrelevant clause? Does not the discourse of Damascene still flow in the second cited words? For he had posited that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; hence, he adds that He is also of the Son, although He does not proceed from the Son, as he teaches in many other places with similar words. How, then, do these not cohere? Indeed, if these were arguments that the passage is corrupted, the same could be objected to other places where he teaches the same, which no one, unless out of their mind, would accuse of falsity.

Furthermore, in Book I of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XI, page 42 of the cited edition of his works, he repeats word for word those found in the Book on the Trinity, Chapter X, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria:

When we behold the Deity, the first cause, the one principle, and, so to speak, the one motion, will, essence, power, operation, and dominion of the Deity, we imagine one. But when we consider those in which the Deity exists, or, to speak more precisely, those which are the Deity, and which from the first cause are understood there without time, of one glory and without separation, that is, the subsistences of the Son and the Spirit, there are three that are worshipped. One Father, who is the Father, without beginning, that is, without cause, for He is from no one. One Son, who is the Son, not without beginning, that is, not without cause, for He is from the Father. One Holy Spirit, a Spirit proceeding indeed from the Father, not in the manner of filiation, but processively. It is necessary to know that we do not say the Father is from anyone; we say, however, that He is the Father of the Son. We

> *do not say the Son is without cause, nor the Father; we say, however, that He is from the Father, and the Son of the Father. We say the Holy Spirit is from the Father and call Him the Spirit of the Father; we do not say the Spirit is from the Son, but we call Him the Spirit of the Son. (For, as the divine Apostle says, "If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ.") And we confess that He is manifested and given to us through the Son: For He breathed, it says, and said to His disciples, "Receive the Holy Spirit." Just as from the sun come the ray and the splendor: for it is the source of the ray and the splendor, but through the ray the splendor is given to us, and it is what illuminates us and is participated in by us. We do not call the Son the Spirit, nor say He is from the Spirit.*

By these words, it is clearly taught that the Son is not the producer of the Holy Spirit, at least as we have seen regarding the same words of the author of the Book on the Trinity, where we have defended that the same, despite the exception of the Latins who object that it is said the Holy Spirit is from the Son, is not truly from Him.

In Book I of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XIII, which in the cited edition followed Chapter XV, page 55:

> *Whatever pertains to the cause, the Father, the source, the generator, is to be attributed to the Father alone; whatever to the caused, the begotten, the Son, the Word, the primordial virtue, will, wisdom, these to the Son; whatever, finally, to the caused, the proceeding, the declaring, the perfecting power, these pertain to the Holy Spirit. The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit: the Father, however, of the Son alone, and the producer of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Son, but the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father: for no motion is without the Spirit; and indeed the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father: for the Father is the only cause.*

First, he says: whatever is attributed to the cause or source pertains to the Father alone: for the Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Father alone is the cause and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit; and thus, the Son is generated from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. For by

these words, “The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit,” he explains how he had previously said, “Whatever pertains to the cause, the source, is to be attributed to the Father alone.” Then he expressly denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, while He proceeds through the Son from the Father; certainly, no clearer testimony could be offered. Furthermore, he denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son because the Father is His only cause; thus, he clearly teaches that the Father alone is the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit. Finally, he had said that the Father alone is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as shown; but to show how the Father is the cause of both, he adds: The Father, however, of the Son alone, and the producer of the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, while the Father is the projector or producer of the Holy Spirit, He is His cause; but the Father alone is the cause of the Holy Spirit, as he also taught there: it follows that the Father alone is the projector or producer of the Holy Spirit. How Saint Damascene teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, we will see elsewhere. It suffices here to note that he by no means understands the Son to be the producer of the Holy Spirit: for he adds, to show that the Spirit proceeds not from the Son but through the Son, because the Father is the only cause or producer of the Holy Spirit. That Damascene understands the term “cause” to mean the producer in the context of the Holy Spirit, we have shown.

In the *Dialogue on the Manichaean Heresy*, page 524:

> *Although I speak of three subsistences, I affirm one principle. For the principle of the Son and the Spirit is the Father, not according to time, but according to cause: for the Word and the Spirit are from the Father, though not after the Father. For just as light comes from fire, yet the fire does not precede the light in time (for it is impossible for fire to exist without light; the principle and cause of the light is the fire, because it is from it): so too the Father is the principle and cause of the Word and the Spirit. For the Word and the Spirit are from the Father; yet the Father does not precede in time. For it is impossible for the Father to be from the Son, or the Son from the Spirit. Therefore, I confess one principle, as the natural cause, the Father of the Son and the Spirit.*

He says there is one principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit; to show what that one principle is, he adds: For the principle of the Son and the

Spirit is the Father. Thus, he teaches that the Father is the one principle; or, equivalently, the producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit. As he expressly adds at the end of the cited words: Therefore, I confess one principle, the Father of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, to show how the Father is the one principle of both, he adds: For the Word and the Spirit are from the Father. If, indeed, the Father is the principle of both because the Son and the Holy Spirit are from Him: it clearly follows that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one Father: for the Father was the one principle of both. Finally, he denies that it is impossible for the Son to be from the Spirit because, as he had premised, the Word and the Spirit are from the Father, or as he adds: Because the one principle, as the natural cause, of the Son and the Holy Spirit is the Father. But by the same reasoning, it follows that the Son does not produce the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit is not from the Son. For Damascene's argument, if reduced to form, is: That which is not the Father is not the principle of the Son (for the Father alone is the principle of the Son and the Spirit). The Spirit is not the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not the principle of the Son. Or, equivalently, as Damascene also speaks, the Son is not from the Holy Spirit. Similarly, the argument holds: That which is not the Father is not the principle of the Holy Spirit: for the Father alone is the principle of the Son and the Spirit. The Son is not the Father. Therefore, the Son is not the principle of the Holy Spirit. Or, equivalently, the Holy Spirit is not from the Son. Thus, just as truly, because the one principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit is the Father, the Holy Spirit in no way proceeds from the Son, just as the Son in no way is generated from the Holy Spirit.

In the *Book Against the Acephali*, Chapter LXVII, which Henry Canisius included in Volume IV of his *Ancient Readings*, and which differs from the one published under the same title among the works of Saint Damascene, page 196 of Volume IV of the cited Ingolstadt edition of 1603:

> *We know God and God, but one God in three, understood and known among themselves, not contracted into one person and one hypostasis, far from it; but referred to one principle, the Father, with the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

By which he again clearly teaches that the one Father is the principle or producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

He has similar statements in Book I of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XI, page

42 of his works:

> *Therefore, we do not say three Gods, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but rather one God, the Holy Trinity, with the Son and the Holy Spirit referred to one cause, not composed nor joined according to the contraction of Sabellius.*

And in the *Epistola de Trisagio*, well before the end, around the cited testimony of Cyril:

> *Holy, Holy, Holy, and Trisagion: because God is three hypostases, but one God in three: because there is one Deity, and those which are from Him have a relation to Him, not differing, nor indeed composed, nor confused in hypostases.*

By these cited places, he similarly understands that the three subsistences are one God because they are produced from one cause, that is, one Father, both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, just as the Son is generated from Him alone.

Since so many testimonies can be produced by which Saint Damascene clearly taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, who would doubt his faith on this matter? Yet the Latins, to those clear words by which he denies that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the Son, are accustomed to object that the preposition *ex* here denotes an unproduced cause, in which sense Damascene truly teaches that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son: but they assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, at least as a produced cause. For they add that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son because the Father is the only cause; but by the term “cause”, an unproduced cause is meant. We will discuss the term “cause” at the end of this treatise, where we will clearly show that the force of the word does not signify the same as a cause, at least as denoting a producer. Therefore, when Damascene argues: The Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son because the Son is not His cause; by the preposition *ex*, he similarly denotes at least a producer, not simultaneously a producer or unproduced principle. Thus, in the words cited from the Book on the Trinity, Chapter X, Damascene said:

> *We do not say the Father is from anyone, nor do we say the Son is*

> *from the Holy Spirit. And hence, in the same way, he added: We say the Spirit is from the Father, and not from the Son.*

Therefore, when he connects these and in the same context says: now the Father is from no one, now the Son is not from the Holy Spirit, now the Holy Spirit is not from the Son. It is necessary that in all these propositions, the preposition *ex* signifies the same; and thus, by the same reason that the Father is said to be from no one, and the Son is denied to be from the Holy Spirit, in the same sense the Holy Spirit is denied to be from the Son. But it is agreed by all that when the Father is said to be from no one, and the Son is denied to be from the Holy Spirit, the preposition *ex* does not denote at least an unproduced cause, but simply a cause, whether unproduced or produced. For the Father has neither a produced nor an unproduced cause; nor is the Son from the Holy Spirit, either as from a produced cause or as from an unproduced cause. Therefore, in the same sense, Damascene teaches that the Spirit is not from the Son; and thus, in this proposition, the preposition *ex* does not denote at least an unproduced cause; but simply a cause, excluding both a produced and an unproduced cause.

Similarly, in the *Dialogue with the Manichaeans*:

> *The Father, he said, is not from the Son, nor the Son from the Spirit.*

In which it is again clear to all that the preposition *ex* simply denotes at least the act of producing, not an unproduced cause specifically. For the Son is neither a produced cause of the Father, just as the Holy Spirit is not of the Son. Therefore, Damascene does not denote at least an unproduced cause when, in the same context, he teaches that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, or elsewhere denies that the Spirit is or proceeds from the Son. The same is clear from the words of Gregory of Nyssa, in the *Treatise on Common Notions*, cited above:

> *All persons of man do not have their being from the same person in a continuous manner; but this one indeed from that one, and that one from another in many and diverse beings above caused causes. But in the Holy Trinity, it is not so: for the one and same person of the Father, from whom the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

Here it is clearly evident that the preposition *ex* does not denote an unproduced cause, although it is affirmed that the Holy Spirit proceeds

from the Father alone. For if here the preposition *ex* denoted at least an unproduced cause: how, I ask, would he say that a person of man is generated from another person? For a man is not an unproduced cause of his son. But here Nyssen opposes the Holy Trinity to men, teaching that, although among men persons are not generated from one but from many, in the Trinity, however, the persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced not from many but from one person. Therefore, in the sense in which he uses the preposition *ex* concerning men, he uses it similarly concerning the one person of the Father, from whom he says the Son and the Holy Spirit are; and thus, here too, the preposition simply denotes at least the act of producing, not specifically an unproduced cause. The same is clear from the words of Cyril of Alexandria in the *Confession on the Trinity*, which we also cited above:

> *For it is not as the Son came forth from the Father generatively that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For the one author and nexus of these two persons is the Father.*

Here, although it is similarly denied that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, the preposition *ex* does not denote at least an unproduced cause, but simply the act of producing, as all will confess.

Bellarminus, in Book II, *On Christ*, Chapter XXV, and others: If, however, *ex* signifies an unproduced cause; but to receive from the Son and to proceed from Him, according to the Latins, are the same: how then do the Eastern Fathers teach in countless places that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son? How then do they teach that the particles *ex* and *per* are the same? For *per* never signifies an unproduced cause, which, according to them, *ex* signifies. But if the clear words of the Fathers could be evaded in this way, how will it ever be established or proven that the Son is generated from the Father alone and not also from the Holy Spirit? For in the same way, a heretic could object to the words of the holy Fathers by which they teach the same, that the preposition *ex* there signifies an unproduced cause, but he confesses that the Holy Spirit is from the Father, which is the cause of the Son. By what words, then, should the Fathers have taught that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, if those by which they teach that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son were not sufficient? For if the clear words of the holy Fathers were to be explained in this way, no less

could the words of Theodoret, cited above, be so explained. For since *ex* and *per*, according to the Latins, are the same, Theodoret similarly understands it in terms of an unproduced cause when he denies that the Holy Spirit has existence from the Son or through the Son; although all Latins freely confess that Theodoret's words are less congruent with their opinion. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear from this that Damascene does not mean at least an unproduced cause by the preposition *ex* when he denies that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the Son.

Others have argued: Damascene, as far as the matter is concerned, did not deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, since he said that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son and is through the Son; but he considered it safer to say through the Son than from the Son. But how did he not deny, as far as the matter is concerned, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, when he clearly, in the cited words, denied that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the Son? By what clearer words could anyone deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, even as far as the matter is concerned? But he said that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son and is through the Son. Suppose, indeed, that it is inferred from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. But then, does one who denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, if he teaches that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son and is through the Son, teach, as far as the matter is concerned, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? We, too, confess the same: but do we, because we discern the matter, believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son? Moreover, we all confess that because the Word is God, it necessarily follows that the Son of God is not produced from nothing by the Father: but does one who affirms that the Son of God is produced from nothing, if he further confesses that the Son of God is God, still hold, as far as the matter is concerned, that the Son is not produced from nothing? Thus, it is clearly evident that, however a proposition is so constructed that a certain doctrine necessarily follows from it, if another clearly denies the latter, although he holds the former in doubt, he still cannot be said to affirm the latter, even as far as the matter is concerned. It is false, moreover, that because the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son and through the Son, it follows that the Son is the producer of the Holy Spirit, as we have shown elsewhere. But Damascene considered it safer to say through the Son than from the Son: but did Damascene not simply deny that the Holy

Spirit is or proceeds from the Son? Indeed, he said in Book X of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter X, that the Holy Spirit is not said to be from the Son; but, as we saw above regarding similar words of the author of the Book on the Trinity, his sense is that the Son is not at all the producer of the Holy Spirit, so it is not necessary to repeat the same here.

Others object: Theodoret and Saint Damascene held different views: for the former denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, while the latter clearly teaches the same. But we have shown above, regarding Cyril's second testimony, that both the other Catholic Doctors, who teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and Theodoret, who denies that the Holy Spirit exists through the Son, teach consistently, and these are not mutually contradictory.

Finally, others wish Damascene to have been a Nestorian because of this. But we have shown above that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone is not a Nestorian doctrine. How, moreover, could he have been a Nestorian, who always lived in communion with the Catholic Church; whom the Eastern Catholic Church, and indeed the Western Catholic Church, always recognized as Catholic; whose testimony all use as that of a Catholic Doctor, and in whom no one ever accused of Nestorianism? Clearly, since they had no response to Damascene's clear words, they fell into such madness as to accuse him of Nestorian heresy; just as we saw above, for the same reason, the Latins condemned Saint Anastasius, Maximus the Martyr, and Gregentius of falsity and heresy. Today, this exception is entirely rejected by the other Latins as absurd.

But elsewhere, too, Saint Damascene teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds at least from the Father. In Book I of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter VIII:

> *We believe in one Father, the principle and cause of all, not begotten from anyone, without cause, the only unbegotten, the maker of all, indeed the Father by nature of His only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ, and the producer of the Holy Spirit.*

These are clearly drawn from the Book on the Trinity, Chapter VII, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria.

John Damascene, in Chapter X, page 36 of the cited edition of his works:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding*

> *from the Father and resting in the Son, equal in all things to the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father, and distributed and participated in by all creation through the Son. The Son is born from the Father; the Holy Spirit, indeed, is also from the Father, but not born, but proceeding. And we say that the difference is between generation and procession: but what the mode of this difference is, we by no means know. And the procession of the Son and the Holy Spirit is simultaneous. Therefore, all that the Son and the Spirit have, they have from the Father, even their being. And if the Father is not, neither is the Son nor the Spirit. And if the Father does not have something, neither does the Son nor the Spirit have it. And because of the Father, that is, because the Father is, the Son and the Holy Spirit are; and because of the Father, the Son and the Spirit have all that they have, that is, the same as the Father has, except for unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

All these are again drawn from Chapter IX of the cited Book on the Trinity.

Again, in Book I, Chapter XVIII, page 61:

> *God and the Father is always existing, unbegotten, as not begotten from anyone, but generating the coeternal Son. God and the Son is He who is always with the Father intemporally, eternally, unchangeably, impassibly, and inseparably begotten from Him. God and the Holy Spirit is the sanctifying power, subsisting in His own subsistence, proceeding inseparably from the Father, and resting in the Son, consubstantial with the Father and the Son.*

And in Chapter VII, page 20:

> *For the majesty of the divine nature would be debased to human terms if the Spirit who is in Him were understood according to the likeness of our spirit; but the substantial power itself, considered in its own subsistence, proceeding from the Father, resting in the Word, and manifesting Him, cannot be separated from God in whom it is, nor from the Word which it accompanies, nor can it be poured into anything that does not subsist.*

These are again drawn from Chapter VI of the cited Book on the Trinity.

In Chapter XIII, which in the cited edition of Damascene's works followed Chapter XV, page 55:

The Holy Spirit is the declarative power of the hidden divinity of the Father, proceeding indeed from the Father through the Son, as He Himself knows, not generatively. Again there: I know that the Father is the generative and productive source of the hidden good in Himself. He is, therefore, the intellect of the Word, the abyss of the Word, the generator, and through the Word the producer of the Holy Spirit.

In the Dialogue on the Manichaean Heresy, page 525, the Manichaean asks:

What then, did God feel no change when generating the Son and producing the Spirit?

And he responds:

By no means. For I do not say that He who was not previously a Father later became a Father; but He always was, having from Himself His Word, and through His Word His Spirit proceeding from Him.

In the Poem on Pentecost, page 597:

The Almighty, light-bearing, incorrupt splendor was proceeding from the unbegotten light, whose paternal substance through the Son now manifests the kindred flame, the fiery voice to the nations in Zion.

In the Epistola de Trisagio, before the middle, page 509:

The Word and the Spirit are virtues of the Father, but subsisting virtues, inseparable from the Father, from whom and in whom they are, and to whom they are referred as their cause.

And after the beginning, page 505:

Holy God and Father, from whom is God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

And before the end, page 520:

The Father is the generator of the Son and the producer of the Spirit.

In Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX, page 31:

> *Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it is not by generation but by procession. Just as Adam is unbegotten, for he is a creation of God; and Seth is begotten, for he is the son of Adam; and Eve, proceeding from Adam's rib, is not begotten. Again, after some: The Son is begotten from the substance of the Father without beginning and intemporally. The Holy Spirit alone proceeds from the substance of the Father, not born but proceeding, as the divine scripture teaches, with the mode of procession being incomprehensible.*

These are again drawn from Chapter VIII of the cited Book on the Trinity.

In the Dialogue on the Manichaean Heresy, page 526:

> *The Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father and in Him.*

In the Poem on Pentecost, near the end, page 598:

> *The spirit-bearing mouth of the prophets sang, and the Spirit produced from the paternal bosom.*

Finally, in the History of Barlaam and Josaphat, Chapter XIX, Barlaam speaks, page 584 of the Paris edition of Damascene's Latin works, 1577:

> *Know that the one Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, perfect God, life-giving, and the bestower of sanctification, subsisting of His own will and power.*

For Bellarmine, in his Book on Ecclesiastical Writers, confesses that this is the genuine reading of these words in the codices. Likewise, Leo Allatius, in Book II of his Perpetual Consensus of the Eastern and Western Church, testifies that the manuscripts have it so. But we discussed these corruptions in the previous treatise. Therefore, having similarly said just before that the Son is begotten from the Father, he adds there:

> *But it is common to both the Son and the Holy Spirit to be from the Father; but it is proper to the Father to be unbegotten; to the Son, nativity; to the Holy Spirit, procession.*

Thus, he similarly teaches that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father; and there is no difference between them except that the Son

is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds at least from the Father.

Theodore, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his synodical letters read at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Action III, Volume VII of the Councils, column 176:

> *I believe also in one Holy Spirit, who proceeds eternally from the Father, to be acknowledged as light and God Himself, truly coeternal and consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and of the same throne, of the same substance and nature, as of the Deity.*

Similar words were used above in the seventh century by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his letter to Sergius. Where, certainly, he no less joined the Father to the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit than in eternity and consubstantiality, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his Theoria Rerum Sacrarium, well before the end, in Volume II of the Greek Fathers, published in Paris in 1624, page 155, states:

> *The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son, sanctifies all things and completes works, is not completed, sanctifies, and is not sanctified. For just as the sun is the cause of the ray and the illumination, and through the ray the illumination is communicated to us, and it is what shines upon us and is participated in by us, so too God the Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is communicated and manifested through the Son.*

These statements align with those of John Damascene in Chapter XI of Book I of Orthodox Faith and the author of the Book on the Trinity, Chapter X. Germanus clearly expresses that only the Father is the cause and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and at least through the Son, the Holy Spirit is given to us.

Simeon the Theologian, Presbyter and Superior of the Monastery of the Martyr Mamas at Xyloceria, in his third oration on faith and morals, for both Christians and monastics, in Volume XII, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 748, states:

> *And He is called the Father of the Son, the Word, and the producer of the Holy Spirit, just as He is the generator of the Word. And when the Father is named God, He is understood together with the Son and the Spirit. However, when the Son is named God, He is understood to be the Son of God. Finally, when the Spirit is named God, He is understood as proceeding from the Father and as the proper Spirit of the Son, in an inexplicable union and distinction.*

Here, he would surely have added that the Holy Spirit is named God because He also proceeds from the Son, and not merely because He is the proper Spirit of the Son, if he had believed such a thing. For if the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, it should no less be understood, when the Holy Spirit is named God, that He proceeds from the Son, just as He has His cause of existence from the Father.

And in his fifteenth oration, page 767:

> *The Savior, as man, was assumed into heaven so that He might send the Holy Spirit, proceeding from His God and Father, upon those who believed in Him.*

Finally, in the Book of Sacred Commentaries, Chapter XXXI, page 832:

> *The Father indeed begot the Word from Himself ineffably; just as the mind is from my soul, or rather in my soul, so the Spirit is from the Father, or rather remains in the Father and proceeds in an ineffable manner.*

Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his Epistle to the High Priests of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, in Action III of the Seventh Universal Synod, Volume VIII of the Councils, column 164, states:

> *I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father through the Son, and acknowledged to be the same God.*

Author of the Treatise: How It Should Be Understood That the Name of God Is Incommunicable, and All Prophetic Speech Directed Against Idols, found at the end of the Seventh Universal Synod, Volume VII of the Councils, column 648, states:

> *The Spirit, the Lord, life-giving, omnipotent, proceeding from the Father through the Son.*

From the Ninth Century

St. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his Epistle to Pope Leo III, Volume VII of the Councils, column 1217, states:

> *Of those things considered in God, the Father exists without beginning and without cause, for He is not from anyone, having His being in Himself. The Son, however, is not without beginning, for He is from the Father; the Father is the principle of the Son, as His cause. If you take principle in terms of time, He too is without beginning, for the Creator of times is not subject to time, shining forth generatively, eternally, and inseparably from the Father, as the splendor of glory and the character of the Father's subsistence. The Spirit, however, has His existence from the Father, not by generation but by procession, eternally known with the Father and the Son, not without beginning because of His procession from the Father. For the Father is His principle according to the notion of cause; yet He too is without beginning in terms of time.*

To show who is the principle or producer of the Holy Spirit and the Son, he names at least the Father, from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Thus, he knows only the Father as the generator of the Son and the producer of the Holy Spirit. For this reason, Jodocus Coccius, in his Thesaurus of Catholic Truth, includes Nicephorus among those who believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son. Nor would he have joined the Father to the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit, as in coeternity, if he had believed such a thing. Nor would the Spirit be any less without beginning because He proceeds from the Son than because He proceeds from the Father, if He proceeded equally from the Son.

Michael Syncellus, in his Life of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, among his works, page 357, states:

> *He proposes one God, one Lord, to be worshipped by himself, to be revered and adored in three subsistences, referred to one principle and cause, the Son and the Holy Spirit: the Son indeed begotten before all ages from the Father alone, that is, from His essence, solely and alone, incorporeally, without passion, and without time; the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father alone, going forth through the Son,*

> *and manifested to men. He teaches the primacy of one, not limited by one person (for to establish one as separate is to establish many), but constituted by the equal condition of honor in nature, the same harmony of will, the same motion, and the same convergence to one from Himself.*

For it is not, as the Latin translator has it, that the Holy Spirit descends from the Father alone, as if speaking of a temporal mission, but rather proceeds, namely from the Father alone.

Theodorus Abucara, Bishop of Caria, in his Doctrine on Divine Names, page 542 of the Greco-Latin Ingolstadt edition of 1606 (published together with Anastasius Sinaita's Hodogzo), states:

> *Among the common names predicated of the nature, this one, God, is attributed to the Father and has become in some way peculiar to Him because He is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and they are referred to Him. But if the Father, because He is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, has the peculiar name of God, it must necessarily be proper and peculiar to Him to be the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit; and thus, the Son will be generated from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit will proceed from the Father alone.*

Furthermore, it is clear from the following that the Emperors Michael and Basil, along with their subjects and bishops, undoubtedly believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not from the Son. Recently, in the year 864 from the founding of Rome, a guest from the East had converted the Bulgarians to the Christian faith, receiving little gratitude from an ungrateful people. For when they discovered that he was falsely claiming to be a presbyter, they cut off his nostrils and banished him, deeming him unordained and unworthy to preach the Christian faith. This barbarous act was not even approved by Pope Nicholas afterward. However, the king of the Bulgarians, hearing that the Pope of Rome held prominence among Christians, sent envoys to request that the Pope send some of his clergy to further instruct his subjects in the Christian faith. Pope Nicholas did not hesitate and immediately sent bishops, whom he further instructed to proceed to Constantinople and deliver exhortatory letters against the patriarchate of Photius. The envoys, arriving in Bulgaria, brought with them the holy Creed with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from

the Son. For although this addition had been introduced into the Latin Church by some a few decades earlier, it had already gained approval among many in the West, indeed occupying the greater part of that church. The Emperors, however, took this ill, and were incensed with the Bulgarian king for admitting these envoys, refusing to receive them. Without delay, they sent letters to the king, urging him not to tolerate these envoys of the Roman Pope, who dared to augment and profane the holy Creed with a new, unheard-of, and blasphemous doctrine. The Bulgarian king sent these letters back to the Pope. Meanwhile, the papal envoys were traveling to Constantinople. Neither the Emperors nor the clergy of Constantinople wished to admit them unless they first issued a confession, among other things, condemning the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and unless they sent equal letters to Patriarch Photius. These details are confirmed by Pope Nicholas's letter to Hincmar of Reims, which is the seventieth letter in Volume VIII of the Councils, column 469. He states, among other things:

> *Among the many troubles that burden us, those that seem to disturb us most are the unjust accusations brought against us, indeed against the entire Western part, by the Greek Emperors, namely Michael and Basil, and those who obey them. Inflamed with hatred and envy against us, they attempt to impute to us, as if they were crimes of heresy, the things we will note below. Their envy stems from hearing that the king of the Bulgarians, named Michael, along with his people, having received the faith of Christ, sought instructors and doctrine from the See of Blessed Peter.*

He continues, explaining that they sought an opportunity to send envoys from the Apostolic See to Constantinople with exhortatory letters, noting the dangers of the sea route due to the known treachery of the Greeks. Despite these anxieties, when the envoys of the Bulgarian king arrived, they were filled with joy, recognizing their conversion through God's goodness and their request for the doctrine of Blessed Peter's See, which provided an easy land route through their kingdom to the land of the Greeks. Having arranged matters suitable for the Bulgarians' faith and for Constantinople, they sent their envoys through the Bulgarian king's region. The Greek Emperors not only refused to receive them but also strongly protested against the Bulgarians for allowing them to pass through their land, implying that if they had passed through regions

under their control, they would have subjected them to the dangers that the heretical princes of that city had often inflicted on envoys of the Apostolic See sent for the cause of faith or ecclesiastical correction. Moreover, while the envoys remained with the Bulgarian king and attempted to reach Constantinople, the Emperors sent a letter to the king, which he, receiving, piously decided to forward to us through our envoys. Upon receiving and examining this letter along with other writings, it was clear beyond doubt that these oft-mentioned princes, in dictating it, had dipped their pen in the pool of blasphemy and used the mud of error as ink. For they attempt to rebuke both our church specifically and generally every church that uses the Latin language, because we fast on Saturdays and say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, while they confess that He proceeds only from the Father. And, what is more serious and insane, they sought to extract from our envoys, against all rule and custom, a confession of faith, if they wished to be received by them, in which they would anathematize these points and those who hold them, and they shamelessly demanded that canonical letters be sent by them to the one they call their ecumenical patriarch.

And further:

> *How much malice and madness the aforementioned Greek princes and their followers have armed against us, because we refused to comply with their illicit desires, is clearly shown in that either what they attempt to impute to us is false, or certainly it has been observed in the Roman Church, indeed in the entire Western part, from ancient times without anyone's contradiction. And although great Doctors of the Church flourished even among them, none of them reproached these practices, except those who, not fervent with the zeal of justice but struck with the zeal of envy, strive to tear apart the traditions of the church.*

He adds that it is well known that illustrious men, especially Latins, have written on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and with their authority, they could easily respond to this madness if there were any custom of them reproaching us or us rendering an account to their contentious barking. Flodoard, Abbot of Reims, in Book III, Chapter XVII of his Chronicle of Reims, Volume I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 527, also testifies that the Eastern bishops, along with the Emperors, condemned the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. He writes:

> *The aforementioned clerics of Hincmar, arriving in Rome in August, found Pope Nicholas already gravely ill and greatly troubled in the dispute he had against the Greek Emperors Michael and Basil and against the Eastern bishops.*

And further:

> *He sent another letter to him and the other archbishops and bishops in Charles's kingdom, informing them that the aforementioned Greek Emperors and Eastern bishops were slandering the holy Roman Church, indeed every church that uses the Latin language, because we fast on Saturdays and say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

Hincmar of Reims also refers to them collectively as Greeks who accused the Latins of this heresy. In his Letter to Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, which is the fifty-first among his works and letters, Volume II of his works, page 809, Paris edition of 1645, he writes:

> *The Apostolic Lord sent a letter to us and other bishops of our lord Charles's kingdom, stating that the Greeks attempt to rebuke both the Roman Church specifically and generally every church that uses the Latin language, because we fast on Saturdays and say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, while they confess that He proceeds only from the Father.*

Pope Nicholas continues, after the earlier cited words:

> *Therefore, having set aside other concerns, it is fitting, brothers, that you strive greatly in these matters; and since these are common reproaches brought against the universal church, at least in that part known to use the Latin language, as we have said, all who are seen to be honored with divine priesthood should contend together, so that the paternal traditions are not exposed to such derogation.*

If, at that time, only the Latins could be accused of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, it is clear that no Eastern church aligned with the Latins in this regard. Finally, it is certain that around this time, in a synod of many Eastern Fathers in Constantinople, with the consent and approval of the Emperors (for how else could it have been done

publicly?), the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was condemned.

Photius, speaking of those envoys of Nicholas who introduced this doctrine and its addition to the Creed in Bulgaria, writes in his Encyclical Letter to the Archiepiscopal Thrones of the East, namely Alexandria and others, which is the second letter among his epistles, in the Greco-Latin London edition by Richard Montacute, Bishop of Norwich, page 55:

> *We have condemned those novel precursors of apostasy, ministers of Antichrist, most worthy of many deaths, a common pestilence, who have torn apart with so many and such great lacerations that tender nation newly formed in piety, those perfidious deceivers and warriors against God, marked and condemned by the divine synodical vote: not decreeing their present abstinence, but through previous synods, through apostolic decrees and laws, bringing forth the predetermined condemnation against them to the public, so that it may be known to all. For humans are so constituted by nature that they are not only kept in check by past punishments but are also restrained by present ones that strike the eyes in order; while the present conspires with the past, the latter gains strength through the former. In this way, we have publicly declared these men, persisting in their manifold error, excluded from the entire flock of Christians by public proclamation.*

And since Photius then issued encyclical letters throughout the East to convene a universal synod from the East against those envoys of Nicholas, many bishops soon gathered in Constantinople. As Photius writes at the end of the cited letter:

> *Nor do we summon only Your Beatitude here, but also the prelates of the other archiepiscopal and apostolic sees, some of whom have already arrived, while others are expected to arrive soon. Therefore, let Your Fraternity in the Lord not cause, through any delay or procrastination, the brothers to wait here longer than is fitting; know that if, through any fault of yours, matters are not duly conducted in their order, the blame will fall not on another but on the delinquent himself.*

Thus, as soon as the Easterners heard of the addition to the Creed concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, both the Emperors and the Eastern bishops condemned both the doctrine and its

addition to the Creed. These were certainly Catholics up to that point, and Pope Nicholas had sent his envoys to them as Catholics, to act only against Photius. Nor does Nicholas, in the cited letters, condemn them of heresy for condemning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; rather, he merely rails against them for daring to blame the Roman Church and the entire Latin Church on this account. Indeed, when he mentions heretical princes, he refers at least to some earlier Emperors, not those then in power. He says:

> *Implying nothing else, without doubt, but that if they had passed through regions subject to them, they would have subjected them to the dangers that the heretical princes of that city are known to have often inflicted on envoys of the Apostolic See sent for the cause of faith or ecclesiastical correction.*

Nor, when Adrian later concurred with Emperor Basil and other Eastern bishops to depose Photius, did he ever object to them about the condemned procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son or its addition to the Creed, or refuse to recognize them as Catholics until they retracted these. Therefore, it is clear that the Easterners, as Catholics, held this belief against the Latins.

However, it is also clear that not all Easterners summoned by Photius gathered from the East, and the universal synod he was planning did not take place, due to the great factions that arose among the Eastern bishops over the deposition of Ignatius and the substitution of Photius. For the other patriarchs were so incensed with Photius that they refused even to receive his letters. As stated in the Fourth Council of Constantinople, where Photius was deposed, in Action V, Volume VIII of the Councils, column 1036, Elias, Vicar of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, says:

> *We have never accepted Photius as a bishop, nor received letters from him, nor sent any to him.*

And Thomas, Metropolitan of Tyre, Vicar of the Patriarch of Antioch, in the same place, column 1035, says:

> *We have never accepted Photius in the Church of Antioch, nor sent him letters of reception, nor received any from him.*

Again, the aforementioned Elias, in Action VI, column 1048, says:

> *I proclaim with a loud voice to this holy synod that we have never accepted the deposition of the most holy Patriarch Ignatius, nor received letters from Photius, nor sent any to him.*

We rightly include Photius himself here, not to approve his opposition to the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Creed, but to question by what right we might accuse him in this regard. For it is conceded by all, as is clear not only from his letters but also from a particular treatise he wrote against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, that his testimony, as that of a schismatic and heretic, is commonly rejected by the Latins with unanimous consent. Initially, since no discord had yet arisen between the throne of Constantinople and the Roman See, when Ignatius was expelled from the patriarchal see for offending the criminal Bardas, and Photius was substituted, Pope Nicholas caused greater disturbance in the already troubled affairs of the East from the West. He refused to recognize Photius's patriarchate, though approved by the Emperors and many bishops, and did not hesitate to excommunicate him—not because Photius was not Catholic, but because, as a layman consecrated as a bishop, he had usurped the throne of the expelled Ignatius. This was done with undue zeal, for Nicholas's predecessors did not immediately issue their condemnations for similar reasons, judging with prudent counsel that such matters should be tolerated to avoid worse outcomes from an excited schism. Thus, Liberius did not excommunicate Felix, nor Silverius Vigilius, nor Hormisdas Timothy. This occurred in the year 863 from the founding of Rome. Photius, thus provoked, in turn condemned Nicholas with anathema. This act of Photius is noted by contemporary authors as following his excommunication by Nicholas: Nicetas, in his Life of Ignatius, Volume VIII of the Councils, column 1225; Metrophanes, Metropolitan, in his Letter to Manuel, Volume VIII of the Councils, column 1396; Adrian II, in his Confession Libellus, Action I of the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod, cited in Volume VIII of the Councils, column 989; and finally, the Eastern bishops in their Confession Libellus, Action II of the same synod, cited in column 1000.

Thus far, Photius's excommunication by Nicholas is irrelevant here, for it was not due to an error in faith but because, though Catholic, he

was a layman intruded into the patriarchal throne. Nor had Photius yet publicly defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone or condemned the contrary opinion; this happened later. The occasion was as mentioned above: when Pope Nicholas's envoys introduced the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Creed in the recently converted Bulgaria, Photius took this ill. As soon as possible, he convened a synod in Constantinople, where, with the common consent of all gathered, he condemned those Latin bishops for blasphemy, as they dared to augment the Creed with an unheard-of and blasphemous doctrine. As he writes in the aforementioned encyclical letter, which is the second of his epistles, page 49 of the London edition cited above:

> *But oh, what a wicked, envious, God-hated counsel and undertaking! For what should have been a narrative of the Gospel or good news turned into a casting down of countenance, and delight and joy turned into mourning and lamentation. For that nation had not yet embraced the true religion of Christians for two years when certain impious and execrable men, monsters (or by what title might a Christian designate them?), men creeping out of darkness (for they arose from the Western parts), alas, how can I pursue the rest! These, I say, in a nation whose piety was new and recently established, like lightning, an earthquake, or copious hail, or, to speak more closely to the truth, like a wild boar leaping into the Lord's beloved vineyard newly planted, trampling and ravaging with their feet and teeth, that is, with certain polished paths of foulness and depraved doctrines, which was their audacity, they plundered and devastated; with all deceit they subtly tried to lead them away and corrupt them from the holy and pure doctrines and the unblemished faith of Christians.*

And on page 51:

> *Indeed, they were not only led to err in these things but came to the very crown of impiety, if there is such a thing. For besides the absurdities we have recounted above, they did not hesitate to adulterate the sacred and holy Creed, which holds inviolable authority from all synodical and ecumenical decrees, with certain spurious and false disputations, alien reasonings, and an excess of audacity. Oh, the arts of the evil demon! Teaching newly that the Holy Spirit proceeds not*

only from the Father but also from the Son. Who ever heard such a voice uttered by those who spoke impiously otherwise? What crooked serpent instilled and injected this into their hearts? Who among those living as Christians could bear to introduce two principles and causes in the holy Trinity, asserting the Father as the cause of the Son and the Spirit, and again the Son as the cause of the Spirit? This is to dissolve the monarchy into a dual deity and to tear apart the theology of Christians no less than the mystagogy of the Gentiles, thus diminishing through insult the super-substantial and monarchic dignity of the Trinity.

After this, he disputes further against that doctrine. On page 52, he continues:

For you see how vainly these men, yet so that they might more easily ensnare many, have imposed the name of Christian upon themselves. The Spirit proceeds from the Son: whence did you receive this? From which Gospels do you have this voice? Which synod's blasphemous word is this? Our Lord and God says: 'The Spirit who proceeds from the Father.' But the parents of this novel impiety say: 'The Spirit who proceeds from the Son.' Who would not close their ears to this enormous blasphemy? It stands as if in an opposing army against the Gospel, is armed against the sacred synods, falsifies the blessed and holy Fathers, namely that great Athanasius, celebrated with the title of theology, Gregory, that truly royal robe of the Church, Basil, that golden mouth of the world, truly Chrysostom, that sea of wisdom. Why should I appeal to this or that one? This blasphemous and God-warring voice is armed against all the holy Prophets, Apostles, Priests, Martyrs, and even the very voices of the Lord Himself.

And after disputing further against the procession from the Son in the following pages, he adds on page 54:

Those bishops of darkness (for they presented themselves as bishops) were disseminating this impiety, along with other illicit and illegitimate things, among the Bulgarian nation. The report of these things reached our ears: we were struck with a lethal wound through our very vitals, no differently than if someone saw with their own eyes the offspring of their womb torn and dragged about by serpents and beasts. For we who had expended zeal, labors, and sweat on their regeneration and

> *baptism could not without reason bear insufferable pain and calamity, seeing our offspring destroyed. But we grieved and still grieve for this sad event in the same way that we were filled with greater joy when we first saw them freed from the ancient error of paganism. Yet we will not grant rest to our eyes or slumber to our eyelids until, as far as we can, we restore them to the Lord's tabernacle; but those novel precursors of apostasy, ministers of Antichrist, most worthy of many deaths, a common pestilence, who have torn apart with so many and such great lacerations that tender nation newly formed in piety, those perfidious deceivers and warriors against God, we have condemned, marked by the divine synodical vote: not decreeing their present abstinence, but through previous synods, through apostolic decrees and laws, bringing forth the predetermined condemnation against them to the public, so that it may be known to all. For humans are so constituted by nature that they are not only kept in check by past punishments but are also restrained by present ones that strike the eyes in order; while the present conspires with the past, the latter gains strength through the former. In this way, we have publicly declared these men, persisting in their manifold error, excluded from the entire flock of Christians by public proclamation.*

Photius did not stop at that particular synod but also, in the year 866 from the founding of Rome, issued encyclical letters to the other holy patriarchs, denouncing the audacity of those men and urging them to send their envoys to a synod to be held for this purpose, so that, with common consent, those blasphemers might be condemned and handed over to the flames as they deserved. He also sent letters to the other archbishops and bishops, similarly urging them to come to Constantinople for this purpose. As he writes again in the cited letter, page 57:

> *But that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, or rather against the entire most holy Trinity, which has no equal, would suffice, even if all else were absent, to strike them with a thousand anathemas. We deemed it just, according to ancient ecclesiastical custom, to bring notice of these matters to Your Fraternities in the Lord, and we ask and desire that you be ready to lend common aid in condemning these impious and God-abhorrent propositions, so that you do not abandon the paternal station that your predecessors, through their deeds, handed down to you to guard and adorn. Therefore, take care diligently and with zeal to appoint those who will act in your place and represent your*

persons, perfected in piety, established in sacred orders, adorned with the faculty of speech and honesty of life, so that we may remove this widely spreading gangrene from the midst of the church and utterly uproot and consign to the fire for burning those who have so madly introduced the overflow of their impiety into this newly formed and recently established nation, with the common consent of all; for the divine oracles given to us have decreed that the execrable ones be dealt with accordingly. For we hope most confidently that, with impiety driven out and the worship of piety established, the multitude of Bulgarians newly catechized in Christ and illuminated by the light of baptism will return to the faith proclaimed to them.

And further:

Therefore, through the grace of the merciful God, who wills that all men be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, since they have turned from their ancient opinions and exchanged them for the sincere faith of Christians, if Your Fraternity deigns to rise and cooperate with us with zeal to cut out and cast into the fire those shoots that have sprung up, we greatly trust through our Lord Jesus Christ, the true God, that His fold will be further enlarged, and what was said will be fulfilled: 'All will know me, from the least to the greatest.' And: 'Their sound (of apostolic doctrine) will go out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.' Therefore, those who are to be sent by you in your place, who will uphold your sacred and holy person, must be sent with your full authority, namely that which you have received through the Holy Spirit, so that they may both pronounce judgment and cast their vote on the proposed matters, and, if any other similar issues are discussed, address them with the freedom befitting an apostolic throne. Nor do we summon only Your Beatitude here, but also the prelates of the other archiepiscopal and apostolic sees, some of whom have already arrived, while others are expected to arrive soon. Therefore, let Your Fraternity in the Lord not cause, through any delay or procrastination, the brothers to wait here longer than is fitting; know that if, through any fault of yours, matters are not duly conducted in their order, the blame will fall not on another but on the delinquent himself.

Pope Nicholas died during these events, and Adrian succeeded him. Photius, accusing the Emperor of parricide, was deposed from the

Constantinopolitan see by a synod convened at the Emperor's command, with Adrian and the other Eastern patriarchs present. But it is also certain from this that Photius had thus far defended the common doctrine of the Eastern Church. For the Eastern patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops were not ignorant of Photius's actions, by which he had convened a synod and condemned both the doctrine and its addition to the Creed (for these were done publicly, and the condemnation was publicly proclaimed to the people, as we saw from Photius's own words), and he had issued encyclical letters throughout the East against the same doctrine, which it is likely at least some archbishops and bishops received, though the patriarchs did not. Nor was Adrian ignorant of this, who, if not from elsewhere, certainly learned from the letters of Emperors Michael and Basil that the Eastern bishops, with Photius as their head, had condemned both the doctrine and its addition to the Creed; moreover, it had been required of Nicholas's envoys to send canonical letters to Photius, in which they would similarly condemn both the doctrine and its addition to the Creed, as we saw in Nicholas's letter to Hincmar cited above. Why, then, did none of them take issue with Photius on this matter? Indeed, throughout that entire synod, there was complete silence regarding Photius's faith, at least as a just cause for deposing him, with the objection being that he had been substituted for the unjustly deposed Ignatius. But how could the Easterners have omitted to accuse him of heresy if they did not approve of Photius's actions concerning the condemnation of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Surely heresy alone would have sufficed to expel Photius from the throne again; and Emperor Basil would have pressed this all the more, so that he, who had previously elevated him to that dignity, would not now appear, out of hatred due to the accused parricide, to depose him again. Adrian, even if he were perhaps a defender of that doctrine, could not have reproached Photius on that account, knowing that the Emperor and other Easterners did not differ from Photius in this regard. For if he had rendered them opposed to himself, he saw that he would achieve nothing against Photius, whom he at least wished to depose from the throne.

Cichovius, page 132, who writes most vehemently against Photius, is entirely absurd in claiming that Adrian also defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, since there is not the slightest evidence of this; nor did Adrian, through his envoys in that synod, raise even a word

of contention with Photius over the condemned doctrine. Therefore, it is clear that Photius, as a Catholic, defended a Catholic doctrine thus far when he condemned both the doctrine and its addition to the Creed. After this, Adrian died, and Ignatius died. John VIII succeeded Adrian, and Photius was again substituted for Ignatius by the Emperor. Soon, letters were sent to John VIII by the Emperor, requesting that he confirm Photius in the patriarchal see, so that the Eastern schism, with Ignatius now dead, might be settled by his counsel; otherwise, that great schism could not be resolved. Moved by these pressing reasons, John approved Photius's patriarchate, to the extent that, to remove all discord, he excommunicated those who would not communicate with Photius thereafter, as is clear from his Letter CXCIX, Volume IX of the Councils, column 130. However, he added the condition that Photius seek mercy in a synod, as stated in the same letter, column 131. The clergy of Constantinople also requested the same from John, that Photius's patriarchate be confirmed, as is clear from John's Letter to the Clergy of Constantinople, which is his two-hundredth letter, column 140. In his response to these letters, John confirms Photius's patriarchate but similarly adds the condition of seeking mercy, column 141, which he also includes in his letter to Photius himself, which is his two-hundred-first letter, column 143. Thus, a synod was convened in Constantinople from the entire East, with the presence and approval of Pope John's envoys, in which Photius's patriarchate was again confirmed, which confirmation John VIII similarly approved when reported to him, as is clear from his Letter CCL, column 180, and he acknowledges Photius as the true patriarch in Letter CCLI to the August Emperors, column 181. There was also a condition for John's approval of Photius's patriarchate, that the Bulgarians be ceded to the Roman See, which condition John had included in all the cited letters. That the Emperors ceded them is acknowledged by John in the cited Letter CCLI. Finally, in the Commonitorium given by John to the envoys sent to the synod, Photius's patriarchate is confirmed, Volume IX of the Councils, column 322. This Commonitorium had been issued by a certain Roman synod, subscribed by Latin bishops as well, column 323. Thus, as Catholics, Photius's patriarchate was again confirmed by the Pope, the Latin synod, and the other Easterners; and neither they nor these ever objected to Photius for publicly condemning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Therefore, it is again clear that Photius defended a Catholic doctrine in this regard.

The Confirmation of Photius's Patriarchate

But it is further clear from this that the excommunication imposed on Photius by Nicholas cannot be held against us, nor can the acts of the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod against Photius. For these were abolished by the aforementioned great synod, with the consent of John VIII himself and the Latin bishops gathered in the Roman synod, when they confirmed Photius's repeated patriarchate, especially when John VIII anathematized all who would not thereafter recognize Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople. But further, having been thus confirmed as patriarch, recognized by all as Catholic, and living in communion with John, not in schism, Photius no less publicly defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone and condemned the contrary opinion. This is also evident from the fact that, just before his patriarchate was confirmed by John VIII, when John frequently sent his envoys to Constantinople, he did not fail to inquire from them what their opinion was regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. He found that they consistently held that the Holy Spirit proceeds at least from the Father. As he writes in his Letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia, page 536, in the latest addition to the Library of the Greek Fathers edited by Francis Combefis, Paris, 1672, in Greek and Latin:

> *It does not seem to me that it should be overlooked, though it is clear to all due to the proximity of time, to recall the envoys who, in our times, came not once or twice but even a third time from ancient Rome to us. When we spoke of piety, as is fitting, they said nothing corrupt about the faith that is spread throughout the world, nor were they found to hold opinions contrary to us, but rather, with clear words, they preached with us that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

Likewise, when that synod was held in which Photius's patriarchate was confirmed, with his consent, every addition to the Creed, even if true, was condemned. But more on this synod later. As a Catholic, as stated, confirmed in the patriarchate, recognized as such by all, and living in communion with John, not in schism, Photius condemned the procession

of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Creed. This is first evident from the fact that he almost held John VIII himself suspect of approving that doctrine and addition, as a great error. As John VIII indicates in his Letter to Photius, published in Greek and Latin, Volume II, Part II of the Pandects of Canons Received by the Greek Church, Oxford, 1672, page 306:

> *We are not unaware that some among you, little devoted to peace, speak ill of our church, neglecting the truth. Matters have progressed to the point that Your Fraternity is not far from thinking ill of us and those subject to us. For this reason, before Your Fraternity indicates anything to me, I have decided to make these things clear to you, so that, sufficiently informed about our affairs, you may lend less ear to those who strive to contend and revile; rather, reject and spurn them, and ensure that others do not give credence to their words. For Your Fraternity knows that when he who was sent by you recently came to us and consulted us about the holy Creed, he found that we preserve it unshaken, as it was handed down to us from the beginning, neither adding nor subtracting anything. Therefore, we again signify to Your Reverence that regarding this article, from which scandals have arisen between the churches of God, you may place confidence in us, that not only do we not say this, but we also condemn those who, in their madness, first dared to say this, as transgressors of the divine word, as subverters of the theology of Christ our Lord and the Apostles.*

By this, John VIII satisfies Photius, who suspected him of approving the addition to the Creed regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. At the same time, he shows that he condemns both the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Creed. For the meaning of John's words is clear from his statement: "We condemn them as transgressors of the divine word, as subverters of the theology of Christ." If, therefore, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, inserted into the holy Creed, transgresses the divine word and subverts the theology of Christ, it is clear that the doctrine itself opposes both the divine word and the theology of Christ. Thus, Photius must have rejected both the doctrine and its addition to the Creed, since John satisfies him by condemning both, and Photius could place confidence in him only by the condemnation of both.

The same is clear from his Letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia in the latest addition cited above, page 528:

> *But while we were moved by the sacred virtue and rejoiced and delighted in its illustrious gifts and ornaments, what has now fallen upon our ears (and would that it never had: for it is a dire pain of the soul, not the body; for through this, from the great hope we had conceived, we thought it worthwhile to reveal our grief), I scarcely know how... I shall speak not with a bitter or sorrowful spirit. For it is as if the words of the Lord Himself were not sufficient, or as if they lacked adequacy, such that the definitions and decrees of the Fathers and Councils were held in no account, or their diligence in this regard were scorned, or as if they were in such matters with a perverse mind, or I know not how one might even express it; and would that such a thing had not occurred! It has come, I say, to our ears that certain Westerners, with a novel doctrine, introduce that the divine and most holy Spirit proceeds not only from God the Father but also from the Son. Through such a statement, they create much harm for those who believe and obey them.*

From this point, he extensively disputes in the following pages against the very doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Finally, he urges the Metropolitan of Aquileia to fight against this opinion of the Latins and to call back to the truth those who have strayed into error:

> *And how should this not be pursued with many tears and sighs? Much diligence is needed to curb the progress of this evil, lest we see more people, among those numbered in God's flock, fall into ruin. For this reason, we, humble as we are, call upon your eminent virtue, as if you were a great pillar of the Church and a watchman set over the house of Israel, to rouse with a shining flame the zeal for God that you hold in your heart. As a kindled lamp of the highest priesthood, bring the saving light to all who err, and, having called them back from error, lead them to the piety proclaimed throughout the whole world.*

At the end of the letter, he wishes him prosperous success against the remaining Latins, not only to call back to the royal path those who have strayed but also to receive eternal rewards worthy of such labor. Thus, on page 537:

> *Would that no one become an emulator of that crime or guilty of its curse; rather, may Christ our God be merciful to those upon whom that injury of parricides has crept, and who have risen against His law and voice. May He, with His merciful goodness and compassion, lead them back from error and be reconciled with those who have boldly offended Him. May He grant that they strive to be corrected and send among them a brave one who has covered their father's shame. May He allow no one henceforth to become food and prey for the wild beast, the author and instigator of evils. While your venerable head undertakes struggles for their salvation and raises trophies against the common enemy of the human race, may it bring forth and offer to God the fruit of the salvation of those who have fallen into error. May the inextinguishable and unshaken love of divine charity toward us abide in the same Christ our Lord.*

Thus, it is clear from this that Photius, both before and after his reaffirmed patriarchate, as a Catholic, publicly defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone.

Objections Regarding Photius's Condemnation

However, those who remained hostile to Photius's faction afterward commonly report that he was also condemned by John VIII for matters concerning the Bulgarians. Thus, an author who collected various documents pertaining to the Synod of Constantinople, at which Photius was deposed, included these in the third part of the acts of that Council, where he had cited Adrian's letter, in Volume VIII of the Councils, column 1421. He states:

> *These things John pronounced when he, as Adrian's successor, occupied the throne; the same John condemned Photius when Photius, through deceit, circumvented and corrupted Eugenius and others sent to Bulgaria. For John, having taken the Gospel and ascended the pulpit, said before all who were listening: 'Whoever does not judge Photius to have been justly condemned by God's judgment, as indeed the most holy Popes Nicholas and Adrian, my predecessors, left him condemned, let him be anathema.'*

Likewise, the same author writes that Photius was again condemned by

John, where he had reviewed a summary of the acts of the Synod recorded at the entrance of the great church, column 1424. He adds:

> *Concerning Bulgaria, John had sent Eugenius and others to Constantinople on account of the Bulgarians while Ignatius was still alive. These, after Ignatius's death, were seized by Photius and harassed in wondrous ways until they imposed communion with Photius on all. Having returned to Rome, they were publicly condemned and stripped of authority by Pope John from the pulpit.*

But suppose John excommunicated Photius on account of the Bulgarian matters: did not the same happen to Ignatius for the same reason, who died under that excommunication? Was Ignatius, for this reason, not considered Catholic by the Latins? Therefore, John could not be counted alongside Nicholas and Adrian for the same reason, who excommunicated Photius for occupying the Constantinopolitan see. Moreover, that author falsely reported that Photius was excommunicated by John. For, setting aside that this author, who lived after the time of Pope Stephen V, was among those who still opposed Photius and thus cannot be trusted, it is clearly evident from his own words that what he reported was false. He says that Photius was condemned by John for the Bulgarian matters, namely because he circumvented Eugenius and the other legates of John, whom Photius, after Ignatius's death, forced to commune with him, thus deceiving all. He adds that the legates were likewise condemned by John for this. But if these events occurred after Ignatius's death, they certainly took place before the time of that great Synod at which Photius's patriarchate was confirmed, and thus before John, through the aforementioned Eugenius and other legates, approved Photius's patriarchate in that Synod. Yet it is clearer than daylight that from Ignatius's death to the time of this Synod, no disputes arose between John and Photius. For when Photius was substituted in the patriarchal see after Ignatius's death, the Eastern Emperors soon sent letters to John, requesting that he confirm Photius's patriarchate. In response, John sent his legates to the East, among whom was the aforementioned Eugenius, to investigate Photius's case and then return home. But when they did not return according to just instructions but lingered in Constantinople, though undeserving, they were ordered by John to undertake a second legation, to confirm Photius's patriarchate in the

Synod to be convened, on his behalf and by his vote. They were by no means condemned by John for this, as that author falsely reports. These things are evident from John's own letter, which he sent to Eugenius of Ostia and Paul, Bishop of Ancona, his legates, which is his Letter CCIII in Volume IX of the Councils, column 148. There he states:

> *Although you have acted against our will, and, having come to Constantinople to investigate the cause of the Church's peace and unity, you were supposed to return to Rome and report everything to us with a certain account; and because you did not adequately fulfill the first legation entrusted to you, we should not have entrusted a second to you. Nevertheless, using the kindness of apostolic mercy, and so that you may faithfully carry out this second legation, we associate you with this religious presbyter Peter, a cardinal of our see and our familiar, so that you may act together with keen insight on those things that are to be done for the peace and unity of God's Church, according to the apostolic letters of our authority and the tenor of our commonitorium, described chapter by chapter, and so define them that you may now, by acting with more faithful devotion, have our grace, which you previously exasperated by acting disobediently, as placable.*

The other matters mentioned above we have already cited from other letters of John himself. Furthermore, if Photius was excommunicated by John after Ignatius's death, how then was Photius's patriarchate confirmed by the same John during this time? It is clear to anyone that these things are utterly incompatible. The same is explicitly confirmed by Beccus's Synodal Treatise at its beginning, whose words we shall soon cite below.

Later Excommunications and Contradictions

It is even more certain that Photius was again excommunicated by John's successors. For they wished to uphold the anathema pronounced against Photius by Nicholas, Adrian, and the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod. Thus, Stephen V refused to recognize Photius as Patriarch, because he was a layman and had been condemned by Nicholas and the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod, as is clear from his Letter in Volume IX of the Councils, columns 367–368. His successor, Formosus, followed suit in his

Letter I to Stylianus, columns 428–429. Finally, John IX did the same, column 994. Thus, the Roman Popes made entirely contradictory decisions. The disputes had been settled by John VIII; the excommunications pronounced against Photius by Nicholas and the Fathers of the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod had been abolished, and John had condemned all who would not thereafter recognize Photius as Patriarch, as we saw above. With what audacity, then, did his successors wish to uphold the anathema pronounced against Photius by Nicholas and the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod? Certainly, they not only contradicted John in this way but also fell under the judgment of the anathema by which John had condemned all who would not thereafter accept Photius.

As for Photius's further affairs, he was again deposed by Leo, the successor of Basil, not because Leo had received Stephen's letter against Photius's patriarchate, as the Latins claim, but because he had previously favored another whom he wished to be elected Emperor, as Stylianus, most hostile to Photius, reports in his Letter to Pope Stephen, in Volume IX of the Councils, column 372. And thus far concerning Photius.

Since it was evident to all, from the actions of Nicholas's legates sent to Bulgaria, that certain Latins were using the Creed with the addition, the Synod at which Photius's patriarchate was confirmed after Ignatius's death approved the Creed without alteration and decreed that nothing, even if true, should be added to it. Photius's cited letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia reports that John VIII's legates, having recited the holy Creed without any addition, subscribed to it in that Synod, as we shall cite elsewhere. The complete acts of this Synod are preserved among the Latins in the Vatican and Colonna Libraries, as Baronius testifies for the year 879. From this, Beccus composed a book titled *On the Union and Peace of the Churches of Old and New Rome* and another on the same subject titled *On the Same Ecclesiastical Peace*. The absurdity of the scandal is demonstrated by history alone. This book, in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, begins thus:

It would truly be blessed if the evangelical preaching…

In this, he pursues the agreement reached between Pope John VIII of Rome and Photius of Constantinople, especially in that celebrated Synod

which restored Photius to the Constantinopolitan see. From this writing of Beccus, someone long ago excerpted matters pertaining to that Synod and titled them: *On the Holy and Ecumenical Synod Which Restored the Holy Patriarch Photius to the Constantinopolitan See and Resolved the Scandals of the Two Churches, Namely Old and New Rome*. From Beccus's oration, which begins, "It would truly be blessed," these excerpts were held in manuscript at Oxford in the Bodleian Public Library. When the *Pandects of Canons of the Holy Apostles and Councils Received by the Greek Church* were published there in 1672, Volume II, Part II, these were also printed publicly. The oration of Beccus itself, from which the acts of that Synod were excerpted, which we said is preserved in the Vatican Library, begins on page 273 as follows, showing from the outset that the legates of John agreed with Photius in that Synod. It states:

> *It would undoubtedly have been fortunate if the simple and plain preaching of the Gospel had always flourished in Christ's Church. After Nicholas had passed, and after him Adrian, when Pope John had attained the Apostolic See, he harbored no enmity toward Photius but promptly accepted his restoration to the patriarchal see. Photius, with more than three hundred bishops convening together, celebrates a Synod in Constantinople, issues canons, and anathematizes whatever was said or done against the Roman Church during the time of dissension. Among the acts issued by this Synod of union, he promulgates in his sermons these things concerning John himself, the head of that Church, which had previously been attacked with reproaches and insults.*

These details, with some initial words omitted and many others included, Leo Allatius cites from the same Synodal Treatise of Beccus in his *Concord of the Christian Nations Through Asia, Africa, and Europe in the Dogmas of the Catholic Faith*, published in Mainz in 1655, in the *Letter on the Perpetual Agreement of the Latin and Greek Churches*, pages 114 and following. Besides other matters irrelevant here, the anonymous author cited by Allatius reports from Beccus, on page 285:

> *In this sixth action, a common decree or holy Symbol of faith was issued, which is such that today, even those from Rome and the other great sees present there, offer no impediment to that which proceeds from the Father.*

And then, on page 288:

The most holy elders and legates of Old Rome exclaimed: 'It is fitting that no other rule be renewed, but that the ancient and renowned rule, prevailing throughout the whole world, be read and confirmed.' Whence the most holy Patriarch Photius said: 'According to the judgment of our brothers and fellow priests, let it be read.' And Peter, the Deacon and Protonotary, urged by exhortation, read: 'Holding in the bosom of the mind the venerable and divine doctrine of our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ, with certain judgment and the established purity of faith, and observing with the firmest judgment the sacred ordinances and canonical rules of His holy disciples and Apostles, and indeed honoring and preserving unblemished, pure, sincere, and unshaken the clear and issued canonical decrees of the seven holy and ecumenical Synods, directed as if by the inspiration of the same and only Holy Spirit, we cast out those whom they cast out, and we judge worthy of acceptance and embrace those whom they, as teachers of the same opinion and piety, judged worthy of honor and holy veneration. Thus thinking and preaching, we approve with mind and tongue the definition of the pure Christian faith handed down from the Fathers to our times and proclaim it steadfastly to all with a loud voice, taking nothing away, adding nothing, changing nothing, corrupting nothing. For removal and addition, stirred by no machinations of evil, bring about heresy through the intent of those who are irreproachable and introduce an inexcusable injury to the Fathers; but to alter the definitions of the Fathers with corrupted words is far more pernicious. Therefore, this holy and ecumenical Synod, embracing with divine affection and upright mind the definition of faith that has existed from the beginning, cherishing it with divine zeal and placing and building the foundation of salvation upon it, thus thinks and proclaims to all: I believe in one God…' and what follows in the sacred Symbol to its end. Thus we think; in this confession of faith we were baptized; through this, the word of truth shows every heresy broken and dissolved. Those who think thus, we enroll as brothers, fathers, and co-heirs of the supreme city. But if anyone dares to issue another exposition besides this sacred Symbol handed down to us by our blessed and holy Fathers and call it a definition of faith, so as to steal the dignity of the confession of those divine men and impose upon it their verbose trifles, and propose that common document to the faithful or to those returning from some heresy, and with spurious

> *words, additions, or removals presume to corrupt the antiquity of that sacred and venerable definition, according to the judgment of the holy ecumenical Synods issued before our time, if he is among the sacred, we subject him to complete deposition; but if he is a layman, we submit him to anathema.*

And after the reading, this holy assembly exclaimed:

> *Thus we all think, thus we believe, in this confession we were baptized and deemed worthy of the priestly rank; those who think differently from these things, we consider enemies of God and truth. If anyone dares to issue another Symbol besides this sacred Symbol, or to add or remove, and presume to call it a definition, he is to be condemned and cast out from all Christian confession. For to remove or add shows our holy and consubstantial Trinity, descending to this day, to be imperfect, and condemns the apostolic tradition and the doctrine of the Fathers. Therefore, if anyone, incited to such madness, dares (as said above) to issue another Symbol and call it a definition, or to make an addition or removal to that which was handed down to us by the holy and ecumenical great Synod, let him be anathema.*

Elias, the most religious Presbyter and legate of Jerusalem, and Cosmas, Senior of Alexandria, said:

> *Let those who think differently from this be anathema; anathema to those who do not confess this common Symbol.*

The same, in all respects, is reported in Actions III and IV by the author of the booklet on the Eighth Synod, namely Photius's, who, in the cited Volume II, Part II of the *Pandects of Canons and Councils Received by the Greek Church*, appended these excerpts from Beccus's oration, pages 301 and following, and page 305. Likewise, Baronius cites similar things from a Vatican manuscript for the year 879. That these were decreed against the Latins, who had inserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son into the sacred Symbol, not even any Latin would deny. For the Synod could not have dealt so extensively with the addition to the Symbol for any other reason, since no other addition had come into controversy in recent times or in Photius's era. Thus, this universal Synod, with repeated anathemas, decrees that nothing, even if true, may

be added to the sacred Symbol concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son:

> *For removal and addition, stirred by no machinations of evil in the Symbol, bring about heresy through the intent of those who are irreproachable and introduce an inexcusable injury to the Fathers; but to alter the definitions of the Fathers with corrupted words is far more pernicious.*

Therefore, since this Synod proscribed the common addition of the Latins to the holy Symbol and condemned with anathema all who insert even true things into the sacred Symbol, in which 383 Fathers gathered with the vicars and legates of the other patriarchal sees and of the Roman see itself decreed these things with common consent, it is clear that all who use that addition are subject to that anathema, who, against the decree of this universal Synod, fight for this addition as if for their altars and hearths. Those Fathers, gathered in such great number, were undoubtedly Catholic and recognized as Catholic by John VIII. For to them, as Catholics, he had sent his legates to convene that Synod; and with them, as Catholics, John VIII's legates concur in one Synod. It is beyond doubt that many Easterners who had deposed Photius from the patriarchal see in the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod also attended this Synod. For who, unless bereft of sense, would think that within the short time between these two Synods, all the Fathers gathered in that one had already died? Indeed, as we saw, the same Elias, as the vicar of Jerusalem, is present here, who likewise held this role in the Sixth Constantinopolitan Synod, as we saw above from the words of that Synod itself. This Synod was also held while Emperor Basil was still alive. But even by the confession of the Latins, those who deposed Photius in the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod were Catholic. Nor, when the acts of this Synod were later reported to John VIII, did he disapprove of anything in them except that his letters were not read unaltered in that Synod and that Photius did not seek mercy, as is clear from his Letter CCL cited above. Since John acquiesced in the other things done in that Synod, it is clear that he also upheld, among other things, the condemnation of the addition to the Symbol, even if true.

This Synod was therefore Catholic, which with unanimous consent condemned every addition to the Symbol; indeed, that this Synod retains

authority even in the Latin Church is clear from the fact that Gratian included a canon from it in his *Decretum*, Cause VII, Question I, Chapter I: *Hoc nequaquam*. And lest you object that Gratian also included many things from apocryphal sources in his compilation, the revision and correction of that *Decretum* by Pope Gregory XIII raises no objection against this Synod. Moreover, Gregory's correctors add in the Vatican Library that this Greek Synod exists, and they cite that canon in full, in Greek and Latin, along with a large part of the action, and certainly assume the Synod to be legitimate. Likewise, Martinus Polonus, in his *Life of John VIII*, states:

> *Under him, the Fifth Synod was celebrated in Constantinople, where 383 Fathers were present, presided over by Peter, a presbyter and cardinal, Paul, Bishop of Ancona, and Eugenius, Bishop of Ostia, legates of the Pope.*

Here, too, he mentions this Synod as legitimate.

Since this Synod so strongly opposes the Latins and strikes their addition like a thunderbolt, it is commonly claimed today, following Baronius, that this Synod was fabricated by Photius. Thus, Baronius, for the year 879, states:

> *Thus far concerning the Photian Synod, begun this year and completed the next: concerning which it is worthy of wonder that there is no Greek historian who chronicled the deeds of Emperor Basil who mentions this Photian Synod, while nearly all mention the legitimate Eighth Ecumenical Synod, in which Photius was deposed from the throne. Certainly not Curopalates, not Cedrenus, not Zonaras, not Glycas, not Constantine Manasses make even a single word about such a Photian Synod, although, if such a one existed, so numerous and condemning the ecumenical Synod, it could hardly seem to have been passed over in silence. Whence suspicion grows that it was entirely fabricated by Photius's pen and colored with the brush of falsehood, as has been shown above to have been done by him in other matters.*

But first, that this Synod was not fabricated by Photius is clear from the words of John VIII himself, in which he mentions this Synod. Thus, in Letter CCL, Volume IX of the Councils, column 180, with similar words in Letter CCLI to the August Emperors, column 181, he says to Photius:

> *For we receive those things that were mercifully done in Constantinople by synodal decree for the cause of your restoration; and if perchance our legates acted against the apostolic precept in that Synod, we neither receive nor judge them to have any validity.*

Likewise, John mentions the same legates sent by him to this Synod: namely, Peter, a presbyter and cardinal, Paul of Ancona, and Eugenius of Ostia, as we cited above from his Letter CCIII to the same Paul and Eugenius concerning Photius. Moreover, Joseph Bryennius testifies that even in his time, the subscriptions of the Latin legates in that Synod were preserved among the manuscript archives in Constantinople. Thus, in his *Oration VIII on the Holy Trinity*, cited by Leo Allatius in Book II of *On the Agreement of the Eastern and Western Churches*, Chapter V, Number III, he states:

> *When 75 years had passed since the Seventh Synod, under the reign of Basil the Macedonian, another Synod was convened in this queen of cities. The cause of the gathering, through which all things were accomplished according to the Pope's will and imperial zeal, was this: to restore the most holy Photius to the Byzantine see and to expel and cast out from the Church those who, through fear or deceit, dared to say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. This it accomplished most excellently. To this holy Synod, the most holy Pope John, who then presided over the Roman Church, gave his assent through Peter, a presbyter and cardinal, Paul, and Eugenius, bishops and his representatives, subjecting to anathema anyone who in the future dared to add or remove; with his representatives subscribing in their own hand in the Roman script, or rather with him subscribing through them. Their subscriptions, as a testimony, are preserved to this day in the great Church. If you wish to learn to which dogmas they subscribed and through them the most holy Pope, you will find it if you review the sixth action of this Synod.*

Furthermore, Zonaras, Balsamon, and Matthew Blastarius, in their commentaries on the canons of the Councils, likewise cite certain canons from this Synod. Even Beccus, a defender of Latinism, compiled the acts of this Synod into a treatise, as we saw above. Gratian included a canon from this Synod in his *Decretum*, Cause 7, Question I, Chapter: *Hoc nequaquam*, stating:

> *Whence, in the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod of 383 Fathers under Pope John VIII, presided over by Peter, a presbyter and cardinal, Paul, Bishop of Ancona, and Eugenius, Bishop of Ostia, legates of the Pope, they said: 'Hoc nequaquam,' etc.*

Ivo, in Part VII of his *Decretum*, Chapter CXLIX, cites the same exactly. We saw the words of Martinus Polonus above. Manuel Calecas, arguing for the Latins, in Book IV, page 319, Volume XIV of the Cologne *Library of the Fathers*, states:

> *The greater part of the Eastern bishops were not reconciled to him but, keeping themselves from him, refused to call him Patriarch. He therefore entreated the Roman Pontiff, to whom the care of the churches chiefly pertains, to send legates to the royal city according to the custom of the Roman see, who would both visit him and decide all matters together, uniting the dissenting bishops both to one another and to the Patriarch. Two were sent, and a Synod was then held within the precincts of the temple most renowned under the name of Divine Wisdom, to establish agreement among the Easterners; some call this Synod the Eighth.*

Although the same author then denies that anything concerning the addition to the Symbol was addressed in that Synod. We have already discussed the revisers of Gratian's *Decretum* under Gregory XIII. How, then, could this Synod have been fabricated by Photius when it has John VIII himself and so many other witnesses?

But the Greek historians who chronicled the deeds of Emperor Basil did not mention this Synod, while nearly all mentioned the Synod that deposed Photius. Is the truth of Synods, then, to be sought from writers of civil or secular affairs? For when they aim to report at least civil matters, if they are silent about some things done in the Church, does it follow that these did not occur? Moreover, it is false that nearly all historians mentioned the Synod that deposed Photius. Cedrenus, in his *Compendium of Histories*, Part II, page 569, Paris edition of 1647, Zonaras in Volume III of his *Annals*, page 134, Basel edition of 1557, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Number XXV, page 65, Book II of Leo Allatius's *Mixed Writings*, published in Cologne in 1653, mention that Constantinopolitan Synod. But many others make no mention of it. Thus,

Leo Grammaticus, in his *Chronographia* in the life of Emperor Basil, page 471, Paris edition of 1655, together with Theophanes's *Chronographia*, states:

> *The Emperor, approaching the Church and about to partake of the sacred mysteries, was called a robber and murderer, unworthy of holy communion, by Patriarch Photius. Enraged, he sent to Rome, and with the Roman bishops reporting, he obtained a written sentence against him, deposed him from the throne, and installed the holy Patriarch Ignatius a second time.*

Likewise, Constantine Manasses, in his *Chronicle Compendium*, at least, page 105, Paris edition of 1655, states:

> *The wicked Photius is deposed from the throne.*

Joel, in his *Chronographia Compendiaria*, page 179, Paris edition of 1651, together with George Acropolites, the great Logothete's history, states:

> *Photius, because he was reproached by him for Michael's murder, was expelled, and the holy Ignatius was designated Patriarch a second time. After Ignatius's death, Photius was again substituted.*

Finally, Michael Glycas, in Part IV of his *Annals*, page 293, Paris edition of 1660, states:

> *Then Bardas raged, removed Ignatius from the flock, and substituted Photius in his place.*

With what audacity, then, did Baronius claim that nearly all historians mentioned the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod when it is clearer than daylight that many of them make no mention of it? What, then, if the others did not mention this Synod, or did not write a history, or their chronicles did not reach our hands? Would that mean the Constantinopolitan Synod was fabricated? Moreover, how could Zonaras be said to have been ignorant of this Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod when, although he mentions the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod in his history, he includes canons from this Synod in his commentaries on the

canons of the Councils? It is clearly evident from this that Baronius's argument, drawn from the silence of historians, is worthless. Curopalates, moreover, could have nothing about this Synod, as he, continuing Cedrenus's history at least, began from the time of Emperor Nicephorus in 1078. It is also false that this Synod condemned the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod, since at least through it the anathema by which the latter Synod had condemned Photius was abolished. Likewise, how could the Fathers, who in such great number attended this Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod, many of whom had also gathered in the Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod, have condemned that Fourth Constantinopolitan Synod and thus themselves?

Furthermore, that the Greek Church at this time commonly held the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone is evident also from the words of Anastasius the Librarian, who lived in the time of John VIII, in his *Letter to John the Deacon*, Volume V of the Councils, column 1771:

> *Moreover, we have interpreted from the letter of the same St. Maximus written to the presbyter Marinus the circumstance concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, where he indicates that the Greeks falsely accuse us, since we do not call the Son the cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, as they suppose; but, not unaware of the unity of substance of the Father and the Son, we confess that just as He proceeds from the Father, so too He proceeds from the Son, understanding procession as mission. Piously interpreting, he instructs those learned in both languages toward peace, teaching both us and the Greeks that the Holy Spirit proceeds in one sense and does not proceed in another.*

By this, he shows that it was true of the Latins at that time that they understood mission by procession, and likewise shows that the Greeks at this time denied that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit. Yet he does not mention the Greeks as separated from the communion of the Catholic Church but as those whom the entire Western Church recognized as Catholic.

Moreover, that the Greeks at this time recoiled from the Latins' opinion is evident also from the fact that some Greeks in the East spread and reported to Photius that John VIII approved the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol,

considering both to be the gravest error. Thus, John VIII himself, in his Letter to Photius, cited above, states:

> *We are not unaware that some among you, little devoted to peace, speak ill of our Church, neglecting the truth. Matters have progressed to the point that Your Fraternity is not far from thinking ill of us and those subject to us. And they have found an occasion, as I myself would affirm, fitting for such a purpose, as the preceding discourse will make clear, and God will confirm with His testimony from above. But like those who adulterate wine with water, they mix in certain things, falsely inventing them for themselves. And no wonder: for it is necessary that he who from the beginning was the author of evil and set enmity against God, and then separated our first parent from the love of the Creator and made him an enemy of his Creator, even now has some ministers of his own and impels them to stir up some scandal among the churches. But I, directing my eyes to Christ, the author of truth, who removed enmity from His flesh, strive with all my strength to stop the mouths of those men who delight in evils. For this reason, even before Your Fraternity indicates anything to me, I have decided to make these things clear to you, so that, sufficiently informed about our affairs, you may lend less ear to those who strive to contend and revile; rather, reject and spurn them, and ensure that others do not give credence to their words.*

And after condemning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol, he adds:

> *Therefore, those who accuse us as if we held such an opinion do not accuse us justly.*

It is clear to anyone that John VIII does not condemn in those Greeks an alienation from the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; but at least that they unjustly reported that he approved that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol. Likewise, Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Smyrna, wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone against the Latins, as Peter Lambeck testifies in Book III of his *Commentaries on the Vindobonensis or Viennese Library*, page 104, Vienna edition of 1670. In manuscript theological Greek codex LX of that library, folio 79, pages 1 and 2, there is a fragment on the procession of

the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, authored by the same Metrophanes, which Lambeck calls schismatic. Its beginning is:

> *If from one cause, the Father, the Son and the Spirit proceed, the one by procession, the other by generation.*

From the Tenth Century

Emperor Leo the Wise, in his *Oration on Pentecost* near the end, Question IV, from his nine orations, page 339 (published together with Gregory of Nyssa's double commentary on the inscription of the Psalms by Jacob Gretser in 1610), states:

> *They honor the Holy Spirit who confess Him to be God, equal in glory, power, worship, and adoration with the Father and the Son, participating in all things except those by which the persons are distinguished, having all that it is fitting for God to have: creator, uncreated, containing creatures, sanctifying, filling all things in an incomprehensible manner; who not only innovate nothing concerning His nature but also do not refer His origin to two causes. For both deviate from the true opinion: one is of those who cast the Creator into the class of creatures, the other of those who introduce multiple principles into the Trinity of one principle. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is to be honored with divine honor.*

By this, he indirectly censures those who posit two principles or causes of the Holy Spirit, clearly referring to those among the Latins who up to that time had asserted the Father and the Son as two causes of the Holy Spirit. For he could not have objected this to anyone else except a Latin holding such an opinion. As Gretser adds in the margin on page 340: "The error of the schismatic Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone."

Likewise, earlier on page 331, he states:

> *He glorified God and the Father, who was born before the morning star as God; He glorifies the only-begotten Son, who together with Him proceeded from the Father eternally as God, namely the Holy Spirit.*

Here, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would necessarily have said: “He glorifies the Son, from whom and from the Father the Spirit proceeds.” And shortly after:

> *The Father, needing no one, begets God the Son equal to Himself and produces the most excellent Spirit equal to Himself, not divided in Divinity by the distinction of persons but united in the enumeration of the Trinity without confusion of the same, so that nothing is posterior, nor born from non-existing things, and thus new and novel, but persons coeternal and without principle, of the same order and glory, differing only in the relation of principle, generation, and procession, so that the Father is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit; the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

He says that the divine subsistences agree in all things, differing at least in the relation of principle, generation, and procession: namely, that the Father is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit; the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Thus, he ascribes the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit to the Father alone, just as he ascribes generation to the Son alone and procession to the Holy Spirit alone. If, likewise, the divine subsistences differ from one another only in the stated relation, it is clear that the Son differs from the Holy Spirit at least in generation and not also in the relation of principle; and thus, the Holy Spirit by no means proceeds from the Son. The praised Emperor Leo was Catholic and recognized as such by the Roman Pope himself. For the legates of Sergius dealt with him as a Catholic and approved his fourth marriage. For up to this point, union still existed between the Eastern and Western Churches, and it was only on the occasion of those fourth marriages of Emperor Leo that the names of Popes Sergius, Anastasius, and John X ceased to be recited in the diptychs in Constantinople. Thus, Nicholas, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his *Letter to Pope Anastasius* (written in 910), Volume IX of the Councils, column 1264, states:

> *Thence I took the beginning of writing, most blessed Father, from where so many evils flowed for us. I was urging with tears that he at least refrain from the woman for a time, until legates summoned from Old Rome and the other patriarchal sees could deliberate with us on what needed to be done. With these words, which were to no avail (for love had then closed his ears), I was addressing the King; meanwhile,*

> *legates arrived from Rome, whom, as was publicly spread in sermons, he had summoned to confirm the marriage. I am unaware that it was cast about by slanderers that I, through pride, spurned the sight and conversation of the legates, as if it were in my power either to approach openly men burning with the greatest envy everywhere, on account of the rumor spread by many that they had come as supporters of the marriages we condemned, or that I myself did not urge the Emperor to grant us a private place in the palace to meet with the legates, where, with witnesses removed, we could deliberate on this marital question, which he neglected to do. It was added, lest anything of evil be lacking to us or any defense remain, the harshness of the legates, who, as if they had been sent from Rome to declare war on us, attacked us in the most unworthy ways. Such hatred of the wretched, such contempt for the order of men, consumed them. And indeed, it was fitting for those claiming ecclesiastical primacy to inquire seriously into the whole matter and report to the supreme Pontiff, not to assent through the greatest injury and mockery to the condemnation of those who, guilty of no crime, incurred the Prince's indignation solely because they abhorred the stain of fornication. But granted, two or three men could have suffered something human, being human, overcome by the slanders of accusers here and the entreaty or price of the more powerful there: who could bear that Western prelates, led by the mere lies of enemies, confirmed the exile of the innocent with their vote? And then, column 1267: Nor indeed are these things said by me to that end, that I wish the Emperor who dared such a crime to be assailed with curses by you, or your predecessor, Pope Sergius. That is not my mind's intent; nor does such a love of vengeance befit the servants of God. Both have long since departed this life. Attention must be turned, most blessed Father, to those who remain, who have stirred up so many and such great disturbances against me with false accusations.*

And furthermore, the same Nicholas of Constantinople desired nothing more from Pope John X, that his name be again recited in the diptychs, than that he likewise condemn those fourth marriages. Thus, in his letter to the same John X, written after 916, Volume IX of the Councils, column 1267, he states:

> *With how many and how great waves of afflictions we have been tossed for fifteen years (for about that many have passed since scandals first pervaded the Constantinopolitan Church and disturbed all things), it*

> *is most grievous for me to recall, most blessed Father, and superfluous to recount to you who know. But because we seek your fraternal love, whose services to us have been interrupted by the difficulties of the times, and desire the customary union of the churches, we have decided to send these letters to you, so that, with all memory of offense set aside, we may call your holiness to the sincere friendship and union of souls owed by pastors to the people. This will then be solidified by legates sent from both sides, when it has been harmoniously judged that the fourth marriage, which introduced dissensions and scandals into the Church, was permitted not for the sake of the matter itself but for the person, with the occasion then urging leniency and a more indulgent affection toward the Prince, lest his offended spirit, repulsed, devise worse things. Thus, too, your holiness's name will again be celebrated, as was once the custom, together with ours from the sacred roll of the Constantinopolitan Church; and we, filled with joy in every respect, will enjoy the delight of peace.*

Furthermore, it is clear that the Easterners then believed that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone, from the fact that, when Pope Sergius in the year 906 sent his legates to Constantinople concerning the fourth marriage of Leo, and through these authors learned that the Easterners believed the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone: he himself thereupon noted the same opinion among the Easterners, calling upon the Gallic Bishops to inquire everywhere for arguments for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus, in the Council of Trosley, Chapter XIV, in the year 909, HERIVEUS Archbishop of Rheims is read to have said, in Tome IX of the Councils, column 561:

> *Indeed, because it has become known to us by the Holy Apostolic See that the errors and blasphemies of a certain Photius still prevail in the Eastern parts concerning the Holy Spirit, blaspheming that He does not proceed from the Son, but from the Father alone: we exhort your Paternity, together with me, that according to the admonition of the Lord of the Roman See, each of us, having examined the Fathers... Let us, therefore, with the sentiments of the Catholic Fathers, draw forth sharp arrows from the quivers of divine Scripture, mighty to pierce the beast of the monstrous heresy reborn and to crush the head of the most wicked serpent.*

First, then, Sergius condemns the blasphemy of the procession of the

Holy Spirit from the Father alone. For what else could issue from a monstrous and blasphemous mouth but blasphemy? Latin authors themselves report that this Sergius, the most shameful of all and the foulest monster, was an invader of the Roman see.

Theophanes Cerameus, Archbishop of Tauromenium, in his *Homily LVI*, Greco-Latin edition, Paris, 1644, p. 378:

> *For then he reveals with loftier doctrine both what pertains to the Father and to His natural generation, and what pertains to the kindred Spirit, that it proceeds indeed from the Father but is sent by both, as equal in honor. He says, "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father but is sent by both." Thus, he refers the procession solely to the Father, but the mission of the Holy Spirit to both the Father and the Son.*

And later, on p. 383:

> *Lest anyone suppose this mission to be servile, he shifts the discourse to explain the mode of existence, saying, "The Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father." He says, "Although He is my Spirit, for I am the truth, yet He has His existence from the Father." For from one source of the Father's substance, both the Spirit and the Son exist, though in different modes. The Son, as light from light, shines forth through generation; the Holy Spirit, also light from light, but through procession. Just as the rays of the sun, having an indivisible relation to one another, transmit the gift of light to us, neither separated from the sun's orb nor divided from each other, so too the Son and the Holy Spirit, the twin ray of the Father, proceed from the Father, remain united to Him, and minister to us the light of truth.*

When he says, "Although He is my Spirit, yet He has His existence from the Father," he clearly shows that, although the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, the procession of the Holy Spirit pertains not to the Son but solely to the Father. He gives the reason why, though the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, He proceeds from the Father: because the Son and the Holy Spirit exist from one source of the Father's substance. Thus, he understood the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father alone, saying, "Although He is my Spirit, yet He proceeds from the Father." Finally, he explicitly states, "From one source of the Father, both the Son and the Holy Spirit exist." Thus, the Son is generated from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Elias, Archbishop of Crete, in his *Scholia on Gregory the Theologian's Oration on the Holy Spirit*, p. 197, Latin edition of Gregory Nazianzen's works, Basel, 1571:

> *It is written in many places that the Holy Spirit is supplied, given, and sent by the Son; but that He proceeds from the Son in the same way as from the Father, by no means. The Latins, however, thinking that the word ekporeuesthai (to proceed) means the same as to be supplied or given, believe they commit no error even if they say the Spirit proceeds from the Son. But this is not the case. For how could it be, when these words differ entirely and universally, as it is said? The word ekporeuesthai (to proceed) signifies the mode of the Spirit's existence: just as the Son is from the Father, but gennētos (through generation) and in no other way, so the Spirit is from the same principle, namely the Father, not gennētos (for there are not two Sons), but ekporeutōs, so to speak, or through procession. Thus, to proceed is the mode by which the Spirit has His being from the Father, and this is also understood as a property of His being. But to be sent, supplied, or communicated does not indicate how the Spirit exists; rather, these signify a certain opulent outpouring and diffusion of goodness, which has its essence from the Father but is poured out through the Son upon those who are worthy. Hence, he frequently teaches that the Father alone is the principle and producer of the Holy Spirit.*

On Gregory the Theologian's *Oration III*, p. 87:

> *The meaning of these words is this: We will retain, in my judgment and opinion, one God, by reason of the one and same divine essence, whose persons are three, with the Son and the Holy Spirit referred to one cause in terms of motion and will. By these words, he refutes partly those he called Philopatores and Philochristoi, and partly Sabellius himself. The Philopatores and Philochristoi, when he establishes the identity of essence and motion of will, and refers both the Only-Begotten Word and the Holy Spirit to one cause. For the Philochristoi were unwilling to refer the Holy Spirit and the Only-Begotten Word to the cause, namely the Father, but divided the one Deity into diverse principles. Therefore, we do not say that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three Gods, but one God, the Most Holy Trinity, with the Son and Holy Spirit referred to one cause.*

And on p. 93:

> *We say one God, which is the Holy Trinity, with the Son and Spirit referred to one cause.*

On *Oration IV, On the Son*, p. 191:

> *Therefore, we do not say there are three Gods—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—but rather one God, the Holy Trinity, with the Son and Holy Spirit referred to one cause.*

On *Oration VI, On the Holy Spirit*, p. 184:

> *The one and same person of the Father is He from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds; therefore, we piously call Him one God, the one who is the cause, together with the caused (aitiatōis). For this reason, God is one for us, since there is one Deity, and those things that are from Him, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit, are referred to one Father, the producer (provolea), as to a cause.*

He has similar statements on p. 185.

On *Oration VIII, On Peace I*, p. 278:

> *Finally, on Oration VI, p. 184: He calls the Father the first cause; but the sole dominion with respect to the cause, which the Father alone has, he understands through those things that are from the first cause, the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

These are the testimonies thus far of the Eastern Fathers who flourished in the first ten centuries, for until then, union persisted between the Eastern churches and the Roman Church. Although various disputes occasionally arose between those churches for different reasons, they were again resolved; just as in the time of Pope John XVII and Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, a schism that arose at the beginning of the 11th century was quelled. But from this time, while Sergius was still alive, a schism arose between the churches, which continued until the time of Pope Leo IX, around the middle of the 11th century, when he anathematized all those who professed in the holy Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone. From that time, this schism has continuously divided the Eastern and Western churches up to the present day.

Thus, the Fathers cited so often asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or denied that He proceeds from the Son; they also stated that the Father alone is the source, cause, principle, or producer (*provoleús*) of the Holy Spirit, or simply mentioned the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit without adding the Son. For the words in which only the Father is mentioned in the procession of the Holy Spirit equally demonstrate that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. If the Eastern churches taught for so many centuries that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and never added that He also proceeds from the Son, it is clear that they did not believe in but were ignorant of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But one who does not believe in but is ignorant of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, clearly believes that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Thus, it is equally evident that the Easterners believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Moreover, if they had not opposed the Latins' words of the Fathers, in which the Son is not joined to the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, why did they or the Latinizing Greeks so often attempt to corrupt such words of the Fathers, joining the Son to the Father? Certainly, the opinions of the Latins that do not contradict them require neither correction nor emendation. But they say: The Fathers included the Son under the name of the Father. But by what argument do they prove this? None. Surely, it could just as well be said that the Holy Spirit is included under the name of the Father when they teach that the Son is generated from the Father. By no means is the Son included under the name of the Father when it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, as is clear from the very words of the holy Fathers, who so often taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is the proper Spirit of the Son, sent and given by the Son, resting in the Son, manifested through the Son, and so forth. It is evident to anyone that the Son is not simultaneously included under the name of the Father, since the same words show how the Holy Spirit relates distinctly to the Father and to the Son.

You might finally say: Bernard somewhere mentioned only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, yet he believed that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son. But in that place, Bernard was not seeking to determine from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds; rather, he simply

mentioned the Holy Spirit, saying, “Who proceeds from the Father.” But if his purpose had been to show from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, he would no less have named the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit. But we have seen the Fathers so often mention only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit when they intended to show from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds. Again, we do not argue merely that the holy Fathers so often mention only the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, but that elsewhere they never join the Son to the Father in the same; and from this, we infer that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. But Bernard elsewhere frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son; thus, these are entirely different.

It remains, finally, that we address the Latin objection, which claims that when the Fathers teach that the Father alone is the cause, source, or principle of the Holy Spirit, they mean an unoriginated cause, source, or principle. Thus, their words do not contradict them, for they do not assert that the Son is an unoriginated cause but a produced cause of the Holy Spirit. Certainly, the Father is an unoriginated cause; but it does not follow that the word “cause” signifies, or that the Fathers by this very word signify, an unoriginated cause. For the Father is the unoriginated generator of the Son, the unoriginated producer of the Holy Spirit, and finally the unoriginated creator of all things; yet it does not follow that to be a generator signifies an unoriginated generator, or to be a producer signifies an unoriginated producer, or to be a creator signifies an unoriginated creator, as is evident to anyone. Further, the Father is creator, omniscient, immense, eternal; yet when I simply say the Father is a creator, I do not simultaneously signify by these words that the Father is a creator, omniscient, immense, eternal. Moreover, that the word “cause” simply signifies a cause, and not simultaneously whence the cause derives, whether from itself or another, is shown by various arguments.

First, when God the Father is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the word “cause” they mean nothing other than that He is the producer. For the Latins themselves do not assert two producers of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son, lest by this they introduce two causes of the Holy Spirit. Second, the holy Fathers often taught that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, but added: of the Son through generation, but of the Holy Spirit through procession. Thus, Gregory the Theologian, in *Oration I, On the Lowly and Abject*:

> *It would be a cause unworthy of divinity and goodness if it were not the cause of that divinity and goodness considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the former as Son and Word, in the latter as proceeding, not as some loose breath.*

Caesarius, brother of Gregory the Theologian, in *Dialogue I*:

> *The divine and most holy Spirit is not begotten, but proceeds and is produced from the Father as cause.*

Maximus, in his *Letter to Marinus*:

> *And first they brought forth the opinions of the Roman Fathers, and also of Cyril of Alexandria from his sacred commentaries on John, through which they demonstrated that they by no means assert the Son to be the cause of the Spirit; for they knew one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, of the former through generation, of the latter through procession.*

Emperor Leo the Wise, in his *Oration on Pentecost*:

> *Coeternal persons, without principle, of the same order and glory, such that the Father is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

Theophanes Cerameus, in *Homily LVI*:

> *From one source of the Father's substance, the Spirit and the Son exist, but in different modes: the Son, as light from light, shines forth through generation; the Holy Spirit, also light from light, but through procession.*

Finally, Michael Syncellus, in *The Life of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite*:

> *He proposes one God, one Lord to be worshiped, to be revered and adored in three subsistences, with the Son and the Holy Spirit referred to one principle and cause: the Son, before all ages, generated from the Father alone, that is, from His essence, solely and only incorporeally, without passion, and without time; the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone.*

What does it mean to say that the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit and the Son, of the latter through generation, of the former through procession, or that the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, if not that the Father is the producer of the Son through generation and of the Holy Spirit through procession? For these words signify nothing more. Thus, to be a cause and to be a producer are the same. Third, related to this is that often, when the holy Fathers said the Father is the cause or source of the Son and the Holy Spirit, they added: the generator of the Son, but the producer (*provoleús*) of the Holy Spirit. Gregory the Theologian, in *Oration XIII*:

> *If you exalt the Son and the Spirit, you will not place them above the Father, nor remove them from this cause, but refer to it that glorious generation and admirable procession. Let me challenge you a little: O you who are so zealous for the unbegotten and without principle, which does greater dishonor to God? He who posits a principle for such things as you introduce, or he who posits no such principle, but ones similar in nature and equal in glory? . . . Is anything greater than the Father being the Father of the Son and similarly the producer of the Spirit?*

Thalassius the African, who wrote in Greek, in *Hecatontade IV, Chapter XCII*, Volume II of the Library of Greek Fathers, p. 1199:

> *We contemplate the Father without principle and as principle: without principle, as unbegotten; as principle, as the generator and producer (provoleús) of those who, according to essence, are eternally from Him and in Him, the Son and the Spirit.*

Cyril, or whoever is the author of the *Book on the Trinity*, Chapter VII:

> *We believe in one Father, the principle and cause of all, not made from anything, but alone without cause and generation, the creator of all, but the natural Father of His only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Savior, and the producer of the Holy Spirit.*

Finally, John Damascene, in *Book I of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XIII:

> *The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit: the Father of the Son alone, and the producer (provoleús) of the Holy Spirit.*

Thus, the holy Fathers teach in no other sense that the Father is the principle and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, except that the Father is the generator of the Son and the producer (*provoleús*) of the Holy Spirit. If this is so, it follows that to be a generator signifies a cause or principle through the mode of generation, and to be a producer (*provoleús*) signifies a cause or principle through the mode of procession. But to be a generator, by the force of the word, signifies nothing other than to be a producer through generation; and to be a producer (*provoleús*), by the force of the word, signifies nothing other than to be a producer through procession. Thus, to be a producer and to be a cause or principle are, by the force of the word, the same. Fourth, God is called the cause, principle, and source of all things because He is the creator of all things. But creator, by the force of the word, no less signifies a producer from nothing, or a producer through the mode of creation, than a cause or principle through the mode of creation. Thus, to be a cause or principle and to be a producer are, by the force of the word, the same. Now, producer, by the force of the word, simply signifies the act of producing, not simultaneously whence someone has the ability to produce, whether from himself or another. So, to be produced is to proceed, signifying simply the act of production, not simultaneously whence the producer has the power to produce. But the proposition “The Holy Spirit is produced or proceeds from the Father” is, by the force of the words, the same as “The Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit.” So, creator signifies a producer from nothing; but creator, by the force of the word, does not simultaneously signify whence someone has the ability to be a creator, but simply indicates the act of creating; hence, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God and creator, which would not hold if creator, by the force of the word, signified whence someone has the faculty of creating. Since, as shown, to be a producer and to be a cause, principle, or source are, by the force of the words, the same, and producer simply signifies the act of producing, it is clear that to be a cause, source, or principle, when the Fathers use these words in divinity, simply signifies the act of causing or principating, not simultaneously whence the cause derives, whether from itself or another.

Second, when the Father is called the cause of the Son through generation, nothing else is signified by this than that the Father is the generator of the Son, or that He generates the Son. Again, when the

Father is called the cause of the Holy Spirit, nothing else is understood than that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit, or that He produces the Holy Spirit. But to be a generator, to generate, to be a producer, to produce, do not signify simultaneously whence someone has the ability to be a generator, to generate, to be a producer, to produce, but simply signify the act of producing or generating. Thus, neither a principal cause nor an unoriginated principle is signified when the Father is called the cause or principle of either the Son or the Holy Spirit.

Third, the Christian faith holds that God the Father has no cause, but is Himself the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Gregory of Nyssa, in *Homily III on the Lord's Prayer*:

> *It is proper to the Father not to be from a cause; this is not seen in the Son and the Spirit: for the Son came forth from the Father, as Scripture says, and the Spirit proceeds from God and the Father.*

But just as being without a cause, which belongs to the Father alone, cannot be attributed to the Son and the Holy Spirit, so conversely, being from a cause, which is proper to the Son and the Holy Spirit, cannot be thought of the Father. Cyril, or whoever is the author, in *Book on the Trinity*, Chapter X, and John Damascene, in *Book I of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XI:

> *One Father, who is Father, without principle, that is, without cause: for He is not from anything. One Son, who is Son, and not without principle, that is, not without cause: for He is from the Father. One Holy Spirit, a Spirit proceeding from the Father, not in the mode of filiation, but processively.*

Finally, Nicephorus of Constantinople, in his *Letter to Leo III*:

> *The Father exists without principle and without cause: for He is not from anything. But He is the principle of the Son as cause. And the Father is the principle of the Spirit according to the rationale of cause.*

Thus, by the same rationale by which it is denied that the Father has a cause, the holy Fathers say that the Father alone is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. But when it is denied that the Father has a cause, it is not simultaneously denied that the Father has at least an unoriginated

cause (for He does not have a produced cause either); rather, by the word "cause," the act of causing is simply understood. Similarly, when the Father is said to be the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the word "cause" does not signify at least an unoriginated cause, but simply the act of causing, without any consideration of whence someone has the ability to be a cause.

Fourth, the Father has no cause because He is not from anything, as Cyril, Damascene, and Nicephorus taught in the cited words. But to be from something does not simultaneously signify whence the one from whom another is has his being, such that another is from him. Similarly, the word "cause" simply signifies the act of causing, not simultaneously whence someone has the ability to be a cause.

Fifth, to be caused or principled simply signifies to be produced, not simultaneously whence the cause or principle has its ability to be a cause. Similarly, cause simply signifies the act of causing, without any consideration of whence someone has the ability to be a cause.

Sixth, the Latin escape, by which they claim that when the Fathers teach that the Father alone is the cause of the Holy Spirit, they mean an unoriginated cause, and thus do not deny that the Son is a producer of the Holy Spirit, is shown to be false also because the Fathers, when they posit the Father alone as the cause of the Holy Spirit, often simultaneously teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone or even deny that He proceeds from the Son. Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Treatise on Common Notions*:

> *All human persons do not have their being from the same person in a continuous manner; hence, there are many and diverse causes even among the caused. But in the Holy Trinity, it is not so; rather, the one and same person of the Father, from whom the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Therefore, we properly assert one cause of the caused God.*

He says, "Because there is not many, but one person from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, hence the Father is the one cause of the caused, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit." Thus, the Son is equally excluded from all production of the Holy Spirit when the Father alone is called the cause of the Holy Spirit. If the Father alone is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit because they are from the sole and unique subsistence of the

Father, then the Son is not generated, nor does the Holy Spirit proceed, from another. Cyril of Alexandria, in his *Confession on the Trinity*:

> *Not as the Son came forth from the Father generatively, so does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Son, such that we posit a first, second, and third. . . . The Father is the cause and author of these two persons.*

Thus, when he says the Father alone is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, he simultaneously excludes the Son entirely from the production of the Holy Spirit. John Damascene, in *Book I of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XIII:

> *He is the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause.*

Thus, Saint Damascene explicitly teaches that when the Father alone is said to be the one cause of the Holy Spirit, it is simultaneously denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Finally, Michael Syncellus, in *The Life of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite*:

> *He proposes one God, one Lord to be worshiped, to be revered and adored in three subsistences, with the Son and the Holy Spirit referred to one principle and cause: the Son, before all ages, generated from the Father alone, that is, from His essence, solely and only incorporeally, without passion, and without time; the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, and going forth through the Son.*

Thus, when the Father is said to be the one cause of the Holy Spirit, it is understood that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and thus the Son is entirely excluded from the production of the Holy Spirit.

Seventh, suppose a heretic blaspheming that the Son is also generated by the Spirit: would not all agree that the words of the holy Fathers, which teach that the Father alone is the cause, source, or principle of the Son, rightly apply to such a person? But if the Latin objection about the principal cause held any weight regarding the Holy Spirit, the same heretic could equally argue that when the Father is said to be the sole cause of the Son, an unoriginated cause is meant. For if an unoriginated or principal cause must be understood regarding the Holy Spirit, the same would apply to the Son, since there is one proposition: “The Father

alone is the cause and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit.” Would we not reject such a person as foolish? Thus, with equal force, the Latins make such an objection regarding the Holy Spirit. It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that when the Fathers teach that the Father alone is the cause or source of the Holy Spirit, their meaning is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son.

Someone objects, citing Cichovius (*Question X*, p. 107), that among the holy Fathers, the word “cause” signifies an unoriginated cause, first inferred from the fact that the Greek Fathers, even with respect to creatures, call the Father alone the cause, the Son the artisan, and the Holy Spirit the perfecter, which threefold cord is difficult to break. For if the Easterners concede the name of cause to the Son, as they suppose for a productive principle *ad intra*, the Latins achieve their aim; but if they deny it, they also deny that the Son is a productive principle *ad extra*, since the word “cause” is no less appropriated to the Father by the Greek Fathers in operations *ad extra* than in operations *ad intra*. But this author’s argument is baseless. To demonstrate the absurdity of this inference at a glance, just as he argued regarding the Son, we argue regarding the Holy Spirit: Does he concede the name of cause to the Holy Spirit for a productive principle *ad intra*, or not? If he concedes it, he is blasphemous and impious; if he denies it, he will also deny that the Holy Spirit is a productive principle *ad extra*, since the word “cause” is no less appropriated to the Father in operations *ad extra* than in operations *ad intra*. Who, I ask, reading this, would not see that the Jesuit argued most ineptly about the Son of God, or that this threefold cord is easily broken without any trouble? The rationale is entirely different when the Father alone is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and when, with respect to creatures, the name of cause is attributed to the Father as peculiar. For the name of cause, with respect to creatures, is essential in divinity; hence, even if for certain reasons it is attributed to the Father alone as peculiar, the Son or the Holy Spirit cannot thereby be excluded from this cause, just as when the name of God is attributed to the Father as peculiar, the Son or the Holy Spirit is not excluded from the name of God, since the name of God is equally essential to the Trinity. But in operations *ad intra*, the name of cause is not essential but is said with respect to the person, and thus personal; hence, both the Son and the Holy Spirit are excluded from the word “cause” when, *ad intra*, the

Father alone is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. It was absurd to infer from the words of the Fathers, which teach that the principle is peculiar to the Father even with respect to creatures, that an unoriginated cause is signified when the Father alone is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For if, when the Fathers teach that the Father alone is the cause of the Holy Spirit, they mean an unoriginated cause, how could he then infer that the Son is equally included under the word “cause”? Moreover, the holy Fathers often attribute the common name of God to the Father as peculiar. We have seen above the words of Gregory the Theologian (*Oration XXIII*), Theodore Abucara, Epiphanius (*Heresy LXV*), and Athanasius (*Against the Followers of Sabellius on the Eternal Substance of the Son and the Spirit*). Does the word “God” thereby signify a God who does not have His being from another? Again, in the holy Creed, which brings us closer to the point, the name of creator is attributed to the Father in a peculiar way. Does the word “creator” thereby signify an unoriginated creator? Thus, it could not equally be inferred: The Father is called cause in a peculiar way with respect to creatures; therefore, the word “cause” signifies an unoriginated cause.

Second, the same author objects that the holy Fathers call the Father in divine matters not precisely and simply a cause, but either a primordial cause, or a principal cause, or a first cause. But by the name of first or principal cause, the Fathers do not mean an unoriginated cause; rather, since the Father is simultaneously the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit and of creatures, while the Son and the Holy Spirit are the principle only of creatures, the Fathers call the Father the principal cause because He is the cause of the cause of all things, namely the Son. And thus, **Gregory the Theologian**, in his *Oration XXIX*, further elucidates the matter:

> *It wwould be base and unorthy of Him (the Father) if He were not the cause of that divinity which exists in the Son and the Holy Spirit. In my judgment, one God will be preserved if we refer the Son and the Holy Spirit to one cause. . . . Finally, the rationale of the properties will hold for us if we think and proclaim the Father as both without principle and as principle; principle, I say, as the cause and source (of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as is clear from the preceding words) and as eternal light; but the Son as not without principle, yet as the principle of all things.*

Thus, he affirms the Father as the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, where it is understood that He is also the cause of creatures; but the Son is at least the principle of creatures. Because the Father is the cause of the cause of all things, namely the Son, he calls the Father the first or principal cause. Hence, the Fathers, by naming the Father the principal or first cause of the Holy Spirit, exclude the Son from the production of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Gregory the Theologian frequently acknowledges no other cause of the Holy Spirit than that principal cause. In *Oration XXXVII*, he declares:

> *Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit, such as being given, sent, distributed, breath, promise, intercession, and so forth, must be referred to the principal cause, to show from whom the Spirit is, and not to receive three divided principles, as if there were many gods.*

And in *Oration XLIV*:

> *The Holy Spirit is mighty, omnipotent, yet all that the Holy Spirit is, just as that of the Only-Begotten, is referred to the primordial cause.*

He reiterates that whatever is said of the Holy Spirit must be referred to the principal cause, the Father, to show from whom He is. Again: “All that the Holy Spirit is, just as that of the Son, must be referred to that primordial cause.” Thus, he recognizes only one cause of the Holy Spirit, and no other. In *Oration XIII*, he further states:

> *If we refer the Son and the Holy Spirit to another principle than that cause (namely the first), it would be feared that God would be dishonored. . . . Although you exalt the Son and the Spirit, you will not place them above the Father, nor remove them from this cause, but refer to it that glorious generation and admirable procession.*

He explicitly acknowledges no other principle for either the Son or the Holy Spirit than the first cause, thereby excluding the Son from the production of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, **John Damascene**, following the words of Gregory the Theologian in *Book I of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XI, states:

> *If we look to the Deity and the first cause, we imagine one; but if to those in which the divinity is, and to those from the first cause, that is, the Son and the Holy Spirit, there are three who are worshiped.*

He then explains how the Son and the Spirit are from the Father, explicitly adding: “The Spirit is not from the Son, but is the Spirit of the Son.” Thus, he understands only the principal cause to be the cause of the Holy Spirit, entirely excluding the Son from the production of the Holy Spirit.

What, then, could the Jesuit infer from this? That because the Father is called the first cause, the Son cannot be excluded from the production of the Holy Spirit when the Father alone is called the cause? Yet the holy Fathers no less affirm that the principal cause is the cause of the Holy Spirit than of the Son. Does this mean the Holy Spirit is not excluded from being a cause of the Son when the Father alone is called the principal cause of the Son? What reasoning is this: The Father is called the first cause, that is, the cause of the cause of all things, namely the Son; therefore, the Son is not excluded from the word “cause” when the Father alone is called the cause of the Holy Spirit? Or, because the holy Fathers sometimes call the Father the first cause, does it follow that when the Father is elsewhere called the sole cause of the Holy Spirit, the word “cause” means the first cause? Indeed, the Father is an omnipotent cause, an immense cause, an unsearchable cause. Does the word “cause” itself signify a cause that is omnipotent, immense, unsearchable? Absurd. When the holy Fathers intend to express that the Father is the cause of the cause of all things, they must use the word “first cause”; it is clear that the simple word “cause” does not express such a thing.

On the Signification of the Name “Father” as Cause

The author further contends that among the holy Fathers, the name “Father” signifies cause and is convertible with cause. He cites **Basil**, in *Book II Against Eunomius*, fol. 724:

> *What else does the name ‘Father’ signify if not cause and principle of the one generated from Him?*

And at fol. 24, near the end:

> *The word 'I have begotten' signifies the cause from which the Son has the principle of being.*

The same is suggested by **John Damascene**, in *Book I, Chapter XV*:

> *Those things that belong to cause, parent, source, generator, must be attributed to the Father alone.*

Behold, cause and source are called synonymous with parent and generator. The same is suggested by **Athanasius**, in *Oration II Against the Arians*:

> *The Father and the Son are not procreated from some pre-existing principle, so as to be considered brothers, but the Father is the principle and generator of the Son.*

And in *Oration V*:

> *If the Sabellians spoke truly, the cause and the caused, the generator and the generated, would be the same.*

Behold, here cause is taken for generator. And **Gregory the Theologian**, in *Oration XXIX*, fol. 85:

> *The Son, if you take the Father as cause, is by no means without principle: for the Father is the principle of the Son, as cause.*

All this is utterly absurd. If "Father" signifies cause and is convertible with cause, how then, according to the Christian faith, is the Father believed to be the cause of the Holy Spirit? Does the Holy Spirit then have a Father, and thus is He a Son of the Father? If, moreover, "Father," and thus generator, is synonymous with cause, then to be generated and to be caused would equally be synonymous; thus, because the Holy Spirit is caused, He would also be generated, which is impossible. That "cause" signifies not "Father" but at least "producer," we have seen above. In the first cited passage, **Basil** taught that the name "Father" signifies cause, but added: "and principle of the one generated from Him." Thus, the name "Father" does not simply signify cause, but the cause of the one

generated from Him. In the second cited passage, he similarly said that the word “I have begotten” signifies cause, but added: “from which the Son has the principle of being.” Thus, again, he does not teach that the word “I have begotten” signifies cause simply, as the Jesuit falsely interprets, but the cause from which the Son has the principle of being.

John Damascene, intending to show what belongs to the Father alone, among other things adds source and cause, saying:

> *Those things that belong to cause, parent, source, generator, must be attributed to the Father alone.*

He does not join these for any other reason than that these are proper to the Father alone; and what is proper is convertible with that to which it is proper. By what necessity, then, does it follow that cause, Father, source, and generator are synonymous? Indeed, all things would be synonymous with their subjects, which is absurd. For if what belongs to the risible applies only to man, are risible and man synonymous? Again, in the same way, **Damascene** continues about the Son:

> *Those things that belong to the caused, the generated, the Son, belong to the Son.*

If, when he previously said, “Those things that belong to source, Father, cause, generator, must be attributed to the Father alone,” Father and cause were synonymous, then now the generated and the caused would be synonymous; thus, since the Holy Spirit is caused, He would also be generated, which is impossible. Indeed, **Damascene** then adds:

> *Those things that belong to the caused, the proceeding, belong to the Holy Spirit.*

According to the same rationale, to be caused and to proceed would now be synonymous; thus, the Son proceeds from the Father processively because He is caused, which is impossible. What of the fact that by these same words **Damascene** would teach that to be caused and to be generated are synonymous, but then deny it, teaching that to be caused and to proceed are synonymous, which is clearly absurd? Indeed, **Damascene** continues:

> *The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Father of the Son alone, and the producer of the Holy Spirit; but the Son is not the Father of the Holy Spirit.*

If in the preceding **Damascene** had taught that Father and cause are synonymous, how, I ask, could he then add, explaining why he had said that what belongs to cause must be attributed to the Father alone: "The Father is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit"? For if Father and cause are synonymous, the Father is by no means the cause of the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit does not have a Father, since He is not generated. As **Damascene** himself adds:

> *And He is the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as through Him from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause.*

If for **Damascene** Father and cause were synonymous, he would argue here: "The Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son because the Father alone is the generator." How absurd all this is, is evident to anyone.

Regarding **Athanasius**, in the first cited passage, he says:

> *The Father is the principle and generator of the Son.*

But does this mean that principle signifies generator and is convertible with it? The Father is equally the principle and producer (provoleús) of the Holy Spirit. Are principle and producer (provoleús) then synonymous? For according to ecclesiastical dogma, the Father is the producer (provoleús) of the Holy Spirit alone, just as He is the generator of the Son alone. Thus, the Son of God is said to be caused and generated by the Father; the Holy Spirit is caused and proceeding from the same. Does this mean that to be caused signifies to be generated or to be proceeding? The Holy Spirit is not generated, yet is caused; the Son, though caused, is not proceeding.

Regarding the second cited passage of **Athanasius**, it is again false that **Athanasius** there takes cause for generator:

> *The cause is the Father, and the caused, the generator and the generated.*

This signifies that the Father is the cause and generator; the Son is the caused and generated. Does this mean that he takes cause for generator? Truly, the Father is a cause, and truly a generator; and every generator is a cause. And hence the Father is called both cause and generator with respect to the Son, but not vice versa: every cause is also a generator. Moreover, if, when **Athanasius** says, “The cause and the caused, the generator and the generated would be the same,” cause and generator were synonymous in his mind, then equally in his mind the caused and the generated would be synonymous. For he says similarly: “The cause and the caused, the generator and the generated would be the same.” Thus, the Holy Spirit would either be generated or not caused, which is all impossible.

Regarding the words of **Gregory the Theologian**, he shows that the Son does not have a principle with respect to time, but is not without a principle if you consider his origin or production: for he has the Father as principle, as cause. What inference, I ask, follows: The Son does not have a principle with respect to time, but with respect to cause has the Father as principle and cause, or producer; therefore, Father signifies cause and is convertible with cause? The same applies not only to the Son but also to the Holy Spirit. Thus, **Gregory the Theologian**, in *Oration XXXV*:

> *How is it that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not equally without principle, since they are coeternal? Because they are from Him (the Father), though not after Him. For what is without principle is also coeternal. But what is eternal is not entirely without principle, as long as it is referred to the Father as principle. For they are not without principle with respect to cause.*

Nicephorus of Constantinople, in his *Letter to Leo III*, after saying:

> *The Son is not without principle, for He is from the Father. The Father is the principle of the Son, as cause,*

adds similar things about the Holy Spirit:

> *The Holy Spirit is known to be not without principle, because of His procession from the Father: for the Father is His principle, according to the rationale of cause.*

Thus, the Father is called the principle of not only the Son but also the Holy Spirit, as cause. But the Father is not the Father but the producer (provoleús) of the Holy Spirit. How, then, could it be inferred from the fact that the Father is called the principle of the Son, as cause, that Father signifies cause and is convertible with cause? Hence, in many places, **Gregory the Theologian** teaches that the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit, just as of the Son, which, as shown, could not be said if Father and cause were synonymous.

Suppose, finally, that Father and cause are synonymous: what, I ask, would the Jesuit infer? That when the Father alone is called the cause, an unoriginated cause is signified? Indeed, not even the word “Father” signifies an unoriginated Father. Or that because Father and cause are synonymous, when the Father alone is called the cause of the Holy Spirit, the Son is not thereby excluded from being a cause of the Holy Spirit? But when the Father alone is called the cause of the Holy Spirit, the Jesuit’s sense that Father and cause are synonymous could not hold, for the Holy Spirit does not have a Father.

On the Name “Cause” as Principle of Both Persons

The same author continues, noting fourthly that the name “cause” among some signifies a principle not of one but of both persons. Thus, **Gregory the Theologian** uses it in *Oration XXXIX*, fol. 184:

> *The Father would certainly be a principle of lowly things if He were not the cause of that Deity considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

And shortly after:

> *In my opinion, one God will be preserved if we refer the Son and the Holy Spirit to one cause.*

He uses this signification more clearly in the anonymous author of the *Questions* inserted in *Volume II of the Works of Saint Athanasius*, Question XI:

> *I say there is one cause in God, and this is the Father: for the Father Himself begets the Son and produces the Holy Spirit.*

And in Question XII:

> *If someone asks you why the Father is called cause, say, because He begets the Son and sends forth the Holy Spirit.*

But how could the name “cause” simultaneously signify the principle of both the Son and the Holy Spirit in **Gregory the Theologian**, if, as the Jesuit claimed in the previous objection, cause and Father were synonymous for him? How, I ask, do these align? He absurdly infers: The Father is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, or the Father is called cause because He begets the Son and sends forth the Spirit; therefore, the name “cause” signifies a principle not of one but simultaneously of both persons. The Father is indeed and is called the producer of the Son and the Holy Spirit. And therefore, the Father is simply called the producer in divinity because He begets the Son and sends forth the Holy Spirit. But does this mean that the name “producer” signifies a simultaneous principle of both persons, and that the Father is not called producer separately with respect to the Son and with respect to the Holy Spirit? There is one God, the creator of heaven and earth, or God is creator because He created heaven and earth. Does this mean that the name “creator” signifies only a simultaneous creator of heaven and earth, and that He is not called creator separately of heaven and of earth? If for **Gregory Nazianzen** and other Fathers the name “cause” signifies a simultaneous principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and not of one person, how then do **Gregory the Theologian** and other Fathers so often teach that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit separately? The cited author of the anonymous questions, in the cited place, says:

> *The Father is called cause because He begets and is not begotten, produces and does not proceed: He begets the Son, produces the Holy Spirit, and therefore the Father is called cause.*

Thus, intending to show how the Father is called cause, he now joins these: “Because He begets the Son and sends forth the Holy Spirit,” as he did in the cited words; now without a conjunction, he has, according to the cited words: “Because He begets the Son and sends forth the Holy Spirit,” thereby signifying that both because He begets the Son and

because He produces the Holy Spirit, the Father is cause, not that the name “cause” signifies a simultaneous principle, even of one person.

On the Son as a Principle from a Principle

Finally, the same author objects that even **Gregory the Theologian** himself and his most constant follower, **John Damascene**, do not entirely deny the Son a share in causation. For in many places cited above, they call the Son a principle from a principle, which title **Nicetas**, his most precise interpreter, explains in his commentary on *Oration XLII*, Number XIX:

> *The principle of all things that are is the Father, as cause; the Son is also a principle, as a sharer in the cause. For David, speaking to the Father, says: ‘With You is the principle.’ Thus, the Son is a principle from a principle, that is, from the Father.*

But **Damascene**, in *Chapter XV*, where he most attributes the name of cause to the Father, speaks thus:

> *Those things that belong to the caused, the generated Son, the primordial power, must be attributed to the Son.*

This word “primordial power” attributes something special to the Son, which can only be imagined as that principle through which the Father produces, both ad intra and ad extra, whatever is, which is neither the Father nor the Son. But how could **Damascene**, who expressly denies the Son as the cause of the Holy Spirit and thus denies that the Spirit proceeds from Him, elsewhere make the Son a sharer in the causation of the Holy Spirit? That the Fathers call the Son a principle from a principle, they understand this with respect to creatures. **Basil**, in *Letter XLIII to His Brother*:

> *There is a certain infinite power that is the cause of the cause through which all things were made. For the Son is from the Father, through whom all things were made.*

Gregory the Theologian, in *Oration XXIX*:

> *Let us think and proclaim the Father as both without principle and as principle. Principle, as the cause and source (of the Son and the Holy Spirit) and as eternal light. But the Son as not without principle, yet as the principle of all things.*

And **Augustine**, in *Book V of On the Trinity*, Chapter XIII:

> *The Son is called a principle. For when it was said to Him, 'Who are You?' He answered, 'The principle, who also speak to you.' But is He the principle of the Father? He intended to show Himself as creator when He said He is the principle, just as the Father is the principle of creation because all things are from Him.*

And in *Book I of On Genesis Literally*, Chapter VI:

> *We understand the Son in the name of principle, who is not the principle of the Father, but through Himself is primarily and especially the principle of the spiritual creation, and consequently of all creation.*

And **Gregory of Tours**, in *Book I of Histories*, Chapter I:

> *In the beginning, the Lord formed heaven and earth in His Christ, who is the principle of all things, that is, in His Son.*

Thus, in this sense, **Damascene** calls the Son the primordial power (prokatarktikēn). This is also clear because, where he attributed this to the Son alone, he attributes to the Holy Spirit the perfecting power. But this can only be understood with respect to creatures. It is absurd, therefore, for the Jesuit to infer: The word "primordial power" attributes something special to the Son here, which can only be imagined as that principle through which the Father produces, both ad intra and ad extra, whatever is, which is neither the Father nor the Son. For here, similarly, the word "perfecting power" attributes something special to the Holy Spirit; yet it could not be taken as such both ad intra and ad extra. Thus, as the objector himself showed in his first observation, the Fathers, with respect to creatures, attribute cause to the Father alone, artisan to the Son, and perfecter to the Holy Spirit. But because the name "artisan" attributes something special to the Son, must it be understood in divine

matters both ad intra and ad extra? Indeed, **Damascene** attributes these three properties of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—cause, artisan, and perfecter—in these very words, attributing cause to the Father, primordial power to the Son alone, and perfecting power to the Holy Spirit. Thus, by the name "primordial power," he signifies that the Son is at least an artisan, which cannot be applied ad intra in any way.

When **Basil**, in *Book on the Holy Spirit*, Chapter XIV, said in the creation of all things:

> *Consider the primordial cause (prokatarktikēn aitian), the Father,*

the Jesuit himself, in his first observation mentioned above, explained this with respect to creatures. How, then, could it be understood ad intra when it is said of the Son that He is the primordial cause?

On the Father as Without Cause

Finally, he objects that **John Damascene**, in *Book I of On the Faith*, Chapter X, suggests by the name tou aitiou that he means a cause that has nothing from another but all from itself. **Damascene**'s words are:

> *The Father is without cause and unbegotten, for He is not from anything. For He has His being from Himself, nor does He have anything of what He has from another. But He is the principle and cause of being, and of being naturally in any way, for all things.*

But where, I ask, does **Damascene** teach that by the name "cause" he means an unoriginated cause? He proves that the Father is without cause because He is not from anything; he consequently proves that the Father is not from anything because He has His being from Himself; again, that He does not have anything of what He has from another. Where here, I ask, can it be proved by any rationale that **Damascene** suggests an unoriginated cause by the name "cause"? Thus, it is certain that when the Fathers teach that the Father alone is the cause, source, or principle of the Holy Spirit, by the name "cause" they simply mean producer, and thus the Son is entirely excluded from the production of the Holy Spirit.

Conclusion of the Eastern Church's Consensus

It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that with constant and perpetual consensus, the Eastern Catholic Church in the first ten centuries believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. This was evidenced above all by the words of **Dionysius the Areopagite**, **Gregory Thaumaturgus**, **Athanasius**, **Gregory the Theologian**, **Basil the Great**, **Epiphanius**, **Gregory of Nyssa**, **Theodoret**, other Eastern bishops who opposed **Cyril**, **Cyril of Alexandria** himself, **Leontius**, **Anastasius of Sinai**, **Maximus the Martyr**, the author of the *Book on the Trinity*, **John Damascene**, the clergy of Constantinople, Emperors **Michael** and **Basil**, other Eastern bishops, **Photius**, **Metrophanes of Smyrna**, **Michael Syncellus**, and finally **Elias of Crete**.

What the Latins commonly object from the writings of these same Eastern Fathers in favor of their opinion are numerous but easily refuted, as we will demonstrate in a separate treatise hereafter, with the blessing and consent of those who have deemed these writings and this labor worthy.

TRACTATE II

Concerning the Corruptions in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers Regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, Perpetrated by Latins or Latinizing Greeks

First, indeed, we address the corruptions introduced into the sacred writings, whereby the Latins and certain Latinizing Greeks have, with grievous audacity, altered the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, asserting it to proceed from the Son as well as from the Father, contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the Eastern Church.

Corruption I

First, indeed, in the third session of the Council of Ferrara, Cardinal Julian presented an ancient codex of the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in which the Constantinopolitan Creed was read with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Henceforth, all Latin editions of the acts of that Council contain this same addition. Latin translations published alongside the Greek text, such as Volume III of the Councils edited by Severinus Binius in Cologne in 1618 (Part I, p. 685), Volume V of the Councils published in Paris in 1636 (p. 818), Volume III of the Universal Councils published in Rome in 1608 (p. 661), Volume XIX of the Parisian edition of the Councils in 1644 (p. 579), and Volume VII of the Parisian edition of the Councils in 1672 (column 554), also include it. Bellarmine cites this for the defense of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in Book II of *On Christ*, Chapter XXIII, as do others frequently. However, this sacred Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council was corrupted with the worst bad faith.

Firstly, the very acts of this Council, as published in Greek by the Latins, do not acknowledge this addition, but the Creed is read untainted in them: “who proceeds from the Father.” All the editions of the Councils cited above, in the places and pages mentioned, confirm this. (In the latest edition of the Councils, the Greek text of the Creed is found in column 553.) If, therefore, the Greek text of the acts of that Council does not know this addition, how could the Greek manuscripts of those acts, existing among the Latins, have contained it? Whence, then, does the Latin translation contain something not found in the Greek manuscripts?

Secondly, the acts of that Council, written in Latin in ancient manuscripts, do not contain this addition either. In the library of the renowned Latin scholar Pierre Pithou, there was found a very ancient codex of the acts of that Council, translated into Latin by Anastasius the Librarian in the ninth century, in which the sacred Creed was read untainted, without the common addition. Pierre Pithou himself bears witness to this, openly admitting that the other codices, in which the Creed appears with the addition, are corrupted. Thus, he writes in his history of the ancient controversy over the procession of the Holy Spirit, published among his miscellaneous works in Paris in 1609, near the end of page 136:

> *Moreover, that in a certain session at Ferrara some Latins dared to claim that the definition of the Seventh Council expressly stated the procession of the Spirit from the Son, even producing an ancient Greek manuscript to that effect, though it somewhat aligns with the testimony of Martinus Polonus, I say with respect to our own, it holds little weight with me. Especially since the very ancient codex of Anastasius, Librarian of the Roman Church, who lived around the same time and shortly after, under John VIII, translated that same Council into Latin, contains no such thing, unless one supposes it was later amended by the Greeks’ alleged compact of the Constantinopolitan Council, which I would not easily say.*

Yet, in all published copies of the acts of the Seventh Universal Council, as translated into Latin by the aforementioned Anastasius, the Creed is always read with the addition. Furthermore, the editors of the Councils in Paris in 1672, the Jesuits Labbe and Cossartius, note in the margin next to the words of the Nicene Creed of the Second Universal Council, “who proceeds from the Father and the Son,” that in Cardinal Julian’s

manuscript codex, it reads: “who proceeds from the Father,” omitting, of course, the Son. How, then, could it have originated from the Fathers themselves, when the more ancient manuscripts are unaware of it?

Thirdly, all the codices brought by the Easterners to Ferrara were unaware of this addition, and the entire East to this day is unaware that the Creed of the Second Nicene Universal Council ever contained such an addition.

Fourthly, how could Pope Leo III have dared to reject and condemn this addition as contrary to the decrees of the Universal Councils, or even erect an indelible monument against it out of love and care for the untainted recitation of the Creed, if the Seventh Universal Council, with the consent of Pope Adrian of Rome, had already confirmed this addition to the Creed in recent years? Or how could John VIII have condemned this addition as contrary to sacred Scripture and the Councils, along with its authors, if the sacred Creed had been read in this way at the Seventh Universal Council?

Fifthly, is it not shown in the Universal Council that confirmed the patriarchate of Photius that the sacred Creed was always handed down untainted by all Councils, and thus preserved untainted up to his time? How, then, could that same Council have dared to condemn with so many anathemas every addition to the Creed, including that which signifies the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, if the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which it certainly accepted, had recited the Creed with that addition?

Sixthly, if the Seventh Ecumenical Council itself had approved this addition to the Creed, why did no Latin or Latinizing Greek, up to the time of the Council of Florence, ever cite this for the defense of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son or its addition to the Creed? The acts of that Universal Council were not hidden from anyone; they were in everyone’s hands. Indeed, instead of the many syllogisms, speeches, and arguments that dissenters amassed in great numbers, it would have sufficed to press the point that the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council was read and defined as such, and that those who did not accept the definition of the Ecumenical Council were outside the Catholic Church. Therefore, it is clearly evident that the sacred Creed of the Seventh Universal Council did not contain this addition.

They claim, however, that Cardinal Julian's codex, presented at Ferrara, was very ancient. Leaving aside the codices of the Easterners, Pithou's codex was also very ancient and unaware of this addition. Nor was it so recent, but already by the end of the eighth century, some Latins had introduced this addition to the Creed in churches. What, then, if Julian's codex was written not long ago, in the ninth or tenth century, by a Latin supporter of the addition? Would it not still have sufficient antiquity?

But Bellarmine insists in Book II of *On Christ*, Chapter XXII, that it was the Greeks, not the Latins, who corrupted the works of the Fathers, and that the Latins never betrayed their faith. But the Jesuit is too pleased with himself in his assertions. We rightly desire this candor in the Latins, as will be sufficiently demonstrated here and in another treatise on corruptions perpetrated in Latin writings, where it will be shown that the Latins committed countless acts of bad faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Moreover, at Ferrara, Julian added that he had at hand an ancient historian who testified to the same regarding the sacred Creed of the Seventh Universal Council. Thus, at the end of the fifth session of the Council of Ferrara, he said:

> *Indeed, we also have an ancient and learned historian who, among many other things, relates this: namely, that the Creed was presented and read in the Seventh Council in this way, which we also prove by his testimony.*

He refers, of course, to Martinus Polonus, who in his history under Emperor Constantine, number 71, is said to have written:

> *In the eighth year of their reign, the holy Council of Nicaea was held with 350 holy bishops, in which it was affirmed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son.*

But did this author live close to that Council? He flourished in the fourteenth century, while the Council was held near the end of the eighth century. What, then, if he encountered corrupted acts of that Council? Or does he even affirm that the Council handed down the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the Creed? At the very least, he shows that the doctrine was approved, not mentioning the Creed. He could,

therefore, have understood the words of Tarasius, in which, in that same Council, it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, as the Latins were accustomed to interpret such statements regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. How, then, could Julian claim that this historian testified that the Creed was read with that addition in the Seventh Council? From the Third Council, due to certain words of Cyril, which we will discuss in their place, all Latins claim that the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was confirmed. Does it follow, therefore, that they also assert that the Creed was read with that addition in the Third Ecumenical Council?

Baronius, however, further objects in his *Annals* for the year 860, number 32, that the Greeks removed the word *Filioque* from the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and that Manuel Calecas, a Latinizing Greek, had long before Julian noticed and condemned this. Thus, Manuel Calecas, in Book I of his *Disputations Against the Easterners*, in Volume XIV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 26, states:

> *The holy Universal Council that convened at Nicaea says: 'I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, acknowledged as God.' This is also stated by St. Tarasius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was a major part of that Council, in his letter to the bishops and priests of Antioch, Alexandria, and the holy city, which begins: 'With many and excellent dispensations, God and our Lord directs and governs human life.' This was received and praised, and its orthodoxy was confirmed by their responses. After much, he says: 'And in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, and is acknowledged as God.'*

Where, then, does Calecas note and condemn the Greeks for removing the word *Filioque* from the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council? If he objects to Calecas' words, which testify that the Seventh Ecumenical Council said: "I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son," does he first claim that the Seventh Ecumenical Council included this in the Creed? No, he remains silent about the Creed. Yet Baronius wishes to understand this as referring to the Creed.

Thus, according to Calecas, the sacred Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council would have read: "I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, acknowledged as God," for Calecas reported

that the Seventh Council said this. Who would be so foolish as to believe that Calecas thought these words were ever in the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, or that he believed the sacred Creed was recited in this way? Moreover, Calecas himself errs when he reports that the Seventh Council said these words, which were actually those of Tarasius, as we later cite, praising them again as Tarasius' words. Nor is it ever recorded in the acts of that Council that the Council itself said: "I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, acknowledged as God." Furthermore, Baronius, in his *Ann flange* for the year 787, having concluded from Julian's fact that the Creed of the Seventh Council included "from the Father and the Son," but that the Easterners removed *Filioque*, continues:

> *Moreover, that book called the 'Capitular Against the Nicene Council,' sent by Charlemagne through his abbot and chaplain Engilbert to Pope Adrian of Rome, reveals what the true reading of its text was, since it is criticized by an adversary for Tarasius not saying in the third act: 'from the Father and the Son.'*

If, therefore, this had been written in the profession of faith of the entire Council, which is found in the seventh act, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and not, as it has, from the Father and the Son, certainly the adversary would not have accused Tarasius alone but the entire Council, which he fiercely attacked. And further:

> *Since the adversary does not say that the entire Council erred but only Tarasius in the third act, it is clear evidence that in the profession of faith in the seventh act, it was written differently, and thus that is the true reading that the ancient Latin codex is said to have had.*

What an excellent conclusion: the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council did not have "proceeding from the Father through the Son"; therefore, it had "proceeding from the Father and the Son." And why could it not have simply had "proceeding from the Father"? For if it equally did not have "proceeding from the Father through the Son," namely, since Calecas testifies with the words cited above that the Seventh Universal Council said: "I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son"; Baronius, taking this to refer to the

Creed itself, tacitly criticizes Calecas' words and shows that it was not read from the Father through the Son in the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, as Calecas reported, but rather from the Father and the Son. But, as already stated, Calecas mistakenly reports that these words originated from the Seventh Ecumenical Council itself. Baronius would have to be more foolish than a stump to persuade us that the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, according to Calecas' words, had: "I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, acknowledged as God." For these words are entirely different from those of the sacred Creed.

But, as mentioned above, Baronius further says in the same place:

> *The first reproach and prohibition of the Iconoclasts was that it should not be said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. The Fathers themselves, so as not to align with them, said against their opinion: 'proceeds from the Father and the Son.'*

When Latin historians report that in 766, in a great council in Gaul, the Easterners disputed with the Latins about the procession of the Holy Spirit, Baronius indicates this, saying:

> *The Iconoclasts denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.*

But this is a Latin fable, that in that great council of 766, the Latins and Easterners disputed about the procession of the Holy Spirit, as we show elsewhere. We concede that the Iconoclasts denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; but it is false that, because of this, anyone held a doctrine contrary to the Catholic Church's position, such that the Seventh Ecumenical Council needed to insert into the sacred Creed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Finally, in the same place, Baronius says:

> *This is also gathered from the response of Pope Adrian, when Tarasius is defended, and it is asserted that the Roman Church accepted both, so that it could be said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and from the Father through the Son.*

And Gennadius:

> *The divine Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, says in his letter to the Eastern Pontiffs, which begins: 'With many and great providences,' as follows: 'And in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, and we acknowledge Him as God.' You hear: 'proceeds from the Father through the Son,' he says? That the word 'through' signifies the cause, as was said before.*

Gennadius contends that saying through the Son is the same as saying from the Son. But, just as the work that exists under the name of Gennadius for the five chapters of the Council of Florence has no author in Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, so too we demonstrate in its place that Adrian's response was corrupted. But let all this be valid for now. Baronius argues excellently: "The Roman Church teaches that it is correct to say both that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and from the Father and the Son; Gennadius also teaches that saying 'through the Son' and 'from the Son' is the same; therefore, the common addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was read in the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council." Who in their right mind would deny that this is a foolish inference? Indeed, according to the Latins, even at the time of the Sixth Council, the Roman Church held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son: does it follow, therefore, that the addition was also read in the Creed of the Sixth Ecumenical Council? Finally, Baronius is inconsistent in this matter, as he sometimes claims that the codex of the acts of the Seventh Council presented by Julian at the Council of Ferrara was Latin, and sometimes Greek. For he says in the words cited above:

> *This is clear evidence that the true reading is that which the ancient Latin codex is said to have had.*

But before this, he had stated:

> *The common version of that Council has it, as does the ancient translation of Anastasius the Librarian written to John VIII, which contains the same; and the Greek text, so that no one can argue it is a forgery. For when the same definition of faith was recited in the Council of Florence, in the fifth session held at Ferrara, the acts have it concerning the true reading of the text.*

Thus, in a few words, a Latin codex becomes Greek among the Latins, if it somehow serves their case more to claim the codex was Greek rather than Latin. But enough about Julian's codex.

Therefore, with the worst reasoning and unworthy of Christians, in the manner of heretics alone, the Latins did not hesitate to violate the sacred Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council. But this Creed was not of one or two Fathers, but of 367 bishops gathered in the Ecumenical Council: by what name should I call such a crime? When the Monothelites were convicted in the Sixth Council of having inserted into the seventh act of the Fifth Ecumenical Council one operation of Christ, they were condemned with an anathema for this reason. Thus, the Sixth Ecumenical Council, in its fourteenth act, Volume VI of the Councils, column 983, states:

> *Anathema to all who falsified the acts of the holy and universal Fifth Council.*

By what anathema, then, according to the judgment of this Council, are those not worthy who did not fear to corrupt even the Creed of the Ecumenical Council?

Corruption II

Then, Beccus corruptly reads the acts of the First Nicene Universal Council. Thus, in his collection of testimonies on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which Peter Arcudius published in Rome in 1630 along with other works of this kind, entitled *Golden Theological Works*, page 104, he cites the words of Leontius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, as supporting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son:

> *The Spirit is found proceeding from the Father, proper to the Son, and flowing from Him.*

This is also read by Manuel Calecas in Book II of his *Disputations for the Latins*, Volume XIV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, pages 278 and 283.

But in Leontius' words, as found in Gelasius of Cyzicus, Book II of the acts of the First Council, Chapter XXII, Volume II of the Councils, column 213, the words are:

> *Proceeding from the Father, proper to the Son; but that He is poured out to us by Him, the Lord Himself most clearly taught in the Gospels.*

Therefore, what Leontius said on behalf of the Universal Council about the temporal effusion of the Holy Spirit, saying *by Him, to us, to us, I say, He is poured out*, Beccus, or whoever corrupted the codex of the acts of the First Council that he followed, twists in any way possible to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, omitting the word *to us*, simply reading *flowing from Him*, so that these very words equally show that the First Ecumenical Council also believed that the Holy Spirit has His cause of existence from the Son. Where, unless Beccus had cited Leontius' words with bad faith, or the codex he followed had been corrupted by another, he could not even have cited such words (for even these, in their sense, even if the word *to us* is not added, could at least be understood as referring to the temporal effusion) for his opinion.

Corruption III

In the liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist, Volume X of the Great Library, Cichovius cites, in *Spiritual Questions*, page 29:

> *We beseech You, O lover of mankind, to send from on high Your Holy Spirit, from Your uncircumscribed bosom, the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who is everywhere present, consubstantial with You, proceeding from You and the Son, sitting with You on the throne of Your kingdom.*

But the same liturgy of St. Mark, in Volume II of the Library of the Greek Fathers, published in Paris in 1624, page 37, has the final words as follows:

> *Who is everywhere present, consubstantial with You, (to ek sou ek-porebomenon) proceeding from You, sitting with You on the throne of Your kingdom.*

Indeed, if the former reading were true, why did none of the Latinizing Greeks—Nicephorus Blemmidas, Beccus, Manuel Calecas, Bessarion, Scholarius, and others—who searched everywhere in the monuments of the ancient Fathers for anything that could remotely favor the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, ever cite these words from the liturgy of

St. Mark? This single clear testimony of the Evangelist would have sufficed over all other less clear authorities. Nor was the liturgy of this Evangelist unknown, as it was in everyone's hands. The same applies to the Latins themselves, none of whom, among those who wrote or disputed against the Easterners, ever cited these words of St. Mark. It is remarkable, indeed, that the Latins did not insert into the words of sacred Scripture, namely, the Evangelist John, "who proceeds from the Father and from Me", who did not hesitate to corrupt the liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist.

Corruption IV

Again, Beccus, in his exposition of the faith of Gregory Thaumaturgus against Elipandus, in the collection of the sentences of the holy Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit published by Arcudius, page 108, cites:

> *The Father existing unbegotten, the Son begotten from the Father, and the Spirit eternally sent from the substance of the Father and the Son.*

But among the works of Gregory Thaumaturgus himself, as published by the Latins, page 101, these are read in the Latin version:

> *The Father remaining unbegotten, the Son begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit eternally sent from the substance of the Father through the Son.*

What Beccus had as *from the substance of the Father and the Son*, the Latin translator reads as *from the substance of the Father through the Son*, which are entirely different. Certainly, the cited Latin translator would never have omitted retaining *from the substance of the Father and the Son eternally sent* if the Greek codex had contained such a thing, since these words quite clearly support the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Likewise, Manuel Calecas, in Book I of his *Disputations for the Latins*, Volume XIV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, reads *from the substance of the Father through the Son* from the Greek among the Latinizing Greeks.

Corruption V

St. Athanasius, in Book IV against Arius, well before the middle, according to the Latin version, has:

> *We do not introduce three principles or three Fathers, as the Marcionites and Manichaeans, since we do not compare to three suns, but to one sun and its splendor, and one light from both.*

This is read in the works of Athanasius published in Latin in Paris in 1608, page 118, and in 1581, page 155, and in Basel in 1564, page 233. The Latin version published alongside the Greek text also has it, as in the Heidelberg edition of Athanasius' works in 1600, page 262, and the Parisian edition in 1627, page 467. From this, among others, Bellarmine cites it for the defense of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in Book II of *On Christ*, Chapter XXV, adding:

> *Do you see here most clearly that there are three: the sun, the splendor, and the light proceeding from both? I think there can be no doubt that Athanasius understood the Father by the sun, the Son by the splendor, and the Holy Spirit by the light. What, I ask, can be responded to this?*

But the Greek text, according to the very editions of the Latins, reads the latter words thus, page 262 of the Heidelberg Greek-Latin edition of 1600, and page 467 of the Parisian Greek-Latin edition of 1627:

> *But one sun and splendor, (kai en to ex hēliou en tō apaugasmati phōs) and one light from the sun in the splendor.*

Thus, where Athanasius said: *one light from the sun in the splendor*, the Latins, with the worst bad faith, corrupting these words, substituted in their place: *one light from both*.

Cichovius, however, says in *Spiritual Questions*, page 32:

> *Even according to the uncorrupted text of Athanasius, Athanasius teaches that the Holy Spirit relates to the Father and the Son as light does to the sun and the splendor. Thus, just as light is not from the sun alone but also through the splendor, or from the splendor, so the Holy Spirit is not from the Father alone but from the Father and the Son, or through the Son.*

But although Athanasius compares the Holy Spirit to light, he did not therefore say that the light is *from the sun and from the splendor*, or *through the splendor*; but at least *from the sun in the splendor*. Other Fathers use a similar comparison: namely, applying the sun to the Father, the ray to the Son, and the splendor to the Holy Spirit; but they do not explain these by the same reasoning. For, as we saw in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers, John of Damascus, the author of the book on the Trinity attributed to St. Cyril, and Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, explained them thus: that the sun is the sole cause of the ray and the splendor, but the splendor is communicated to us at least through the ray.

Corruption VI

Hugo Rodolphus and other orators of Pope Gregory IX to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in their definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, which they presented to the Easterners at the Council of Nymphaea, cite from Athanasius' exposition of the faith, Volume XI of the Councils, Part I, column 326:

> *The Holy Spirit is the procession of the Father, and of the Son who carries all things, through whom He filled all things.*

And they preface:

> *The same Athanasius, in the exposition of the Faith, which he declared in Greek words, says verbatim thus.*

But in the exposition of the faith, near the end of Volume I of Athanasius' works, Parisian edition of 1627, page 242, it reads thus:

> *The Holy Spirit, who is the progression of the Father, is always in the hands of the Father who sends, and of the Son who carries, through whom He filled all things.*

All other editions of Athanasius' works have it thus. Therefore, with the worst bad faith, either those orators deliberately, or those who corrupted the codex of Athanasius they followed, omit from Athanasius' words *always in the hands of the Father who sends*, so as to join the *progression of the Father and the Son* as being the Holy Spirit.

Corruption VII

In the booklet on the passion of the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, Chapter IV, Volume II of Athanasius' works, page 636, the translator has:

> *One Holy Spirit, proceeding from both, through whom we truly believe we are saved.*

Jodocus Coccius cites this for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in his *Catholic Treasury of Truth*.

But in both Greek copies, there is no mention of the procession of the Holy Spirit, let alone the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Corruption VIII

Then, all Latin versions of the Creed of Athanasius have:

> *The Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding.*

From this, the Latins universally cite these very words for the defense of their opinion, among whom, already in the twelfth century, Lombard in Book I of the *Sentences*, Distinction XI.

But these too were corrupted by later Latins: for all Greek editions of that Creed, published by the Latins themselves, do not have the addition *and the Son*, as is evident from the Parisian edition of Athanasius' works in 1627, Volume II, page 32, and the Heidelberg edition of 1600, page 38, Volume II. Marcus Antonius de Dominis testifies the same about the other Greek codices in Book VII of *On the Ecclesiastical Republic*, Chapter X, Number 124:

> *All the Greek copies of Athanasius' Creed that I have seen do not have 'from the Father and the Son,' but only 'from the Father.'*

Only in the latest Parisian edition of the Councils, Volume I, at the beginning, is that addition inserted into the Greek text of that Creed; but the editors in this case did not follow the Greek manuscripts or other editions, but wished to amend it from the Latin version, imagining that

the Greek text was otherwise mutilated. We also have as a witness the Latin James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre in Syria, who expressly testifies that the Latins also added to Athanasius' Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Thus, he says in his *History of Jerusalem*, Chapter 74, Volume I of the *Eastern History* published in Hainaut in 1611, page 1090, disputing against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone:

> *Many things were not expressed from the beginning, which later, to remove errors, were determined and declared by the holy successors. Hence, where the Greeks have in the Creed: 'And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father,' the Latins say more expressly, 'who proceeds from the Father and the Son.' Similarly, where the Greeks say: 'The Holy Spirit from the Father, not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding,' the Latins added: 'The Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son'; yet they did not add something different, that is, contrary.*

This testimony could not be clearer: he, a man of great authority among the Latins, living close to the times when the Latins rashly altered almost all ancient writings (since he flourished in the twelfth century), openly confesses about his own that they added the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son to Athanasius' Creed. Whence it is again evident what should be thought of the ancient Latin codices that the Latins commonly cite in this matter. Even if they were older than James of Vitry, it is clear from his own confession that they too are corrupted.

Cichovius, however, in *Tribunal*, page 321, claims it is a calumny, indeed a lie, that the Jesuits write that the Greeks at the Council of Florence had no response to the words of Athanasius' Creed, which say the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but only said:

> *St. Athanasius wrote this while drunk.*

For no such thing appears either in the Greek or Latin acts of that Council, published by Horatius Justinianus, who fully reports all the disputations held at Florence.

Cichovius, in *Response Against Eusebius Pimenius*, page 142, says:

> *You will object that already in the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, the same Creed was recited with the same words: 'from the Father and*

> *the Son.' But there is no mention of Athanasius' Creed in that Council, let alone is that Creed recited there.*

Indeed, the words appear there in Volume V of the Councils, column 1703:

> *We profess the Holy Spirit neither created nor begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son.*

Do you say these are the words of Athanasius' Creed, which had: "The Holy Spirit from the Father," or according to the Latins: "from the Father and the Son, not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding"? Certainly, no less are these the same as those we cited from the Fourth Council of Toledo, as well as those of the Sixth Council of Toledo, Volume V of the Councils, column 1741:

> *We confess the Holy Spirit neither begotten nor created, but proceeding from the Father and the Son, being the Spirit of both; and through this, they are substantially one, because one proceeds from both.*

Or those of the Eleventh Council of Toledo, Volume VI of the Councils, column 541:

> *We believe Him to be God of one substance (the Holy Spirit, namely), also of one nature, not begotten nor created, but proceeding from both, being the Spirit of both.*

For no less in these than in the words of the Fourth Council of Toledo is it asserted that the Holy Spirit is not made, not begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son. But granting that the words of Athanasius' Creed were repeated by the Fourth Council of Toledo, we show in the treatise on corruptions perpetrated in Latin writings that the words of this Council are corrupted.

Corruption IX

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book II *On the Holy Spirit*, as found in Volume VI of Jerome's works, states:

> *Then, in what follows concerning the Spirit of truth, who is sent from the Father and is the Paraclete, the Savior, who is also the truth, says: 'For He will not speak from Himself,' that is, not without Me and without My and the Father's will; because He is inseparable from My and the Father's will; because He is not from Himself, but from the Father and Me. For this very fact that He exists and speaks is from the Father and Me: I speak the truth, that is, I inspire what He speaks; for He is the Spirit of truth.*

This is found in Jerome's works, Parisian edition of 1602, Basel editions of 1526, 1537, and 1565, Parisian edition of 1534, Antwerp edition of 1579, Cologne edition of 1616, and others. Already in the twelfth century, Gratian cites it in his *Decree on Consecration*, Distinction V, and Ivo of Chartres in his homily on the day of Holy Pentecost, Volume IV of the *Library of Preaching Fathers* published by Francis Combefis in Paris, page 556, and among the writers on divine offices published by Hittorpius in Paris in 1624, column 833. But these were augmented and corrupted with the worst bad faith. For the two books of Didymus *On the Holy Spirit*, published separately in Paris in 1500 (Title of the book: *Illustrious Men's Works: St. Athanasius' Most Subtle Controversy on the Homoousios against the Arian Heretic before the Pagan Judge Probus; St. Didymus' Discussion, Translated by St. Jerome, on the Holy Spirit, His Procession, and Equality; Aurelius Cassiodorus, etc.*), which I saw in the public libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England, read thus in that edition, letter D, page 2:

> *Who is sent from the Father and is the Paraclete, about whom the Savior says: 'For He will not speak from Himself,' that is, not without Me and without My and the Father's will; because He is inseparable from My and the Father's will. For this very fact that He exists and speaks, I speak, that is, I inspire what He speaks; for He is the Spirit of truth.*

Indeed, even in the ninth century, Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, in Book II *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against the Easterners*, Chapter V, Volume II of the *Spicilegium of Ancient Writers* published by Luke Dachery in Paris in 1657, page 57 (the manuscripts of these books of Ratramnus, as stated in the preface, were written in the author's time or even by the author himself), cites the words thus:

> *In what follows concerning the Spirit of truth, who is sent from the Father and is the Paraclete, the Savior says: 'For He will not speak from Himself,' that is, not without Me and without My and the Father's will, because He is inseparable from My and the Father's will. For this very fact that He exists and speaks, I, the truth, speak, that is, I inspire what He speaks, for He is the Spirit of truth.*

And when Ratramnus repeats all these words of Didymus to press each one for the defense of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, he again cites these same words untainted, never doing so if Didymus' words had: "Because He is not from Himself, but from the Father and Me. For this very fact that He exists and speaks is from the Father and Me." He also tries to extract the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from other words of Didymus. Thus, he continues:

> *This Doctor clearly instructs us that the Holy Spirit is from the Son. For when he says: 'For He will not speak from Himself,' he shows that He is not from Himself; explaining what he said: 'That is, not without Me and without My and the Father's will,' he shows from whom He is who does not speak from Himself, namely from the Father and the Son, without whom and without whose will He does not speak. And saying: 'For this very fact that He exists and speaks, I, the truth, speak,' he shows that the existence of the Spirit is from the Son: and if, when the Spirit speaks, the truth speaks, that is, the Son, he shows that what the Spirit speaks and exists, He received from the Son. And emphasizing this, as if making clearer what he said, 'that is, I inspire what He speaks.' How does He inspire? Namely, because He proceeds from Him. And he connects: 'For He is the Spirit of truth,' which is to say, the Spirit of the Son. By all this, it is demonstrated that He is the Spirit of the Son, and that He is inspired by the Son, that is, proceeds from Him. And because what the Spirit speaks and exists, He receives from the Son, not as lesser, but as consubstantial and proceeding from Him.*

It is clear to all how the Latins corrupted this passage by inserting some words and changing others. They did not rest with inserting the single word *Filioque* but did not hesitate to add an entire sentence.

Corruption X

In the cited passage, according to the cited editions of Jerome, Gratian, and Ivo, Didymus is read to say:

> *Therefore, the Father speaking and the Son hearing, or conversely, the Son speaking and the Father hearing, is a sign of the same nature in the Father and the Son, and of their agreement. The Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of wisdom, cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know; for this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son, that is, proceeding from the truth, the Comforter flowing from the Comforter, God from God, the Spirit of truth proceeding. Finally, lest anyone separate Him from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son, it is written: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but as He hears, He will speak.'*

But these too were corrupted with the worst fraud. Thus, the cited Parisian edition of Didymus' books in 1500 reads:

> *Therefore, the Father speaking and the Son hearing, or conversely, the Son speaking and the Father hearing, is a sign of the same nature in the Father and the Son, and of their agreement. The Spirit, who is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of wisdom, cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know; for this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son. Finally, lest anyone separate Him from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son, it is written: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but as He hears, He will speak.'*

Ratramnus cites it similarly. Thus, in the cited passage, page 48:

> *Therefore, the Father speaking and the Son hearing, or conversely, the Son speaking and the Father hearing, is a sign of the same nature in the Father and the Son, and of their agreement. The Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of wisdom, cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know; for this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son.*

Here Ratramnus stops, not adding what, according to the common editions of Jerome's works, is immediately added in the same period for

the sake of explaining the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; he would never have omitted these if Didymus' codex had contained them, since, as we just noted and is clear to all, he tries everywhere to extract something from Didymus' words for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus, Ratramnus continues to deduce the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from the cited words of Didymus, saying:

> *The Father speaking and the Son hearing demonstrates the Son's birth from the Father: similarly, the Son speaking and the Father hearing indicates that the Father begot the Son; and because the Father and the Son are of one nature, they are also of one agreement: so that the Father speaking to the Son, or the Son to the Father, is to come into one agreement of will, not to think anything different. Declaring the Holy Spirit to be the Spirit of truth and wisdom, he declares the Spirit of the Son, about whom he says: 'because He cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know'; for since He is of the same substance as the Son and proceeds from the Son, what the Son speaks, the Holy Spirit also speaks; for this very fact that He is the Spirit is the Son's speaking to the Spirit, as the present Doctor says. When he said: 'The Holy Spirit cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know,' he immediately added: 'For this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son,' that is, the Son's utterance is the substance of the Spirit. For saying: 'This very fact is,' the Spirit is understood, which is brought forth by the Son, that is, what the Son speaks. If what the Son speaks is the Holy Spirit, as this Doctor testifies, it cannot be denied that the Spirit proceeds from the Son; for the Son's utterance proceeds from the Son. Concerning this, since this is the Spirit that is brought forth by the Son, the Spirit proceeds entirely from the Son.*

Here Ratramnus again omits the final words that Didymus had, according to Jerome's editions, namely: "that is, proceeding from the truth," and the rest. How would he not have included these if Didymus' codices had them, since these alone would have settled the entire matter? Or why did Ratramnus give his own interpretation of those words: "For this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son," and not cite Didymus' own exposition, if Didymus' codices had contained it? Nor would he have needed to labor in the exposition he gave of Didymus' words to demonstrate it, if Didymus himself had given the same. According to Jerome's editions, the sense of the words: "For this very fact is what is

brought forth by the Son," is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. But Ratramnus himself first says the sense of these words is that what the Son speaks is the Holy Spirit, and from this he infers again that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. These expositions clearly do not agree with each other, so that it is again evident from this that Didymus' words are corruptly read according to the common editions of Jerome. Ratramnus further adds, continuing to support the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from the words of the same passage of Didymus:

> *He finally adds: 'Lest anyone separate Him from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son, it is written: "For He will not speak from Himself, but as He hears, He will speak."' This is similar to what the Savior says about Himself: 'As I hear, I judge.'*

Thus, Didymus shows with the words cited before: "For this very fact is what is brought forth by the Son," adding these: "Lest anyone separate Him from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son," etc. And since he insists on pressing this entire passage, as far as all the words are concerned, for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, yet omits those: "that is, proceeding from the truth," and the rest; and testifies that Didymus added: "Finally, lest anyone separate Him from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son," etc., it is clear that Didymus' codices did not have the words: "that is, proceeding from the truth," and the rest. Likewise, John Provincialis, in the twenty-second collation of the Council of Florence, published in Latin by Horatius Justinianus, when he wished to prove the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from Didymus, omitting indeed the words of Didymus that we have already shown to be corrupted in the first passage (but how would John also have omitted pressing these if Didymus' codex had contained them?), cites only these from the second passage of Didymus we are now discussing:

> *The Holy Spirit, since He is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of wisdom, cannot hear, when the Son speaks, what He does not know; for this is what is brought forth by the Son.*

And here too remains equally valid. He would not have omitted the rest if he had found similar passages in Didymus' codex. Indeed, when he subsequently pressed these very words in favor of the procession of the

Holy Spirit from the Son, he likewise did not add those phrases which, according to the common editions of Jerome, immediately follow. For he insists on them only thus:

> *In the first authority, it states that the Spirit cannot hear the Son speaking what He does not know, since the Spirit subsists from the Son because He is brought forth from the Son. From this it appears that the Spirit's inner hearing is nothing other than the reception of knowledge; and since knowledge and essence are one in God, this hearing and knowledge will be one. And therefore Christ said in the Gospel: "For He will not speak of Himself, because He is not of Himself." Therefore, it is necessary that He receive His being from Him from whom He hears; He hears from Him from whom He proceeds, according to Augustine, who says: "To hear for Him is to know, and to know is the same as to be." From this it follows that from Him from whom He hears, from Him He has His being; but He hears from the Son, as was conceded by you: therefore, He receives His being from the Son.*

Here, he interprets those words of Didymus: "Since this very thing is what is brought forth from the Son, the hearing of the Holy Spirit is the reception of knowledge," which clearly does not align with those words: "that is, proceeding from truth," and the rest. And furthermore, those points which we just pressed concerning Ratramnus's exposition of Didymus's words are relevant here, for their reasoning is the same.

Corruption XI

Finally, in Book I of Didymus [the Blind]'s *On the Holy Spirit*, the following is found:

> *Most impiously, certain people count the Holy Spirit among all things, saying that in the statement that all things were made by the Word from God, the creation of the Holy Spirit is also signified. For it is not one of all things, but rather, the Holy Spirit is shown to be something else beyond all things, subsisting through a substance from both.*

Thus, the common editions of the works of Jerome have it. But again, the cited Parisian edition of Didymus' books *On the Holy Spirit* from the year

1500 reads not “from both” (*ex utroque*), but “from each” (*ex utraque*). For thus it is written there, letter C, page 5:

> *Most impiously, certain people count the Holy Spirit among all things, saying that in the statement that all things were made by the Word from God, the creation of the Holy Spirit is also signified. For it is not one of all things, but rather, something else beyond all things, shown through a substance from each.*

The sense of Didymus is this: something else beyond all things, from each substance, namely, the corporeal and the incorporeal created. For he prefaces: “With these things thus asserted, the Holy Spirit is shown to be of another substance from visible and invisible creatures.” If, however, this is true, he continues: “Most impiously, certain people. . . ” and so forth. And he adds after the cited words:

> *For if, as we have shown above, creation is divided into corporeal and incorporeal, and the Holy Spirit is created, it would surely be either a visible or an invisible creature, that is, corporeal or incorporeal. But it will by no means be a body, as we have said before, since it teaches and grants knowledge and is received by sense and soul; nor will it be an invisible creature, as we have discussed earlier concerning God.*

Corruption XII

The Greeks who Latinize, and hence the Latins commonly, claim that Basil the Great wrote in Book III *Against Eunomius*, near the beginning:

> *Why is it necessary, if the Spirit is third in dignity and order, that it also be third in nature? For the teaching of piety holds that it is second in dignity from the Son, having its being from Him, receiving from Him, announcing to us, and entirely depending on that cause. But that it is third in nature, we have neither learned from sacred Scripture nor can it be inferred from the foregoing.*

Thus, Hugh Etherianus objects in his own century, in Book III, Chapter XIII, Volume XII of the *Cologne Library of the Fathers*, Part II, page 408.

But first, the publicly available Greek editions of St. Basil’s works do not contain the statements that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, or

that the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son, receives from Him, and announces to us; nor do they simply affirm that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son. Instead, in the Greek, they have at least this:

> *For the teaching of piety perhaps holds that it is posterior in dignity to the Son.*

Thus, at least, the Greek editions of Basil's works published in Venice in 1535, folio 87; again, as published in Basel in 1551, page 676; likewise, the books *Against Eunomius* published in the previous century in Greek and Latin by Beza; finally, Basil's works published in Greek and Latin in Paris in 1618, Volume II, page 78. Indeed, the Latin-only editions published in Basel in 1565, Volume I, page 139, and in 1566, page 339, as well as in Paris in 1566, page 280, have it thus. Also, a manuscript codex in the Royal Library of France omits the phrase "having its being from Him," etc., as attested by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc in his notes to Basil, in the Parisian edition of 1618. He says:

> *The royal codex agrees with the one used by the translator and with the Basel edition, d. 3. 6. 'For in dignity, it is posterior to the Son,' the teaching of piety has handed down.*

Likewise, at the twentieth session in Florence, Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, testified that a thousand ancient codices preserved in Constantinople read only:

> *In dignity, it is perhaps posterior to the Son, the teaching of piety has handed down.*

Mark himself had brought to Italy a certain very ancient codex, which similarly read at least thus. Certainly, anyone who considers how often the Latinizing Greeks have betrayed their fidelity in corrupting the writings of the Fathers, as we show in this treatise, will concede that this passage, as we first cited it from Beccus, was similarly corrupted by the defenders of the Latin opinion.

Furthermore, if we examine the remaining words of this passage, it will likewise be clear that Beccus cites them corruptly. To make this more evident, we will first present the entire context of Basil's words from the

cited Parisian edition of 1618; then we will note which codices supporting the Latins read differently, so that it will not be necessary to repeatedly insert the same points in our subsequent discussion. This may be lengthy, but since we see that the most significant part of the Council of Florence was devoted to this passage of Basil, and the Latins object that the codices supporting the Orientals were convicted of falsification in that synod, it was fitting to treat this matter thoroughly.

First, then, in Book III *Against Eunomius*, St. Basil cites the words of Eunomius, in which the differing codices agree. Thus, Eunomius says:

> *Since these things suffice concerning the Only-Begotten, it remains for us to speak also of the Paraclete. Nor will we follow the opinion of the many without any examination, but we will preserve the doctrine of the saints in all things. From them, having learned that it is third in dignity and order, we have believed it to be third in nature as well.*

Basil responds to these words:

> *That he does not think it proper to remain in the simple and secure faith of the many, but by certain artful and caviling arguments alters the truth again to what seems right to him, he sufficiently shows by his words. For while he despises the opinion of the many, who glorify the Holy Spirit, he pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints and remains silent about those who handed it down to him. Now he does the same things that he was shown to do when he spoke of the Only-Begotten.*

Then he says he learned from the saints that the Spirit is third in order and dignity, but he believed it to be third in nature as well:

> *Who these saints are, and in what discourses they taught this doctrine, he cannot say. Was there ever a man so bold as to introduce innovations to divine dogmas? For why is it necessary, if the Spirit is third in dignity and order, that it also be third in nature? For the teaching of piety perhaps holds that it is second in dignity from the Son. But that it is third in nature, we have neither been taught by the divine Scriptures nor can it be consistently inferred from the foregoing. For just as the Son is second in order from the Father, because He is from Him, and in dignity, because the Father is the origin and cause of His being,*

> *and because through Him is the approach and introduction to God the Father; yet in nature, He is in no way second, since there is one divinity in both. So too, the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son, as we might concede, it does not plausibly follow that it is of a different nature.*

To what end is this discourse? That not everything which is second or third in order and dignity has a different nature. For just as among the angels, one is a prince, another a subject, yet all are angels by nature, and there is some diversity in dignity but a commonality in nature (for a star differs from a star in glory, yet the nature of all stars is one; and there are many mansions with the Father, that is, diversities of dignities, yet the nature of the glorified is one): so too, the Holy Spirit, if it is subject in dignity and order, as they say (for we have received that it is numbered third from the Father and the Son, since the Lord Himself in the tradition of salvific baptism handed down the order in these words: "Go, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"), yet we have nowhere heard that the Holy Spirit is cast down into a third nature from the Father and the Son.

Thus, according to the Greek editions, the words of Basil stand. But the codices supporting the Latins differ in three places: first, where they say, "For it is second in dignity from the Son, having its being from Him, receiving from Him, announcing to us, and entirely depending on that cause, the teaching of piety holds," while Basil's words were at least: "For it is second in dignity from the Son, the teaching of piety perhaps holds." The dissenting codices then, omitting "as we might concede," say: "So too, the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son, it does not plausibly follow that it is of a different nature." But again, Basil's words were: "So too, the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son, as we might concede, etc." Finally, the codices supporting the Latins say: "So too, the Holy Spirit, though subject in dignity and order, for we have received that it is numbered third from the Father and the Son. . . " But Basil's words were: "So too, the Holy Spirit, though subject in dignity and order, as they say: for we have received that it is numbered third from the Father and the Son. . . "

This, then, is the difference between the codices; for it is clear from the acts of the Council of Florence that they agree in all other respects. That

the dissenting codices are corruptly thus, is evident from the following: both sets of codices agree that Basil denied that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son. Eunomius had asserted three things, as we have seen. First: “We will not follow the opinion of the many without any examination.” To this, Basil responds: “That he does not think it proper to remain in the simple and secure faith of the many, but by artful and caviling arguments alters the truth to what seems right to him, he sufficiently shows by his words.” Second, Eunomius continued in a coherent sequence: “But we will preserve the doctrine of the saints in all things,” namely, as he soon adds, that they teach the Holy Spirit to be third in order and dignity from the Son. To this, Basil responds in a similarly coherent sequence: “For while he despises the opinion of the many, who glorify the Holy Spirit, he pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints and remains silent about those who handed it down to him.” Third, Eunomius immediately adds: “From whom, having learned that it is third in dignity and order, we have believed it to be third in nature as well.” Basil, about to respond to this, after repeating Eunomius’ words, returns to the earlier point where Eunomius said he had received from the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in order and dignity, saying: “Who these saints are, and in what discourses they taught this doctrine, he cannot say.” Then, addressing the consequence Eunomius drew, that from the Spirit being third in dignity, it is also third in nature, he adds: “Was there ever a man so bold as to introduce innovations to divine dogmas? For why is it necessary, if the Spirit is third in dignity and order, that it also be third in nature?” Thus, since Eunomius said he wished to preserve the doctrine of the saints, namely, that they taught the Holy Spirit to be third in dignity and order, and then that he had received from the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, Basil responds: Eunomius pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints in this; he remains silent about those who handed down this doctrine; he cannot say who these saints are or in what discourses they taught this doctrine. For Eunomius did not claim to have received any other doctrine from the saints except that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order. For he openly admitted that he added of his own accord that the Holy Spirit is third in nature. Therefore, Basil denies that it is the doctrine of the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order; for no one among the saints can be named who handed down such a doctrine. He denies that

Eunomius preserves the doctrine of the Fathers in this, but rather, he says, Eunomius pretends to hold the doctrine of the Fathers, when in reality he does not. For this is what pretense implies. But if, according to Basil's doctrine, it was not the teaching of the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, how then is it that in the codices supporting the Latins, Basil is repeatedly read to have undoubtedly affirmed that the Holy Spirit is third in nature and dignity? From this, it is clearly evident that those dissenting codices have been falsified in the points where they depart from ours.

Then, according to the dissenting codices, first, why the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, they give this reason: because the teaching of piety holds that the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son, receives from Him, announces to us, and entirely depends on that cause. Indeed, they give a similar reason according to our codices for why the Son is second in dignity from the Father. Having given such a reason from sacred Scripture for the Holy Spirit, why, I ask, does he then, according to both sets of codices, proceed to show why the Holy Spirit might seem to be third in dignity, citing at least the words of the institution of baptism, in which the Holy Spirit is numbered third? For thus the dissenting codices have it:

> *So too, the Holy Spirit, though subject in dignity and order: for we have received that it is numbered third from the Father and the Son, since the Lord Himself in the tradition of salvific baptism handed down the order in these words: 'Go, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'*

Why, then, if he had already demonstrated, as the dissenting codices have it, that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity, would he demonstrate the same thing again? Likewise, if it is proved from sacred Scripture that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity because sacred Scripture teaches that the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son, receives from Him, announces to us, and depends on that cause, as the dissenting codices have it, how is it that he does not prove the same from those same words, but from those words of Scripture at least, where it says: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"? These are surely very different.

What John the Provincial objected at Florence in those lengthy disputations concerning this passage in Session XX, the most significant

points are these. First, he claimed that a very ancient codex contains the words: “since it has its being from Him,” etc. As if long ago among the Greeks there were not occasionally those who favored the opinion of the Latins. But, he says, that codex was written before the schism between the Greeks and the Latins. From where, however, did John prove that this codex, though ancient, had such antiquity? Certainly, from the time of Photius, there was a difference between the Eastern and Western churches regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. How many centuries passed from the time of Photius to the time of the Council of Florence? Indeed, even if that codex had been written three hundred or four hundred years earlier, would it not have had sufficient antiquity? Moreover, the most ancient codex was that of Mark of Ephesus, which entirely differed from that one. Finally, what is to be thought of the ancient codices supporting the Latins is shown by the most ancient codex of Julian, in which the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council was read with the addition; other ancient codices similarly show that in the Creed of Athanasius, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Son as well. For we have shown above that these were likewise falsified.

Second, in Session XXI, he objects that the universal Council of Chalcedon testifies that Basil the Great handed down an exact doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit. How, then, could St. Basil have doubted whether the Holy Spirit is third in dignity from the Father, saying: “The teaching of piety perhaps holds”? And so on. But Basil never doubted whether the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son; for he explicitly denied this in the preceding, as shown above. But in these words, he only concedes to Eunomius by supposition: even if the Holy Spirit were second in dignity from the Son, as it might seem sacred Scripture teaches when it says: “Baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” it does not follow that the Holy Spirit is also second in nature from the Son. Since this is the sense of Basil, how would the words in which he says, “the teaching of piety perhaps holds,” be unworthy of Basil? Indeed, concerning the Fathers, they are accustomed to speak most cautiously because of the perversity of heretics, and they do not easily concede to a heretic what he might maliciously interpret. Therefore, even if we were to say that Basil speaks here doubtingly about whether the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, would any mark of blame be cast upon St. Basil because of this? For Basil is often

read to have rejected the term “unbegotten,” as in Epistle 141 and Book II *Against Eunomius* near the end; indeed, he condemns this term as the first element of blasphemies in Book I *Against Eunomius*. Yet the term “unbegotten” was commonly approved by so many holy Fathers. Would any mark of blame therefore be cast upon St. Basil? Similarly, it could be said that since heretics abused the proposition that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, Basil showed himself more cautious in admitting this proposition; but in truth, Basil denied that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, as shown before.

Third, in Session XXII, John objects that according to our codices, a false conclusion follows from a true and absolute premise. For Basil would argue: The Son is second in dignity from the Father, yet not second in nature from Him. Therefore, even if we concede that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, it will not be second in nature from Him. But since Basil argues: just as among the angels, though some are second and third, they are not outside the angelic nature, so too with the divine persons; just as in them, so in the divine, here the minor premise is absolute: namely, that angels who are second and third in dignity and order are absolutely and without any limitation not outside the angelic nature. Therefore, in the divine persons, this will undoubtedly be the case, since the premise is absolute, the conclusion must also be absolute and without any condition.

He objects the same in Session XXIII and adds: thus, according to our codices, a true and certain conclusion follows from a doubtful premise. This he says, but absurdly. For first, Basil, according to the reading of our codices, satisfies Eunomius’ argument, by which he concluded: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son; therefore, it is also second in nature from the Son, with a twofold response. First, by denying the premise; for it is false that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, for this is not the doctrine of the saints. Second, by denying the consequence itself, even if the premise is conceded but not proven, namely, that the heretic inferred: if the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, it is also second in nature from the Son. Hence, St. Basil says: “Why is it necessary,” he says, “if the Spirit is third in dignity, that it also be third in nature? For it is second in dignity from the Son, the teaching of piety perhaps holds.” Further, he proves that the consequence itself is invalid, even if the premise is conceded, first from

the Son of God, who is second in dignity from the Father, yet not second in nature from Him; then he proves it from the examples of angels, stars, and mansions. For from these, it is clearly evident that not everything that is second in dignity from another is also second in nature from it. And Basil testifies that he introduced these examples for this purpose, saying in the cited place:

> *To what end is this discourse? That not everything which is second or third in order or dignity has a different nature.*

Therefore, there is no necessity that it follows: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son (let this be conceded); therefore, it is also second in nature from it. Where, I ask, in this disputation of Basil does a false conclusion follow from true and absolute premises? What, I ask, is more common than for disputants to first deny the premise; then, with the premise conceded but not proven, to deny the major consequence and demonstrate that it is invalid with various cited instances? Who, even slightly versed in logic, would question this? Indeed, if the reasons brought by John the Provincial had any weight, not only Basil but no disputant could respond to an opponent's argument with reason; for this is impossible, since the same reasons of John could be brought against it. Indeed, the matter here is so clear that John the Provincial lacked sense, not reason, when he denied that Basil could have responded to Eunomius in this way. But, he says, Basil would argue thus:

> *The Son is second in dignity from the Father, yet not second in nature. Therefore, the Holy Spirit, though second in dignity from the Son, as this is conceded, is not second in nature.*

Therefore, he would suppose that the Son is undoubtedly second in dignity from the Father; how, then, in the conclusion, would he negatively posit that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son? How, I ask, do these things agree? But Basil's intention was not to show that just as the Son is second in dignity from the Father yet not second in nature from Him, so too the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son yet not second in nature from Him. Rather, he brought the example of the Son at least to show that the major consequence formed by Eunomius is invalid. For if the Son is second in dignity from the Father yet not second in

nature, the consequence in no way holds: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, as the heretics wanted; therefore, the Holy Spirit is second in nature from the Son. And hence Basil says:

> *As the Son is indeed second in order and dignity, yet in no way second in nature: so too the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son, as we might concede, it does not plausibly follow that it is of a different nature.*

Therefore, Basil, by adducing the example of the Son, wishes only to demonstrate that the heretic's consequence is invalid: if the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, it is also second in nature from the Son. How, then, if he did not equally simply suppose that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, would he infer a false conclusion from true and absolute premises? This could further be demonstrated with various examples from logical disputations, were it not self-evident and were it not our intention to keep things concise. For it is clear to all that in this kind of disputation, where the premise is first denied, then, with the premise conceded, the consequence is denied, it is most correctly inferred from similar examples that there is no necessity in that consequence, even if the premise is conceded; whoever denies this must be utterly foolish.

The same holds entirely for Basil's argument drawn from the angels. For it is false, as John claimed, that Basil argues:

> *Just as among the angels, though some are second and third, they are not outside the angelic nature, so too with the divine persons; just as in them, so in the divine.*

As if, as John wishes, the sense were: Angels differ among themselves in dignity, not in nature; so too the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, not in nature. But Basil, by adducing the example of the angels, wishes at least to demonstrate that the heretic's consequence is invalid, by which he inferred: if the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, it is also second in nature from the Son. And hence, when Basil had shown that angels differ in dignity, not in nature, he adds:

> *To what end is this discourse? That not everything which is second or third in order and dignity has a different nature.*

Therefore, he implies the consequence, adding:

> *Just as among the angels, one is a prince, another a subject, yet there is a commonality in nature: so too, even if the Holy Spirit were conceded to be second in dignity from the Son, it does not follow that it is second in nature.*

But, he says, the minor premise is absolute, namely, that angels second and third in dignity and order are absolutely and without any limitation not outside the angelic nature. Therefore, the conclusion will be absolute: The Holy Spirit, second in dignity from the Son, is not second in nature from Him. But does it truly follow absolutely from the fact that angels, second and third in dignity, are not outside the angelic nature, that the Holy Spirit, second in dignity from the Son, is not second in nature from Him? Does not an absolute conclusion equally follow from this: therefore, not everything that differs in dignity also differs in nature; so that you may further infer: therefore, it does not follow: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son; therefore, it is also second in nature? As indeed we have just seen Basil infer. It in no way follows absolutely: The Holy Spirit is second from the Son, as the heretics say; therefore, the Holy Spirit is also second in nature from the Son. But, as said, almost all disputations show that John accomplishes nothing, in which it is most common to first deny the premise, then, with the premise conceded but not proven, to deny the major consequence and prove it to be invalid with various cited instances; in which, of course, the prior part of the proposition is necessarily posited absolutely; yet it is not necessary that the same be done in the conclusion, as is clear to anyone.

Another thing John objected was that, according to our codices, a true and certain conclusion follows from a doubtful premise. But how this agrees with what he said, I do not see. For he had just said that according to our codices, the conclusion is false; how, then, does he now say it is true? He seems to understand that according to our codices, Basil concludes thus:

> *The Holy Spirit, though second in dignity from the Son, as this is conceded, does not follow that it is second in nature from the Son.*

But where does Basil argue thus? He joined into one proposition that it does not follow: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, as the

heretics said; therefore, the Holy Spirit is also second in nature from the Son. But enough on this.

Further Objections of John the Provincial

Similar to this is what he objects in Session XXI: that by which something is demonstrated must be more known than what is demonstrated. But Basil's intention was to refute Eunomius' consequence: that if it is third in dignity, it is also third in nature. If, therefore, he said: "perhaps the teaching of piety holds," how, I ask, could he doubt what he ought to have affirmed to refute Eunomius? But it has already been shown that Basil does not doubt in these words whether the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, but rather concedes this proposition to the heretic by supposition. Further, if it was necessary to refute Eunomius that Basil affirm that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity, Basil satisfies this according to our codices, conceding it to Eunomius, but not proving it. Moreover, what is demonstrated must be more known. Does Basil wish to refute Eunomius' consequence: that if the Holy Spirit is third in dignity, it is also third in nature, by this: that even if the Holy Spirit is second from the Son, as the heretic said, it is not second in nature from Him? What nonsense does John propose here? How, I ask, would it have been necessary for Basil to affirm that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son to refute Eunomius' consequence? Is it not sufficient that the consequence is refuted if it is shown, as Basil does here, that even if it is conceded that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity, it does not follow that it is second in nature? But let us proceed.

Fourth, John objects in Session XXII that when Basil says that Eunomius cannot say who those saints are or in what discourses they taught that doctrine, his sense is that Eunomius could not find saints who affirmed that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity so as to infer that it is third in nature. For the Fathers said this, understanding the procession of the Holy Spirit from within; but Eunomius understood it from without; and this was similarly the opinion of the many, by which Basil teaches that they glorify God. But first, the explicit words of Eunomius are that from the fact alone that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son according to the doctrine of the Fathers, he infers that the Holy Spirit is also second in nature. But, since the Fathers, understanding the eternal

procession, taught that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son (let us suppose both, though they are utterly false), and Eunomius understood this of creation, should he therefore not be said to have received from the Fathers that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, or could he not name those Fathers who taught this? Absurdly. For would you say, when a heretic twists an entire passage from a certain holy Father to his own opinion, inferring from it, as if from an explicit premise, an absurd and heretical conclusion, would you say, I ask, that the heretic did not have that entire passage from the Father, or could not name the Father who wrote such a thing? Further, if a heretic infers from sacred Scripture: The Holy Spirit cries out to the Father, according to the words of the Apostle in Galatians 4:5, "God sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying: Abba, Father"; therefore, the Holy Spirit is not God—did he not have those words from sacred Scripture? Could he not name the Apostle who wrote them? Of course, even though the holy Fathers and the heretic understand the same proposition differently, the heretic inferring perversely from it, it remains no less true that the Fathers handed down that proposition and that the heretic took it from them. For it is one thing to understand the meaning of the words of a proposition, another to understand the reason why someone believes it to hold. Therefore, the Fathers and the heretic entirely disagree in the reason why they believe the proposition holds; yet they agree that the words themselves are true according to the simple meaning of the words. And hence, Eunomius is rightly said to have received from the Fathers that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son; although, if you consider the reason for this proposition, why the holy Fathers and Eunomius believed it to hold, they entirely differed from one another. Then, Eunomius himself says:

> *We will not follow the opinion of the many without any examination, but we will preserve the doctrine of the saints in all things.*

By these words, Eunomius admits that he does not wish to follow the opinion of the many but the doctrine of the saints. Therefore, he denies that the opinion of the many was the teaching of the saints. How, then, did John the Provincial claim that one dogma, namely, that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, is understood through the opinion of the many and the doctrine of the saints? Likewise, St. Basil says:

> *For while he despises the opinion of the many, he pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints.*

But the same dogma could not be despised by Eunomius and yet preserved, pretending that it is the doctrine of the holy Fathers. Indeed, John the Provincial himself, in Session XXI, teaches that the opinion of the many, by which they glorify God, is that by which all confess that the Holy Spirit is God:

> *He, despising the opinion of the many which they hold,*

and these are the less examined opinions of the many, that they confessed the Holy Spirit to be God without applying many reasons. But that proud and arrogant Eunomius seems unwilling to follow them. How, then, does he now give another exposition of these: namely, that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, that is, according to the procession? Finally, Basil refutes Eunomius' consequence: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, therefore also in nature, by giving instances from angels, stars, and heavenly mansions; and he adds that it is clear from these that not everything that is second in dignity from another is also second in nature from it; and therefore, it does not follow: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son; therefore, it is also second in nature. But if that proposition: The Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, were not taken simply, but either understood according to the Catholics concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit or according to Eunomius concerning creation, Basil could in no way have given those instances against Eunomius' inference, or from those instances infer that not everything that is second in dignity from another is also different in nature from it. For an angel did not create an angel, a star a star, or a mansion a mansion. But since Basil employs such examples to refute Eunomius' consequence, in which it is understood simply, without respect to production, that one is second in dignity from another, it is clear that Basil did not take that proposition otherwise in the preceding, and it was not understood either according to the Catholics in terms of procession or according to Eunomius in terms of creation, where Basil was refuting Eunomius' words. Therefore, such were the reasons John the Provincial brought forward at Florence; by such he wished to demonstrate that Basil's codex was corrupted by the

Orientals; and for such reasons, the Latins of later times believe that our codices were proven false in that Council of Florence. But who would not marvel that the Latins acquiesce to such futile and inept reasons of John and are led by them as if blind? Or who would not rather condemn their blinded obstinacy, when they dare to object these same arguments to the Orientals as if they were invincible and most evident?

On the Words of Athanasius

As for what John objects in Session XX, the words of Athanasius, from which he infers that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, we will address these in the treatise where we refute the testimonies brought from the writings of the Eastern Fathers.

To repeat here what each of the more recent Latins, following John, objects for the defense of the dissenting codices would be tedious; we will at least mention some additional points that certain ones bring beyond John's arguments.

Thus, Bellarmine insists in *Book II On Christ*, Chapter XXV:

> *Moreover, we clearly gather from the consequences that either those words must be in the text or certainly their sense. For* Basil *continues thus: 'For just as the Son is second in order from the Father, because He is from Him, and in dignity, because the Father is the origin and cause of His being; yet in nature, He is in no way second, since there is one divinity in both: so too the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son, it does not follow that it is of a different nature.' And all these are found verbatim in the Greek.*

But Bellarmine, following a certain mutilated Latin codex, cites Basil's words thus. According to the editions cited above, in place of: "So too the Holy Spirit, even if it is second in dignity and order from the Son," it was read: "Even if the Holy Spirit is second in dignity and order from the Son, as we might concede entirely." In the Greek, indeed, it is said that all these are found verbatim. But all editions of the Greek text read those words in the latter way, as we have seen. Then, even if the words "as we might concede entirely" were absent, the sense of Basil would not yet be that the Holy Spirit is indeed second in dignity from the Son; but he

would mean at least that even if the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, it does not follow that it is also second in nature from the Son, supposing this not from his own opinion but certainly from Eunomius' opinion.

Arguments from Bessarion's Letter

Some have gathered various arguments from Bessarion's letter to the Constantinopolitans. First, they say: from six copies of St. Basil's works that the Greeks brought with them, five lacked the doubtful parentheses, and only the sixth, a paper one, had them. What of it? Could not the Orientals have brought at least one uncorrupted codex with them, or more if they wished? For a thousand other copies were held in Constantinople, as Mark testifies. They brought those with them because none of them doubted the falsification of the text, as Mark again testifies. It is false, then, that the Greeks brought six copies of Basil's works to Florence; for there were only three copies there, of which two supported the Latins. Thus, in Session XXI of the Council of Florence, according to the Latin edition of the acts of this synod by Horatius Justiniani:

> *Cardinal: "Do you have another* Basil *here in Florence besides these two?" Ephesus: "No." Cardinal: "There are three books in this city, and two support us."*

Second, they object that Bessarion, having returned to Constantinople, by long and careful reading, recognized that all codices of Basil written before the schism supported the Latins; but those written after the schism either added the words "perhaps," "as we might concede," etc., or omitted the words "since it has its being from Him," etc. But what faith is to be given to a turncoat who even before falsely claimed that the Greeks brought six copies to Florence, of which five supported the Latins? When, as we have just seen, Cardinal Julian himself testifies that there were only three copies of Basil in Florence, of which the third was not brought by the Greeks but by Nicholas of Cusa, a Latin, to Italy. Thus, John the Provincial in Session XX of the Council of Florence:

> *Responding to* Basil*'s statement, we say for now that this book was recently brought here from Constantinople by Lord* Nicholas of Cusa.

But how, I ask, could Bessarion judge which codices were written before or after the schism? By long and careful reading, he says. Does anyone not see that Bessarion indulged his own biases? It was enough for him to pronounce a codex written after the schism if it did not suit his taste regarding Basil's words. For even if there were perhaps many ancient codices supporting the Latins, why would you necessarily infer from this that they must have been written before the schism? Absurdly. Mark's codex of Basil, which he brought to Italy, was most ancient; why, then, should it have been written only after the schism? Such is the firm foundation of the Latins' case!

Third, they claim that the descendants of the Greeks, with two copies of Basil, one of which was written in the year 1100, supporting the Latins, attacked with iron and erased the words contrary to them. But granting that the turncoat reports the truth, to whom we have so far denied all credibility, why should what was wrongly inserted not be justly removed? With iron and fire, corrupt words should be dealt with. Why, then, does the Roman Church attribute to itself the right to do the same, not in lawful cases but even in unlawful ones, not in corrupt words but in the genuine words of authors, where they at least oppose the preferences of the Roman Church? Whence arose so many expurgatory indices, if not to expunge and delete even the genuine words of authors? Therefore, such corruptions are rather charged against the Latins than the Orientals. For if some among them removed certain words from a codex of Basil, those words were corrupt; but the Latins truncate and expunge the genuine words of authors at their pleasure.

Fourth, they claim that the passage thus presented exhibits such eloquence, roundness, and Attic grace that the very style and elegance of writing testify that such an elegant text could only have come from St. Basil himself. But who does not find pleasing what he desires? Was Basil alone capable of writing in an Attic style? Could not another insert a few elegantly placed words in the same style?

Fifth, they claim that already at the time of the Council of Lyons, Beccus used that testimony thus fully cited from very ancient codices, and Manuel Calecas did the same at that time, and after the Council of Florence, Gennadius. But concerning the ancient dissenting codices of Basil, we have already addressed a similar objection by John above. For

we say that these too used corrupt codices. But, they say, Beccus had that testimony from very ancient codices. Is it so settled, then, that he deceives himself? Beccus cites the testimony fully. From where, then, do you add, unless from your own imagination, that he had it from very ancient codices? These are the tactics of the Latins or the Latinizing Greeks, that they are accustomed to fabricate what they can never prove, at least to support their cause. For Beccus himself never testified such things about himself. Indeed, Beccus also cites certain things from Gregory of Nyssa's *Homily III on the Lord's Prayer*. Did he, then, also produce these from very ancient codices? Indeed, these are so openly corrupt that even the Jesuit Petavius cannot deny that that passage was falsified. How, then, does the testimony of a skulker who did not hesitate to assume the name of Gennadius help here? Could any authority be attributed to him in this matter, writing after the Council of Florence? Away with such ludicrous objections, I say.

Sixth, they claim that Basil teaches in *Epistle 300* that the Holy Spirit is third in order, and in Pachymeres' *History*, Book VII, that the Son holds the second place from the Father (as the cause) because of the cause, or as from a cause. The Holy Spirit also holds the second place from the Son, according to the reason of the cause. But we do not deny that Basil taught that the Holy Spirit is third in order; but that it is third in dignity. The cited epistle does not affirm the latter but the former. Further, he teaches that the Holy Spirit is second from the Son, according to the reason of the cause, as we have seen Gregory of Nyssa teach in his place; but he understands that the Father, without any production, begot the Son; but with the Son begotten, He produced the Holy Spirit. In this sense, the Holy Spirit is entirely posterior to the Son according to the reason of the cause. And hence, since Basil had said that the Son is second from the Father because He is from Him, as from a cause or because of the cause, he does not repeat this reason to show that the Holy Spirit is second from the Son; but he says it is so according to the reason of the cause.

Further Arguments of the Jesuit

Further, the same author disputes various things in favor of the codices supporting the Latin opinion. Omitting those in which he follows John the Provincial (for we have already refuted these above), we will briefly

present the remaining points he adds of his own.

Thus, he says, St. Basil expressly professes that Eunomius was accustomed to say the same things about the Holy Spirit as he said about the Son. Since, therefore, he did not recognize a natural order of cause and caused between the Father and the Son, it is clear that he did not recognize the same order between the Son and the Holy Spirit, and therefore this cannot be attributed to Eunomius by anyone without a grave mark of ignorance and negligence, or certainly of malice and dissimulation of the acknowledged truth. The Jesuit brings these points to show that Eunomius did not prove that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, but that this was the doctrine of the Fathers. But how could it ever be denied that Eunomius did not prove that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, since he expressly says that he preserves the doctrine of the saints and boasts that he received from them that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son? For he says:

> *But we will preserve the doctrine of the saints in all things, from whom we have learned that it is third in dignity and order.*

For Basil, responding to these words:

> *Now also doing the same things that he was shown to do when he spoke of the Only-Begotten,*

asserts this to show that, just as with the Son, so too with the Holy Spirit, Eunomius pretends to preserve the doctrine of the Fathers, or claims that it is the doctrine of the Fathers, which they never handed down. For Basil's words were:

> *For while he despises the opinion of the many, who glorify the Holy Spirit, he pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints and remains silent about those who handed it down to him (namely, that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son), now also doing the same things that he was shown to do when he spoke of the Only-Begotten.*

Then, Eunomius denied a natural order between the Father and the Son, but in the same essence, not in a different one. For he said that the Son was created by the Father, thus entirely positing the Father as the cause

of the Son; but, as said, he did not recognize an order in the very nature of God, equally denying that the Son is God. For thus Basil says of Eunomius in *Book I Against Eunomius*:

> *It is not proper to say that there is an order in God, since the order is posterior to the one ordering.*

How, then, could Eunomius be said to have denied that the Son is second in dignity from the Father, when he entirely affirmed that He is His creature? Likewise, he blasphemed about the Holy Spirit, saying that it was created by the Son. For Basil cites these words of Eunomius in *Book II Against Eunomius*:

> *He will understand that the Son is a creature of the Unbegotten, but the Paraclete of the Only-Begotten.*

Therefore, in the same way, Eunomius truly held that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son. How, then, could this be attributed to Eunomius without a mark of ignorance, negligence, or dissimulation of the acknowledged truth?

Further, he insists that Basil indicates what Eunomius could not prove to be the doctrine of the saints, saying:

> *But that it is third in nature, we have neither been taught from the writings of the saints nor can it be consistently inferred from the foregoing.*

What is the consequence? Basil says that it is not taught in the writings of the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in nature; therefore, in the preceding, where he objects that Eunomius could not prove that it is the doctrine of the saints, he similarly understood that the Holy Spirit is not third in nature, and not that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity? Eunomius openly conceded that he did not have from the saints but from himself that the Holy Spirit is third in nature; but he boasted that he had from the saints that it is third in dignity, which doctrine he claimed to be that of the saints, as we have just seen from his words. But Basil explicitly responds to this:

> *He pretends to preserve the doctrine of the saints and remains silent about those who handed it down to him.*

Where it is clear to anyone that Basil's discourse is not about the Holy Spirit being third in nature, but about it being third in dignity. But we cease to press this, since we have discussed it extensively above.

On the Arguments of Mark of Ephesus

He continues: But that Ephesus wishes the order assigned by St. Basil to be only a numbering, or because it is placed in the same order as the Son, exposes himself to a grave danger of heresy. For he argues: Whatever divine person is numbered with the Son or placed in the same order as the Son depends on the Son; the Father is numbered with the Son and placed in the same order as the Son; therefore, the Father depends on the Son. Indeed, if Ephesus said that the order of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son is only a numbering, or because it is placed in the same order as the Son, he understood, of course, that it is numbered after the Son and placed with Him in the same order, according to the words of Christ:

> *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.*

For he repeatedly professed in the Council of Florence that he confessed this order. How, then, could any charge of heresy be brought against Mark? The solution to the argument is clear from the given distinction. For the major premise, limited thus: Whoever is numbered with the Son and placed in the same order as the Son, being second from Him, depends on Him, it is manifest that the Jesuit's minor premise is utterly false. But how Basil says that the Holy Spirit depends on the Son, we have seen in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning Basil's words. For the Jesuit absurdly adds from this that it is much more easily explained that the Holy Spirit depends on the Son because the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son; since to depend on someone and to have being from someone seem synonymous; nor can any other reason be given why it cannot be said that the Father depends on the Son. But it is more easily explained that the proposition: The Holy Spirit depends on the Son because the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son; it does not follow, however, that Basil uttered those words in this

sense. It is false, moreover, that to depend on someone and to have being from someone are synonymous. By what argument, I ask, does he prove this? Indeed, everything that has its being from someone also depends on him; but not vice versa, that everything that depends on someone also has its being from him. Finally, we have just given the reason why it cannot be said that the Father depends on the Son, even if the cited meaning is not retained.

On Gregory of Nyssa

Yet elsewhere, he again presses that the words of Gregory of Nyssa in *Oration I Against Eunomius* are:

> *The Holy Spirit is neither second from the Father nor numbered with the Father.*

How, then, could Eunomius say that the Holy Spirit is second from the Father? But, as we have just seen, Eunomius denied that there is an order in God, and in this sense, since he blasphemed that the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Son, he also denied that the Holy Spirit is second from the Father or numbered with the Father in one divinity. How, then, does it follow from this that Eunomius' opinion was not that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity from the Father? For what the Jesuit says: "How, then, could he say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father, from the Father, I say, second?" he wrote this by some error; for we never say that Eunomius' opinion was that the Holy Spirit is second, but that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity from the Father, as his own words have it.

Since, therefore, the same author has not demonstrated with any valid argument that according to Basil, the Holy Spirit is third in dignity, who would not marvel that he infers the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from this as if from a most certain foundation? For he argues thus: Whoever is prior in order and dignity to the Holy Spirit is the productive principle of the Holy Spirit. For the Father is said to be prior in order and dignity to the Son because He is the principle of the Son. The Son, according to St. Basil and other holy Fathers, is prior in order and dignity to the Holy Spirit. Therefore. But just as the minor premise is false, so too the major is denied: namely, that whoever is prior in dignity to the Holy

Spirit is its productive principle; as if everything that is prior in dignity to something is also its principle. We have seen Basil explicitly disputing to show that it does not follow: The Holy Spirit is third in dignity; therefore, it is also third in nature. By examples drawn from angels, stars, and heavenly mansions, he demonstrates that not everything that differs in dignity from another also differs in nature. But from these same examples, it is equally clear that not everything that is prior in dignity to something is also its principle. For angels are prior in dignity to angels, stars to stars, mansions to mansions; yet an angel is not the productive principle of an angel, a star of a star, or a mansion of a mansion. But the Jesuit insists: The Father is said to be prior in dignity because He is the principle of the Son. Absurdly. Let him add, I ask, the major premise to that inference; the entire syllogism would be thus: Whatever is the principle of another is prior in dignity to it; but the Father is the principle of the Son; therefore, the Father is prior in dignity to the Son. Thus, it is clear from this that everything that is the principle of another is also prior in dignity to it; but not that everything that is prior in dignity to another is also its productive principle, which the Jesuit assumed as Basil's doctrine to prove the major. Therefore, it is clear that the Jesuit accomplished nothing. And thus far concerning that passage of Basil.

Corruption XIII

Beccus, in his collection of opinions on the procession of the Holy Spirit, page 116, cites the following from Gregory of Nyssa's book *That There Are Not Three Gods*:

> *We do not deny the difference concerning cause and caused, by which alone we discern one from another; namely, that we believe one to be the cause, another to be from the cause, and from that which is from the cause. Again, we consider another difference: for one is immediately from the first, etc.*

Thus, before Beccus, Rodulphus and the other orators of Pope Gregory IX to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, cite it in their definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit, Volume XI of the Councils, Part I, column 327. And Bellarmine similarly cites it in Book II *On Christ*,

Chapter XXV. But if one is the cause in the Deity, another from the cause, and another from that which is from the cause, it is signified that the Father is the cause, the Son from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Son. But the words of Gregory are perfidiously cut and joined in a way that what should be divided is joined. For thus Gregory of Nyssa, in the Parisian Greek-Latin edition of 1615, Volume II, page 459:

> *Namely, that we believe one to be the cause, another from the cause; and of that which is from the cause, we again consider another difference.*

So too the Latin edition of Nyssa's works, Paris 1573, column 864. Likewise, Hugh Etherianus, older than Beccus and the orators of Gregory IX cited, in Book III, Chapter XIII, page 408, Volume XII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, cites it thus:

> *Hence we believe one to be the cause, another from the cause, and hence of that which is from the cause, we understand another difference.*

In the same way, Calecas cites it in Book I, page 26, Volume XIV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers. Therefore, Gregory's words were: "This is the cause, this is from the cause, and of that which is from the cause, we again consider another difference." Thus, the words "and of that which is from the cause" (*kai tou ex aitias de ontos*) are joined with what follows: "Again, we consider another difference," not with what precedes: "this from the cause." But the others perfidiously joined what he had divided and divided what Nyssenus had joined, namely, "and of that which is from the cause," joining it with what precedes: "this from the cause"; and dividing it from what follows: "Again, we consider another difference," thus twisting everything to their opinion. The Basel Latin edition of Nyssa, 1571, page 97, has the words thus:

> *One is the cause, another from the cause, and of that which is from the cause. Again, we consider another difference.*

But when "and of that which is from the cause" is neither joined with what precedes nor with what follows, what sense, I ask, is there in saying: "and of that which is from the cause"? Yet it is clear to anyone

that according to this reading, it cannot be joined with what precedes but necessarily with what follows. For these do not cohere in any way: “another from the cause, and of that which is from the cause”; whereas they are excellently joined with what follows thus: “and of that which is from the cause, we again consider another difference.” Further, that “and of that which is from the cause” (*kai tou ex aitias de ontos*) cannot be joined with what precedes but only with what follows is evident from the fact that the particle “de” is added. For if those words are joined with what precedes, that particle has no place there. For what would it mean to say: “Namely, one is the cause, another from the cause, and from that which is from the cause”? If both of these latter are joined to one division, namely, “another from the cause,” it could not be said again: “And from that which is from the cause.” But since the particle “de” is added anew here, it is clear that a new proposition begins with these words; therefore, they must be joined with what follows. Finally, in what follows, where Nyssenus expressly treats the reason for the production of the Holy Spirit, he never adds that the Holy Spirit is produced from that which is from the cause; indeed, he does not even add anything similar to these, but refers the cause of the Holy Spirit’s existence at least to the Father: but the Son contributes to the production of the Holy Spirit only in that, with the Son produced, it proceeds from the Father. How, then, would he have omitted to attribute the production of the Holy Spirit to the Son as well, if in the preceding he had taught that just as the Son is from the Father, so the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son? He would no less have done so than he later again mentions that the Father is the cause of the Son; especially if, according to Beccus’ reading, he had simply said in the preceding that the Son alone, not also the Father, is the cause of the Holy Spirit.

Corruption XIV

Further, Beccus in his collection of the opinions of the Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit, page 102, and Calecas in Book II, Volume XIV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 275, cite the following from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homily III on the Lord’s Prayer*:

> *The Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and has testimony to be from the Son.*

But if we consider the entire passage, as it is also cited by Beccus, it will be entirely clear that it is corrupt. Thus, Gregory of Nyssa has it there:

> *Since it is common to the Son and the Holy Spirit not to be unbegotten, lest any confusion concerning the subject be understood, again, a non-mixed difference in their properties can be found, so that what is common is preserved, and what is proper is not confused. For the Only-Begotten Son is named from the Father by sacred Scripture, and thus far the discourse establishes His property. But the Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and has testimony to be from the Son: for, it says, 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.' Therefore, since the Spirit is from God, it is also the Spirit of Christ. But though the Son is from God, He is not also the Holy Spirit, nor is He said to be; nor does this relative consequence reciprocate, so that according to a similar discourse, it can be reciprocated by resolution; and as we say the Spirit of Christ, so too we might name Christ the Spirit of the Holy Spirit.*

Nyssenus, intending to show the difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit, since both are from the Father, says: "The Son is from the Father, and thus far the discourse establishes His property," namely, that it cannot also be said to be of the Holy Spirit, as he adds in what follows. But concerning the Holy Spirit, he adds: "It is from the Father," and he does not add: "and thus far the discourse establishes His property"; therefore, what he had denied of the Son, he shows conversely holds of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Nyssenus' words were: "and of the Son, not from the Son, it has testimony." Second, what he had just said of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son, he says the sacred Scripture testifies of the Holy Spirit; he adds the words of Scripture, in which the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ. Therefore, he had similarly said just before that the Holy Spirit has testimony from Scripture, not that it is from the Son, but that it is of the Son. Third, and when he had cited these words of Scripture, he adds: "Therefore, since the Spirit is from God, it is also the Spirit of Christ." Therefore, by those words of Scripture, he wished at least to infer that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son; therefore, he had said before that Scripture testifies of the Holy Spirit. For by these, what he wished to demonstrate before from sacred Scripture, he repeats with the words of Scripture cited. Fourth, Nyssenus adds from this: "But the Son, though He is from God, is not said to be of the Holy Spirit." If,

then, this is the difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit, that the Son is from God yet not said to be of the Holy Spirit, therefore he had said before: The Holy Spirit is of the Son and from God, so that it corresponds conversely: The Son is from God and not of the Holy Spirit; otherwise, if he had posited before: The Holy Spirit is from God and from the Son, he ought to have opposed this with a consistent discourse: The Son is from God, but by no means from the Holy Spirit. And hence, Nyssenus further shows that it cannot be reciprocated, as the Holy Spirit is said to be the Spirit of the Son, so too the Son of God might be called the Son of the Holy Spirit. Since, therefore, the entire remaining discourse of Nyssenus deals only with this, aiming to demonstrate what he had posited before, he certainly did not say before that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, but at least that it is of the Son.

Likewise, Hugh Etherianus does not read in this passage that the Holy Spirit is from the Son; for where he cites the same passage to confirm the common opinion of the Latins, he cites Nyssenus' words thus in Book II, Chapter III, Volume XII, Part II of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 378:

> *It is proper to the Father not to be from a cause, but this is not proper to the Son and the Holy Spirit. For the Son came forth from the Father, as Scripture says, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father. But just as being without a cause is proper to the Father alone and cannot apply to the Son or the Spirit, so conversely, being from a cause is proper to the Son and the Spirit, which the nature of the Father does not have, since it is common to the Son and the Spirit.*

And below:

> *But the Son, though He is from God, is not the Spirit, nor is He said to be. Because this relational consequence does not convert, so that the discourse can be equivalently converted by resolution, that as we say the Spirit of Christ, so too we might name the Spirit Christ.*

Here, Hugh omits the entire context in which, according to Beccus, it is read: "and has testimony to be from the Son"; he would never have done so if Nyssenus' codex had had these words, since his sole intention is to cite the words of the Fathers for the procession of the Holy Spirit from

the Son. Hence, the Jesuit Petavius also admits that these are corrupt. For thus he says in Book VII *On the Trinity*, Chapter III, Number XIV:

> *But I, when I consider that passage of* Gregory *more diligently, am led to the opinion that the preposition 'in' is foreign to it, and that* Gregory *wrote: 'The Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and is testified to be of the Son.' For the subsequent discourse demands this; since, on the contrary, he says that the Son is from the Father in such a way that He is not said to be of the Spirit. He does not say 'from the Spirit,' which would have been consistent if he had written before that the Spirit is from God and from the Son. Therefore, he wrote that the Spirit is from God and is of the Son; so that it corresponds conversely, that the Son is from God and is not of the Spirit.*

Thus he says.

Corruption XV

In the ritual of the Syrians of Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria, the Constantinopolitan Creed is read with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus, all its Latin editions have it, and Volume VII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 530; indeed, its Syriac edition, which Guido Fabricius Boderianus published in Antwerp in 1572, page 63.

But how could that addition have been common among the Syrians in the seventh century, when it arose and was invented among the Latins themselves only at the end of the eighth century? For we have shown this in the treatise on the disputes among the Latins themselves concerning this addition. Nor was this addition to the Creed heard of in the East until the time of Photius; yet even then, the Orientals themselves, having convened a council against the Latins, decreed that the Creed could never be augmented with any words, as shown in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. How, then, could the same addition have prevailed in Syria in the seventh century?

Corruption XVI

Likewise, in the liturgy of the Ethiopians, published in Ethiopian at Rome and in Latin at Paris, in Volume IV of the Library of the Fathers of de la Bigne, 1575, the Constantinopolitan Creed is read with that addition.

But that the Latins corrupted it, Job Ludolphus, a Saxon most skilled in oriental languages among the Lutherans, admits, who in his notes to the confession of Claudius, King of the Ethiopians, together with his Ethiopian lexicon and grammar published in London in England in 1661, expressly shows that the Ethiopian words placed in the Creed of the Ethiopian liturgy published in Ethiopian at Rome in place of the words “Filioque” do not even correspond to the customary way of speaking of the Ethiopians, where they wish to express “from the Father and the Son.”

Corruption XVII

St. John Damascene, in his *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, according to the Latin edition of his works published in Basel in 1575 and 1559, page 607, and likewise in the Cologne edition of 1546, page 319, states the following:

> *And know this one thing: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, a perfect God, life-giving, and the bestower of sanctification, subsisting of His own will and power.*

Thus, the words of Damascene are attested by Antonius Possevinus in Volume II of his *Apparatus Sacer*.

However, since Jacobus Billius, in his Paris edition of 1577, preferred to consult ancient manuscripts rather than follow the existing editions of Damascene’s works, in Chapter XIX of that *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, folio 584, the words “and the Son” (Filioque) are absent from the text in that edition. Hence, even Bellarmine, in his *Book on Ecclesiastical Writers*, is compelled to admit that the Filioque was added by someone else.

Likewise, Leo Allatius, the Vatican librarian, in Book II, Chapter II of his *Consensus of the Churches*, acknowledges that the manuscripts themselves do not contain the Filioque. He states:

> *What* Bellarmine *says, that the phrase ‘from the Son’ was added by someone, is true; and this is evident from* Billius*’s translation and the manuscripts, which do not contain it.*

Corruption XVIII

Indeed, in Volume V, Part I of Canisius’s *Ancient Readings*, in the Ingolstadt edition of 1604, an epistle of Photius to Michael, King of the Bulgarians, translated by the Jesuit Francisco Turrianus, page 184, is cited. In it, Photius is recorded as reciting the holy Creed with the addition of Filioque. This, indeed, was inserted with the utmost impudence by a most wicked Latin forger. For how could Photius, the fiercest opponent of that addition, have included it in the holy Creed?

Nevertheless, the manuscript used by Canisius for this epistle was edited in this way. Canisius himself does not deny that it was inserted, as he notes in the margin next to those words:

> *Thus in* Turrianus*’s notes; I believe it was added by the translator.*

Hence, Canisius also took care to have the words Filioque printed in a different typeface, so that it could be readily distinguished that they did not originate from Photius but were inserted by someone else.

Corruption XIX

The Emperor Leo the Wise, in his *Epistle to Omar the Saracen*, from the Latin translation in the last volume of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 241, states:

> *Do not fear, Moses: I am the Lord your God, your Creator, Light from Light, the Word from the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

But how could this Emperor Leo have asserted that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit, when in his first oration on Pentecost he is recorded as explicitly condemning the Latins, or those who then introduced two sources of the Holy Spirit—a charge that could only be leveled against the Latins at that time?

Hence, the Latin editor adds a note to these words: “The error of the schismatic Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone.” Furthermore, in the same oration, he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as we have shown in the *Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers up to the Tenth Century*.

Corruption XX

In Marquard Freher’s *Greek-Roman Law*, Volume I, Book VIII, the following is recorded both in Greek and Latin from Constantine Harmenopulus’s *Book on the Orthodox Faith*:

> *And in the Holy Spirit, coeternal, proceeding from God and the Father and the Son, Light itself, and true God, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father and the Son.*

However, in the appendix to the volumes of the Library of the Fathers, edited by de la Bigne in Paris in 1579, column 1881, Harmenopulus in his *Book on the Orthodox Faith* at least states: “coeternal, proceeding from God and the Father,” omitting the Son. Leo Allatius also acknowledges that Harmenopulus was among the Greeks who opposed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Hence, he admits that the cited words of Harmenopulus were corrupted, in Book II, Chapter II of his *Consensus of the Churches*, adding:

> *Yet in 1528, in Basel, in the printing house of* Peter Perne*, both in the Greek and Latin texts, only ‘from the Father’ was published.*

Corruption XXI

From the *Book on the Trinity* by Cyril (or whoever the author may be), Nicetas Choniates inserted several passages into his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*. Thus, in Book II, Chapter XXXVI, as published in Paris in 1592, translated by Peter Morellus, and found in Volume XII, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 520, it states:

> *We do not say that the Son and the Holy Spirit lack a cause, but that the Son is from the Father, and the Son is of the Father; the Holy Spirit,*

> *however, is from the Father and the Son, and we call Him the Spirit of the Father.*

But these words, too, are corrupted, as even Leo Allatius admits in Book II, Chapter II, Number VIII of his *Consensus of the Churches*. For Nicetas himself, according to both editions, adds:

> *We do not say that the Spirit is from the Son, but only that He is the Spirit of the Son.*

Is it not, therefore, with the utmost impudence that something was inserted into Nicetas's text that he himself expressly denies?

Corruption XXII

Again, the same Nicetas, in Book II, Chapter XXXIV of his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*, translated by Morellus in Volume XII, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 518, states:

> *The Holy Spirit alone proceeds from the very essence of the Father and the Son.*

Could it be that he who explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit is from the Son would here assert that the Son is the producer of the Holy Spirit? Hence, Leo Allatius, in the cited passage, admits that these words are also corrupted, adding:

> *The most prudent and those most devoted to the Catholic religion have always detested this. For true religion is established by truth, not by falsehood and deceit.*

But how the Latins detest truncating or augmenting the writings of the Holy Fathers is sufficiently demonstrated here and in another treatise on the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Latin Fathers. Indeed, it is abundantly clear from this that such crimes were most familiar to them.

Corruption XXIII

Among the other Eastern writers, Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, has been miserably mutilated and repeatedly corrupted in his *Dialogue*

on the Christian Faith. First, the Latin translation in the *Haeresiologia*, which includes various writings of the Fathers against heretics, published in Basel in 1556, page 800, and in Volume V of the Library of the Fathers edited by de la Bigne in Paris in 1575, page 872, and in Volume IV of the same Library of the Fathers edited by de la Bigne in Paris in 1589, column 1347, states:

> *For the Holy Spirit brings all things to pass and searches even the depths of God.*
>
> M.: *What are the productive principles in God?*
>
> G.: *We say there is one generative principle in God, namely the Father; for He generates the Son and breathes forth the Holy Spirit. Know that the Father alone is the generative principle of the Son; the Son is not generative but generated; the Holy Spirit is not productive but produced. Thus, the productive principle is the Father, and also the Son. The produced are the Son and the Holy Spirit. The productive principle is called the Father because He generates and is not generated, produces and is not produced; He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit, and therefore He is called the productive principle.*
>
> M.: *And how many persons are produced in the divine?*
>
> G.: *There are two persons produced in the divine: the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son does not generate but is generated, and therefore is called produced; likewise, the Holy Spirit does not breathe forth but is breathed forth, and therefore is called produced. Therefore, if you are asked: What are the producing persons in the divine? Answer: Two; for the Father generates the Son, and the Father and the Son breathe forth the Holy Spirit. But if it is asked: How many are the producing but not produced persons in the divine? Answer: One, namely the Father, because He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit.*
>
> M.: *In the Holy Trinity, who was first: the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit?*
>
> G.: *In the Holy Trinity, there is no first or last.*

And as Leo Allatius demonstrates, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadius, believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, in Book III, Chapter VI, Number II of his *Consensus of the Churches*, citing these words:

> *There are two produced persons in the divine, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son does not generate but is generated, and therefore is called produced. Likewise, the Holy Spirit does not breathe forth but is breathed forth, and therefore is called produced. Therefore, if you are asked: What are the producing persons in the divine? Answer: Two; for the Father generates the Son, and the Father and the Son breathe forth the Holy Spirit.*

However, it is clear that some things here have been inserted and others corrupted if we examine the Greek text of his dialogue, published in Helmstedt in 1611 and in Vienna eighty years before that edition. Thus, according to the Greek text, the words read as follows:

> *For the Holy Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God.*
>
> T.: *How many causes are there in God?*
>
> P.: *I say there is one cause in God, and this is the Father. He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit. Know that the Father alone is the cause; the Son is not a cause but caused; and the Holy Spirit likewise is not a cause but caused. Therefore, there is one cause, the Father; the caused are two, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father is called the cause because He generates and is not generated, produces and does not proceed; He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit, and for this reason, He is called the cause.*
>
> T.: *And how many are caused?*
>
> P.: *The caused are two, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son does not generate but is generated; for this reason, He is called caused. Likewise, the Holy Spirit does not produce but proceeds, and for this reason, He is called caused. Therefore, if someone asks you: How many causes do you say are in God? Answer: One, namely the Father.*
>
> T.: *And why is He called the cause?*
>
> P.: *Because He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit.*
>
> T.: *In the Holy Trinity, who was first: the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit?*
>
> P.: *In the Holy Trinity, there is no first or last.*

As we have noted in the *Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning Athanasius*, the *Book of Twenty Questions*, which exists among the works of Athanasius under his name, is the same as this

dialogue of Gennadius. Thus, if the passage corresponding to the cited words is examined, in Questions XI and XII, it is found that Gennadius's words, as we have just cited them, are preserved uncorrupted in both the Greek and Latin texts. Who, therefore, would not shudder at such crimes—to pervert all the words, insert contrary ones, and mutilate everything?

Gennadius had: "Therefore, there is one cause, the Father." The corrupters inserted: "The productive principle is the Father, and also the Son."

Gennadius had: "The Son is not a cause but caused." In place of this, they inserted: "The Son is not generative but generated."

Gennadius had: "If it is asked, how many causes do you say are in God? Answer: One, namely the Father; He is called the cause because He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit." The Latin corrupters inserted in place of this: "If it is asked: What are the producing persons in the divine? Answer: Two, for the Father generates the Son, and the Father and the Son breathe forth the Holy Spirit. If it is asked: How many are the producing but not produced persons in the divine? Answer: One, namely the Father, because He generates the Son and breathes forth the Holy Spirit."

Gennadius had, at the beginning of the cited words: "I say there is one cause in God, and this is the Father." They inserted: "We say there is one generative principle in God, namely the Father."

Gennadius had: "Know that the Father alone is the cause." In place of this, they inserted: "Know that the Father alone is generative of the Son."

Corruption XXIV

Furthermore, if we compare Gennadius's dialogue, as published in Vienna and Helmstedt in Greek and Latin, with the *Book of Twenty Questions* published under Athanasius's name among his works (for this book is the same as that dialogue), new examples of the perfidious faith of the Latins will become evident. In Gennadius's dialogue, according to the cited editions, the following is found:

Say further: Since the substance of the sun is inseparable, and the ray

> *and the light are not separated from one another, therefore it is called one sun and not three, because their persons are not separated from one another. And as the substance of the sun produces rays, and from the sun and the rays proceeds light, so God and the Father generates the Son or His Word, and from the Father and the Son proceeds the Holy Spirit. Be attentive, I pray. Just as the ray of the sun descends from heaven to earth, etc.*

Would he who explicitly, in the words just cited, even according to those editions, denied that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are causes, now profess the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? He explained why the Father is called the cause, giving this reason: because He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he excludes both from the Son, since he denies that the Son is a cause and asserts that the Father alone is the cause in the divine, because He generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit. How, then, I ask, would he elsewhere assert that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son?

Thus, these words, in the *Book of Twenty Questions* under Athanasius's name, Question IV, Volume II, page 437, read:

> *Say again: In the sun, the orb, the ray, and the light are inseparable; for they are not separated from one another; therefore, it is called one sun and not three. And for the same reason, it is called one God and not three, because the persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, are not separated from one another. And as the solar orb generates the ray and emits light, so God and the Father generates the Son and emits the Holy Spirit. Consider diligently in your mind how the ray of the sun descends from heaven to earth, etc.*

What greater falsification could there be? Gennadius's words were: "Just as the solar orb generates the ray and emits light, so God and the Father generates the Son and emits the Holy Spirit." The Latin corrupters inserted in place of this: "Just as the solar orb generates the ray (for thus the Greek text also reads in those editions), and from the sun and the rays proceeds light, so God and the Father generates the Son and His Word, and from the Father and the Son proceeds the Holy Spirit."

At the same time, while the cited words from Gennadius's dialogue are less coherent: "It is called one sun and not three, because their persons

are not separated from one another," these are corrected by the very words cited from the *Book of Twenty Questions* published under Athanasius's name. For thus, everything is easily understood.

Corruption XXV

And the last, but the worst. But beyond these corruptions, it almost surpasses all belief how, when Gennadius explicitly affirmed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, they removed these very words and inserted others. For they deleted an entire passage and inserted another in its place. Thus, Gennadius, in the *Book of Twenty Questions* under Athanasius, Question IV, Volume II, page 438, states:

> *Thus, the Holy Spirit is with the Father and with the Son, above and below, and illuminates every human being, and is nowhere absent. For the Holy Spirit, as the Apostle* Paul *says, searches all things, even the depths of God. Behold, therefore, just as we have never known nor can know what someone was like, but when we see their image, then we partly recognize the character of their person; so we must understand concerning God. For no one has ever seen God. How, then, could anyone comprehend Him? But since He is light and is called God, we take a similitude of God from this sensible light, as we have said before, comparing the Holy Trinity to the type of the sun, saying that the Father is indeed the orb, the Son the ray, the Holy Spirit the light from light. And just as the orb, the ray, and the light are one and three, indivisibly divided, so God the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is one and three; divided, indeed, in persons as the sun, but indivisible in substance. And just as the orb of the sun alone is the cause and unbegotten, the ray is produced and begotten from the orb, and the light proceeds from the orb alone through the emitted ray, illuminating the earth, so also God and the Father Himself alone is the cause of the two and unbegotten; the Son, however, is produced and begotten from the Father alone; and the Holy Spirit Himself is produced and proceeds from the Father alone and is sent into the world through the Son. And so, hold this in your mind, consider it, and believe concerning God. But if the example of the sun is not sufficient for the knowledge of the Deity consisting of three persons, consider also the image of God; and this is the soul of man.*

In Gennadius's *Dialogue*, according to the Vienna and Helmstedt

Greek-Latin editions, it reads as follows:

> *Thus, the Holy Spirit is everywhere, with the Father and with the Son, above and below, and illuminates every human being, and is nowhere absent. For the Spirit, says the great* Paul*, searches all things, even the depths of God. Behold what remains: Just as if we had never seen* Elijah *the Tishbite, that prophet, we could not have known what he was like. But when we see his image, then we gradually understand the expressed figure of that prophet* Elijah*, though it is not of the same honor; so we must understand concerning God. For no one has ever seen God. And since we do not see God nor can know what He is, because God is light, we find the sensible light of the sun as an image of the invisible God. But if we say: How is the visible sun one and has three in itself, and these three are inseparable; thus, the sun is an image of the intelligible sun, namely God; since in one sun there are three distinct things, and since it is so, it must be known and believed. But if the example taken from the sun does not satisfy you for the knowledge of the three persons of the divinity, consider also another image of God; and this is the soul of man.*

Thus, it is clear with what perfidy the Latins have dealt with this dialogue of Gennadius alone.

Certain things found in Question XII, page 443, in Athanasius are omitted in Gennadius's dialogue. Likewise, the entire Question XIV, several parts of Question XV, some parts of Questions XVI and XVII, and finally, the entire Questions XIX and XX. But it is clear to anyone examining these passages that all these should be present, and that Gennadius's dialogue is thus mutilated. Whether these were omitted through the carelessness of a scribe or some other error, in the cited passages, the matter is far different. For, to say nothing of the first passage, which even the most obstinate would admit is corrupted, it is one thing to omit something while leaving the rest of the words unchanged; it is another to omit some things and insert contrary and other things in any manner, as was done in the passages we have cited.

And this is enough concerning the corruptions in the writings of the Eastern Fathers perpetrated by the Latins and Latinizing Greeks.

TRACTATE III

On the Corruptions in the Writings of the Western Fathers Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, Perpetrated by the Latins

If indeed the Latins have so shamelessly dared to corrupt the writings of the Eastern Holy Fathers—some of whom, compelled by truth, they are forced to admit taught differently, while others, the Greeks argue, have been falsified, as evidenced by Greek codices—what should be thought of the fidelity of the Latins in handling the writings of their own ancient Fathers? Would you deem them to have preserved unblemished fidelity if they found the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone asserted by the Latin Fathers, given that they have produced so many examples of wicked infidelity in corrupting the writings of the Eastern Fathers? Rather, it is clear that they were more easily induced to corrupt the Latin Fathers, who were not as widely circulated in the East, than to violently tamper with the writings of the Eastern Fathers, which were widely disseminated throughout the East. Hence, a great number of corruptions can be produced, which the Latins perpetrated in the writings of their own Fathers, as they were accustomed to corrupt their own Fathers more freely than the Eastern ones, as we now proceed to demonstrate.

Corruption I

In Cyprian's sermon *On the Holy Spirit*, the following is found:

> *The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is conveyed by a quaternary from the Father and the Son*

Thus it is in the Cologne edition of 1617, page 285; the Antwerp editions

of 1568, page 490, and 1589, page 437; the Parisian editions of 1648, page 452, 1541, page 301, 1633, page 487, and 1563, page 412; the Basel editions of 1558, page 331, 1521, page 480, and 1525, page 474; and finally, the Roman edition of 1563, page 368. But what does it mean to say: “The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, from the Father and the Son”? Does it not clearly follow that the phrase “from the Father and the Son” was inserted? Even Pamelius, the editor of Cyprian, confesses in his scholia that these words are less authentic, though he interprets them according to his own reasoning, suggesting that the phrase “from the Father” should be removed. For he says:

> *I consider the phrase ‘from the Father’ superfluous.*

In a book published in Paris in 1500, titled *Opuscula of Illustrious Men, St. Athanasius Against Arius, etc.* (we mentioned this book in the previous treatise on corruptions concerning Didymus’ words), the same words are read near the end:

> *The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is carried above by the Father and the Son in a quaternary.*

Here, it is even more evident that these words are corrupted, for what does it mean to say without distinction: “The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, from the Father and the Son”? The only reason Cyprian’s words are read this way seems to be that some early defenders of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son added the phrase “from the Father and the Son” above Cyprian’s words “proceeding from the Father” as if for correction. Later scribes who copied Cyprian’s codices then inserted this annotation, “from the Father and the Son,” into the text itself. At least in the Antwerp edition of 1541, Volume II, page 339, I have seen these words read conjointly: “from the Father and the Son in a quaternary.” Following this reading, Bellarmine cited these words to demonstrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But that these words are so conjoined is clear from the many other editions cited. A certain Jesuit, Cichovius, cites Cyprian’s words even more perversely in his work, page 127:

> *The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is carried above in a quaternary,*

perversely omitting the phrase “proceeding from the Father,” which all editions of Cyprian’s works universally contain.

Corruption II

Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, according to all editions of his works that I have seen, in Book II *On the Trinity*, states:

> *It is not necessary to speak of the Holy Spirit, because it is to be confessed from the Father and the Son as its authors.*

Here, there was no need to cite other codices or editions to prove these words falsified, for the matter itself speaks: these words have been tampered with by malignant infidelity. Would such a great Father have taught that there are multiple authors, and thus two principles and two causes of the Holy Spirit? Even the Latins themselves would not admit this of so great a Father. For the entire Catholic Church has always condemned with every anathema those who introduce two causes or two principles in divine matters. That “author,” “cause,” and “principle” are the same by the force of the term is agreed upon by all. Hence, the Latins admit two producers of the Holy Spirit but not two producing authors. Nor would Hilary ever have been deemed worthy to be numbered among those Fathers by the holy Fifth Ecumenical Council, in its third collation, Volume V of the Councils, column 435, which testifies that it follows and accepts all that they expounded concerning the true faith and the condemnation of heretics, if he had asserted two authors, or two causes and principles, of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, Hilary himself, elsewhere in the same Book II *On the Trinity*, according to all editions of his works, knows only one author of the Holy Spirit. For his words are:

> *The heretics do not know the Holy Spirit, while they are ignorant of both its use and its author.*

Here, he knows only one author of the Holy Spirit. How, then, within a few words, would the number of producers of the Holy Spirit have increased for Hilary? It is thus clear that these words of Hilary were corrupted by those among the Latins who, in the worst heresy and damnable error, openly confessed to establishing two authors of the Holy Spirit, believing that it proceeds from both the Father and the Son.

Corruption III

No less pertinent is the corruption by which they forged a letter of Pope Liberius of Rome to Athanasius, in which mention is made as if the decree had already been issued by the First Ecumenical Council, prohibiting any other definition of faith from being introduced into the churches. If this were so, then at least the Third Ecumenical Council, along with the three subsequent ones, would have sanctioned, by repeating this decree, that nothing contrary to the holy Creed could be introduced. For the First Ecumenical Council of Constantinople added certain things to the holy Creed. Thus, by this testimony alone, the entire disputation of Mark of Ephesus, which he held against the Latins at Ferrara, collapses; the common assertion of the Orientals, which they object to the Latins, also collapses, namely, that even if the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son were true, it could not be added to the holy Creed, because the decree of the First Council of Ephesus, prohibiting the introduction of a new definition of faith into the churches, equally forbids even a true addition to the holy Creed. The words of the cited letter of Liberius to Athanasius are found in Volume II of the Councils, column 765:

> *We have found the faith of the Nicene Council to be true in this letter, for which we have given abundant thanks to God, for which we are prepared not only to endure persecutions and sufferings with you but also, if necessary, to die for the name of Christ, insofar as our frail humanity allows. Therefore, as we read, the aforementioned holy Council defined that no one is permitted to propose, write, compose, think, or teach another faith, nor to hold or propose anything in faith that could contradict the rules of these Fathers. But those who presume to compose another faith, or propose, teach, or hand down another Creed to those desiring to turn to the way of truth from any heresy, or from Judaism, or from pagans wishing to become Christians—these, if they are bishops or clerics, are to be considered alien, bishops from the episcopate, clerics from the clergy; if they are monks or laity, they are to be struck with anathema.*

That this entire letter of Liberius was forged is clear from indubitable reasons if we consider it in its entirety. Thus, it is found in the cited place:

> *From the beginning, we have received such great confidence from the Blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, that we have authority*

for the universal Church to defend the true faith, so that no one may disturb the statute of the holy Church to the detriment of those who believe rightly, without peril to their honor. We have had your letter, directed to us, read before us. We have understood the tribulations and persecutions you endure for the true faith. We grieve with you over these and are prepared to labor for you, as a father for his sons.

And shortly after, the following words are added:

For the Blessed Apostle testifies, saying: 'If anyone competes, he is not crowned unless he competes lawfully.' And again, the Lord says: 'But he who perseveres to the end will be saved.' Clearly, with sacred contests set before us for the defense of the Catholic Church, and with great salvation hoped for from God, the giver of all good things, let not our hands fail through any occasion of dissolute sloth; but let us be made strong through the grace of the Lord and the power of His might, since He has made our feet like those of deer and has more firmly established our understanding on high for the sake of our salvation, especially since we have such a great cloud of holy witnesses imposed upon us. Therefore, laying aside every weight and the surrounding novelty of adversaries, let us run with patience, looking to the author and perfecter of faith, Jesus, who, in the matter proposed for Him, may grant us the Spirit of His truth, speaking in us and proclaiming the great things of faith through the teaching of the holy Fathers, whom the adversaries daily slander. For it is written in the Prophets: 'For Zion I will not be silent, and for Jerusalem I will not rest, until her righteous one goes forth as splendor and her savior as a burning lamp.' Truly, the Catholic Church, which is the true Zion and the city of Christ, the King of the heavens, has been assailed through so many years by those who oppose the words of faith, who neither fear God nor respect man, but in vain, leading astray pious and canonical teachings concerning this word, though they had been invited by so many testimonies, both written and unwritten, to correct their own heresy and cast it out, as was more clearly demonstrated earlier through both writings and the suggestions of the most reverend priests and venerable abbots, with the Apostle testifying to us that we must avoid a heretical man after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sins, condemned by his own judgment. Therefore, we must in no way henceforth be silent or rest, lest we be judged unjust in any way, embracing a peace hateful to God, for it is written: 'I was zealous

against sinners, seeing the peace of sinners'; and let it also be said of us: 'My priests have despised my law and polluted my sanctuaries; they have not distinguished between the holy and the profane, between the polluted and the clean.' But let us rise with God and stand ready, putting on the armor of the Spirit against those who malign the faith, so that we may wisely test the spirits, that is, their words, whether they are from God. For it is written in Jeremiah: 'I have appointed a robust tester among my people, and you will know and test their way.' For we need much vigilance and such searching of divine wisdom, which reveals the hidden things of darkness, for the inquiry and scrutiny of such a matter, since it is somewhat hidden and concealed, and the deceitful malice, which cunningly flatters itself with piety, can scarcely be comprehended, so that it may escape the minds of those who search. Knowing this, the Blessed Apostle says: 'For such are false apostles and deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ. And no wonder, for Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light. Therefore, it is no wonder if his ministers transform themselves as ministers of justice, whose end will be according to their works.' And the Lord, warning us in this regard, says: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravenous wolves. You will know them by their fruits.' Therefore, with all our heart, turning to prayer above all in such a matter, and saying with David: 'Reveal my eyes, and I will consider the wonders of your law,' for 'your word, O Lord, is a lamp to my feet and a light to my paths,' since it is His, as the Blessed Prophet Daniel says, 'wisdom and strength. He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who understand discipline. He reveals deep and hidden things and knows what is established in darkness, and light is with Him.' Who, he says, 'has given me wisdom and strength and shown me what I asked of you,' with the divine help of the writings of each person who has been accused of novel inventions, let us more diligently attend, with the obedient and rationally offering assistance from our venerable archive, so that those who presume to transgress these things may first be subject to the judgment of the terrible almighty God, and then fear whatever royal indignation there may be, through which, if they are bishops or clerics, they may be entirely removed from their priesthood or clerical order; if they are monks, they may be segregated and alienated from their places. If they hold dignity, a belt, or military rank, they may be stripped of them. If they are private individuals, if they are nobles, they may suffer the proscription of their possessions.

> *If they are ignoble, they may not only be beaten in body but also punished with perpetual exile, so that all, restrained by the fear of God and revering the worthy punishments threatened against them, may guard the immovable and undisturbed peace of the holy churches of God. Given on the 8th of the Kalends of June, in the consulship of the most distinguished Asclepius and Deodatus.*

Thus far the letter. But first, it is entirely compiled from the words of others, the greater part indeed from the acts of the Lateran Council held under Pope Martin of Rome. The opening words are taken from Epistle XXIV of Leo the Great, who lived long after Liberius. For thus Leo says:

> *From the beginning, in the councils held, we have received such great confidence from the most Blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, that we have authority to defend the truth for our peace, so that no one may disturb it, so fortified, in any way, while the injury is suddenly removed.*

The following words, “Therefore, the aforementioned holy Council defined that no one is permitted to propose another faith, etc.,” up to the words “struck with anathema,” are the words of Maximus, Bishop of Aquileia, in the fourth action of the aforementioned Lateran Council, Volume VI of the Councils, column 262. Here, what Maximus had affirmed about the Council of Chalcedon, the impostor who forged this letter of Liberius presents as if they had come from the very First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea. Clearly, since the Council of Chalcedon was much later than Liberius, the impostor, while presenting Maximus’ words as if from Liberius, could not name a contemporary council without making the fraud too obvious to all. Thus, Maximus says in the same place:

> *Therefore, the holy and universal Council of Chalcedon of the venerable Fathers defined that no one is permitted to propose, write, compose, think, or teach another faith. But those who presume to compose another faith, or propose, teach, or hand down another Creed to those wishing to come to the knowledge of truth, whether from paganism, Judaism, or any heresy—these, if they are bishops or clerics, are to be considered alien, bishops from the episcopate, clerics from the clergy; if they are monks or laity, they are to be anathematized.*

The following words, “For the Apostle testifies, etc.,” up to the words “whom the adversaries slander,” are the very words, not even a single

syllable changed, of Pope Martin of Rome, in the fifth action of the said Lateran Council, column 268. Further, the words that follow these, “For Zion I will not be silent, etc.,” up to the words “let us more diligently attend,” though lengthy, are the very words of the same Pope Martin, in the second action or secretariat of the aforementioned Lateran Council, columns 160 and 161. Finally, the words that follow these, “Those who presume to transgress these, etc.,” up to the end of the letter, are the words of the Emperor Constans, a heretic, also reported in the said Lateran Council, in the fourth action or secretariat, column 233.

Thus, the entire letter of Liberius is woven together from the acts of that Lateran Council. But this Council was held by Pope Martin in the year 649, three centuries later than Liberius. Finally, the names of the subscribed consuls also prove these letters to be spurious. For no Roman consul, up to the time of Emperor Justinian, bore the name Deodatus or Asclepius after Christ. One Asclepiodatus served as consul with Marianus in the year 423, 56 years after Liberius’ death; for this reason alone, the Jesuit Severinus Binius confesses that these letters are of suspect fidelity. Thus, he says in his notes, Volume II of the Councils, column 767:

> *The consuls added to this letter make it suspect in fidelity; for nowhere else have I been able to find their names inscribed in the records.*

And why say more? Not only this letter but also all the others, published in great number under the names of the Roman Popes who flourished in the first centuries, were disseminated in the ninth century by Isidore Mercator, as David Blondel, a Calvinist, demonstrates clearly in a peculiar but incomparable book on this subject. For after that book was published, although the Latins once fought against the Lutherans and Calvinists for these letters of the Popes as if for their altars and hearths, they are now all forced to confess that all those letters of the Popes published by Mercator were forged by him. Hence, even the Jesuit Philippe L’Abbe, in the latest Parisian edition of the Councils, confesses that both this letter of Liberius to Athanasius and all the others published by Isidore Mercator are spurious. Therefore, we rightly laugh at Cardinal Julian, who, in the thirteenth collation of the Council of Florence, according to the Latin edition of its acts, cited these words of Liberius from his letter to Athanasius and added:

> *From which I conclude that Liberius had seen those chapters (of the*

Nicene Council, namely) in the archives of the Roman Church.

And after some words:

Examine your consciences and see if you can respond to this: give a brief response to this. Look: this book is ancient, and let it be seen.

Liberius must have been very clairvoyant to have seen in his time in the archives of the Roman Church what Isidore Mercator forged from his own mind several centuries later. With what insolence, with what taunting, does Julian sing triumphs before victory? He ought first to have proven that what was forged by Isidore Mercator could have had Liberius as its author. But the book was ancient. As if from the ninth century, when that Mercator lived and produced his wares, to the time of the Council of Florence, only a few decades had passed, so that a codex written in Mercator's time or the next century could not have seemed ancient at the time of the Council of Florence. With no less folly, when Bessarion, in Book *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* to Alexius Lascaris, Chapter III, cited these words of Liberius, he added:

So diligent and careful are the Latins in all their acts, as your nobility knows, experienced in many things of their wisdom, that not only in divine matters but also in human and civil affairs, nothing of ancient deeds or writings escapes them. Hence, in every city, you will find in their archives many things written about their most ancient deeds. This is also preserved in the Catholic Church and other pious places. For many acts of the Pontiffs and many letters and canons of the Councils exist. Therefore, they produced for us in a most ancient parchment book the letter of Pope Liberius to the Blessed Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria.

And after the words of Liberius cited above, he adds:

These things are now unknown to us, with the acts of the First Council lost; but then, when they still existed, both Pope Liberius and St. Athanasius knew them.

If the Latins are so diligent in preserving the acts of the councils held, why were the acts of the Council of Aachen, in which the Latins themselves disputed among themselves about the procession of the Holy

Spirit from the Son, suppressed? But they were diligent in preserving that letter of Liberius to St. Athanasius. They hardly needed to exercise much care and diligence in preserving a letter of Liberius that only came to light through Mercator's forgery. From what has been said, it is clear what should be thought of the most ancient parchment book. At the same time, it is evident what should be thought of the most ancient codices that the Latins object to the Orientals. These, no less than those recently copied among them, are either corrupted or forged and have no authority. But the acts of the First Council were thus; Liberius, along with Athanasius, knew this from them. Clearly, since in the ninth century, at Mercator's whim, the acts of the Nicene Council were thus, Athanasius and Liberius already knew them from there. That Mercator must have been extremely fortunate, since his books were already known to the ancient Fathers through some Platonic ideas before either the books or their author existed in the nature of things.

Corruption IV

John the Provincial, from the confession of faith and anathema of heresies of Pope Damasus of Rome to Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, cites the following in the twenty-first collation of the Council of Florence, at least in the Latin edition by Horatius Justiniani, Volume XIII of the Councils, column 1108:

> *We believe in one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the maker of things visible and invisible, through whom all things were created in heaven and on earth: this blessed one, and this is the one Trinity of the divine name: the Father is not the Son, but has a Son who is not the Father; the Son is not the Father, but the Son is of the Father's nature; the Spirit, the Paraclete, is neither the Father Himself nor the Son, but proceeds from the Father and the Son. Therefore, the Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten, the Paraclete is not begotten, but proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But not a trace or vestige of these words is found in that Catholic confession of faith of Damasus. For his complete words are found in Theodoret, Book V of *Ecclesiastical History*, Chapter XI, and Nicephorus Callistus, Book XII of *Ecclesiastical History*, Chapter XVIII. And indeed,

Baronius, in his *Annals* for the year 867, contends that this confession of Damasus was corrupted by Theodoret. But that this is a slander against Theodoret is clear from the fact that Augustine, before Theodoret, cites Damasus' anathemas in Sermon 129 *On the Time*. But we have discussed this in its proper place in the treatise on the testimonies of the Latin Fathers, for that disputation pertains to this. Other modern Latins, differing from Baronius, do not claim that Theodoret corrupted Damasus' confession of faith to Paulinus; rather, they say that Damasus wrote two letters to Paulinus, as testified by Emperor Justinian in Baronius' *Annals* for the year 373, Number XIII. Therefore, these words did not occur in Damasus' confession of faith to Paulinus, which Theodoret reports, but in another letter of his to the same. But John mentioned only one letter of Damasus to Paulinus, nor did he add that these words occurred in either an earlier or later letter of his to the same. The title of that writing was: "Damasus' Confession of Faith and Anathema of Heresies to Paulinus," which entirely corresponds to the contents of Damasus' confession of faith cited by Theodoret. Nor does Baronius in the cited place show anything other than that, from Justinian's words, it is clear that Damasus wrote more than what is extant; nor does Justinian mention writings of Damasus to Paulinus, but simply notes that Damasus wrote certain things by which he condemned all who did not accept the Nicene Synod. Justinian's words are:

> *Because some of those who convened at the holy Nicene Synod and subscribed to the definition of faith or Creed expounded by it, since they later appeared to think contrary things, some were anathematized while alive, others after death, by Damasus, Pope of ancient Rome of holy memory, and by the universal Council of Sardica, as St. Athanasius testifies.*

Where, I ask, does Justinian mention that anathemas newly issued by Damasus to Paulinus were written again? You could no more gather this from here than that the same anathemas were written to Paulinus by the Council of Sardica. Even if there were two letters written by Damasus to Paulinus, by what necessity, I ask, could it be assumed that these words of Damasus occurred in the other?

Corruption V

From Ambrose's Book II *On the Holy Spirit*, Lombard, in Book III of the *Sentences*, Distinction IV, cites the following:

> *What is from someone is either from his substance or from his power: from the substance, as the Son, who is from the Father; and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

The same is objected to the Orientals by Hugh Etherianus in Book III, Chapter XVII, Volume XII, Part II of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 412, and by Calecas in Book II, page 288, Volume XIV of the cited Library, though Calecas only reads:

> *From the substance, as the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son,*

omitting the words "as the Son, who is from the Father."

But in Ambrose's works, according to all editions published by the Latins, these words are read thus:

> *What is from someone is either from his substance or from his power. From the substance, as the Son, who says: 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High'; as the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, of whom the Son says: 'He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine.'*

Since Ambrose's words were: "as the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, of whom the Son says: 'He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine,'" the Latin corrupters inserted in place of these: "as the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son."

Corruption VI

The Jesuit Petavius, from Ambrose's Book *On the Holy Creed*, Chapter IV, objects:

> *But the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both, does not Himself take, etc.*

And here the Jesuit stops.

But that this passage is also corrupted can be shown from what follows. At least from this, Petavius, seeing that the earlier words do not cohere with what follows, cited only the earlier part. Thus, in the cited place, Ambrose, in Volume IV of his works, column 89, states:

> *The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both, does not Himself take: because His procession is continuous, and from Him who does not take (for the Father does not take); and because He did not take, neither does the Spirit take, for this reason also, that He is in Him and is His.*

Having said that the Holy Spirit does not take, about to give the reason for this, he adds: “because His procession is from Him who does not take.” About to show further that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him who does not take, he names only the Father, as if the Spirit proceeds from Him, yet He Himself does not take. Further, he adds that he understands this of one, that the Spirit proceeds, while at least mentioning one in these words, as if he had said earlier that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him: “And because,” he says, “He did not take, neither does the Spirit take, for this reason also, that He is in Him and is His.” How, then, would he have just said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, when soon after he mentions only the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds? Surely, if Ambrose’s true words had been: “The Holy Spirit proceeds from both,” it would have been fitting in what follows to say: “Nor does He take, because His procession is continuous, and from those who did not take.” Since, therefore, he again says: “And from Him who does not take,” and adds that he understands this of the Father, it is clear that he did not say earlier: “Who proceeds from both.” Therefore, Ambrose’s genuine words were: “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, nor does He Himself take, because His procession is continuous, and from Him who does not take.” And so on.

Corruption VII

The same Ambrose, in Book I *On the Holy Spirit*, Chapter X, Volume IV of his works, column 226, states:

> *The Spirit also, when He proceeds from the Father and the Son, is not separated from the Father, nor is He separated from the Son.*

But that these words are corrupted is revealed by what immediately follows. For Ambrose continues: “For how can He be separated from the Father, who is the Spirit of His mouth?” He gives the reason concerning the Father alone; therefore, he had spoken earlier of the Father alone, if the reason was to correspond to what preceded. Ambrose’s words ought to have been: “The Holy Spirit, when He proceeds from the Father, is not separated from the Father. For how can He be separated from the Father, who is the Spirit of His mouth?”

Corruption VIII

Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, in his *Exposition on the Apostles’ Creed*, states:

> *Thus, to make a distinction of persons, the terms of relationship are distinguished, by which the Father is understood, from whom all things are, and He Himself has no Father; the Son, however, as born from the Father; and the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from both, and sanctifying all things.*

Thus, these words of Rufinus are found in the editions of Jerome’s works (for this exposition of Rufinus is also included among them). Rufinus’ works were also published in Paris in 1580, where these words are similarly read on page 188.

But that these are corrupted is clear from the fact that, since the same exposition of Rufinus is found among Cyprian’s works, the final words are read according to all his editions thus: “The Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the mouth of God, and sanctifying all things.” Thus, in the Cologne edition of Cyprian, 1617, page 319; the Antwerp editions of 1563, page 557, 1541, Volume II, page 185, and 1589, page 488; the Parisian editions of 1648, page 526, 1541, folio 167, 1633, page 552, and 1563, page 429; the Basel editions of 1521, page 381, 1525, page 376, and 1558, page 263; and finally, the Roman edition of 1563, page 397. And so with the others.

Corruption IX

As the works of Jerome have been published by the Latins, only one passage is found in which the Son is joined to the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit. For in the *Explanation of the Faith to Cyril*, the following is found:

> *There are three persons, whom we believe to be truly equal, of one divine substance, that is, the Son from the Father, and the Holy Spirit properly and truly proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

Thus, all editions of Jerome have it. Lombard also cites these words of Jerome in Book I of the *Sentences*, Distinction XII, while asking: “Why did Jerome say that the Holy Spirit proceeds properly from the Father, without adding the Son?” and reports that Jerome at least said: “From the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit properly and truly proceed.” Lombard’s words are:

> *Jerome, in the exposition of the Catholic faith and the Nicene Creed, says: ‘We believe in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds properly from the Father.’ Likewise: ‘We find the Holy Spirit to be true God in Scripture, and to be properly from the Father.’ And again: ‘From the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit properly and truly proceed.’*

These last words certainly correspond to those we just said occur corruptly in Jerome’s works, as do the other two passages cited by Lombard, which are found in the same exposition of the faith to Cyril, as we saw in the treatise on the testimonies of the Latin Fathers. So far is it from the codices of Jerome having confirmed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in that place, that Lombard asks: “Why did Jerome mention only the Father in that place in the procession of the Holy Spirit?” Thus, Peter Abelard also cites these words of Jerome in Book II of *Introduction to Theology*, Chapter IV, page 1093. For he says:

> *Jerome, expounding the definition of the Catholic faith and the Nicene Creed, says: ‘We believe also in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds properly from the Father.’ Likewise: ‘We find the Holy Spirit to be true God in Scripture, and to be properly from the Father.’ And again: ‘From the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit properly and truly proceed.’*

The same is reported from the Nicene Creed, as expounded by Jerome, already before Lombard and Abelard in the tenth century by Peter Damian in his *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, Chapter II (which is Opuscule 38, Volume III of his works, Parisian edition of 1642, page 287). He says:

> *In the Nicene Creed, it is also said: 'We believe also in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds properly from the Father, and is true God, as the Son.' And a little later: 'And that we find the Holy Spirit to be true God in Scripture, and to proceed properly from the Father, and to be always with the Father and the Son.' And again: 'From the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit properly and truly proceed from the Father.'*

Likewise, the codex used by John the Provincial, defender of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son at the Council of Florence, had it thus. For while he cited certain things corruptly, as we will soon see, from the same exposition of the faith by Jerome, he plainly neglected to cite those where, according to all editions of Jerome's works, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is asserted in that exposition of the faith; he would never have done so if his codex had contained such a thing.

Corruption X

Therefore, John the Provincial, in the twenty-first collation of the Council of Florence, at least in the Latin edition by Horatius Justiniani, Volume XIII of the Councils, column 1109, first objected the following from Jerome's exposition of the faith to Augustine and Alypius:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, equal in all things to the Father and the Son, in will, eternity, and substance.*

But that these are corrupted is proven by all editions of Jerome's works, in which these words of Jerome in the exposition of the Creed to Damasus are read thus:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things to the Father and the Son, in will, power, eternity, and substance.*

Corruption XI

Second, the same John, in the cited place, objected the following from Jerome's exposition of the Nicene Creed:

> *And in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who is true God, as is the Son.*

And after citing certain things from Jerome's *Epistle 50 to Damasus* (which, however, are not in a certain epistle of Jerome to Damasus but in the Creed of Damasus), he adds: "Here Jerome was a disciple of your Gregory Nazianzen and received this doctrine from him."

But again, according to all editions of Jerome's works, he states in the exposition of the Creed to Cyril:

> *And in the Holy Spirit, who properly proceeds from the Father, and is true God, as is the Son.*

Likewise, Lombard, Abelard, and Peter Damian, with the words just cited, reported these uncorrupted. Thus, John exposes himself to the ridicule of all when he boasts that Jerome received these things from his teacher Gregory Nazianzen, which were only inserted into Jerome's words by some impostor.

Corruption XII

The orators sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome, in a booklet on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, cite the following from Jerome's exposition of the Creed:

> *The Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, is coeternal with the Father and the Son, and equal in all things. This is the holy Trinity, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. There is one Deity and power, one essence, that is, the Father who begot, the Son who is begotten, and the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But these do not occur in Jerome's cited exposition of the Creed, as even Peter Damian confesses in his *Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, Chapter V, Volume III of his works, page 288. He says: "Jerome is said to have written this, although this cannot be found in the exposition of the faith, namely that which we read." But neither do these occur in other writings of Jerome. However, Hugh Etherianus also cites the earlier part of these in Book III, Chapter XVII, Volume XII of the *Cologne Library of the Fathers*, Part II, page 412, and Calecas in Book II, page 288, Volume XIV of the cited Library, namely: "The Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, is equal in all things to the Father and the Son, and exists coeternal"; although, as we just noted, not a trace or vestige of these words occurs among Jerome's works.

Corruption XIII

In Augustine's *Epistle 66*, in the Basel editions of 1556 and 1569, the Parisian edition of 1586, and the Antwerp edition of 1577, the following is found:

> *The Holy Spirit is not made from nothing as a creature, but proceeds from the Father and the Son, so that He is not made by the Son.*

But in the epistles of Augustine published separately in Paris in 1516, and in the editions of Augustine's works, Basel 1528, 1541, and 1545, these words, omitting the last part, are thus:

> *The Holy Spirit also is not made from nothing as a creature.*

In the Venetian edition of 1552, these are read:

> *The Holy Spirit also is not made from nothing as a creature, (but proceeds from the Father, so that He is not made by the Father nor by the Son).*

So that the last part is enclosed in parentheses. The same is true in the Parisian editions of Augustine's works, 1541 and 1555. But in these Parisian editions, the editor noted at the front of the works that what is enclosed in these marks is not in the Frobenian exemplar but was

inserted from ancient Victorian books. Hence, the Venetian edition of Augustine's works, 1584, omits that parenthesis. How, then, could these cited words, in which the Holy Spirit is also said to proceed from the Son, have come from Augustine? For in the older editions and manuscripts, either the remaining words were not present, or only the Father was mentioned in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Surely, the Latins themselves would not have removed the Son from the words of some Father in which the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Son as well, so that these words came from Augustine alone, in which only the Father is mentioned in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Rather, Augustine immediately adds in the same place:

> *For neither did the Father diminish Himself to have the Son from Himself; but He so begot another Himself from Himself that He remained whole in Himself, and was in the Son as great as He is alone.*

Likewise: "The Holy Spirit, whole from the whole, does not precede whence He proceeds; but is as great with Him as He is from Him, neither diminishing Him by proceeding nor increasing Him by adhering." In these, he mentions only one from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, no less than he mentioned one Father in the generation of the Son. How, then, would he have mentioned two in the preceding, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds? For if so, it would have been fitting here to show that the Holy Spirit proceeds whole from wholes; is as great with them as He is from them; neither diminishes them by proceeding nor increases them by adhering. The diversity of readings arose because some Latin corrupters entirely removed Augustine's words, in which he at least mentioned the Father; others inserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in place of these, while only the last cited reading is genuine.

Corruption XIV

Lombard, in Book I of the *Sentences*, Distinction XVIII, cites the following from Augustine's Book V *On the Trinity*:

> *The Holy Spirit is the gift of the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But all editions of Augustine have it thus, in Book V *On the Trinity*, Chapter XI:

> *The Holy Spirit is the gift of the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from the Father, as the Lord says; and because the Apostle says: 'He who does not have the Spirit of Christ is not His.' He speaks of the Holy Spirit Himself.*

Corruption XV

In Book XV of Augustine's *On the Trinity*, Chapter XXVII, the following words occur:

> *It [the Trinity] shows you those three things in you, in which you may recognize the image of that supreme Trinity, which you cannot yet contemplate with fixed eyes. It shows you that there is a true word in you when it is born from your knowledge, that is, when we say what we know: although we neither utter nor think a signifying word of any nation's language, but our thought is formed from what we know; and there is in the mind of the thinker an image most like the thought that the memory contained, these two, namely, as parent and offspring, joined by a third, the will or love. Which will, proceeding from the thought—for no one wills what he does not know at all what or how it is—is not, however, the image of the thought, and thus a certain distinction of birth and procession is suggested in this intelligible matter, since to behold by thought is not the same as to desire or even to enjoy by will, as he who can discern may see and distinguish.*

By knowledge or cognition, he understands the Father; by thought, the Son; by will, the Holy Spirit. Since, therefore, Augustine said that the will, or the Holy Spirit, proceeds from cognition, or from the Father, the Latin corrupters changed the word "cognition" to "thought," so that the sense would be: the will, or the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the thought, or from the Son. That it is read corruptly thus is clear, first, because in the Venetian edition of 1552, it is added to these words: "Meanwhile, the older [manuscripts], in place of thought, have cognition." Second, Augustine's own words prove it, for, about to give the reason for what he said, he adds: "For no one wills what he does not know at all what or how it is." By these, he shows that the will arises from cognition. Therefore,

he had said earlier that the will proceeds from cognition, since he proposes to demonstrate by this reason what he had just premised.

Corruption XVI

In *Sermon 38 On the Time*, Augustine, according to all editions of his works, has:

> *The Holy Spirit is neither unbegotten nor begotten, but must be said, with faith preserved, to proceed only from the Father and the Son, who, not proceeding from the Father into the Son and from the Son to sanctify the creature, as certain people, misunderstanding, thought must be believed, but proceeds from both together: because the Father begot such a Son that, just as from Himself, so also from Him the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

These words alone, as they stand, show this passage to be corrupted. For the controversy over the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, according to the confession of the Latins themselves, can never be said, even if all things were true according to the Latins' whim, to have begun before Nestorius and Theodoret. But Augustine, living far from Constantinople in Hippo in Africa, had never heard of Nestorius' novelties; indeed, he had passed from life before the time of the First Ecumenical Council of Ephesus against Nestorius. Hence, he never mentions Nestorius in his books. For the aforementioned Ephesian Synod intended to invite Augustine, a bishop of great fame at that time, but meanwhile, news came that he had already died, as is clear from the acts of the First Council of Ephesus. Moreover, according to the cited words, Augustine not only mentions that in his time, when he wrote these things, some denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but that even before those times there were those who denied the same: "As certain people," he said, "misunderstanding, thought must be believed." But how could it be said that either before Augustine's time or in the early years of his episcopate the Orientals disputed with the Latins about the procession of the Holy Spirit, when it is clear that there was then no contention between the two Churches about it?

Corruption XVII

Similar to these are the words found in Book XV of *On the Trinity*, Chapter XXVII, where, after Augustine had demonstrated at length, according to what is found in *Tractate 99 On John*, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, he adds:

> *These things I have transferred from that sermon into this book (but I speak to the faithful, not to the unfaithful).*

And these words certainly show that there were then, when Augustine wrote these things, those who by no means believed in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But, as shown, in Augustine's time, there was never any controversy in the churches about the procession of the Holy Spirit. How, then, could those lengthy disputations for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, which occur in the cited Book XV of *On the Trinity*, Chapter XXVI, *Tractate 99 On John*, and elsewhere, have come from Augustine himself? For how could any of the Fathers dispute at length and repeatedly for a certain dogma when no one, either before his time or in his age, had called it into question? Hence, Bede, in his commentary on John 16, when citing Augustine's words from *Tractate 99 On John*, entirely omits those lengthy words of Augustine on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son that occur in the cited Tractate, and thus at least in that place, according to what precedes and follows, it reads:

> *Therefore, He heard from Him, hears, will hear, from whom He is. He is from Him, from whom He proceeds. But what He adds: 'He will glorify me, because He will take from what is mine and announce it to you,' must not be passed over carelessly. For when He says: 'He will glorify me,' it can be understood that by pouring charity into the hearts of believers and making them spiritual, He will show them how the Son is equal to the Father.*

Corruption XVIII

In *Dialogue LXV of the Questions*, Question XI, as found in Volume IV of Augustine's works, it is read thus:

> *The Holy Spirit will not speak from Himself, because He is not from Himself. For the Father is born from no one. The Son is begotten from the Father. The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But in the same Augustine's *Tractate XCIX on John*, the very same words are read thus:

> *The Holy Spirit will not speak from Himself, because He is not from Himself. For the Father alone is not from another: for the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

Here, there is absolutely no mention of the Son in the production of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, in the cited Question XI, immediately following, these words appear:

> *For to hear is to exist, but to exist is not from Himself, but from the Father; therefore, whatever He hears, He*
>
> *will speak.*

Here, when indicating from whom the Holy Spirit exists, since He is not from Himself, only the Father is named, from whom, consequently, He hears and from whom He speaks.

How, then, could he have just said that the Holy Spirit hears from the Son and speaks from the Son, or even proceeds from the Son?

Moreover, in the public library of Oxford in England, I had the opportunity to see a certain manuscript of these Questions. It was among the theological manuscripts in quarto, marked H, number 22. And indeed, those Questions were found on page 553 of this book. But in that manuscript, the latter words of Augustine, cited from that place, were as follows:

> *For to hear is to exist, but to exist is not from Himself, but from the Father and the Son; therefore, whatever He hears, He will speak.*

Since, therefore, in this place, all editions of Augustine's works at least have: "to exist is not from Himself, but from the Father," it is clear from this, once again, how the Latins corrupted the writings of the most ancient Western Fathers.

Corruption XIX

No less is it spontaneously evident that those words of Augustine in Book XV of *On the Trinity*, Chapter XVII, are corrupted:

> *And yet it is not without reason that in this Trinity only the Son is called the Word of God, and only the Holy Spirit is called the gift of God, and only God the Father is He from whom the Word is begotten and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. I added 'principally' because the Holy Spirit is also found to proceed from the Son.*

Augustine's purpose here is clearly to show what each person has as proper, which no other person shares. For he says: "In this Trinity, only the Son is called the Word of God," and so forth. Therefore, since Augustine, regarding the Father, praises the generation of the Son and the production of the Holy Spirit as what the Father alone has proper and shares with no other person, it is clear that Augustine considered the production of the Holy Spirit, just like the generation of the Son, as proper to the Father. For the particle "only", which Augustine uses concerning the other persons and the generation of the Son from the Father, excludes all other persons. How, then, could he have added: "from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds," and then stated that the production of the Holy Spirit also pertains to the Son? Nor does the restriction "principally" help here: for even so, according to the Latins, the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son in one procession. Indeed, one who believes this would never say that it is proper to the Father, as something He alone uniquely has, to generate the Son and principally produce the Holy Spirit; rather, he would always join the Son to the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Nor is this word "principally" ever found inserted elsewhere in any other ecclesiastical Doctor, except in Augustine alone, as if to evade his clear words, by which he at least said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Thus, the falsifier himself adds in this place: "I added 'principally' because the Holy Spirit is also found to proceed from the Son."

Corruption XX

In the *Book on the Trinity and Unity*, Chapter V, Volume IV of Augustine's works, these words appear:

> *Only the Father is not read to have been sent, because He alone has no author from whom He is begotten or from whom He proceeds; and therefore, not because of a diversity of nature, which does not exist in the Trinity, nor because of the authority of another over Him, only the Father is not said to be sent: for it is not the splendor or the heat that sends the fire, but the fire sends either the splendor or the heat. Thus, the Father sends the Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from both.*

But since most of this chapter and the following ones are taken from Augustine's *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, which correspond to these in Chapter IV of that book, they are as follows:

> *Therefore, not because of a diversity of nature, which does not exist in the Trinity, but because of that very authority, only the Father is not said to be sent: for it is not the splendor or the heat that sends the fire, but the fire sends either the splendor or the heat.*

Therefore, in the *Book on the Trinity and Unity*, Chapter V, this was added: "Thus, the Father sends the Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from both."

Corruption XXI

Again, in the same *Book on the Trinity and Unity*, Chapter X, these words are found:

> *The Son is not made from the Father, but begotten, and the Holy Spirit is not made from the Son, but proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But since, as mentioned, from Chapter V of this book to the end, most things are taken from Augustine's *Book Against the Arians*, which correspond to these in Chapter XXI of that book, they are as follows:

> *They say the Holy Spirit is made by the Son, which is never read in Scripture; since the Son Himself says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

Corruption XXII

Indeed, since in Chapter XXIII of the *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, Augustine explicitly denied that the Holy Spirit is from the Son and resolved the common argument of the Latins from the words: "The Holy Spirit will receive from Mine," sought after: in the *Book on the Trinity and Unity*, Chapter X, where the same things are repeated, everything is truncated and perverted. His words in the *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, Chapter XXIII, were these:

> *But what He said about the Holy Spirit: 'He will receive from Mine,' He Himself resolved the question; lest it be thought that the Holy Spirit is from Him through certain degrees, as He Himself is from the Father; since both are from the Father, the one is born, the other proceeds: which two things in the sublimity of that nature are altogether difficult to distinguish. Therefore, lest this be thought, as I said, He immediately added: 'All things that the Father has are Mine; therefore, I said: He will receive from Mine.' Thus, without doubt, He wished it to be understood that He receives from the Father. But therefore from Him, because all things that the Father has are His. But this is not a diversity of nature, but a commendation of one principle. But that in all things the Holy Spirit awaits the precept of Christ, as they say, let them read, if they can. For what was said: 'He will not speak from Himself,' was not said: 'whatever He hears from Me,' but 'whatever He hears, He will speak.' But why this was said has already been made clear a little before from the Lord's own exposition, which I mentioned, where He says: 'All things that the Father has are Mine; therefore, I said: He will receive from Mine.'*

But in Chapter X of the *Book on the Trinity and Unity*, these are read thus:

> *Since both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, the one is born, the other proceeds, which two things in the sublimity of that nature are altogether difficult to distinguish. Therefore, lest it be thought, it was said: 'Because He will receive from Mine,' without doubt wishing it to be understood that He receives from the Father: but therefore from the Son, because all things that the Father has are His: but this is not a diversity of nature, but a commendation of one principle. But that the Holy Spirit awaits the precept of the Son*

> *of Christ: for as it was said, He does not speak from Himself, but 'whatever He hears from Me, He speaks': that is, 'All things that the Father has are Mine; therefore, I said: He will receive from Mine.'*

Here, it is clear that the earlier words, by which it was denied that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, were omitted. Again, since Augustine denied that the Holy Spirit hears from the Son, these very words were, with the worst bad faith, inverted, as if he had said that He hears from the Son, or even awaits Christ's precept in all things.

Corruption XXIII

Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, in Book III, Chapter VI, of *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit Against the Easterners*, Volume XII of the *Spicilegium of Ancient Writers* edited by Luke Dachery, page 94, cites these words from the *Book on the Unity of the Divine Nature*, which exists under the name of Athanasius:

> *In this, the Father is distinct in person, because He truly begot; and in this, the Son is distinct from the Father in person, because He was truly begotten by Him: but in this, the Holy Spirit is distinct in person, this principal Paraclete from the Father and the Son, who was poured out on the Apostles at Pentecost, because He truly proceeds from the one divinity of the Father and the Son.*

And from this, Ratramnus, in the same place, at length, in his usual manner, presses each point against the Easterners for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But according to all editions of Athanasius' works, in Book II of *On the Unity of the Divine Nature*, they are read thus:

> *In this, the Father is distinct, who truly begot; and in this, the Son is distinct, who was truly begotten by Him. But also in this, the Holy Spirit is distinct, this Paraclete, who was poured out on the Apostles at Pentecost.*

And therefore, remember that these names are distinctly applied to the persons. The same is also read by Aeneas, Bishop of Paris, who, in the

same year as Ratramnus, likewise wrote against the Easterners on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in the *Book Against the Easterners*, Volume VII of the cited *Spicilegium of Ancient Writers*, page 13. Therefore, in the codex used by Ratramnus, already in the ninth century, these were inserted: that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son; again: that He truly proceeds from the one divinity of the Father and the Son. Thus, eight centuries ago and more, by this example alone, it is clear that the Latins corrupted the writings of their Fathers. We refer these books *On the Unity of the Divine Nature* here because they have a Latin, not a Greek, author. But more on this in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Latin Fathers.

Corruption XXIV: On the Writings of Athanasius

Likewise, how the Latins were accustomed to corrupt the writings of the Fathers is evident from the diversity of readings of those words in *Book VIII of On the Unity of the Divine Trinity*: “I believe the Son in the Father,” etc. For the orators sent from the Synod of Aachen to Rome in 809, in the booklet on the procession of the Holy Spirit which they presented to Leo III; likewise, in Damian’s *Oration on the Catholic Faith*, Chapter X, Volume III of his works, page 9, and in the *Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, Volume III of his works, page 288, they read the same thus:

> *I believe the Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son, and also the Paraclete Spirit to be of the Son and the Father: because He also proceeds from the Son, as it is written in the Gospel, that by His breathing He gave the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, saying: ‘Receive the Holy Spirit.’*

But according to the editions of Athanasius’ works, they are read thus:

> *I believe the Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son, and also the Holy Paraclete Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, to be of the Father, because He also proceeds from the Son, as it is also written in the Gospel.*

The diversity of readings is clear to everyone. But what did he mean by saying: “The Spirit is also of the Father, because He also proceeds from the Son”? It is spontaneously clear here that since the author’s words had: “because He proceeds from the Father, and is of the Son and the Father,” as the cited orators and Peter Damian read; later Latins then turned that “of the Son” into the word “from the Son,” so that it is now read in the published works of Athanasius: “who proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is of the Father.” But what follows according to both readings: let judgment on these be based on what will be said at the end of this treatise.

Corruption XXV: On Eusebius of Emesa

Eusebius of Emesa, in the *Fourth Sunday After Easter*, Volume V, Part III of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 682:

> *But since the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, from whence He has His existence, from there He also has being wise and true: for what it is for Him to exist, this is for Him to be wise and true, and similar things. For He is the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, and also the Spirit of all truth; but He has and receives these from the Father and the Son.*

And this is what the Lord says: “Because He will receive from Mine, and will announce to you.” But immediately following in the same place, he adds:

> *But since these things are common to all three and substantially common, the Lord could have said, if He had wished: ‘Because He will receive from Mine and His own, and will announce to you.’ For even the Son, when He preached, received both from His own and from those things that are of the Father and the Holy Spirit.*

According to the first cited passage, therefore, Eusebius would teach that when Christ says: “He will receive from Mine,” the sense is that He receives from the Father and the Son to be wise and true, or even His very existence. How, then, could Eusebius ever have added, if these words truly came from him: “But since these things are common to all

three,” etc.? Would, then, the Son or the Father have their existence from the Holy Spirit, or receive being wise and true from Him? Likewise, how could he have said of those words: “He will receive from Mine,” that the sense is that He receives His existence, or being wise and true, from the Father and the Son, when in the following words he immediately adds: “The Lord could have said: ‘He will receive from His own’”? Would, then, the Holy Spirit receive from Himself to be wise and true, and thus also His very existence? He further adds: “For even the Son received both from His own and from those things that are of the Father and the Holy Spirit.” According to the first cited passage, therefore, as we have seen, it would again follow from this: that the Son receives from the Holy Spirit, and from Himself, to be wise and true, and thus also His very existence. It is, therefore, clearly evident from this that the first cited passage of Eusebius was corrupted with the worst bad faith.

Corruption XXVI: On Eugene, Bishop of Carthage

The Latins cite from the confession of the Catholic faith by Eugene, Bishop of Carthage:

> *We do not receive the Holy Spirit as if He were the Father or the Son, but we believe the unbegotten Father, the Son begotten from the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son to be of one substance and essence.*

Indeed, these words are read thus in the *Orthodoxographa* published in Basel in 1569, page 1617.

But this very confession of Eugene is reported by Victor, Bishop of Utica, in *Book II of the Vandal Persecutions*: namely, that which many African Catholic bishops presented to the Arian king; and from whose history, that confession was taken and published under Eugene’s name. But they are found thus in the same place in Volume V, Part III of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 638, and Volume VII of the Parisian Library of the Fathers, published in 1589, column 1910, and in the other editions of Victor of Utica’s history:

> *We believe the unbegotten Father, the Son begotten from the Father,*

> *and the Spirit proceeding from the Father to be of one substance or essence.*

Indeed, this very confession of Eugene, published separately, is found untainted thus in the *Antidote Against Various Heresies of Almost All Centuries*, published in Basel in 1528, folio 221, and Volume IV of the latest Parisian edition of the Councils, column 1128.

Corruption XXVII: On Rusticus, Deacon and Cardinal

Rusticus, a deacon and cardinal of the Roman Church, in his disputation against the Acephali, well before the end, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part II, page 237:

> *The Son is begotten, and He begot nothing co-eternal: and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and nothing co-eternal proceeds or is begotten from Him. But certain ancients added this to the properties: that just as the Holy Spirit with the Father did not eternally beget the Son, so neither does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Son, as from the Father. But I confess that the Holy Spirit did not eternally beget the Son: (for we do not say there are two Fathers;) but whether He proceeds from the Son in the same way as from the Father, I have not yet been fully satisfied. But since this does not pertain to what is now being sought, it should indeed be noted, but passed over.*

Does a deacon and cardinal of the Roman Church, then, have nothing to affirm about an article of faith as significant as whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? The Latins certainly said that the Roman Church at that time believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Surely, it either wholly believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds or does not proceed from the Son. How, then, in the state of the universal Latin Church’s dogma, always handed down by common consent, could Rusticus profess that he was not yet satisfied about it? Never anywhere did the Fathers doubt from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds; just as it was equally undoubted among them from whom the Son is begotten.

You might say, with the editors of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, in the cited place, that Rusticus did not simply doubt the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but at least whether He proceeds from the Son

in the same way as from the Father, since the Father has it from no one that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. But how could a deacon and cardinal ever have been unsatisfied about whether the Holy Spirit also proceeds principally from the Son, as the Latins say? Surely, the Son has all things that He has from the Father: who would believe that Rusticus was ignorant of or denied this? And if the Son had something from Himself, not from the Father, there would be two principles in the divinity; and thus, if the Son did not have the production of the Holy Spirit from the Father, but from Himself, it would even more certainly follow from this that there are two causes, two principles of the Holy Spirit. How, then, could Rusticus, a deacon and cardinal, have doubted about a matter so evident and which concerns the very principles of our Christian faith? Indeed, since Rusticus here denies being satisfied about what the other ancients simply affirmed, it would follow from this that the ancients believed that just as the Father has the production of the Holy Spirit from Himself, not from another, so too the Son has the production of the Holy Spirit from Himself, not from another. Did any of the ancient Fathers ever teach this? Did our ancient Fathers so explicitly assert two principles of the Holy Spirit, while simultaneously not denying that all things the Son has, He has from the Father? Certainly, these would not have merited the name of ancient Fathers, nor would Rusticus have remembered them as such; rather, they would have been the worst heretics, introducing paganism and two gods. Therefore, the genuine words of Rusticus were at least these: “The Son is begotten, and nothing co-eternal is begotten or proceeds from Him; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and nothing co-eternal proceeds or is begotten from Him,” omitting the rest: “But certain ancients,” etc. The falsifier, therefore, removed those words concerning the Son: “or proceeds from Him,” and added the rest, taking the opportunity from Rusticus’ denial of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: “But certain ancients,” etc. And lest he leave Rusticus himself as having decided something against the common opinion of the Latins, he at least added that Rusticus himself was not yet satisfied about it.

Corruption XXVIII: On Vigilius, Bishop of Trent

Furthermore, they cite from Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, in *Book I Against Eutyches*:

> *Hear more clearly: it is proper to the Father to have begotten, and proper to the Son to have been born, but proper to the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son, nor is one person entirely reciprocal with another, which is specially proper to each person.*

These are indeed read thus in Volume IV of the Parisian Library of the Fathers, edited by de la Bigne in 1610, column 597, and in Volume IV of the Parisian Library of the Fathers, edited by de la Bigne in 1624, column 497, and in Aeneas of Paris' *Book Against the Easterners*, Volume VII of the *Spicilegium of Ancient Writers* edited by Luke Dachery, page 46.

But de la Bigne himself, in his first edition of the *Library of the Fathers*, Paris 1575, Volume V, column 551, and in his second edition of the *Library of the Fathers*, Paris 1589, Volume IV, column 644, reads the same words thus:

> *Hear more clearly: it is proper to the Father to have begotten, and proper to the Son to have been born, but proper to the Holy Spirit to proceed; nor is one person entirely reciprocal with another, which is specially proper to each person.*

Furthermore, these words are found thus among the writings of the ancient Latins on *One Person and Two Natures of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, published in Zurich in 1571, column 91. And among the various works of the Fathers written against heretics, published in Basel in 1569, in the volume they inscribed *Haeresiologia*, page 765, and among the works of George Cassander, published in Paris in 1616, page 520.

Corruption XXIX: On Pope Hormisdas

Pope Hormisdas, in *Epistle LXXIX*, which is to Emperor Justin, Volume IV of the Councils, column 1553:

> *Yet it is known that it is proper to the Father to generate the Son; proper to the Son to be born from the Father equal to the Father: it*

> *is proper to the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son under one substance of the Deity.*

But in the library at Hamburg (a town in Germany renowned for its commerce), at the school of St. John, there was a codex of the canons of the ancient Roman Church, published in Paris in 1609. When someone compared it with a manuscript, upon reaching these words of Hormisdas, these last words: “to proceed from the Father and the Son under one substance of the Deity,” were entirely deleted, and the whole passage was read thus:

> *That it is proper to the Father to generate the Son; proper to the Son of God to be born from the Father equal to the Father: and it is also known to be proper to the Holy Spirit.*

Corruption XXX: On the Third Council of Toledo

In the year 589, the *Third Council of Toledo* was held in Spain. If, therefore, we consult the royal edition of the Councils, in 1644, Volume XIII, page 107, and another Parisian edition in 1671, Volume V, column 100: it is read that Reccared, King of Spain, recited the Constantinopolitan Creed in that synod with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

This is certainly false. For if we consult the older editions of the Councils: at least it is read that the king said in the Creed: “who proceeds from the Father.” Thus, it is found in the Cologne edition of the Councils in 1530, folio 107, and the Parisian edition in 1535, Volume I, folio 114. And although in the Madrid edition of the Spanish Councils in 1593, published by Garcias Loaysa, page 203, the Constantinopolitan Creed recited by Reccared was cited with the addition: the very words “and from the Son” were enclosed thus in these marks “and from the Son,” and he adds in the margin: “Missing in the printed editions.” Bellarmine himself confesses the same in *Book II of On Christ*, Chapter XXI:

> *In the Third Council of Toledo, held in the year 589, the Creed is read without any addition.*

Therefore, it is clear that both the antiquity of the editions of the Councils and their manuscript codices did not have that addition. For

never would the Latins, even in ancient editions, have omitted adding, or certainly have removed from there, that addition, if any such thing had been in the manuscript codices.

Corruption XXXI: On Gregory the Great's Morals

From *Book III of the Morals* of Gregory the Great, John Provincialis at Florence cited these words in the twenty-first collation of the *Council of Florence*, published at least in Latin by Horatius Justinianus, Volume XIII of the Councils, column 1113, to demonstrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son:

> *He claims to announce openly from the Father, because through the Father He will reveal now the appearance of His majesty, from whom, begetting, He arises not unequal; and He shows how the Spirit, co-eternal with both, proceeds from both.*

And here John stops.

But in *Book XXX On Job*, Chapter V (for these correspond to those), according to the editions of Gregory the Great's works, they are read thus:

> *He (the Savior) claims to announce openly from the Father: because through the revealed appearance of His majesty, and how He arises not unequal to His begetter, and how the Spirit of both, co-eternal with both, proceeds, He shows. For then we will clearly see how that which arises is not subsequent to that from which it arises; how He who is produced through procession is not preceded by those who bring Him forth.*

Thus, it is in the Roman edition of Gregory's works in 1588, the Antwerp edition in 1572, the Parisian edition in 1523, and the Basel edition in 1564. John, therefore, was reading: "how the Spirit, co-eternal with both, proceeds from both." But the printed editions at least have: "how the Spirit of both, co-eternal, proceeds." The printed editions then add more, in which the Holy Spirit is also affirmed to proceed from the Son. But John entirely omits these, although they are immediately joined to the earlier words, which he would never have done if the codices of Gregory

that John used had contained such a thing. It is, therefore, clearly evident from this that this passage of Gregory was diversely corrupted by different Latin falsifiers.

Corruption XXXII: On Gregory the Great's Dialogues

In *Book II of Gregory the Great's Dialogues*, the final chapter, according to the editions of his works, these words are found:

> *Since it is certain that the Paraclete always proceeds from the Father and the Son, why does the Son say that He will depart so that He may come, who never departs from the Son?*

But when Pope Zacharias, in the year 175 [sic, likely a typo for 741–752, his papacy], translated those books into the Greek language, the Greek version by no means has: "proceeds always from the Father and the Son"; but in place of these: "proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son," as is clear to one examining the Greek version, as it is included in the works of Gregory the Great in the Roman edition of 1588. But the editor adds:

> *Let the reader note that the words in line 9 of this page, namely, 'It is therefore clear that the Paraclete Spirit proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son,' are read very differently in* Gregory*'s Latin, namely: 'for it is certain that the Paraclete Spirit always proceeds from the Father and the Son'; from which it manifestly appears that the Greek translation of* Pope Zacharias *was later corrupted by the Greeks, as* John the Deacon *rightly noted.*

He thus refers to John the Deacon, who, in *Book IV of the Life of Gregory the Great*, number 75, page 133, Volume I of Gregory's works, Roman edition of 1588, says:

> *These books (namely,* Gregory*'s Dialogues),* Zacharias*, Bishop of the Holy Roman Church, most learned in both Greek and Latin, in the times of Emperor* Constantine*, after about 175 years, translating into the Greek language, published to the Eastern Churches: although the cunning perversity of the Greeks, in the mention of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, scraped off and removed the name of the Son.*

But what if these very words of John were inserted by Latin corrupters, who saw that Zacharias' Greek translation accused them of falsification? For John lived in the time of John VIII and had dedicated his books on the life of Gregory to him; but John VIII entirely disapproved of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as we will see in its place. How, then, in books dedicated to John VIII, could he have so fiercely opposed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone? Or if these words came from the same John the Deacon: likewise, he, finding that the Greek translation diverged from a Latin codex, namely one corrupted by his own people, as a defender of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, accused the Easterners, as if they were the authors of this divergence. And by what argument, I ask, does whoever authored those words show that Gregory's words were corrupted by the Greeks rather than by his own people? By none, certainly. Their only argument was that the Greeks corrupted this passage: it is read differently in the Latin text; how firm an argument this is, is clear from the corruptions cited. John then speaks as if not only in his own time, but long before, the Greeks had corrupted Gregory's words. But the Latins claim that Photius was the one who revived the opinion of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; and they claim that only the Iconoclasts before him held this opinion. Therefore, according to the Latins, the Iconoclasts must have corrupted that passage, which is absurd, as is clear to everyone. For how could the Greek Catholics, who, according to the Latins, taught that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, not have immediately noticed that deception? Or how could they have admitted such corrupted codices, so that from then on all Greek codices would read thus corruptly? But John does not mention certain heretics who corrupted it; rather, he accuses the Greek nation itself of this crime: "Although the cunning perversity of the Greeks removed the name of the Son," he says. And in the same sense in which he said: "Zacharias published these books to the Eastern Churches," he immediately adds: "Although the cunning perversity of the Greeks removed the name of the Son." Thus, he generally shows that the passage was corrupted by the Easterners. How, then, do these things agree with each other? It is, therefore, clear from these words of John that the Eastern Churches, even after Zacharias translated those books of Gregory into Greek, held to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. But as for

what he objects from this, that the passage was corrupted by the Greeks, enough has been said on this so far. Indeed, if one considers how in countless places the Latins corrupted the Latin Fathers, no one will deny that the Greek translation here is to be preferred over the Latin text itself.

Corruption XXXIII: On Isidore of Seville

Isidore of Seville, in *Book VII of the Etymologies*, Chapter III, according to the published editions of his works, has:

> *The Holy Spirit is proclaimed God because He proceeds from the Father and the Son and has their substance: for nothing could proceed from the Father other than what the Father Himself is.*

But that these too are corrupted is clear from the fact that in the subsequent reason, why the Holy Spirit is God, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son, he mentions only the Father: “For nothing could proceed from the Father other than what the Father Himself is,” he says. Here, certainly, he would no less have mentioned the Son if he had just taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son together.

Corruption XXXIV: On Isidore’s Letter to Claudius

The same Isidore, in his *Letter to Claudius*, Duke:

> *Likewise, you took care to inform us of the objection of certain Greeks, that in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Synod it is read to have been prohibited under anathema to diminish or add anything to the Creed, and in that of* Saint Athanasius *on the Catholic faith. And therefore, some of the Greeks presumptuously strive to rebuke the Latins, because in the profession of holy faith they sing with heart and mouth to God: ‘who proceeds from the Father and the Son’; since in the aforementioned Councils it was established: ‘who proceeds from the Father’; and the holy Roman Church approves and believes that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But if this aforementioned prohibition is subtly and rightly examined, all ambiguity is removed: for when it prohibited adding or diminishing, it meant something contrary.*

And he adds many other things on this matter; and thereafter, it is extensively asserted and demonstrated that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.

But these words by no means came from Isidore. For if in his time the Latin Church had already sung that addition, Filioque, in the Creed, why, I ask, would that addition have been removed again by the common consent of the Latins? Would this be believable? But those who, at the end of the eighth century, introduced that addition into the Latin Churches, explicitly confess that until then, for a long time, even the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had lain neglected in a certain torpor among the Doctors, but that they were asserting it anew, as is clear from the words of the orators sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome, about which more later. Nor, in the seventh century, were the Easterners separated from the Latins in communion, objecting to them that they had sinned against the decrees of the Ecumenical Synods, and thus were guilty of anathema, by which those who innovate the Creed are condemned, since they added the word Filioque to the holy Creed. No schisms, disputes, or factions, I say, divided the Churches over this at that time. It is clear, moreover, that they amicably convened until the times of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod; nor, as before, was anything objected to the Latins on this matter in that Synod. Therefore, it is clear from this that those prolix words of Isidore by no means came from him.

Corruption XXXV: On Pope Agatho and the Roman Synod

The words of Pope Agatho and the Roman Synod of 205 Latin bishops, in the synodal epistle, by which it is said: “I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father,” Baronius, in his *Annals* for the year 860, number 32, and Binius, in the notes to that Roman Council of Agatho, claim were corrupted by the Greeks, namely by removing the word Filioque from there. And from this, a certain Jesuit among the more recent ones cites these words of Agatho in Volume II, as if he read: “proceeding from the Father and the Son.”

But all editions of the *Sixth Ecumenical Council*, both Greek, page 23, and

Latin, have Agatho's words only thus: "who proceeds from the Father"; therefore, the manuscripts must have had it thus as well. Whence, then, is it certain that Agatho said with the addition: "who proceeds from the Father and the Son"? Indeed, it is manifestly clear from this that Agatho's words were at least: "who proceeds from the Father"; and neither any Latin nor any Latinizing Greek ever cited Agatho's words by which he taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But they were not ignorant of the acts of the Ecumenical Council, so that they would certainly have pressed such things if they had found them in the acts of that Synod; for they labored everywhere to seek out anything for the demonstration of their opinion. Likewise, Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims in Gaul, who lived in the time of Photius, in the *Book on the Triune Deity*, Volume I of his works, page 431, citing that synodal epistle of Agatho, likewise reads at least: "who proceeds from the Father."

Finally, Pithou himself entirely denies that these words of Agatho were corrupted; although, misled by the occasion of Baronius' words, about which more later, he thinks that Julian complained about this at Florence, and before him, Calecas had objected to it. Thus, in his *Book on the History of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son*, among his miscellaneous works, page 31:

> *From which it also appears that Cardinal* Julian *vainly complained about the Greeks, as if they had corrupted the letters of* Agatho *and the Roman Council to the Sixth Synod in that part where the Creed from the formula of the Constantinopolitan Synod is cited concerning the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, which* Manuel Calecas *is said to have objected to before him.*

What argument, I ask, do the Latins truly have to claim that this passage was corrupted by the Greeks? Baronius, in his *Annals* for the year 680, number 32, speaking of the *Sixth Ecumenical Synod*:

> *Moreover, in that which is written by the holy Synod in that same synodal epistle, in the sincere confession of the Catholic faith, the deceitful style of the scribes wrought falsehood. For while it was read there: 'We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father and the Son,' by scraping off the name 'Filioque,' only 'proceeding from the Father' was left. Such an*

> *imposture of the Greeks was detected in the Council of Florence by* Julian*, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, in the disputation he had against the Greeks, which* Manuel Calecas*, a Greek author, had long before noticed and censured in his commentaries written against the errors of the Greeks.*

An excellent reason, indeed! The Greeks removed the word Filioque from the Creed of the *Seventh Ecumenical Synod*, as Julian and Calecas demonstrate: therefore, they likewise removed that Filioque from Agatho's epistle in the procession of the Holy Spirit. And why did the Greeks not also remove the word Filioque from the Creed of the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Ecumenical Synods? Certainly, by the same necessity that Baronius inferred this, the same follows: for it is the same manner of reasoning. Moreover, that the Creed of the *Seventh Ecumenical Synod* was by no means corrupted by the Greeks, but rather that Julian's very codex was corrupted with the worst bad faith and fraud, has been shown to the eye in the *Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers*; just as it was equally shown there that Baronius ineptly cites Calecas for his assertion. Since, therefore, it is clearer than light that the Greeks did not corrupt the Creed of the *Seventh Synod*, let all judge on what foundation Baronius relies to infer that Agatho's synodal epistle was corrupted by the Greeks.

The same Jesuit, Binius, will also show in the notes to Agatho's Roman Council:

> *It should be noted, that, as* Julian*, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, noted in the Council of Florence in the disputation he had against the Greeks, after* Manuel Calecas*, the Greek corrupters corrupted it; in that place where it was once read: 'We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father and the Son,' they erased the name 'Filioque.' We present these things to the reader who loves the truth and propose them for consideration: lest you be surprised when we say below that the synodal acts of the Sixth Council, especially those that testify about* Honorius*, Roman Pontiff, were corrupted by the imposture of the Greeks.*

Thus, Binius, less considerately, interprets what Baronius (for he followed him in saying these things) had said about the *Seventh Ecumenical Synod*

as applying to the *Sixth Synod*, as if Julian in the *Council of Florence* had asserted or attempted to demonstrate that Agatho's epistle was corrupted, and that Calecas had noted this before; when neither trace nor footprint of this is found either in the acts of the *Council of Florence* or in Calecas' books, so that you might rightly laugh at his audacity when he adds: "We present these things to the reader who loves the truth and propose them for consideration." Certainly, since he had presented nothing but lies; yet with a brazen face, he proposes these things for consideration to the reader who loves the truth. Baronius' words, as we saw, were: "Such an imposture was detected." Such, I say, that is, a similar or equal imposture, not this very imposture by which they corrupted Agatho's epistle.

Corruption XXXVI

In the *Roman Order of Divine Offices*, page 28, among the ancient writers on divine offices edited by Melchior Hittorpius in Rome in 1601, the holy Creed is read with the addition: *Filioque*.

But in the same place, where the holy Creed is also recited in Greek, it is read only: "proceeding from the Father." How, then, would the Roman Church, reciting the holy Creed, have omitted the word *Filioque* in Greek, but added that word again in Latin? From this, it is clear that the Creed recited in Latin was later corrupted. Indeed, how in the eighth century would it have frequently used the Creed with the addition? How would the Roman Church have read it thus long before, when those who, at the end of the eighth century, introduced the Creed with the addition into the Churches, spontaneously confess that until then, for a long time, not even the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had been asserted in the Latin Church: as is clear from the booklet on the procession of the Holy Spirit offered to Pope Leo III by the orators sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809.

Corruption XXXVII

Bede, in his commentary on Boethius' *Book on the Trinity*, Volume VIII of his works, column 938:

> *The Greeks say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but not from the Son, namely because it is not found in the Creed published in the Nicene Synod; where it was also promulgated that whoever says otherwise is anathema. And therefore, they say that we are under anathema, which is false: because we do not say something else, that is, something contrary. Rather, they openly speak against the Apostle: for he says: 'Because He sends the Spirit of His Son crying in our hearts: Abba, Father'; and many other authorities agree with this.*

But these words by no means came from Bede. For in Bede's time, the Greeks were not separated from the Latins in communion, nor did they object that they were under anathema; nor was any controversy raised in the Seventh Ecumenical Council against the Latins regarding the addition to the Creed or the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Corruption XXXVIII

They claim that in the year 767, a dispute took place between the Gauls and the Easterners in a certain great synod about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Various Latin historians are cited for this: Conrad of Lichtenau, for the year 767, in the Basel edition of 1569, page 163:

> *In the year of the Lord 767, a question arising about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints between the Eastern and Western Church, that is, between the Greeks and the Romans, King* Pepin *held a synod in the villa of Salmuniacum, and after the question was debated, he set out for the aforementioned war after the Nativity of the Lord, in the seventh year, into Aquitaine.*

Aimonius, a French monk, in Book IV of *On the Franks*, Chapter LXVII, in the Parisian edition of 1602, page 203:

> *A question arising about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints between the Eastern and Western Church (that is, the Romans and the Greeks), King* Pepin*, having gathered a convention in the villa of Gentiliacum, held a synod on that question, and after it was completed, he set out for the aforementioned war after the Nativity of the Lord into Aquitaine.*

The same is found in Eginhard, in the *Annals of the Deeds of Charlemagne*, Volume II of the writers of the history of the Franks, edited by André Duchesne in Paris in 1636, page 237. Again, Regino, Abbot of Prüm, in Book II, for the said year, among the ancient writers of Germany edited by John Pistorius in Frankfurt in 1583, page 25:

> *In the year of the Lord's incarnation 767, the king held a great synod in the aforementioned villa between the Romans and the Greeks, about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints; and after this, he entered Aquitaine through Narbonne.*

The *Annals of the Franks* from the year 687 to 904, Volume III of Duchesne, page 279:

> *In the year of the Lord's incarnation 767,* Pepin *held a synod in Salmuntiacum, with the Romans and Greeks disputing among themselves about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints.*

The author of the *Annals of the Franks* from the year 708 to 808, Volume II of the cited history of the Franks, page 13:

> *Then the king held a great synod in the aforementioned villa between the Romans and the Greeks about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints, and traveling, he took Toulouse through Narbonne in the regions of Aquitaine.*

The author of the *Annals of the Franks* from the year 741 to 814, Volume II of the history of the Franks, page 27:

> *Then Lord King* Pepin *held a great synod in the aforementioned villa between the Romans and the Greeks about the Holy Trinity or the images of the saints. And afterward, he went, traveling through the regions of Aquitaine through Narbonne.*

The same is found in the author of the *Annals* from the year 741 to 882, Volume III of the history of the Franks, page 153. Finally, Ado, Bishop of Vienne, in his chronicle, Volume IX, Part II of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 292:

> *At that time, a synod was held, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 767, and a question was debated between the Greeks and the Romans*

about the Trinity, and whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as He proceeds from the Father, and about the images of the saints.

But that the Latins, by common consent, defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against the Greeks in a great synod in the year 767 is utterly false. For the orators sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome testify, in the booklet on the procession of the Holy Spirit, that only recently had the controversy arisen: whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or not; and in their own times, it had suddenly emerged among them. How, then, would the Westerners, by common consent in a great synod, as those authors testified, have defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against the Greeks in the year 767? If you say that these things were far removed from the beginning of the ninth century, you gain nothing by this. For already at the end of the eighth century, those innovators arose who first introduced that addition to the Creed in the Latin Churches, certainly before the year 809 from the birth of Christ, as shown in its place. For Alcuin Albinus, who died in 804, likewise condemned this innovation of the Creed. Who, then, would believe that all the Latin Fathers gathered in that synod in the year 767 died soon after the year 807, and that not many of them lived on for several decades? Since, therefore, even so many years before, the Fathers in the Latin Church taught and defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: how, I ask, did those who, at the end of the eighth century, asserted this dogma, simultaneously, by the example of the cited orators in the cited place, confess that long before their times the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had been unknown in the Latin Church? When, moreover, in those times, that dogma arose among the Latins: it was certainly new to them, and one that the other Latins opposed and condemned, as is clear from the cited booklet of the Aachen orators. How, then, in the year 767, would the Latins have held by common consent and defended against the Easterners the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? How, in that year 767, or in the preceding years, would that same question have arisen not among the Latins themselves, but at least between the Greeks and the Latins, as those authors wish the Latins to testify?

Finally, Conrad of Lichtenau, Aimonius, and Eginhard mentioned only one question debated in that synod. But was it one question? There, they

disputed about images; and whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or not? These are certainly two different questions, not one. Indeed, the words of the author of the *Annals of the Franks* from the year 741 to 814, Volume III of Canisius' *Ancient Readings*, Part I, page 196, are as follows:

> *Then Lord* Pepin *held a great synod in the aforementioned villa between the Romans and the Greeks about the holy city, or about the images of the saints, and afterward, he went, traveling in the regions of Aquitaine through Narbonne.*

Thus, he explicitly shows that at least one question was debated in that synod, namely about the images of the saints, which would simultaneously concern the Holy Trinity: for instead of city, Trinity should be read, because otherwise, there would be no sense to these words. Duchesne, too, in his history of the writers of the Franks, as we saw, reads Trinity for the word city. According to both editions, therefore, that author says that in that synod, it was debated about the Holy Trinity or about images. Thus, at least one question was addressed in that synod. How, then, in the same synod, would they have simultaneously disputed about the procession of the Holy Spirit? Those words about the Trinity, therefore, should not be drawn to the procession of the Holy Spirit, but should still be explained as pertaining to the question concerning images. For the Latins, who opposed the Greeks' adoration of images, believed that the Greeks themselves offered to images the adoration due to God alone; and from this, that question likewise concerned the Trinity itself. Hence arose those words of the historians: "A question was debated about the Trinity and the images of the saints."

But later Latins, seeing how greatly the controversy about the procession of the Holy Spirit was debated between the Greeks and the Latins, likewise attributed to Ado: "and whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as He proceeds from the Father." They thought that this too had been disputed between the Latins and the Easterners in the year 767.

Corruption XXXIX

Etherius, Bishop of Osma, and Beatus, Presbyter, in Book I *Against Elipandus*, Archbishop of Toledo, shortly after the beginning, in Volume

VIII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 344, state:

> *Neither the Father nor the Son proceeded from both, but only the Holy Spirit. And therefore, the Father alone is God from no one, but from Himself. The Son is God, like the Father, but He is God from the Father, not from Himself. Likewise, the Holy Spirit is God, like the Father and the Son, but He is God from the Father and the Son, not from Himself.*

But immediately following, they add:

> *The Father alone is God from Himself, but these two are God from one, that is, from the Father, and therefore the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God.*

Here, they clearly teach that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one, that is, from the Father, and thus from the one and only Father. How, then, could they have just stated in the immediately preceding words that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son?

Corruption XL

Pope Hadrian, in his *Epistle to Charles, King of the Franks*, in which he refutes objections raised against the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, in Volume VII of the Councils, column 916, Action III, writes:

> *In the first chapter, it was stated, regarding the phrase: 'And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding from the Father through the Son.' Objection: That* Tarasius *does not hold correctly, who, in his profession of faith, confesses the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father through the Son, and not from the Father and the Son, according to the faith of the Nicene Creed. Response:* Tarasius *did not fully explain this dogma, but confessed it through the teaching of the holy Fathers, whose chapters we briefly set forth out of our great love for your most upright and divinely protected royal excellence.*

And from here, among other things, many testimonies of the Latin Fathers concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son are appended.

The critic of the Seventh Universal Synod also faults Tarasius for saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and not

from the Father and the Son, according to the faith of the Nicene Creed. But it was only in those times that this addition to the Creed was first introduced into the Latin churches, having until then been unknown, as we will demonstrate from the words of the orators of Aachen. How, then, could Hadrian have completely passed over the objection regarding the Creed with that addition, and failed to show that it had no authority, as something that certain innovators had recently added with the word *Filioque*?

Moreover, according to the cited words, Hadrian treats the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as if it were commonly received and unquestioned up to that time. But from the oft-cited *Book of the Orators of Aachen*, it is clear that the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was not commonly received or unquestioned up to that time, but rather had been unknown until recently, and was newly introduced and condemned by other Latins.

Corruption XLI

Paulinus, Metropolitan of Aquileia, speaking about the Constantinopolitan Creed at the Council of Friuli in the year 791, is recorded to have said, in Volume VII of the Councils, column 994:

> *But afterward, because of those heretics who whispered that the Holy Spirit is only of the Father and proceeds only from the Father, it was added: 'Who proceeds from the Father and the Son.' For those who added 'Who proceeds from the Father and the Son' had read the same truth in the Gospel, which refutes* Philip*: 'Philip,' He says, 'he who sees Me sees My Father also. Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in Me?'*

And further, in the same place, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is demonstrated at length. And in column 996:

> *How catholically and firmly the holy Fathers, established in this faith, have confessed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father! And how gloriously those who confess that He proceeds from the Father and the Son!*

Paulinus mentions the addition to the Creed here as if it were not introduced by him or at that time, but had long been in use. He says: “But afterward, it was added,” and “Those who added had read.” But it was only at the time of that council that certain innovators introduced the Creed with that addition into the churches, as is clear from the words of the orators of Aachen. If, however, that addition to the Creed had long been in use, why would the Latins have removed it again, so that all memory of it would have entirely perished, to the extent that even the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was completely unknown among the Latins? For the cited orators of Aachen testify that long before their time, that dogma had not been asserted in the Latin churches. Even though the corrupters confess that the holy Fathers catholically professed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, they wish to confess “gloriously” that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. We, however, follow the catholic profession of faith, which is the foundation of the catholic Church, rather than one that is merely glorious.

Corruption XLII

Albinus Alcuin, in Book I *on the Trinity*, Chapter XV, states:

> *The Holy Spirit is nowhere called unbegotten or begotten: lest, if He were called unbegotten like the Father, two Fathers would be understood in the holy Trinity; or if He were called begotten like the Son, two Sons would be thought to exist in the holy Trinity. But He is to be said with sound faith to proceed only from the Father and the Son; yet He does not proceed from the Father into the Son, and from the Son to sanctify creation, as some who misunderstand think it should be believed, but He proceeds simultaneously from both: because the Father begot such a Son that, just as the Holy Spirit proceeds from Himself, so too He proceeds from the Son.*

But in the time of Albinus Alcuin, the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit was by no means settled; indeed, at that time, the Latins were sharply divided among themselves over it, some affirming and others denying the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. So much so that Charles, Emperor of Gaul and Germany, was compelled to convene a

synod at Aachen in the year 809. But more on this in the *Treatise on the Disputes Among the Latins Themselves Concerning the Dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. Indeed, Alcuin himself condemned that addition to the Creed, as is clear from the cited place.

Corruption XLIII

Rabanus Maurus, in Book I of *On the Universe*, Chapter II, Volume I, page 59, states:

> *The Holy Spirit is proclaimed God because He proceeds from the Father and the Son and has His substance.*

How, I ask, if Rabanus Maurus had previously stated that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, could he have added for any reason: “and has His substance”? For it should have been said: “and has Their substance.” Likewise, when Isidore of Seville had the same words in Book VII of the *Etymologies*, Chapter III, he certainly read them thus. But since here Rabanus mentions only one, about whom he had spoken before, saying: “and has His substance,” it is clear that Rabanus spoke only of the Father before, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. And further, just as Isidore in the cited place, Rabanus adds with the cited words:

> *For nothing could proceed from the Father other than what the Father Himself is.*

How these words also show that this passage is corrupted, we have seen above regarding the same words of Isidore of Seville.

Various Corruptions, Demonstrated by a Single Argument in Great Number

The numerous instances, sometimes with lengthy discourse, found after the passing of the ancient Latin Fathers in the writings of subsequent Doctors of the Latin Church and in the acts of synods, up to the end of the eighth century, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, are each proven to be corrupted and inserted by a single argument.

The Fathers, fifty-two in number, read the Creed with the addition in the Eighth Council of Toledo, in the year 653. Likewise, twelve bishops in the Council of Mérida in Lusitania, held in 666. Also, eight bishops of the Fourth Council of Braga in Gaul, in 675. The dogma itself is confessed by the Council of Hatfield in England in 680, in which Theodore, Archbishop of England, presided along with other bishops of that island. The same dogma is asserted on various occasions by twenty-six Fathers of the Eleventh Council of Toledo in 675. They also wish that Agatho, together with 225 Latin bishops gathered in Rome, did the same in a synodal epistle. Thirty-five bishops of the Twelfth Council of Toledo, in 681, read the Creed with the addition. Likewise, forty-eight bishops of the Thirteenth Council of Toledo, in 683. Finally, forty-one bishops of the Fifteenth Council of Toledo, in 688. Moreover, fifty-nine bishops of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, in 693, assert the dogma on various occasions. The Seventeenth Council of Toledo, in 694, reads the Creed with the addition. The dogma itself is taught by Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo, in *Book on the Virginity of Mary*, Chapter VIII. Aponius, in Books III and VI *on the Song of Songs*. In the *Roman Order of Divine Offices*, the holy Creed appears in Latin with the addition. And then, in the ordination of a bishop according to the custom of the Gauls, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is mentioned twice. Bede, in his *Commentary on Romans*, Chapter VIII; *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Chapter XII; *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Chapter IV; *Summer Homily for the Sunday 'Exaudi'*; *Commentary on John*, Chapters VII and VIII; *Book on the Six Days of Creation*, on the words: "And the Spirit of God moved over the waters"; *Book I on the Elements of Philosophy*; *Commentary on Boethius' Book on the Trinity*, in several places and at great length. In the year 767, they claim the Latins defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against the Easterners in a great synod. The same dogma is asserted by the bishops of Italy in a booklet against Elipandus at the Council of Frankfurt. Likewise, Etherius, Bishop of Osma, and Beatus, Presbyter, in Book I *Against Elipandus* and Book II in various places, who also recite the Creed with the addition in Book I. The Gauls, too, when they accused the Seventh Universal Synod because Tarasius at least said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Pope Hadrian, in his *Epistle to Charles, King of the Franks*, defends the procession of the Holy

Spirit from the Son according to the opinion of the Gauls, which he also asserts in his epistle to the bishops of Spain at the Council of Frankfurt. Likewise, Albinus Alcuin, in Book I *on the Trinity*, Chapters VI, XII, XV; Book II, Chapters IX, XI, XIX, XX; *Treatise on 'Let Us Make Man in Our Image'*; *Book on the Use of the Psalms*, Part II; *Commentary on John*, on the words: "My doctrine is not Mine", "Who are You?", and "When the Paraclete comes"; *Invocation to the Holy Trinity*, in his Creed. Finally, in *Book of Questions on the Trinity*, Question II. The same dogma is asserted by Paulinus, Metropolitan of Aquileia, in *Book Against Felix and Elipandus*, Bishops, and he disputes at length for the addition in the Synod of Friuli, in 791.

According to these, therefore, from the time of Pope Martin to the end of the eighth century, the entire Latin Church must have publicly taught, preached, and proclaimed the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and frequently used, sung, and celebrated this dogma's addition in the holy Creed. Thus, the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son must have been no less known to all Latins than the generation of the Son from the Father, approved by the consent of all, and never called into question by anyone. But the orators sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome, in their *Booklet on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* against other Latins, explicitly confess that in the time of Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Augustine, the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was taught in the Latin Church; but thereafter, through a certain torpor of negligence, that dogma was neglected in the Latin Church. For thus those orators, Bernarius, Bishop of Worms, and Adalard, Abbot of Corbie, begin in the cited booklet, in Volume VII of the Councils, column 1199:

> *The question that has recently arisen concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit was long ago most diligently examined by the holy Fathers. But because it had long lain neglected by those seeking it, it did not remain as if it had been examined in ancient times, but rather, as if it were something hidden that has suddenly emerged in our times, which I faithfully believe was divinely inspired. For the present Church is struck with frequent blows of questions, so that, instructed in catholic teachings and polished with sound confessions of faith, it may live happily, destined to reign with the Lord forever, having received the inheritance of the sons. But because, as I have said, this question had*

> *long lain unexamined by those seeking it, Almighty God wished to stir the hearts of the Shepherds, so that, with the torpor of negligence removed, they might dig into the heavenly treasure with the arm of holy exercise. For the Shepherds must often plow the field of the Lord's discourse with the hoe of divine Scriptures, lest the tares of the unjust sower and his malignant seed overpower the fruit of the beautiful wheat, or lest the flying bird of heresy snatch the catholic seed from the hearts of the little ones, or lest the horrid emergence of thorns suffocate the Lord's shining crop. For the knowledge of sacred reading provides a staff for the weak, arms for the strong, boldly suppresses the subtle snares of enemies, and happily promises eternal crowns to the victors. Therefore, let the torpor of negligence be far from the Shepherds; let harmful idleness depart from the sharpness of the mind, let soft indulgence abandon the members of the body, and let deep sleep and gentle slumber give way to the rigid and fruitful vigils of reading, so that the rich field of the Church, sown with the seed of the learned, may yield a hundredfold fruit to the Almighty. Now I proceed to the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

They say: "The question of the procession of the Holy Spirit was long ago most diligently examined by the holy Fathers," namely, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son (for this is the procession they dispute). And they continue: "because this question had long lain neglected," namely, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, "in these times, as if it were always unknown, it has suddenly emerged in the Church by God's authorship." Finally: "This question, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, had long lain unexamined; but now God has stirred the hearts of the Shepherds, so that, with the torpor of negligence shaken off, by which their predecessors had neglected to teach and assert that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son (for this is the matter at hand), they might again draw it from the heavenly treasure and teach others." Thus, they clearly confess that for a long, long time, the Latins had not taught this dogma, but, oppressed by a certain torpor of negligence, had neglected it, even though the ancient Fathers had asserted it. Therefore, having shaken off that old neglect, they now, by God's authorship, assert this dogma again.

But if long before these times the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was unknown or not asserted by the Latins, how, I ask, is the

procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son so often asserted, taught, and sometimes extensively demonstrated in so many councils and in so many books of the holy Fathers from the time of Pope Martin to the end of the eighth century? How, I ask, does the holy Creed with the addition appear in so many councils? Therefore, all the testimonies we cited in great number were corrupted with the worst bad faith.

Likewise, Pope John VIII, in his *Epistle to Photius*, speaking of the addition to the Creed, in Volume II, Part II of the *Pandects of Canons Received by the Greek Church*, published in Oxford, England, in 1672, states:

> *We believe that your reverence, being wise and endowed with learning, rightly knows that persuading our other bishops to agree to this brings us no small trouble: since no one can so quickly change such a grave matter, even though it arose recently and has not been confirmed by the span of many years.*

From these words, it is clear that the origin of that addition cannot be traced beyond the end of the eighth century. How, then, according to the words of so many synods held in Gaul, Italy, and Spain, could that addition have been in use in the Latin Church for so many centuries before? Therefore, it is clearly evident from this that these were corrupted.

The same is confirmed by the words of Albinus Alcuin, in his *Epistle to the Brothers of Lyon* and in his *Creed of the Catholic Faith*: “Do not introduce new things,” as we cite his words elsewhere. If, therefore, at the end of the eighth century, the addition to the Creed was at least new, it is clear that the words of the synods, in which that addition appears in great number in the acts of the synods before these times, are corrupted.

Thus far, therefore, it is established that in many places, and, if you consider the writers and synods of the seventh and eighth centuries, in countless instances, the words of the Latin Fathers concerning the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son were corrupted. Therefore, there is no initial necessity to object to other places in the Latin Fathers where the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is similarly proposed: for they could equally have been inserted by falsifiers, and thus, as places of doubtful fidelity, they should not be admitted. This is especially true since in other places, the same Latin Fathers are found to have taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

TRACTATE IV

In which it is demonstrated that the Western Church Fathers unanimously believed, until the end of the 8th century, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

We have seen in a special Tractate what the faith of the Eastern Churches was during the first ten centuries concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Now we shall examine the same regarding the Western Churches.

In the first two centuries, very few writers flourished in the West. IRENAEUS, Bishop of Lyons, who stands out among them, nowhere touches upon this doctrine in his books on heresies. The oldest of the Latin writers whose works written in Latin have come down to us is Tertullian.

From the 3rd Century

TERTULLIAN, an African presbyter of Carthage, in his book against Praxeas, Chapter IV, page 845 of the Paris edition by Pamelius, 1616:

> *I derive the Son from nowhere else but from the substance of the Father, doing nothing without the Father's will, having obtained all power from the Father; how can I destroy the monarchy by faith, which I preserve in the Son as handed down by the Father? Let this be said by me about the third degree as well, as I believe the Spirit comes from nowhere else but from the Father through the Son.*

Tertullian, about to show the origin of the Son and the Holy Spirit, says the Son is produced from nothing else but the substance of the Father; and of the Spirit he adds: "Let this be said of the Holy Spirit as well." For he calls the Holy Spirit by the name of the third degree. But he had derived the Son from the Father alone; therefore the meaning of

Tertullian’s words when he adds about the Holy Spirit: “I believe the Spirit comes from nowhere else but from the Father through the Son,” is consistent with this. Again in the same book, Chapter VIII, page 847:

> *Thus the Trinity, descending from the Father through joined and connected degrees (he calls the Son the second degree, the Holy Spirit the third), neither obstructs the monarchy and protects the state of the economy.*

By which he again derives both the Son and the Holy Spirit from one Father.

In the dialogue of MINUCIUS FELIX, a Roman advocate, between a Christian and a pagan, and in the sermons of LEO, Bishop of Verona, and in the seven books of ARNOBIUS the African against the pagans, nothing occurs concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.

ST. CYPRIAN in his sermon on the Holy Spirit, according to the uncorrupted reading which we have shown in the Tractate on corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Latins:

> *The Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father is borne upon the quaternary.*

The surviving books of LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS likewise contain nothing about the procession of the Holy Spirit. Although he frequently mentions that the Prophets spoke by the power of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit overshadowed the most holy Virgin, yet when treating of the divine subsistences, he mentions only the Son along with the Father. Likewise, teaching who proceeds from the essence of the Father, he again omits the Holy Spirit. Whether by chance or design is uncertain.

JEROME indeed notes that Lactantius denied that the Holy Spirit has subsistence, in Book II on the Epistle to the Galatians, at Chapter IV. These things would be more certain from Epistle LXV to Pammachius, if the letters written by him to Demetrianus were extant. Although the same also seems to be suggested in Chapters VI, VII, and XXIX of Book IV, and Chapter IX of Book II of the divine institutions.

From the 4th Century

ST. SYLVESTER, Bishop of Rome, in his prayer against the sorcerer, as praised by JEREMIAH, Patriarch of Constantinople, in response II to the Tübingen scholars, page 217, of the Tübingen edition, 1584:

> *There is one true God the Father, having a true Son begotten from Himself, and the true Holy Spirit proceeding from Himself.*

HILARY, Bishop of Poitiers, in Book II on the Trinity, near the beginning, page 7 of the Cologne edition, 1611:

> *They (the heretics) do not know the Holy Spirit, while they are ignorant of both its use and its author.*

By which he certainly knows only one author of the Holy Spirit, not two. In Book VIII on the Trinity, page 49:

> *The Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father; but He is sent by the Son and by the Father.*

By which he certainly teaches that sending is common to the Father and the Son, but that producing the Holy Spirit belongs to the Father alone. And on page 50:

> *The Spirit proceeds from the Father, is sent by the Son, and receives from the Son.*

In Book XII on the Trinity, near the end, page 93:

> *It is indeed little for me, by the duty of my faith and voice, to deny that Jesus Christ my Lord God, Your Only-Begotten (he prays to the Father), is a creature: I do not allow this sharing of name even in Your Holy Spirit, who proceeds from You (the Father), and is sent through Him (the Son).*

And after a few words:

> *Your Holy Spirit, according to the Apostle, searches and knows Your depths; and Your intercessor for me speaks to You things which I cannot express, and shall I not only speak of, but even defame, the power of His nature (the Holy Spirit's) flowing from You (the Father) with Your Only-Begotten, by the name of creation?*

Again, after some things:

As in this, that Your Only-Begotten is before eternal times, all ambiguity of speech and difficulty of understanding ceasing, only the fact that He is born remains: so what is from You (the Father) through Him (the Son of God), Your Holy Spirit, although I do not perceive it by sense, yet I hold it by conscience.

And near the end, page 94:

I pray You to preserve, that I may adore You as our Father, Your Son together with You, AND that I may deserve Your Holy Spirit, who is from You through Your Only-Begotten.

Finally, in Book VIII on the Trinity, page 49:

Let them hear to this the Son testifying the unity of nature He has with the Father: for He says: 'When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from my Father, He will testify about me.' The Advocate will come, and the Son will send Him from the Father; therefore the Spirit of truth is He who proceeds from the Father. Let every school of heretics exercise the acuteness of their genius; and let them now seek what they can lie about from the ignorant; and let them teach what this is, that the Son sends from the Father. He who sends shows his power in what he sends: but what do we understand by 'he sends from the Father,' whether accepted and dismissed, or begotten? For it is necessary that one of these be signified, which He will send from the Father, and if He will send from the Father that Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father. Now therefore there is no reception, where procession is demonstrated. It remains for us to confirm our opinion on this, whether we consider in this the egression of one who stands, or the procession of one who is begotten.

In GREGORY of Baetica's (a Spaniard) booklet against the Arians, neither in OPTATUS of Milevis's seven books against Parmenianus, nor in PACIAN's works, nor in PHOEBADIUS's book against the Arians, nor finally in the works of FAUSTUS the Roman Deacon, does anything occur about the procession of the Holy Spirit.

PHILASTRIUS, Bishop of Brescia, on the heresy concerning the substance of the Father and the Son, in Vol. IV of the Library of the Fathers, Cologne edition, page 601:

> *There are three persons living forever, and equal in all majesty and power: but the Son and the Holy Spirit are properly from the Father.*

DAMASUS, Pope of Rome, in his Symbol in Vol. IX of the works of Jerome, published in Paris in 1602, column 157:

> *In this Trinity we worship one God; because what is from the one Father is of one nature with the Father, of one substance, and of one power.*

By these words he clearly teaches that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the one God the Father: for from this he concludes that in the Trinity both the Son and the Holy Spirit with the Father are one God, because “what is from the one Father is of one nature with the Father.” Where certainly this proposition is implied: “But the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the one Father.” For only then does Damasus’s argument stand. The same Damasus further, in the Roman Council, issued a confession with the consent of many gathered bishops, which was then sent to Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch. In this epistle, after he had noted with several anathemas those who held perverse opinions about the Son of God, the doctrine about the Holy Spirit is further set forth in THEODORET Book V of Ecclesiastical History, Chapter XI, Vol. III of his works, page 721, NICEPHORUS Callistus Book XII of Ecclesiastical History, Chapter XVIII, and AUGUSTINE sermon CXXIX on time:

> *If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit is truly and properly from the Father, just as the Son is from the divine essence and God, the Word of God, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit can do all things AND knows all things, and is present everywhere on earth, just as the Son and the Father, let him be anathema. If anyone says that the Holy Spirit is a creature, or made through the Son, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that through the Son, who assumed flesh, and through the Holy Spirit, the Father made all things, that is, visible AND invisible, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit is to be adored by every creature, just as the*

> *Father and the Son, let him be anathema. If anyone thinks correctly about the Father and the Son, but does not have the right opinion about the Holy Spirit, he is a heretic.*

In this extensive confession of Damasus and the rest of the Latin bishops about the divine essence and origin of the Holy Spirit, nothing is added about His procession from the Son; but only the Father is commemorated as His producer, so that even from this it is clearly evident that the Latin world was then ignorant of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Furthermore, in all these anathemas, where the Fathers believed that the Son agreed with the Father in something (concerning the Holy Spirit), they always added the Son together with the Father, as is evident to everyone: but in explaining the principle of the Holy Spirit, they do not join the Son with the Father, but put only the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit is truly and properly; indeed they add: just as the Son is also from the Father. In this therefore they show that the Son agrees with the Holy Spirit, namely that both are from the Father; not that the Son agrees with the Father in this, that the Holy Spirit is from both. Finally, these anathemas were issued by Damasus and the rest of the council of Latin bishops against the Macedonian heretics, who blasphemed that the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Son. Hence in those anathemas it was added: "Who says that the Holy Spirit was made through the Son, let him be anathema." But since whoever thinks that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, by that very fact simultaneously denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, those Latin Holy Fathers, if they had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, would likewise have asserted this in those anathemas; indeed they would have added this even more than that the Holy Spirit is from the Father, which nevertheless they decree must be believed, under a special anathema. Because, of course, the Heretics, by the very fact that they blasphemed that the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Son, explicitly denied at the same time that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Now when they mention only the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, it is certainly evident that Damasus and the rest of the Synod of Latins did not believe that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

But here BARONIUS objects that these words of Damasus were corrupted, at the year 867. For thus he says there:

> *The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, Damasus himself has in the anathemas appended to the epistle given to Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, falsified by Theodoret with evil intent, as one who against Cyril of Alexandria denied that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Furthermore, the legitimate reading of those writings of Damasus is placed in the most ancient Cresconian collection, recited elsewhere above in these words: The Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Father only, or of the Son only. For it is written: 'If anyone loves the world, the Spirit of the Father is not in him.' It is also written: 'But whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.' Therefore, when the Father AND the Son are named, the Holy Spirit is understood, of whom the Son says in the Gospel: 'Because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father'; and: 'He will receive of mine, and will announce it to you.' This is the purest and simplest reading of Damasus in Cresconius, through which it is deduced, from necessary assumption, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But also the place of Damasus is cited from the Greek sources, which he found most limpid, and not troubled by the foot of impostors, by Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in these words: Damasus, the most holy prelate of Rome, who lived at the time of the Second Council of Constantinople, in the confession of the catholic faith, which the Pope sent here to Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, has these words: 'We believe in one true God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, maker of visible and invisible things, through whom all things were created, which are in heaven and on earth, this one God, and this to be one Trinity of the divine name: the Father, who is not the Son, but has the Son, who is certainly not the Father; the Son, who is not the Father, but is by nature the Son of God; the Paraclete Spirit, however, who is neither the Father nor the Son, but proceeding from the Father and the Son.' Who would not wonder at the man's vanity? That those anathemas of Damasus were corrupted by Theodoret, and the asserted procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was removed from there.*

Did not Augustine, older than Theodoret, in sermon CXXIX on time, report the same thus in Latin? With what effrontery, therefore, does Baronius object that these words were corrupted by Theodoret? And what is the consequence: Theodoret defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; therefore from that epistle of Damasus, which he himself recites, he removed the asserted procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? But those words taken from the Cresconian

collection, or from another writing of Damasus, are thus: or, if they should prevail in place of the words of Damasus brought from the history of Theodoret and Nicephorus Callistus, they are without any doubt fabricated. For that the reading of Theodoret and Nicephorus is genuine, the testimony of Augustine clearly proves. It is further false to infer from those words of the Cresconian collection the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as we have shown elsewhere. As for what he sees of GENNADIUS, lest we dispute about the name in this way, the words which he himself adduces, as from the epistle of Damasus to Paulinus, he never extracted from the monuments of the Greeks, as Baronius playfully boasts; but he followed John the Provincial, who had cited the same words from the confession of Damasus to Paulinus at Florence: so that you would justly condemn the wit, and various boasting unworthy of so great a man, where he says that Gennadius took those words from the sources of the Greeks, which he found most limpid, and not disturbed by the foot of impostors. Indeed, the Cresconian reading reported some words, Gennadius others. How, therefore, do the most ancient Cresconian reading, and the most limpid sources, which Gennadius followed, not agree? For the fact that the words cited by Gennadius did not occur in the Cresconian reading proves that Baronius does not cite them from there, but others in place of these. So when, according to Baronius, in one and the same epistle of Damasus, in place of the same words, two different contexts of words are produced by Cresconius and Gennadius: it is certainly evident that one of these was by no means produced by Damasus, but was inserted by another in the worst faith. Where then are those most limpid sources of Gennadius? Where is the most ancient Cresconian reading? That Baronius himself sells a trick by these things, as one to whom it is customary to make an elephant out of a fly, is clear to all.

Among the booklets in which the origin of subsistences is treated, there has come down to us uncorrupted the book of a certain ISAAC, a Christian converted from Judaism, on the Holy Trinity; and that Isaac published such a book, GENNADIUS of Marseilles testifies already in his time in his catalog of illustrious men, Chapter XXVI. For thus he says:

> *Isaac wrote a book on the three persons of the Holy Trinity and the incarnation of the Lord, of most obscure discussion and involved speech: confirming that in one Deity there are three persons, yet so*

> *that there is something proper in each, which another does not have. The Father, indeed, has this as proper, that he himself without origin is the origin of others. The Son has this as proper, that being begotten he is not later than the begetter. The Holy Spirit has this as proper, that he is neither made nor begotten, and yet is from another.*

This booklet of Isaac is found among the dogmatic works of five ancient writers first published by the Jesuit JACQUES SIRMOND in Paris, in the year 1630. Thus therefore there Isaac, page 141:

> *Since therefore these three are truly three, having each their own properties, through this that neither the Father is made, nor is from anyone, and the Only-Begotten is not made, but is born from the Father, it is most clearly shown through this, that because they are not made, they are eternal: because the Son is not made, nor the Paraclete; but nevertheless they are not from themselves, but from the Father. You see also that they are not three, because two are from one, but the whole is one, because these two, because neither from nothing, nor from elsewhere, but from the Father; according to the elocution of speech therefore they are understood to be of one nature.*

He explicitly says that two, or the Son and the Holy Spirit, are from one Father. Again, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are neither from nothing, nor from elsewhere, but from the Father. Therefore the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced equally from one and only the Father. And before these, page 138:

> *God the Father is unbegettable, not from anyone. And God the Son the Only-Begotten from someone, that is from the Father. The Holy Spirit, unbegettable, from someone, that is from the Father.*

Thus showing from whom the Son, from whom the Holy Spirit is produced; he knows only one Father, from whom both (the Son and the Spirit) come.

In the doctrine of the Greeks (Dogmate Graecorum), page 317:

Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, included among the works of Cyprian (page 526 of the Paris edition, year 1648), says the following:

> *In order to establish a distinction of persons, terms of relationship are employed: the Father is understood to be the one from whom all things proceed and who himself has no father; the Son is understood as the one born from the Father; and the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the mouth of God and sanctifying all things.*

And at the beginning of that same exposition (p. 509):

> *Do not try to investigate how God the Father begot the Son, lest you become overly curious and plunge into the depths of this mystery. Or if you feel compelled to pursue this line of inquiry, begin first with what pertains to our own nature. If you can successfully resolve that, then you may advance from earthly to heavenly matters, and from visible to invisible things.*
>
> *First, if you can, explain and clarify how the mind within you generates a word, and how memory functions as a spirit within it. How are these, though distinct in function and activity, nevertheless one in substance or nature? And though they proceed from the mind, they are never separated from it.*

Rufinus finds this example sufficient to illustrate the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit. He likens the generation of the Son to the generation of a word by the mind, and the procession of the Holy Spirit to the spirit of memory, which proceeds with the word from the mind.

Thus, Rufinus believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds at least from the Father. For if he had believed otherwise, he would have added that the spirit of memory also proceeds from the word. And indeed, anyone who believes that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son would certainly have added that.

What, furthermore, all the Fathers before Augustine believed about the procession of the Holy Spirit, Augustine himself teaches in the book On Faith and the Creed, with these words:

> *The matter of the Holy Spirit has not yet been discussed so fully and carefully by the learned and great interpreters of the Scriptures. Yet, they all held to this: that the Holy Spirit is not a son like Christ is—since Christ alone is the Son—and that the Spirit is not as a “grandson” of*

> *the highest Father, nor is he nothing or unrelated, but rather, he owes his being to the Father, from whom all things proceed.*

Therefore, all the Fathers who lived before Augustine taught that the Holy Spirit was neither begotten of the Father nor of the Son. Whatever the Spirit is, it is owed to the Father alone. They believed that the Father alone is the cause and producer of the Holy Spirit—not the Son.

But we will deal with these matters concerning Augustine himself in greater detail shortly.

From the Fifth Century

AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo, in his book "Against the Sermon of the Arians," Chapter XXIII, Volume VI of his works in the Venetian edition, 1584, folio 216, responding to the words of an Arian who inferred from Christ's words "The Holy Spirit will receive from what is mine" that the Son is the source of the Spirit, writes:

> *Concerning what Christ said about the Holy Spirit, 'He will receive from what is mine,' Christ himself resolves the question. This is so we do not think that the Holy Spirit comes from the Son through some sort of gradation, as the Son comes from the Father; since both come from the Father—one being born, the other proceeding—which two modes in that sublime nature are extremely difficult to distinguish. Therefore, lest this be thought, as I said, he immediately added: 'All that the Father has is mine; therefore I said that he will take from what is mine.' Thus he clearly wanted us to understand that the Spirit receives from the Father. But it is said to be from him [the Son] because all that the Father has belongs to him. This is not a diversity of nature, but a confirmation of a single source.*

In these words Augustine clearly states that in God these gradations do not exist: that the Son is from the Father, and the Holy Spirit is from the Son, since both are from the Father—the Son by generation, the Holy Spirit by procession. Therefore, he denies that the Spirit is from the Son.

Furthermore, he denies that this ordering exists in the Trinity: that the Father produced the Son, and the Son produced the Holy Spirit, because both are from the Father, that is, because the Holy Spirit is from the

Father. If indeed the Holy Spirit is not produced from the Son because the Holy Spirit is no less produced from the Father than the Son is, then it is evident that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father alone.

Augustine refutes the very argument that the Latins used to demonstrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For when the Arian, just as the Latins do, wanted to infer from the fact that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit, Augustine responds that it does not at all follow from those words of Christ “He will receive from what is mine” that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, since he proceeds from the Father.

For Christ’s words should be understood as referring to the Father, as the Savior himself adds: “Because all that the Father has is mine,” and it is only because of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. “But therefore from him,” says Augustine, “because all that the Father has belongs to him.” Thus Augustine entirely removes any source of the Holy Spirit from the Son and attributes it solely to the Father.

For if Augustine had believed that the Son was the source of the Holy Spirit, or had understood those words “The Spirit will receive from what is mine” as referring to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, he would certainly have conceded that it follows from this that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit, but would have added that the Son is not the creative source of the Spirit, but rather that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the essence of the Son. This is indeed how all those who hold that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son would respond to this argument.

Since Augustine does not respond to this argument in such a way, but rather refutes the argument by denying that the Son is any kind of source of the Holy Spirit, it is evident that Augustine did not believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Finally, he adds: “This is not a diversity of nature, but a confirmation of a single source,” which means that Christ’s words “He will receive from what is mine” should be interpreted as referring to the Father, even though the Spirit also receives from the Son due to consubstantiality; or since the Son has all that belongs to the Father, by this very fact the one source of the Father in divinity is affirmed. Therefore, the Father alone is the source and producer of both the Son and the Holy Spirit.

You might say that Augustine's words "lest it be thought that the Holy Spirit is from the Son through some sort of gradation, as the Son is from the Father" should be understood as referring to generation—namely, that the Holy Spirit is not generated from the Son as the Son is generated from the Father; for he says, "not in this way, not in this way," I say, "is the Spirit from the Son, as the Son is from the Father." But Augustine speaks simply: "Lest it be thought that through some sort of gradation he is in this way from him," that is, the existence of the Holy Spirit, "as he himself is from the Father." Therefore the similarity, which he expresses with the word "thus," he understands at least in terms of simple existence or production, and denies that this applies to the Holy Spirit—namely, that the Holy Spirit is not from the Son. If he had meant generation, he would certainly have added that one word "born," as he does later in Book II on the Trinity, Chapter III, where he discusses similar words of Christ.

Moreover, his purpose was to respond to the words of the Arian. But the Arians did not infer from those words that the Holy Spirit was begotten from the Son, but simply at least that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit. How then could Augustine, to satisfy this argument, have shown in any way that it does not follow from those words of Christ that the Son generated the Holy Spirit? But suppose even these are to be understood as referring to generation. Therefore he would teach that this does not apply because the Father generates the Son, and the Son generates the Holy Spirit, since both are from the Father. In this way he certainly shows that therefore the Holy Spirit cannot be from the Son in any way whatsoever; because both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father alone. Indeed, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would certainly have said: therefore in the Trinity the Holy Spirit is not generated from the Son because he proceeds from him. And what more could be urged according to what has been said even about such a sense of Augustine's words?

Furthermore, MAXIMINUS the Arian had similarly objected to Augustine, to prove that Christ is the source of the Holy Spirit, that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. For thus he says, as reported by Augustine in Book I against the same Maximinus, Volume VI, folio 219:

> *The Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to Christ's own testimony. As Christ says in the Gospel: 'I have many things to say to you,*

> *but you cannot bear them now. But when the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all truth. For he will not speak on his own, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, because he will receive from what is mine and declare it to you.' Therefore, the Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to the testimony of Christ.*

And a few lines later, folio 220:

> *I have professed the Holy Spirit, according to the Savior's teaching, because whether he illuminates, he received from Christ, whether he teaches, he received from Christ; everything that the Holy Spirit does, he has received from the Only-Begotten God.*

Augustine responds to this in the same place:

> *As for what you say, that the Lord said of the Holy Spirit: 'He will receive from what is mine,' this was said because he receives from the Father, and all that belongs to the Father undoubtedly belongs to the Son too. For when he had said this, he added: 'Therefore I said he will receive from what is mine, because all that the Father has is mine.'*

Thus, when Maximinus the Arian similarly inferred from the fact that the Spirit receives from the Son that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit, Augustine by no means acquiesces in this, but shows that when it is said in Holy Scripture "The Holy Spirit will receive from what is mine," it is to be understood that he receives from the Father; and the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Son only because of consubstantiality, or because all that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son. By this he certainly shows that the Arian could not infer from those words of Christ "He will receive from what is mine" that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, it is evident from this that Augustine did not believe that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son. For if he had believed this, he would certainly have acquiesced in those words of the Arian; as indeed all who hold that dogma would approve of the same words. Again, he would have conceded that it follows from those words of Christ "He will receive from what is mine" that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit; but he would have added: the Holy Spirit is not created by him, but proceeds from him. This is how all who believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the

Son would respond to such an argument from the Arians. Finally, he would not have explained those words of Christ “He will receive from what is mine” as referring to the Father, but would have understood them simply as referring to the Son of God. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear from this that Augustine did not believe that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son.

Furthermore, in Book II on the Trinity, Chapter III, Volume III, folio 87, he says:

> *Concerning the Spirit, Christ says: ‘He will not speak on his own, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, because he will receive from what is mine and declare it to you.’ After these words, if he had not immediately continued by saying: ‘All that the Father has is mine; therefore I said that he will receive from what is mine and declare it to you,’ it might perhaps be believed that the Holy Spirit was born from Christ just as Christ was from the Father. For he had said of himself: ‘My teaching is not mine, but his who sent me.’ And of the Holy Spirit: ‘He will not speak on his own, but whatever he hears he will speak.’ And: ‘Because he will receive from what is mine and declare it to you.’ But because he gave the reason why he said ‘He will receive from what is mine’—for he says: ‘All that the Father has is mine; therefore I said that he will receive from what is mine’—it remains for us to understand that the Holy Spirit also has from the Father, just as the Son does. How? Unless according to what we said above: ‘When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness about me.’ Therefore, by proceeding from the Father, he is said not to speak on his own. And just as it does not follow that the Son is lesser because he said ‘The Son can do nothing on his own, but only what he sees the Father doing’ (for he did not say this in the form of a servant, but in the form of God, as we have already shown; and these words do not indicate that he is lesser, but that he is from the Father): so it does not follow from this that the Holy Spirit is lesser because it was said of him: ‘He will not speak on his own, but whatever he hears he will speak,’ for this was said according to the fact that he proceeds from the Father. But since both the Son is from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, why are they not both called sons, nor both begotten, but the one is the only begotten Son, and the other*

> *is the Holy Spirit, neither Son nor begotten? For if begotten, then certainly Son. We shall discuss this in another place, if God grants it and as much as he grants.*

In these words Augustine again first denies that it follows from those words of Christ “He will receive from what is mine” that the Holy Spirit is generated from the Son; but he teaches that those words should be understood to mean that the Holy Spirit receives from the Father and therefore proceeds from the Father, just as the Son is generated from the Father. Thus attributing the source of the Holy Spirit to the Father alone. For if he had believed that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would necessarily have taught that it follows from this that the Holy Spirit exists from the Son, but that the Holy Spirit is not generated from the Son, but proceeds; and therefore he would not have explained that “from what is mine” as referring to the Father (for his purpose was only to show that it does not follow from those words of Christ that the Holy Spirit is begotten from the Son), as indeed all who believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son would have done. But since Augustine thus attributes the source of the Holy Spirit to the Father alone, it is certainly evident that he never believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.

In the same way that he shows here that the Holy Spirit is not born from the Son, it similarly follows that the Holy Spirit does not even proceed from the Son. For the same reason that he denies that the Holy Spirit is born from the Son, because he also has from the Father, as does the Son; therefore neither does the Spirit proceed from the Son: because the Spirit similarly has from the Father, as does the Son, namely, that he exists. For if the fact that the Father is his source prevents the Holy Spirit from being born from the Son, the same source will equally prevent the Holy Spirit from proceeding from the Son. Then he denies that the Holy Spirit is born from the Son for this reason: because the Holy Spirit has his existence from the Father, just as the Son does. What does this mean, if not that they both have the Father alone as their source? Again, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, when giving the reason why the Holy Spirit is not begotten from the Son, he would not have answered that it is because he proceeds from the Father, but because he is not born from the Son, but proceeds. But now, since he does not use this response, but only says that it is because he has from the Father, just as the Son does, it is certainly evident that he believed

that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. The same is argued finally by the last words: “But since both the Son is from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, why are they not both called sons, nor both begotten?” etc. For if he had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, how could Augustine ever have asked such a question, unless he had also mentioned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son?

Finally, in Tract 100 on John, Volume IX, folio 158:

> *As for what he says: ’He will receive from what is mine and declare it to you,’ understand it with Catholic minds. For the Holy Spirit is not less than the Son, as the heretics thought, because the Son receives from the Father and the Holy Spirit from the Son, as if through gradations of natures. Far be it from us to believe this, far be it from us to say this, far be it from Christian hearts to think this. Finally, he himself immediately resolves the question, and explains why he said this: ’All,’ he says, ’that the Father has is mine; therefore I said that he will receive from what is mine and declare it to you.’ What more do you want? Therefore the Holy Spirit receives from the Father, from whom the Son receives. Because in this Trinity the Son is born from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. But he who is born of no one and proceeds from no one is the Father alone.*

Thus again Augustine interprets those words of Christ “He will receive from what is mine” as referring not to the Son but to the Father. He would certainly never have done this if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Furthermore, in response to the doubt whereby the Holy Spirit seemed to be less than the Son because he receives from the Son, he denies that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, since, as he adds, he receives from the Father, from whom he proceeds. But if the Holy Spirit does not receive from the Son as his producer, then neither does he proceed from him. And if Augustine had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would certainly have answered that the Holy Spirit is not less than the Son in degree of nature because he receives from the Son, for the Son similarly receives from the Father, and yet is not less in degree of nature.

Furthermore, in the book On Faith and the Creed, well before the end, Volume III, folio 48:

> *Concerning the Holy Spirit, it has not yet been discussed so copiously and diligently by the learned and great expositors of the divine Scriptures that his property, by which he is properly neither Son nor Father, but only Holy Spirit, can be easily understood; except that they proclaim him to be the gift of God, that we may believe that God does not give a gift inferior to himself. They maintain, however, that the Holy Spirit is not begotten from the Father as a Son, for Christ is the only one; nor from the Son as a grandson of the supreme Father; yet that which he is, he owes not to no one, but to the Father, from whom are all things; lest we establish two principles without principle, which would be most false and absurd, and proper not to the Catholic faith, but to certain heretics.*

In these words he shows how the earlier Fathers denied that the Holy Spirit is from the Father, how they denied that he is from the Son; that the Spirit is neither begotten from the Father, as if he were his Son, nor from the Son, as if he were the grandson of the Father. But when about to teach from which person the Holy Spirit is produced, he says that what he is, he owes not to no one, but to the Father. Therefore, when he had just denied in what way the Holy Spirit is from the Father, in what way he is from the Son, but when about to show from whom the Holy Spirit has his existence, he names the Father alone. By this he certainly shows that all the Fathers before him believed that the Holy Spirit has the cause of his existence from the Father alone, and not also from the Son.

For if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, it would have been fitting, just as he had denied that the Holy Spirit is begotten from the Father and from the Son, that when he wanted to show on the contrary from whom the Holy Spirit has his existence, he would again name both the Father and the Son, and not the Father alone. This then was also Augustine's mind: for how would he depart from those whom he called the learned and great expositors of the divine Scriptures? Indeed, he adds: "Lest we establish two principles without principle." Thus Augustine equally proves by these words the faith of his predecessors, by which they believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

In Book IV on the Trinity, Chapter XX, Volume III, folio 104:

> *What the Lord says: 'Whom I will send to you from the Father,' shows*

> *that the Spirit is both of the Father and of the Son; yet when he had said, 'whom the Father will send,' he added, 'in my name,' but he did not say, 'whom the Father will send from me,' as he said, 'whom I will send to you from the Father,' clearly showing that the Father is the source of the whole divinity, or if it is better said, deity.*

If, therefore, the Father does not send the Holy Spirit from the Son, but rather the Son sends the Holy Spirit from the Father because the Father is the source of deity, or of the Son and the Holy Spirit, then it is certainly evident that the Son is the source neither of himself nor of the Holy Spirit. For if the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, then the Father would certainly send him equally from the Son, just as the Son sends him from the Father. For thus the Father and the Son would be an equal, identical, and unique source of the Holy Spirit. But since it is false that the Father sends the Spirit from the Son, it is certainly evident that the Holy Spirit does not proceed also from the Son.

In the Enchiridion to Laurentius, Chapter IX, just after the beginning, Volume III, folio 51:

> *It is enough for a Christian to believe that the cause of created things, whether heavenly or earthly, whether visible or invisible, is only the goodness of the creator, who is the one and true God; and that there is no nature which is not either himself or from him; and that he is the Trinity: namely, the Father, and the Son begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the same Father, but one and the same Spirit of the Father and the Son.*

When about to explain the entire Christian faith (for "it is enough," he says, "for a Christian to believe"), with regard to the production of the persons, he mentions only the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds. Therefore, he believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not also from the Son. Again, he says "the Holy Spirit proceeding from the same Father, but one and the same Spirit of the Father and the Son." He would certainly have joined the Son to the Father in the procession of the Holy Spirit, just as he does in saying that the Spirit is one and the same Spirit of the Father and the Son, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. There would otherwise be no reason for the difference: why, that is, he would have neglected to join the Son to the Father regarding the procession of the

Holy Spirit, but would have joined the Son to the Father regarding that by which the Holy Spirit is said to be the proper Spirit of the Father. Indeed, by these same words he shows that just as the Son is begotten from the Father, so from that same Father alone the Holy Spirit proceeds; nevertheless, he is at the same time the proper Spirit of both the Son and the Father. For that disjunctive particle, “but,” shows that he by no means understood the Son also under the name of the Father. For this very agreement of the Father and the Son is restricted only to the fact that the Holy Spirit is proper to both; but the Son is not referred to the aforementioned procession of the Holy Spirit.

In Book XV on the Trinity, Chapter XVII:

> *And yet in this Trinity the Word of God is not called anything but the Son, nor the gift of God anything but the Holy Spirit, nor that from which the Word is begotten, nor that from which the Holy Spirit proceeds, anything but God the Father.*

That these words should be read thus, and not: “That from which the Spirit principally proceeds, nothing but God the Father; but I added principally,” etc., as indeed they are commonly read, has been shown in the treatise on corruptions perpetrated in the books of the Latin Fathers. He therefore clearly shows that the Father alone is the one from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, from whom the Son is begotten.

That this was furthermore the faith of the Catholics is evident from what MAXIMINUS, Bishop of the Arians, objects to them. For thus he says, as reported by Augustine in Book I against Maximinus, Volume VI, folio 225:

> *Indeed I marvel, dearest one. For when you say that the Holy Spirit is also of the substance of the Father, if the Son is of the substance of God the Father, and the Holy Spirit is of the substance of the Father, why is one the Son, and the other not the Son? What has he done wrong to you, since he is of the same substance, since he is equal to the Son, as you say; why then is he not also appointed heir of all things? Why is he not also the Son? Why is it not also called Son? Why is it not also called by the name by which Christ is called, the firstborn of all creation? Or if equal, then there is no longer one Only-Begotten, having another begotten with him, and furthermore from the same substance of the Father, from which you say the Son is. Which indeed is painful to hear.*

And in a few interjections the same Arian, page 226, says:

> *To whom (the Son of God) if perhaps you apply a brother, because you assert that the Holy Spirit is equal and the same, which you profess to be from the substance of the Father. If this is so, then the Son is no longer the only-begotten, since there is another from the same substance.*

By these words the Arian repeatedly testifies that Catholics believed that the Holy Spirit is from the same Father as the Son, from the same substance of the Father, just as the Son, and thus the Holy Spirit is from one and the same Father. But if Catholics had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, the Arian would certainly have objected to this as absurd to Augustine here.

Augustine, in Book III against the same Maximinus, Chapter XII, responding to the Arian's objection that the Father is more powerful than the Son because the Father begot the Son while the Son begot no one, says on page 236:

> *Far be it that, as you think, the Father is more powerful than the Son because the Father begot the Creator while the Son did not beget a creator. For it is not that He could not, but that it was not fitting. For divine generation would be immoderate if the begotten Son were to beget a grandson for the Father: because even that grandson, unless he would beget a great-grandson for his grandfather, according to your wonderful wisdom, would be called impotent. Similarly, if he did not beget a grandson for his grandfather and a great-grandson for his great-grandfather, he would not be called omnipotent by you: nor would the series of generation be completed, if one were always born from another; nor would anyone complete it, if one omnipotent were not sufficient.*

Indeed, if Augustine had believed that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would have satisfied the heretic in two words. For how would the Father be more powerful than the Son, although the Son does not beget another Son, when the Son has altogether also produced the creator Holy Spirit? The reason, then, which he gives, why the Son did not in turn beget a Son: is equally valid against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. "For it is not that He could not," he says, "the Son beget a

creator, but that it was not fitting." Why? Because generation would thus be immoderate. Equally, therefore, it was not fitting that the Son simply produce a creator: because thus similarly divine production would otherwise be immoderate, and again the Holy Spirit would have to produce another, and so forth. For the reason of both is the same.

In Sermon CXXIX, on time, he repeats the anathemas of Pope Damasus, Volume X, page 292:

> *If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit is truly and properly from the Father, as the Son is from the divine substance, and true God, let him be anathema. If anyone says that the Holy Spirit is a creature, or made through the Son, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that the Father made all things through the Son and the Holy Spirit, that is, visible and invisible things, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that there is one divinity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, equal majesty, power, one glory and dominion, one kingdom, and one will, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that the three persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are true, equal, always living, containing all things, visible and invisible, all-powerful, judging all things, vivifying all things, making all things, saving all things that are to be saved, let him be anathema. If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit is to be adored by every creature, just as the Son AND the Father, let him be anathema. If anyone thinks correctly about the Father and the Son, but does not think correctly about the Holy Spirit, he is a heretic.*

How much these things are worth for demonstrating the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; has been shown above concerning the anathemas of Damasus.

In Book IV on the Trinity, Chapter XXI, Volume III, page 104:

> *Now it has been sufficiently demonstrated, as I think, that the Son is not therefore less because He is sent by the Father, nor is the Holy Spirit therefore less because the Father AND the Son sent Him. Whether because of the visible creature, or rather because of the commendation of the principle (namely, the Father, for up to this point he had understood the Father through that, as he also shows that he spoke of the Father in these words, when he adds: Because even if God the Father had wished, etc.), not because of inequality or disparity or*

> *dissimilarity of substance, these things are understood to be placed in the Scriptures: because even if God the Father had wished to appear visibly through a subject creature, it would be most absurd to say that He was sent either by the Son whom He begot, or by the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him.*

Here again we derive an indubitable argument that Augustine never believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. For he says that the Father cannot be said to be sent by the Son or the Holy Spirit, even in a visible creature: because the Son was begotten from Him, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. Therefore, the Holy Spirit in no way proceeds from the Son: since it is indubitable that the Son was sent into this world by the Holy Spirit, not only does sacred Scripture teach this, but also the whole Catholic Church holds it. It is therefore as false that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as it is true that the Son was sent in visible flesh by the Holy Spirit.

Hence when elsewhere so many times he wishes to show that and how the Son is the principle; he never says that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit, but only that he is the principle of creation. In Book I of Genesis ad litteram, Chapter VI:

> *When scripture says: In the beginning God made heaven and earth; we understand the Father in the name of God, and the Son in the name of principle, who is the principle not to the Father, but through Himself first, and especially of spiritual creation, and consequently of the whole creation. But when Scripture says: And the Spirit of God was moving over the waters; we recognize the complete commemoration of the Trinity.*

Where certainly, if he had believed that the Son was also the principle of the Holy Spirit; he would also have added at the same time that the Son is the principle: because he is the principle of the Holy Spirit, especially when he denies that the Son is the principle of the Father, whom he had mentioned before. While therefore Augustine here teaches that the Son is the principle not of the divine substance, but at least of creation: it is certainly evident that he did not believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Hence he also teaches elsewhere that the Son is the principle only by reason of creation.

In Book I of Genesis ad litteram, Chapter V:

The principle of intellectual creation is eternal Wisdom, which principle remaining unchangeably in itself, in no way ceases to speak by hidden inspiration of calling to that creation of which it is the principle, that it may be converted to that from which it is, which otherwise could not be formed and perfected.

And so when the Lord was asked: “Who are you?” he answered: “The principle, who also speak to you.” And in Book V on the Trinity, Chapter XIII:

And the Son is called the principle; for when it was said to him: Who are you? he answered: The principle, who also speak to you. But is he the principle of the Father? For he wanted to show himself as the Creator, when he says he is the principle, just as the Father is the principle of creation, because all things are from him.

And in Epistle LIX, much before the end:

He wanted to be understood as the principle of all things, as he himself says, when it was said to him: Who are you? he answered: The principle, who also speak to you. For all things were made through him, and without him nothing was made.

In the Enchiridion to Laurentius, Chapter XXXVIII, Volume II, page 55:

As we confess our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God from God, but as man was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, in both substances, divine and human, is the only Son of God the Father almighty, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.

In Book IV on the Trinity, Chapter XX:

The Father does not have anyone from whom He is sent, or from whom He proceeds. For Wisdom says: I came forth from the mouth of the Most High; and of the Holy Spirit it is said: He proceeds from the Father; but the Father is from no one.

And again in the same place:

As to be born is for the Son to be from the Father, so to be sent is for the Son to be known that He is from Him. And as for the Holy Spirit to be the gift of God is to proceed from the Father: so to be sent is to be known that He proceeds from Him.

In Book V on the Trinity, Chapter XI, Volume III, page 107:

> *The Spirit is the gift of the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from the Father, as the Lord says; and what the Apostle says: He who does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His, he says indeed of the Holy Spirit himself.*

And Chapter XIV:

> *In relation to each other in the Trinity, if the one who begets is the principle to that which is begotten; the Father is the principle to the Son, because He begets Him. But whether the Father is also the principle to the Holy Spirit, since it is said: He proceeds from the Father, is no small question. For if this is so, He will no longer be the principle only of that thing which He begets or makes, but also of that which He gives. Where also that which is wont to move many is illuminated, why the Holy Spirit is not also the Son, since He also goes forth from the Father, as we read in the Gospel. For He went forth, not as born, but as given, and therefore He is not called Son, because He is neither born, like the Only-Begotten, nor made, that He might be born into adoption through God's grace, as we are.*

And after he had given this similitude of the Trinity in several earlier chapters of Book IX, that just as the mind would beget knowledge, and have memory; yet there is one essence of these three: in Chapter XII he then proceeds to explain the Trinity through that similitude, page 121:

> *What then? Will not love (by love he understands the Holy Spirit) be an image? not a word? not begotten? For why does the mind (he understands the Father) beget its knowledge, when it knows itself, and not beget its love, when it loves itself? For if it is the cause of its knowledge because it is knowable, it is also the cause of its love because it is lovable. Why, therefore, it has not begotten both, is difficult to say. For this question is wont to move men also concerning the highest Trinity itself, the most omnipotent creator God, in whose image man was made, whom the truth of God invites to faith through human speech. Why is the Holy Spirit not also believed or understood to be begotten by God the Father, so that He too might be called Son?*

And after some interjections:

What, therefore, is to be said about love, why not also, when the mind loves itself, it seems to have begotten its own love? Why therefore, in loving itself, is it not said to have begotten its love; as in knowing itself, it begot its knowledge? In this indeed it is clearly shown that this is the principle of love, whence it proceeds: it proceeds indeed from the mind itself, which is lovable to itself, before it loves itself; and thus it is the principle of its love, by which it loves itself.

In Book XII on the Trinity, Chapter V, page 130:

Therefore they do not seem to me to present a probable opinion, who so judge that the image of the Trinity in three persons, as far as human nature is concerned, can be found in the marriage of male and female, and in their offspring (namely in Adam, Seth, and Eve), that the husband as it were intimates the person of the Father: but the Son, that which so proceeded from him that it was born; and so they say the third person, as it were the Spirit, is the woman, who so proceeded from the man, that she herself was not the Son, or Daughter, although offspring would be born from her conceiving. For the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, that He proceeds from the Father, and yet He is not the Son. In the error of this opinion, therefore, this alone is probably asserted, that in the origin of the made female according to the faith of sacred Scripture, it is sufficiently shown that not everything that exists from some person, so as to make another person, can be called son: since the person of the woman existed from the person of the man, and yet she is not called his daughter. The rest is indeed so absurd, or rather so false, that they are most easily refuted.

And in Chapter VI, still dealing with the same similitude:

We do not therefore reject this opinion because we fear to think of holy and inviolable and immutable charity (the Holy Spirit) as the spouse of God the Father existing from Him, but not as offspring, for the begetting of the Word, through which all things were made, but because the divine Scripture shows it to be false.

In Book XV, Chapter VI, page 148:

There we understand by intelligence as it were one speaking, and His Word, the Father and the Son, and the charity proceeding thence (from the Father) common to both, namely the Holy Spirit.

In Book XV, Chapter XVII, page 150:

Love is God from God. But since the Son is born from God the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father, it is rightly asked which of them we ought to understand to be called here the love that is God. For the Father alone is so God, that He is not from God, and therefore love, which is so God that it is from God, is either the Son, or the Holy Spirit. – Therefore the Holy Spirit is God, who proceeds from God, when He has been given to man, he inflames him to the love of God and neighbor, and He Himself is love.

Similarly in Chapter XVIII he says:

Therefore love, which is from God, and is God, is properly the Holy Spirit.

And in Chapter XIX:

God is love, that which is from God, and in us it does this, that we remain in God, and He in us, and we know this from this, because He has given us of His Spirit, His Spirit Himself is God love. Then, if in the gifts of God nothing is greater than charity, in no greater gift of God than the Holy Spirit, what is more consequent than that He Himself is charity, who is called both God and from God?

In the same place, Chapter XXIII, page 156:

The memory of man and most especially that which animals do not have, that is, that by which intelligible things are contained in such a way that they have not come into it through the bodily senses, has for its measure in this image of the Trinity an incomparably unequal, but nevertheless some kind of similitude to the Father; and likewise the intelligence of man, which is formed from it by the intention of thought, when what is known is said, and is the word of no tongue of the heart, has in its great disparity some similitude to the Son; and the love of man proceeding from knowledge, and joining memory and understanding, as if common to parent and offspring, whence it is understood to be neither parent nor offspring, has in this image some, albeit very dissimilar, similitude to the Holy Spirit.

And in Chapter XXV:

There we shall see the truth without any difficulty, and we shall enjoy it most clearly and most certainly, nor shall we seek anything with a reasoning mind, but with a contemplating one we shall discern why the Holy Spirit is not the Son, since He proceeds from the Father.

And in Chapter XXVII:

Raise your eyes to the light itself, and fix them on it, if you can. For thus you will see what the nativity of the Word of God differs from the procession of the Gift of God, on account of which He called the only-begotten Son, not begotten from the Father, otherwise He would be His brother, but said that the Holy Spirit proceeds.

Thus equally in the similar example of the Trinity, which he subjoins in the same place, according to the true reading of Augustine's words, about which in the Treatise on corruptions perpetrated in Latin writings, he teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.

It shows you itself in you those three things, in which you may recognize the image of the highest Trinity itself, which you are not yet able to contemplate with fixed eyes. It shows you that the true word is in you, when it is begotten from your knowledge, that is, when what we know, we say; although we neither utter nor think a signifying voice of any nation, but from that which we know, our thought is formed; and there is in the focus of the thinker an image most similar to that thought, which memory contained, these two, as it were parent and offspring, the third will or love joining. Which will indeed proceeds from knowledge, for no one wills what he does not know at all what or of what kind it is; but it is not the image of thought; and therefore a certain distance of nativity and procession is insinuated in this intelligible thing, since it is not the same to perceive with thought what to desire or even to enjoy with the will, let him who can, discern it.

In Sermon CXXXI, on time, Volume X, page 330:

All division excludes inequality of the nature of divinity. For according to Evangelical truth, as the Son went forth from the Father, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.

And CXCI, on time, page 339:

Let the rule of the Church, and the holy tradition and judgments of the Fathers remain firm and solid forever. This is the faith of our Fathers: We believe in God the Father, – in the Lord Jesus Christ, – we believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God proceeding from the Father, equal in all things to the Father and the Son, in nature, will, power, eternity, substance.

And he concludes, page 340:

This is the faith, most beloved Fathers, which we have learned in the Catholic Church, which we have always held, and hold, which we believe can be held by you henceforth.

In Sermon CXCIV, on time, page 343:

This is the Holy Spirit, whom the Lord, when about to ascend to the Father, promised to His disciples, saying: But when the Paraclete comes, whom I will send from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, He will bear witness concerning me; of whom He says above: But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, He will teach you all things. Therefore the Holy Spirit Himself, whom the Father will send in my name, who proceeds from the Father, is shown to be of one substance with the Father and the Son.

In Tract XCIX on John, Volume IX, page 157:

The Father alone is not from another. For both the Son is born of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father: but the Father is neither born of another, nor does He proceed. Nor, indeed, should any disparity in that highest Trinity occur to human thought: for both the Son is equal to Him of whom He is born, and the Holy Spirit is equal to Him from whom He proceeds.

And then:

The Holy Spirit will hear from Him from whom He proceeds. For Him to hear is to know: but to know is to be, as was discussed above. Because, therefore, He is not from Himself, but from Him from whom He proceeds, from whom He has essence, from Him knowledge, from Him therefore hearing, from whom nothing is other than knowledge.

And finally:

> *From Him, therefore, He has heard, hears and will hear, from whom He is; from Him He is, from whom He proceeds.*

By which words he certainly mentions only one, from whom the Holy Spirit is, from whom He proceeds, who is certainly none other than God the Father.

In Tract CVII on John, page 164:

> *Neither would the Holy Spirit have been about to receive from the creature, which is subject to the Father and the Son, what He says: He will receive from mine; but indeed from the Father, from whom the Spirit proceeds, from whom the Son also is born.*

In Tract VII on the Epistle of John, Volume IX, page 200:

> *How is love from God, as was said just now, and now, love is God? For God is the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit: the Son is God from God: the Holy Spirit is God from God; and these three are one God, not three Gods. If the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and he loves, in whom the Holy Spirit dwells: therefore love is God, but God, because from God. For you have both in the epistle, both, love is from God, and, love is God. Of the Father alone Scripture does not know how to say, because from God. But when you hear, from God: either the Son is understood, or the Holy Spirit.*

In the Book against the sermon of the Arians, refuting the Arians who blasphemously claim that the Holy Spirit was made by the Son, Chapter XXI, Volume VI, page 216:

> *They say that the Holy Spirit was made by the Son. Which they never read in the Scriptures, since the Son Himself says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

And in Chapter XXIII, page 217:

> *From whence (the Holy Spirit) will receive, from thence without doubt it is, what He speaks; because from thence He hears, from whence He proceeds. For (the Holy Spirit) knows the Word of God, by proceeding from thence, whence the Word is born, so that He is the Spirit commonly of both the Father and the Word.*

And before these, page 216:

According to this, therefore, the Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself: because He is not from Himself, who proceeds from the Father; just as neither can the Son do anything from Himself: because neither is He from Himself, as I have already explained above. – But that the Holy Spirit waits for Christ's precept in all things, as they say: let them read, if they can. For what was said, He will not speak from Himself, it was not said, whatever He will hear from me, but, whatever He will hear He will speak; but why it was said, it has already become clear a little before from the explanation of the Lord Himself, which I have mentioned, where He says: All things that the Father has are mine, therefore I said, He will receive from mine.

And in Chapter XXIV:

Nor should it disturb you that the verb is of future time, He will receive; as if He did not yet have. For verbs of time are used indifferently, although eternity is understood to remain without time. For both He has received, because He proceeded from the Father; and He receives, because He proceeds from the Father; and He will receive, because He will never cease to proceed from the Father: just as God both is, and was, and will be, and yet has, had, and will have neither beginning nor end of time.

And in Chapter XXIX:

But it is true that the Father gave to all things that are, that they might be. And He Himself, what He is, received from no one: but He gave His equality to none except the Son, who was born of Him, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Him.

In Book III against Maximinus, Chapter X, page 235, Volume VI:

The Father is power, the Son is power, the Holy Spirit is power, this you say truly; but that power begotten of power, and power proceeding from power do not have the same nature: this you say falsely, and you say it against the right and catholic faith.

And in Chapter XIV, page 236:

The Son is from the Father, the Holy Spirit is from the Father, but the former begotten, the latter proceeding. – The Holy Spirit is not from Himself, but from Him, from whom He proceeds.

And in Chapter XV, page 239:

But concerning the Holy Spirit, how He is from God, and yet He is not the Son: since He is read to be from God by proceeding, not by being born; I have already disputed above as much as seemed sufficient.

And in Chapter XXI, page 243:

Since (the Holy Spirit) proceeds from the Father, how does He not sit with the Father?

In Epistle LXVI, Volume II, page 96:

Neither did the Father, that He might have the Son from Himself, diminish Himself; but He so begot from Himself another Himself, that He remained whole in Himself, and was in the Son as great as He is alone. Similarly also the Holy Spirit, whole from the whole (not wholes) does not precede Him from whom He proceeds, but is as great with Him, as great as from Him, nor does He diminish Him by proceeding, nor increase by adhering.

In Book II on the soul and its origin to Peter the Presbyter, Chapter III, Volume VII, page 379:

The nature which has God as its author from whom it is, some is not made, some is made. Moreover, that which is not made, and yet is from Him, is either begotten by Him, or proceeds from Him: that which is begotten, is the only Son; that which proceeds, is the Holy Spirit, and this Trinity is of one and the same nature.

In Book I on the predestination of the saints, Chapter VIII, Volume VII, page 404:

Therefore this is especially attributed to the Father: because the Only-begotten is begotten from Him, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him.

In the Book on the new song, Chapter VII, Volume IX, page 306:

> *The Holy Spirit does not precede from where He proceeds, but whole from the whole, nor does He diminish Him by proceeding, nor increase by adhering.*

By which words he certainly mentions only one, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, who is certainly the Father.

In Book II on the Symbol to Catechumens, Volume IX, page 368:

> *We believe the Holy Spirit is God equal to the Father and the Son: because He is at the same time in the Father and in the Son. That He is in the Father, hear the Son. The Spirit, He says, who proceeds from the Father, He will introduce you into all truth. How is He in the Son? The Son Himself after the resurrection, sending His disciples to preach the Gospel, breathed on their face, and said to them: Receive the Holy Spirit.*

In the Book on the incarnation of the Word, Chapter XV, Volume IV, page 337:

> *The principal goodness is to be felt in God the Father, from whom either the Son is born, or the Holy Spirit proceeding without doubt bears in Himself the nature of goodness, which is in that fountain, from which either the Son is born, or the Holy Spirit is proceeding.*

Finally in the Book on true Religion, as praised by LOMBARD in Book I of the sentences, distinction III:

> *The highest origin is understood to be God the Father, from whom are all things, from whom are the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

From the Fifth Century

Maximus, Bishop of Turin, in his exposition of the Symbol, Volume V, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 40:

> *According to evangelical truth, just as the Son proceeded from the Father, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; and just as the only-begotten Son is of God, so also the Holy Spirit is of God.*

PELAGIUS the African, author of the Pelagian heresy, in a booklet of faith sent to Pope Innocent of Rome, found in Baronius for the year 417, number XXXI, and in Marius Mercator's later works, pages 307 and 313 of the Parisian edition of 1673:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things to the Father and Son in will, power, eternity, and substance.*

CELESTIUS, disciple of Pelagius, in a booklet of faith offered to Pope Zosimus of Rome, in the later part of the works of the aforementioned Marius Mercator, page 313:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things to the Father and Son in nature, will, power, eternity, and substance.*

JULIAN, Bishop of Eclanum, in a booklet of faith sent to Rome in the name of eighteen bishops who refused to subscribe to the condemnation of Pelagius and Celestius, in the later part of Marius Mercator's works, page 320:

> *We believe also in the Holy Spirit, true God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things to the Father and Son in will, operation, perpetuity, and substance.*

PAULINUS of Nola, Letter V to Amandus, Volume V, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 182:

> *The Spirit of God, just like the Word of God - both God remaining in one head and flowing from one source of the Father, but the Son by being born, the Spirit by proceeding - each preserving the property of their own persons, are distinct rather than divided. From one source or principle of the Father, he expressly says the Son is born and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

Leo the Great, Roman Pope, Letter XCIII to Turribius, Chapter V of the Parisian edition of 1614, column 484:

> *What is from God, that is, what He Himself is, is nothing other than the Son and Holy Spirit.*

He says that both the Son and Holy Spirit are from God, namely the Father. In the same way, **Hincmar**, Archbishop of Reims in the ninth century, in his book "On the Non-Triple Deity," Volume I of his works, page 472, reports the same from this praised letter:

> *What is from God the Father, this is what He Himself is, and this is nothing other than the Son and Holy Spirit.*

ELEUTHERIUS, Bishop of Tournai, in a prayer to God when he was dying for the faith and the Church of Tournai, thus prays, Volume XV of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 173:

> *True Father, who begot the true Son before the foundation of the world and before the establishment of things, who sent the Holy Spirit proceeding from you from heaven to strengthen the hearts of your disciples and to glorify Christ's name to men.*

PROSPER of Aquitaine, Bishop of Reggio, in his final epigram, Volume V, Part III of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 96:

> *One Deity of three, one essence is from one. The same is the Spirit of the Word and of the Father.*

From one, that is the Father, he sings that the divine essence exists, whether the Son or the Holy Spirit.

ARNOBIUS, Book I "On the Triune and One God" against Serapion, Volume V of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part III, page 202. Arnobius says:

> *When the Word was born from the mouth of the Father, who created all visible and invisible things by His power, the Word could never have proceeded without the breath of the Holy Spirit.*

Serapion:

> *Therefore there are two Sons who have gone forth from the mouth of the Father, namely the Word and the Spirit.*

Arnobius:

When the Word of the one commanding was born, which went forth from the mouth to make things that were not, could the breath that proceeded from Him who sent forth the Word be shown by any reasoning to be born rather than proceeding? If this cannot happen in commanding man, how much more so in God? The Word cannot fall from the mouth that generates, so that the breath itself, full of the Holy Spirit, might be called Son. But there is the Father who created the Word; and the Holy Spirit, who does not cease to proceed from the Father, having this power which the Son has. For by the Word of the Father the heavens were established, and by the Spirit of His mouth all their power.

And after some things, page 203: Arnobius:

When the Word is born from the voice, the breath goes forth not by being born but by proceeding, through which the integrity of the voice and word is preserved: so also the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, through whom the complete and perfect Trinity is preserved in Catholic definitions, reveals that the Father was never without the Son.

Again afterwards, page 204: Serapion said:

You mentioned three persons - the Father Generator of the Son, the Son begotten of the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father - you mentioned that these three persons have their own most complete Deity.

Arnobius:

It is so.

VIGILIUS, Bishop of Trent, Book I against Eutyches, Volume V of the Library of the Fathers by de la Bigne, published in Paris in 1575, column 551:

While the Church armed itself with warrior combat against Sabellius, it vindicated the existences of the persons of the Son and Holy Spirit, that there is one who begets and another who is begotten, and another who proceeds and another from whom he proceeds.

Just as it knows only one person who begets (for this is what it signifies when it says "another who begets"), so likewise it knows only one person from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, similarly adding "and another from whom he proceeds." When they saw that these things were not at all conducive to their affairs, the Latins likewise dared to corrupt them. But more on this elsewhere.

Furthermore, in the disputation of **Athanasius** with Sabellius, Plotinus and Arius, among the works of Cassander, page 465, and in Volume I of the appendix of the Library of the Fathers by de la Bigne, published in Paris in 1639, page 655:

> *I confess that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are of one substance and one nature, so that I believe the Son is begotten from the Father not from nothing nor from something else, and I believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

Here Vigilius purposely set forth his reasoning about the origin of the persons. Therefore, where he had denied from what the Son and Holy Spirit were not produced (namely that neither from nothing nor from something else), intending to show from what therefore each has his existence, he adds that the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Therefore he believed that from the one Father alone the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds.

The author of the books "On the Unity of the Trinity’s Deity," which exist among the works of **Athanasius** under his name: For neither Athanasius, but some Latin was the author of those books, who lived around these times, while he both refutes Urbicus, disciple of Eunomius, and these books are already praised under Athanasius’ name in the ninth century by **Hincmar**, Archbishop of Reims, in his book "On the Non-Triple Trinity," Volume I of his works, page 482, and elsewhere, and by **Ratramnus**, monk of Corbie, Book III, Chapter VI against the Orientals, Volume XII of the collection of ancient writers. **Peter Felckmann** considers these same books to be by Vigilius in his additions to the works of Athanasius, Heidelberg edition of 1600, page 90. Thus that author, Book I, Volume II of Athanasius’ works, page 551:

> *When I mentioned one God, I did not judge and tax this as referring only to the one person of the Father, since I did not deny that the Son*

> *is from the one fullness of the Father and the Holy Spirit; and when I mentioned the one God, I did not indicate this as referring to the person of the Father alone, to speak more truly, because I did not deny that the Son and Holy Spirit are from this same sole substance of the Father.*

Equally from these words about the one fullness of the Father, about the one and sole substance or person of the Father (for he shows he means this when, having mentioned the person of the Father, he says "from this same sole substance"), he teaches that both the Son and Holy Spirit exist.

Book IV "On the Unity of the Trinity's Deity," page 565:

> *Without doubt, because the Father truly begot, this is His proper name, and the Son was truly born from Him, this is His unique name, and the principal Spirit who proceeded from the Father, Deity is His name.*

Book V, near the end, page 569:

> *Because he said: 'Where shall I go from your Spirit?' The Psalmist declared the principal Spirit who proceeded from the Father.*

And Book VII, page 573:

> *Why do you read that the vessel of election said: 'We have all drunk of one Spirit,' if you distinguish him from the one true nature? Why did this advocate, the Spirit of truth, proceed and come from God the Father, if you assert that he is of another substance?*

Again, page 574:

> *Therefore because he said: 'By the Word of the Lord the heavens were established, and by the Spirit of His mouth all their power,' know that this substantial Word was born properly from nowhere other than from the Father, but by that Spirit of His mouth, when he spoke of the Spirit who proceeded from His same united substance, as we find it established.*

Book VIII, page 575:

> *I believe the Son of God was born from the Father's substance, not created, just as also the Holy Spirit Paraclete, who is of the Son,*

proceeding from the Father. Again: About the Spirit also the Lord said: 'The Holy Spirit who proceeds from my Father.' It is established therefore according to the one substance of Divinity that the Son is begotten from the Father, not created, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and is entirely of the Son, as fountain is from fountain and light from light.

Again, page 576:

I believe according to the divine Scriptures that God and Lord the Son is begotten from the Father; God and Lord the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and remaining in the Son.

Again, page 577:

The Holy Spirit also was and is always in the Father and proceeds from Him; nor was the Father ever without His wisdom, who is the Son; never was He without His Holy Spirit.

Again:

The person of the Holy Spirit is in no way different, nor of diverse substance, from the Father and Son; so that the same Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, who is therefore of the Son, never was lacking to the Father, just as not to the Son.

And page 580:

The Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father, the Lord Himself saying: 'I am in the Father, and the Father is in me.' About the Holy Spirit also He says: 'But the Paraclete Spirit, who proceeds from my Father.'

And page 581:

It is proven by the clearest testimonies that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete Spirit, the Spirit who proceeds from the Father, is the Spirit of the Son, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of Jesus.

Book IX, page 583:

It would suffice for the faithful to believe this very thing, that the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds from the Father, whose procession - what kind or how great it is - no one is permitted to know, just as it was said about the Son: 'Who shall declare His generation?'

And page 584:

If therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father as we read, if He liberates, if He sanctifies, what more is to be sought or doubted about Him?

Finally, page 586, he repeats what he had in Book IV:

Without doubt the Father truly begot, this is His proper name; the Son was truly born from Him, this is His unique name; but the Holy Spirit who proceeded from the Father, this is His natural name.

Catholic Bishops of Africa in their confession of faith, found in Victor, Bishop of Utica, Book II of the Vandal Persecutions, Volume V, Part III of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 638, and in the antidote against various heresies of almost all centuries, published in Basel in 1528, folio 221:

We believe the unbegotten Father, and the Son begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father to be of one substance, that is, essence.

And then in the praised antidote, folio 225:

If the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, if He liberates, if He is Lord and sanctifies, if He creates with the Father and Son and vivifies, if He has foreknowledge with the Father and Son: why is it doubted that He is God?

And they conclude their confession:

This is our faith founded on evangelical and apostolic traditions, AND the fellowship of all Catholic Churches that are in the world, in which we trust and hope to remain by the grace of Almighty God until the end of this life.

PASCHASIUS, Deacon of the Roman Church, Book I "On the Holy Spirit," Chapter VIII, Volume IX of the great Library of the Fathers, published in Paris in 1644 by de la Bigne, column 185:

He did not say 'begotten,' lest you believe Him to be the Son; He did not say 'unbegotten,' lest you think Him to be the Father: but for the distinction of essence, He testified that He proceeds from the Father. As we read: 'The Paraclete, who proceeds from the Father.' Since these things are so, thus acknowledge that the Holy Spirit has His own person; the diversity of name proves Him to be a third besides the two; that He who proceeds from God is not third in order or degree, the unity of majesty shows. For He who proceeds from the interior things of God is not a creature of God, but is proven to be the substance of God.

And Chapter X, column 188:

Unless this Spirit were from the Father, He could not naturally dwell infused in the Father's interior; He could not proceed from God. But you ask: does the Spirit always proceed from the Father? Always with Him, always from Him, just as heat from fire, so He proceeds without interruption, so that He knows how to go forth but not how to be separated.

And Chapter XII, column 190:

You see that He goes forth from the Father (the Holy Spirit) and yet is not separated from the Father.

Finally in the same place:

Because therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He shows three privileges of Deity in Himself; that is, to subsist in His own person, and to remain without any space of time, and to be proven to exist entirely from the substance of the Father.

From the Sixth Century

FULGENTIUS, Bishop of Ruspe in Africa, Book II to Monimus, Chapter XI, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 24:

> *The holy natural unity, and equality, and charity Trinity, which is one, alone, and true God, sanctifies by unanimity those whom He adopts. In that one substance of the Trinity, there is unity in origin, equality in offspring, but in charity the communion of unity and equality.*

Here he calls the Father the origin, just as the Son equality, and the Holy Spirit charity. He therefore says there is unity in origin: therefore there must be one origin alone in the divinity, the Father, and so from the one and sole Father the Son is generated and the Spirit proceeds.

Book of Responses to Arian Objections, near the end of the cited place, page 37:

> *Retaining the rule of apostolic faith, we confess the Holy Spirit to be nothing other than God, neither diverse from the Son nor from the Father, neither confused in the Son nor in the Father: for He is one and the same Spirit of the Father and Son, wholly proceeding from the Father, wholly subsisting in both; nor is He undivided in individuals, because He is inseparably common to both.*

He says the entire Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; that He subsists entirely in the Father and Son; and that He is common to both. Where he would have joined the Son to the Father no less in the procession of the Holy Spirit than in the remaining later words, if he had believed the Holy Spirit to be produced also from the Son. For there was no other reason why he should omit the Son here, when there he so often joined Him to the Father. Indeed, since Fulgentius' purpose was to show the unity of the Holy Spirit also with the Son, how would he have omitted to add that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, when he asserted this about the Father? He therefore adds that this is the rule of apostolic faith, according to which the Holy Spirit by no means also proceeds from the Son.

Book II to Monimus, Chapter VI, page 24:

> *The question to be resolved: why, if sacrifice is offered to the entire Trinity, is the mission of the Holy Spirit alone sought for sanctifying the gift of our oblation? As if, so to speak, God the Father Himself, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, could not sanctify the sacrifice offered to Himself; or the Son Himself could not sanctify the sacrifice of His body.*

Book VIII against Fabianus, praised by **Aeneas**, Bishop of Paris, in his book against the Orientals, Volume VII of the collection of ancient writers, page 43, and by **Theodulphus**, Bishop of Orleans, in his Collections on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Volume VI, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 191:

> *But this word of procession from the Father is found granted to no creature, so that this property of procession is shown to be of the natural essence alone.*

And Book IX, praised by the same authors in the cited places:

> *Therefore we confess God the Father to be the author not of the entire Trinity, but of the Son and Holy Spirit, from whom the only-begotten Son has the origin of eternal nativity, and the Holy Spirit of eternal procession.*

Book of Responses to Five Questions, to Question V, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 68:

> *The Holy Spirit is in God by unity of nature, and is from God also by property of person.*

Finally, Book "On the Incarnation and Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ," Chapter X, page 84:

> *Not the Trinity, that is not simultaneously Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor the Father alone, or the Holy Spirit alone, that is, not He who begot the Son, nor He who proceeds from the Father, but the Son alone, that is He whom the Father begot as His coeternal and coequal Son in the unity of nature, that is one person from the Trinity, Christ the only Son of God, was conceived and born from the womb of the Virgin mother in order to save us.*

EUGIPPIUS the African collected various things from the works of Augustine, and dividing them into two volumes, inscribed them "The Treasury of St. Augustine." In this work, Volume II, Chapter CCXLV, he repeats what we praised above from Book XV of Augustine’s "On the Trinity," Chapters XVII, XVIII, and XIX; and Chapter CCXLIX of the same

volume adduces what we brought above from Book XV "On the Trinity," Chapter XXII.

PELAGIUS, Roman Pope, Letter LX to King Childebert, Volume V of the Councils, column 803:

> *I believe in the Holy Spirit almighty, equal to both, namely the Father and Son, coeternal and consubstantial, who proceeding from the Father timelessly, is proper to the Father and Son.*

In the equality, coeternality, and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit, he indeed joins the Son to the Father; but in the procession of the Holy Spirit, which he immediately adds, by no means. Again, in the words which he adds to the procession of the Holy Spirit, namely that the Holy Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Father, he again joins the Son to the Father. How therefore, if he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, would he not have joined the Son to the Father no less in the procession of the Holy Spirit, while in all other things either preceding or following, he always joins the Son to the Father? Since therefore he does not add the Son to the Father concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit alone, it is clear that Pelagius did not believe the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

SYAGRIUS then wrote a book against new terms usurped concerning the Trinity, in which among other things he taught that the Father from Himself in His own person begot the Son, and from Himself in His own person produced the Holy Spirit. For thus **GENNADIUS of Marseilles** writes about him in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, Chapter LXV:

> *Syagrius wrote on faith against the presumptuous terms of heretics, which were usurped to destroy or change the names of the holy Trinity, saying that the Father ought not to be called Father, lest the Son be confused in the name of Father, but should be called unbegotten and unmade and solitary, so that whatever is outside Him in person might be outside Him in nature, showing that the Father can indeed be called unbegotten, although Scripture has not said it, and that He begot the Son from Himself in person, did not make Him, and brought forth the Holy Spirit from Himself in person, did not beget Him, nor make Him.*

But if the Father in His person brought forth from Himself both the Son and the Holy Spirit, then by no means is the Son also a producer of the

Holy Spirit. For by what reason do persons, insofar as they are called persons and not by reason of essence, obtain only from the one same person of whom they are predicated? If therefore the Father in His own person produced the Holy Spirit from Himself, then the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Rusticus, Cardinal Deacon of the Roman Church, in his disputation against the Acephali, well before the end, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part II, page 232:

> *We confess there are three subsistences because not in what they are according to nature, but in how they are, each is distinguished by properties. For the Father indeed begot and was not begotten; He is not from some other, just as others are from Him; but the Son was begotten and begot nothing coeternal; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and nothing coeternal proceeds or was begotten from Him. But some of the ancients also added this to the properties: that just as the Spirit with the Father did not beget the Son eternally, so neither does the Spirit proceed from the Son as from the Father. But I, while I confess that the Spirit indeed did not beget the Son eternally (for we do not say there are two Fathers), whether He proceeds from the Son in the same manner as from the Father, I do not yet have perfectly satisfied. But since this pertains nothing to what is now being inquired, it should indeed be noted but passed over.*

These words are so clear that the Jesuit Petavius in Book VII "On the Trinity," Chapter VIII, admits that among the Latins, Rusticus doubted about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; and Jodocus Coccius in his treasury of Catholic truth numbers him among those who taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

But let us suppose these words are intact. He says therefore: "Whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as from the Father, I am not satisfied." Again he mentions the ancients who expressly denied that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, just as neither is the Son generated from the Holy Spirit. From this alone it is clear that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was not always undoubted among the Latins; indeed, there were entirely also among the ancient Latin Fathers those who believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. But these very words of Rusticus are entirely corrupted, as

we show in the Treatise on Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers, and it should be read that Rusticus himself, just as he denies that the Holy Spirit with the Father begot the Son, so likewise denied that the Father with the Son produced the Holy Spirit. But if the Cardinal Deacon of the Roman Church itself denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, certainly the Roman Church itself also taught the same. For who would believe that Rusticus departed from the established dogma of the Roman Church; or if he had publicly taught something different in his writings against the faith of the Roman Church, would he not have been deprived of the cardinal diaconate of the Roman Church? However, the Cologne editors of the Library of the Fathers, to show that the adduced words of Rusticus do not hinder them, note this in the margin around those words: "The Holy Spirit by no means proceeds from the Son in the same way as from the Father: while He proceeds from the Father as one who has procession from no one, but from the Son who has the same from the Father."

But Rusticus was likewise saying: "The Father is not from another, just as others are from Him." Where it is clear to anyone that by this proposition it is signified that the Father is in no way from another. And from this he further says: "Just as the Spirit with the Father did not eternally beget the Son, so neither does the Spirit proceed from the Son as from the Father." The sense of these words is surely: that just as the Son is not generated from the Holy Spirit as from the Father, so neither does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Son as He proceeds from the Father. Therefore, just as by these words it is denied that the Son is generated in some way from the Holy Spirit, so likewise it is asserted by the same words that the Holy Spirit proceeds in no way from the Son. But Rusticus, considering these very words, adds: that concerning the former it is indeed undoubted that the Son is not begotten from the Holy Spirit; but concerning the latter, he is not satisfied, and so those words "whether He proceeds from the Son in the same manner as from the Father" are the same as those preceding ones: "the Spirit does not proceed from the Son as from the Father." By which it is simply denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son in any way, as just shown. How finally would Rusticus, who was indeed Cardinal Deacon of the Roman Church, not have been satisfied whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and from the Father in such a way that the Son would have not from the

Father but from Himself that the Holy Spirit should proceed from Him? This matter is indeed most manifest, that this is impossible: because if the Son had not from the Father but from Himself that the Holy Spirit should proceed from Him, certainly two principles, two causes, and therefore two Gods would be introduced. Moreover, what Christian is ignorant that the Son has all things from the Father? How therefore would Rusticus, who was indeed a Roman Cardinal, have doubted about such a most manifest matter? Indeed, since he here denies he is satisfied about that which the other ancients simply affirmed, therefore those ancients would have believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son in such a way that the Son has this from himself, not from the Father; which, as shown, is impossible. For they would not have merited the name of ancient Fathers (but Rusticus here mentions them as such), but would have been the worst heretics, indeed pagans introducing two Gods; so that from this it is clearly evident that the exception of the Cologne editors is most vain, devised at least to elude the truth.

Aurelius Cassiodorus, Roman Senator, on Psalm XXXII of the Parisian edition of 1519, folio 47:

> *Here he signifies the holy Trinity. For by saying 'word,' he declares the Son; by adding 'of the Lord,' he speaks of the Father; by 'the spirit of His mouth,' he certainly wants the Holy Spirit to be understood, who proceeded from the Father before time.*

Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, in his exposition of the Symbol, Volume VI, Part II of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 38:

> *The Father from whom are all things, and who has no Father; the Son begotten from the Father; the Holy Spirit proceeding from the mouth of God and sanctifying all things.*

In the year 589 A.D., the Third Council of Toledo was celebrated, in which both King Reccared of the Spains and that entire Synod recited the holy Symbol intact, and confessed that they believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father. But how the Latins have since corrupted the acts of this Synod concerning those words of the Symbol recited by Reccared about the procession of the Holy Spirit, is shown in the Treatise on Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers.

Gregory the Great, Roman Pope, Dialogues Book II, final chapter, according to the Greek version:

> *Since it is established that the Paraclete Spirit proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son, why does the Son say He will depart so that He may come, who never departs from the Son?*

Again, Book XXIX of Moral Expositions on Job, Chapter XVI, before the end, Volume II of the works of the Roman edition of 1588, page 876:

> *No man had all the operations of the Holy Spirit simultaneously, except the one mediator of God and men, whose is the same Spirit who proceeds from the Father before the ages.*

And Book V, Chapter XXVI, page 423:

> *What is designated by the voice of the gentle breeze, if not the knowledge of the Holy Spirit? Who proceeding from the Father and receiving from what is the Son's, is gently poured into the notice of our infirmity.*

Thalassius, African monk, Hecatontade IV, number 94, Volume II of the Library of Greek Fathers, page 1200:

> *They understand again that the Son and Holy Spirit are not without principle, but are eternal. And therefore not without principle, because they are referred to the Father as principle and source. But eternal, because from the eternal one, the former by mode of generation, the latter by mode of procession.*

Again in the same place, number 99, page 1200:

> *But we know the Father to be the one principle of all things, and indeed of the Son and Spirit, as begetter and as eternal source, and simultaneously immense and indefinite, and of one essence, but uncircumscribed. But of created things as maker and provider and judge, through the Son namely in the Holy Spirit. For from Him, he says, and through Him, and in Him are all things, to Him be glory forever.*

By these words he expressly teaches that the Father is the one principle of the Son and Holy Spirit: of the Son indeed as begetter, of the Holy Spirit as eternal source.

Moreover, explaining how the Father is one principle of created things, he adds that the Father is their one principle with the Son and Holy Spirit. Equally therefore, if he had believed that the Father and Son together produced the Holy Spirit, he would have added that the Father with the Son is one principle of the Holy Spirit. Now since he does not add this likewise, which however he had done regarding created things, it is clear that Thalassius believed the Father alone and not simultaneously the Son to be the principle of the Holy Spirit.

And in the same place, number 100:

> *They say they are coeternal with the Father, yet not simultaneously lacking principle with Him: and coeternal indeed, as coexisting with the Father from the immense; but not lacking principle, because they are not without cause. For from Him, although not after Him, as light from the sun, as was said before.*

And number 92, page 1199:

> *We contemplate the Father without principle and as principle; and without principle indeed as unbegotten, but as principle as begetter and producer of those who are from Him, namely the Son and Holy Spirit.*

Finally, number 96, page 1200:

> *They say the property of the Father is not to be begotten and to be without principle; but of the Son to be in principle and to be begotten; but of the Holy Spirit to be in principle and to proceed. But they say the principle of the Son and Holy Spirit is not temporal. But how? They manifest the cause from which, as light from the sun, they have existence from the eternal. For from it according to essence, not after it.*

From the Seventh Century

In the year 638 A.D., the Sixth Synod of Toledo was celebrated. Thus that synod, Volume V of the Councils, column 1741:

> *We believe the Father unbegotten, uncreated, the source and origin of the entire Divinity.*

This is indeed the same as if it had been said: "The Father alone is the source and origin of the entire Divinity." For this does not belong to the Son. Therefore the Father alone is the source and origin of both the Son and the Holy Spirit.

In the year 649 A.D., the Lateran Council was celebrated under Pope Martin of Rome, which 150 Latin bishops attended, in the fourth action or secretariat, Volume VI of the Councils, column 241. They recited the holy Symbol intact and professed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father at least, not simultaneously adding the Son. They also assert, column 284, the definition of the universal Fourth Synod of Chalcedon and repeat those complete words by which he is condemned with anathema who introduces any public Symbol to the Churches besides the Nicene. But what force this decree has, we shall see in another treatise.

In the year 675 A.D., the Eleventh Council of Toledo was celebrated. Thus the Fathers of this Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 541:

> *We profess the Father not begotten, not created, but unbegotten: for He draws His origin from no one, from whom both the Son received nativity and the Holy Spirit procession. He is therefore the source and origin of the entire Divinity.*

By this very thing, where the Father is called the origin of the entire Divinity, I just noted that it is signified that the Father alone is the origin of Divinity. But the Fathers add: therefore, because the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, the Father is the origin of the entire Divinity, namely of the Son and Holy Spirit. But if therefore the Father alone is the origin of the entire Divinity, namely of the Son and Holy Spirit, because the Son is generated from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds, then it is necessary that the Son be generated from the Father alone and the Spirit proceed.

Pope Agatho of Rome, with a Synod of 225 Latin bishops celebrated in Rome, in the Synodical Letter read in the fourth action of the Sixth Universal Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 682:

> *This is our perfect knowledge, that we preserve with complete custody of mind the limits of Catholic and Apostolic faith, which the Apostolic See has held and transmitted with us until now, believing also in the*

> *Holy Spirit, Lord and life-giver, proceeding from the Father, to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and Son.*

When so many Latin bishops with Pope Agatho profess that they believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and not simultaneously adding the Son, who would further doubt that in this age the Latin Church was ignorant of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son?

Mansietus, Bishop of Milan, and with him the rest of the Synod of Latin bishops, in a letter to Emperor Constantine, prefixed to the acts of the Sixth Universal Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 604:

> *When we say eternal Son, it is referred to the person of the eternal Father; and when we name the Holy Spirit, we show that He proceeds from the person of the eternal Father.*

From these words it is clearly evident that those Fathers did not believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Otherwise they would have said no less: "when we name the Holy Spirit, we show that He also proceeds from the person of the Son," than what is shown when the Holy Spirit is named to proceed from the Father, just as all would have done who believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. From the name then of both the Son and the Holy Spirit they want to show whence each has his principle; but just as of the Son, so they teach that the Father at least is the producer of the Holy Spirit. Therefore they believed that both the Son is generated from the Father alone and the Holy Spirit proceeds.

From the Eighth Century

In the Roman order, the holy Symbol is read intact in Greek without addition, and the Father alone is commemorated in the procession of the Holy Spirit, page 28, among the ancient writers on divine offices published by Melchior Hittorpius in Rome in 1601.

Bede, Book IV of Commentaries on Luke, Chapter LXIII on Chapter XV of Luke, column 375, Volume V of works of the Cologne edition of 1612, and in commentary on John XVII, Volume V, column 375, and in a summer homily for the time, Sunday Cantate, Volume VII, column 21, and in the same Lenten homily, Saturday after Reminiscere, near the end, Volume

VII, column 248, repeats what we brought above from Augustine's Tract CVI on John.

Again in commentary on John XV, Volume V, column 571, and Book of Summer Homilies for the time, Sunday Cantate, Volume VII, column 20, he repeats what we adduced above from Augustine's Tract XCIX on John.

And in commentary on John XVI, Volume V, column 372, and in summer homily for the time, the same Sunday Cantate, Volume VII, column 21, he repeats what we praised above from Augustine's Tract C on John. And in commentary on Chapter X of Acts, near the end, Volume V, column 648, he repeats what we brought above from Book I of Ambrose "On the Holy Spirit."

Finally in commentary on John, on Chapter I, those words "In the beginning was the Word," Volume V, column 453:

> *The Father is the principle,*

as if he had said: "In the Father is the Son, whom the Evangelist himself named the Word." And what more he has there, to show that this does not contradict that elsewhere the Son is called principle: while namely the Father is the principle of the Son and Holy Spirit, the Son at least the principle of created things. But we have already pursued similar words extensively around the words of Origen.

Etherius, Bishop of Osma, and Beatus, Presbyter, Book I against Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, after the beginning, Volume VIII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 344:

> *The Father alone is God from Himself, but these two are God from one, that is from the Father, and through this both the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God.*

They expressly say that the Son and Holy Spirit are from one. But intending to show who that one was, they add: "that is from the Father." Therefore they believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the one and sole Father.

That the procession from the Son was finally unknown in the Latin Church for long periods, and so the Latins believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, is clearly evident from these words of the Orators sent

from the Synod of Aquisgranum in the year 809 to Leo III, in the booklet which they offered to Leo III on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For thus they begin, Volume VII of the Councils, column 1199:

> *The question which has recently arisen about the procession of the Holy Spirit has long ago been most diligently examined by the holy Fathers; but because it had long lain neglected by inquirers, it has not rested as if examined from antiquity, but as if some hidden thing has suddenly emerged for us in these times, which, believing it divinely inspired, I do not doubt. But because, as I have said before, this question lay long undiscussed by inquirers, Almighty God willed to stir up the hearts of Pastors toward it, so that with the body of negligence removed, they might be able to dig up the heavenly treasure with the arm of holy exercise. Therefore let the torpor of negligence depart far from Pastors, let harmful inertia recede far from mental acuity, and let soft sleep emerge into rigid and profitable watches of reading, so that the rich field of the Church, sown with the seed of doctors, may be able to render hundredfold fruits to the Almighty. Now I shall approach the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

They say the question about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son (for they argue for this) has long ago been most diligently examined by the holy Fathers; but because this question had long lain neglected, it has suddenly emerged in these times as if always ignored. Because this question lay long undiscussed, God has now stirred up the hearts of Pastors, so that shaking off the torpor of negligence by which their predecessors had neglected to teach that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, they might again dig that out from the heavenly treasury and teach the rest. Therefore they themselves, who in the year 809 defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, by these words expressly confess that for a long time, a long time I say, that dogma had not been transmitted in the Latin Church; but that it had been neglected by a certain torpor of negligence, although the Fathers had taught it from antiquity. They therefore confess that for long periods from the age of the ancient Fathers, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had not been transmitted in the Latin Church, and therefore was also unknown. But since he who is ignorant neither teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and always commemorates the Father at least in the procession of the Holy Spirit, by that very fact believes that the Holy

Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also simultaneously from the Son, it is clear that from the times of the ancient Fathers through long periods until the end of the eighth century, the entire Latin Church everywhere believed by constant consensus that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

It is therefore sufficiently clear from this, what was to be demonstrated, that the Latin Church always until the end of the eighth century believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. This was evident among other things from the words of Pope Damasus, Isaac, Ambrose, Augustine, and all the Fathers older than Augustine according to Augustine’s own testimony, Paulinus of Nola, Prosper of Aquitaine, the Author of the books "On the Unity of the Trinity’s Deity" which circulate under the name of Athanasius, Rusticus, Thalassius, Etherius, and Beatus. Finally, concerning the long periods, from the testimony of the Latins themselves who in the year 809 defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But at the very end of the eighth century or beginning of the ninth, the first arose among the Latins who introduced the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol to the Church; and from then these novelties gradually and gradually took greater increments, although for an entire century the other Latins most seriously resisted them, as we demonstrate extensively in a special treatise from the writers of the Latins themselves.

TRACTATE V

In which it is demonstrated that the Latins themselves, when some of them at the end of the 8th century first introduced the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and its addition to the holy Symbol into the Latin Church, have long been disputing among themselves about these matters; and especially that the first authors of this [doctrine] were condemned by the other Latins of that era.

At the end of the 8th century, there arose among the Latins those who dared to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son and to insert this into the holy Symbol. This is particularly evident from the words of the envoys sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome, in a document they presented to Pope Leo III concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, which will be discussed in detail later. For there it is said:

> *The question that has recently arisen concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit…*

Again:

> *It has not rested, as if it had been debated in ancient times, but as if it were some hidden matter that has suddenly emerged in our times.*

Finally:

> *Since this question had long lain unexamined by those seeking answers, Almighty God wished to stir the hearts of the shepherds, so that, with the torpor of negligence removed, they might, with the arm of holy exercise, dig into the heavenly treasure.*

The occasion for asserting this doctrine was this: perhaps John, a monk in the East (who seems to be none other than John of Damascus), had expressly taught in his writings that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not also from the Son. Certain Latins, encountering these writings and believing the contrary to be more probable, first dared to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. And either because the holy Symbol, in which only the Father was mentioned in the procession of the Holy Spirit, seemed to them to favor the contrary opinion, or because they believed the holy Symbol to be defective in this regard, they did not hesitate to insert this doctrine into the holy Symbol.

All the Frankish annals report that this question of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, debated at this time, was first raised by a certain monk, John, from Jerusalem, as their words will later be cited. Therefore, when at the end of the 8th century certain innovators introduced into the Latin churches the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol, the first to oppose it, as far as surviving records show, was Albinus Alcuin, an Englishman but summoned to Gaul by Charles, King of the Franks, for his remarkable learning. Thus, in his letter to the brothers of Lyon, which is Epistle 69 in the Paris edition of his works (1617, column 1587, and Volume 1 of Canisius' Antiquarum Lectionum), he writes:

> *Dearest brothers, beware with all your attention of the new sects of the Spanish error, follow the footsteps of the holy Fathers in faith, and join yourselves to the most holy unity of the universal Church. It is written: 'Do not transgress the boundaries of your Fathers.' Do not introduce novelties into the Symbol of the Catholic faith, and in ecclesiastical rites, do not cherish traditions unheard of in ancient times. Proceed along the public path of apostolic doctrine, and do not stray to the right or left from the royal way through the byways of any novelty.*

No other addition to the holy Symbol, except concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, was ever debated in the Latin Church. At the end of the 8th century, this addition was introduced into the Latin churches, so there is no doubt that Alcuin refers to it here. Thus, Alcuin clearly reproves this addition, and he, the most learned among all the Latins of that time along with Paulinus of Aquileia, being himself a Latin, rejects

the commonly accepted addition to the holy Symbol. For, according to him, one must follow in the footsteps of the holy Fathers in faith and not separate oneself from the most holy unity of the universal Church, as the sacred Scriptures admonish. Again, he says: “Do not introduce novelties into the Symbol.” Novelties, I say. Therefore, this addition was new up to that time and had not been frequent before, much less in ancient times, so it is clear from this that the addition to the Symbol was introduced into the churches around the time of Alcuin. Furthermore, all the acts of the synods before this time, in which the holy Symbol with this addition is very frequently read, are corrupted. If indeed he refers to the very doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, saying: “Do not introduce novelties,” it is clear that Alcuin condemned this doctrine as a novelty, and thus he himself did not believe it. Moreover, if this doctrine was newly introduced at that time, it had never been handed down in the Latin churches before, and thus all the words of the Latin Fathers, which in countless places before this time teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, are corrupted.

Henry Canisius, in notes added to this letter of Alcuin, does not deny that Alcuin here addresses the addition to the Symbol but adds that, following the example and command of Leo III, he likewise reproved this addition. This is absurd, for Leo III proscribed this addition in 809, while Alcuin had already died in 804. How, then, could Alcuin have followed the admonition and decree of Pope Leo III in reproving this addition to the holy Symbol? The anonymous author of Alcuin’s life (included with other authors cited in the preface to the aforementioned edition of Alcuin’s works) states:

> *He died full of days on the 14th of the Kalends of June, in the year of the Lord’s incarnation 804.*

Odorannus, a monk of Saint Peter the Living in Sens, in his chronicle:

> *In 804, Alcuin, the philosopher and abbot of Saint Martin, died.*

The abbreviated Tours Chronicle:

> *In 804, Saint Alcuin died.*

An anonymous canon of Sens, who wrote the deeds of the archbishops of Sens:

In 804, Alcuin, who had taught King Charles, died.

Finally, William of Nangis in his chronicle:

In 806, Alcuin, the teacher of Charles the Great, whom the Church of Saint Martin in Tours had appointed, died.

However, Alcuin had come to Gaul no earlier than 790.

Roger of Hoveden, in the first part of his annals:

In 792, Charles, King of the Franks, sent a synodal book to Britain, which had been sent to him from Constantinople. Against this, Alcuin wrote a letter wonderfully affirmed by the authority of divine Scriptures, and he brought it, along with the same book, on behalf of our bishops and princes to the King of the Franks.

The same is recorded by Matthew of Westminster for the year 793.

Sigebert of Gembloux, a monk, in his chronicle for 790:

Alcuin, born in Britain, the delightful teacher of King Charles, excelled in the knowledge of letters in Gaul, through whose teaching especially the king himself learned all the liberal arts.

The greater Tours Chronicle for the year 791:

Not long after, Charles, by the authority of Pope Adrian, placed canons in the Church of Blessed Martin and appointed his teacher Albinus, that is, Alcuin, over them.

Thus, the canon of Sens errs entirely, as does the great Belgian chronicle, which writes that Alcuin was already flourishing in England in 779.

Moreover, Alcuin himself, in Book 1 against Elipandus, column 939:

Before I, at the command of the most wise King Charles, came to France, this same sect of your error was debated in the most famous place called Regensburg, under the presidency of the glorious prince, in the presence of Felix, whom you often praise highly, the defender of your party at that time, and it was condemned with eternal anathema by the synodal authority of the priests of Christ gathered from various parts of the Christian empire; indeed, it was utterly eradicated by

> *Pope Adrian of blessed memory, who at that time ruled the apostolic see of the holy Roman Church with authority. Yet Felix, unhappily fleeing to your parts, did not intend to revive the smoldering ashes of infidelity with your encouragement.*

But in 792, the heresy of Felix, with its author renouncing it, was first condemned at Regensburg. Thus, in the annals of an uncertain author, Volume 7 of the Councils, column 1011:

> *In 792, the heresy of Felix, with its author renouncing it, was first condemned at Regensburg; he was also brought by Abbot Angilbert in the presence of the apostolic Adrian and again condemned it with a confession.*

So say Regino and other Frankish annals, which Baronius also follows. Therefore, in the intervening time between 792 and 804, when Alcuin died, this letter was written in which he reproves the addition to the holy Symbol; thus, it is clear again from this that it was only at the end of the 8th century that those arose who introduced this addition to the holy Symbol into the Latin churches.

As indeed it seems that Alcuin also touched on the doctrine itself in the aforementioned letter, so too in his works, as far as they remain uncorrupted by the Latins who have tampered with everything, traces of the same truth are found. In the offices for the days, column 292 of his works:

> *The Word in the beginning with God, with the Holy Spirit, who, proceeding from the Father, circles the heavens.*

In his commentary on John, at the words of Chapter 16, “He will not speak of himself,” column 623:

> *For the Spirit does not speak of himself, perhaps because he is not of himself, but from the Father. For the Son is born of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. He does not speak of himself, that is, without communion with the Father and the Son. For the Holy Spirit is not divided from the Father and the Son, but the work of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one. But whatever he hears, he will speak. He hears, namely, through the unity of substance and the*

> *property of knowledge. He does not speak of himself because he is not of himself. The Father alone is not from another, the Son is begotten by the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Truly, the Holy Spirit hears from him from whom he proceeds, because he is not of himself but from him from whom he proceeds. Therefore, his hearing from him is nothing other than his knowledge.*

And a little later, at the words: “Because he will take from what is mine”:

> *Because he will take from what is mine and declare it to you, that is, from my Father. The Holy Spirit takes from the Father because he proceeds from the Father, from whom the Son also is born. But he who is born from none and proceeds from none is the Father alone.*

The words of Christ: “He will take from what is mine,” he interprets not as from the Son but from the Father, because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. If, therefore, he had believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, he would no less have interpreted those words as from the Son, as indeed the Latins commonly use this as a strong argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Furthermore, Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, in the Synod of Friuli in 791, testified that nothing could be added to the holy Symbol against this newly invented addition. Thus, in the same synod, Volume 7 of the Councils, column 993:

> *Therefore, after the inviolable definition of the Symbol, which, in my judgment, must in every way be preserved, as was wonderfully set forth by the venerable bishops of old (as has been said) with the revelation of the holy Spirit: by the three hundred and eighteen at Nicaea in Bithynia, and the fifty at Constantinople. For I profess that I will speak more plainly about the mystery of the holy and marvelous Trinity: because of the various errors of heretics and the diverse suspicions of some of the simple, I do not consent to compose or teach another faith, but that which all ages have sincerely received as handed down by the holy Fathers. For I know that it has been decreed in some synodal documents, to refute indeed new and manifold heresies, especially because of the fraudulent and false perfidy of Nestorius or Eutyches, pestilent men, not to call it faith but rather perfidy, that no one is permitted to teach or compose a Symbol of another faith. But far be it from us, and far be it from every faithful heart, to compose or teach*

> *another Symbol or faith, or differently from what they established. But perhaps, according to their meaning, we have decided to expound and entrust to memory those things which, for the sake of brevity, are less understood than they should be by the simple or unlearned, while retaining the text of the Symbol itself. For indeed, it is not permissible in the argument of faith to add or subtract from those things that have been beneficially and salutarily promulgated by the holy Fathers: to think rightly according to their meaning and to supply their subtle ingenuity in exposition; but to add or subtract is to act deceitfully against their sacred meaning, to think differently from them with cunning distortion, and to compose a perverse doctrine with a confused style, and thus with an impious mouth to prattle arrogantly rather than presume to teach.*

He says that after reciting the inviolable holy Symbol, he will speak about the mystery of the holy Trinity. For because of various heresies, he also consents that another faith or Symbol should not be taught or composed; but only that which all ages have always sincerely received, as it was handed down by the Fathers themselves, since it was decreed in the Synod of Ephesus, to refute the heresies of Nestorius, that no one may compose another faith. Therefore, he says he will not compose another Symbol, but with the text of the Symbol retained intact, he will separately expound the Catholic faith. For to add anything to the faith of the Fathers is to hand down perverse things, not those that agree with Catholic doctrines. Therefore, he does not add anything to the faith, where, with the text of the Symbol retained, he more fully expounds the mind of the holy Fathers. From this, it is clear that Paulinus' opinion, based on the decree of the Synod of Ephesus, is that a fuller exposition of the faith, even if true, may not be inserted into the holy Symbol. For he says that after reciting the inviolable holy Symbol, or as he adds, with the text of the Symbol itself retained intact, he will expound the Catholic faith, because it is not permissible on account of heresies to compose another Symbol, as decreed by the Synod of Ephesus. But Paulinus wished to assert only Catholic things, or, as he says, the meaning of the Fathers themselves. He says he consents that, on account of heresies, nothing should be inserted into the holy Symbol, but with the text of the holy Symbol retained intact, it should be handed down separately, because the Synod of Ephesus prohibited handing down another Symbol. Therefore, the same synod, according to Paulinus' mind, prohibited a fuller

exposition of the faith, even if true, from being inserted into the holy Symbol; if on account of this decree, the Catholic meaning was not to be inserted into the text of the Symbol itself. If, therefore, the Symbol is to be preserved as handed down by the Fathers, so that the text of the Symbol, always sincerely preserved by subsequent ages, is not even inserted with those things that were made against heretics: it is clear that Paulinus teaches that the Symbol must be preserved without any addition whatsoever, even if true.

Since Paulinus thus argues against the addition to the Symbol, it is clear that he refers to no other addition than that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. For no other was ever debated in the Latin Church, and this one first arose among the Latins at the end of the 8th century, when Paulinus held that Synod of Friuli. This is also confirmed by the fact that immediately thereafter, more is added about the same addition of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus, Paulinus continues, column 994:

> *For the venerable work of many Catholic men and worshippers of God's churches, composed in sacred faith, is read, indeed in different words and with a different pen resounding, but they are proven to express harmoniously the same meaning and the same understanding of the mind, with one document of inviolate faith. For if the venerable series of the Nicene Symbol is reviewed, nothing else about the Holy Spirit can be found promulgated in it except in this way: 'And in the Holy Spirit,' they say. What, then, is it to say: 'And in the Holy Spirit'? How should such a brief profession of theirs be understood, except that it is plainly given to understand that the religious devotion of their whole faith believed probably in the Holy Spirit, just as in the Father and in the Son, as afterward the 150 holy Fathers who testified that the faith of the Nicene Council's Symbol remains inviolate forever? Yet they supplemented, as if expounding their meaning, and they confess that they believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding, to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son. For this and the other things that follow are not contained in the sacred doctrine of the Nicene Symbol. Thus, he shows that he understood the procession of the Holy Spirit, where he had taught that nothing could be inserted into the holy Symbol. For why else would he have mentioned only this article of the holy Symbol?*

How, indeed, the Latins corrupted Paulinus' words from this: for to support their addition, they inserted it there, as shown in the treatise on the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Latin Fathers. Thus, Paulinus himself, a Latin and Patriarch of Aquileia, with the other Latin Fathers gathered in 791, rejected, refuted, and repudiated the newly arisen addition. Although in that synod they frequently inserted that Paulinus had asserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, those statements remain uncorrupted, column 996:

> *But concerning the Holy Spirit, to show that he is of the Father and his own, he says: 'The Spirit,' he says, 'of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will glorify me.' For he who proceeds from the Father is certainly the Spirit of the Father; and he who is the Spirit of truth is no less his own Spirit.*

Although, when this novelty first arose, it was rejected and disapproved by the other Latins, and those most distinguished in learning and authority, nevertheless, as is usual, what is first asserted gradually spreads to more people, and it gained greater growth from this and found more supporters with the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol. But these were all the more fiercely opposed by the other Latin bishops, so that great controversies and movements arose among the Latins themselves. To settle these disputes, Charles, King of the Franks, then already Emperor of Gaul and Germany, held a synod at Aachen in 809. A great number of Latin bishops were present; they debated the procession of the Holy Spirit, with some defending that he proceeds also from the Son, and others opposing it. After extensive discussion on both sides, with the innovators no less vigorously contending for their novelty than the Catholic bishops for the Catholic truth, they departed without resolution. This is widely attested by the historians of that era and other Latin historians.

Ado, Bishop of Vienne, in his chronicle for the year 809:

> *A great synod was gathered at Aachen in the year of the Lord's incarnation 809, in which synod the procession of the Holy Spirit was discussed, whether he proceeds from the Son as he does from the Father. This question had been raised by a certain monk, John, from Jerusalem. In the same synod, the state of the churches and the order*

of each, as well as the conduct of the clergy, were also discussed and debated.

Aimoin, Book 4 of the Deeds of the Franks, Chapter 97, page 232, Paris edition of 1602:

With these things done, the Emperor, returning from the Ardennes to Aachen, held a council in November concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, a question first stirred by a certain monk, John, from Jerusalem. To resolve it, Bernharius, Bishop of Worms, and Adalhard, Abbot of the monastery of Corbie, were sent to Pope Leo at Rome. The state of the churches and the conduct of those who are said to serve God in them were also discussed in the same council, but nothing was decided, due to the magnitude of the matters, as it seemed.

The same is recorded by the author of the Frankish annals from 741 to 814, Volume 2 of the Historians of the Franks, edited by André Duchesne in Paris, 1636, page 46; the anonymous author of the Life of Charles the Great, in the same volume, page 64; a monk of the monastery of Egolzheim in the Life of Charles the Great, in the same volume, page 84; Eginhard in his annals, in the same volume, page 225; the author of the annals from 741 to 882, Volume 3 of the Historians of the Franks, edited by the same Duchesne, page 169; and finally, the Frankish annals from 687 to 940, in the same volume, page 294. Furthermore, the Fulda Frankish annals, Volume 2 of the Historians of the Franks, edited by the same Duchesne, page 541:

In these times, a council was held concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, a question first stirred by a certain monk, John, from Jerusalem. To resolve it, Bernharius, Bishop of the Vangiones, and Adalhard, Abbot of the monastery of Corbie, were sent to Pope Leo at Rome.

Herman the Lame, a monk of Augsburg, in his chronicle for 809, Volume 11 of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 295:

The question of the procession of the Holy Spirit was debated in a synod held.

Thus, the Latins themselves opposed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, without the intervention of the Easterners, and the Latins

themselves disputed among themselves about this. Who, therefore, would doubt that the same opinion is justly condemned, which the Latins themselves rejected in its inventors?

Since, therefore, the Latins could not agree in this synod, with some approving and others condemning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the holy Symbol, Bernharius, Bishop of Worms, and Adalhard, Abbot of Corbie, were sent to Rome to Pope Leo III, either by Emperor Charles or by the other defenders of the procession of the Holy Spirit, to inquire what should be thought about this matter. For the Latin authors cited above explicitly testified to this. When they arrived in Rome, they first disputed before the Pope against the other Latins, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. This very speech of those envoys has recently been published by the Latins from an ancient manuscript: first by Holstenius after the Roman Synods, then inserted by Philippe Labbe in Volume 7 of the Councils. Thus, there, column 1199, it is said:

> *The question that has recently arisen concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit has long been most diligently debated by the holy Fathers. But since it had long lain neglected by those seeking answers, it did not rest as if it had been debated in ancient times, but as if it were some hidden matter that has suddenly emerged in our times: which, believing it to be divinely inspired, I do not doubt. For the present Church is struck by the repeated blows of questions, so that, trained in Catholic doctrines and the sound confessions of faith, it may live happily with the Lord forever, once the inheritance of the sons is received. But since, as I have said, this question had long lain unexamined by those seeking answers, Almighty God wished to stir the hearts of the shepherds, so that, with the torpor of negligence removed, they might, with the arm of holy exercise, dig into the heavenly treasure. For the shepherds must more frequently plow the field of the divine Scriptures with the hoe of the Lord's discourse, lest the tares of the wicked sower and the malignant seed prevail to oppress the fruit of the wheat, or lest the flying bird of heresy snatch the Catholic seed from the hearts of the little ones, or lest the horrid emergence of thorns suffocate the Lord's shining crop. For the knowledge of sacred reading provides a staff for the weak, arms for the strong, powerfully suppresses the subtle treacheries of enemies, and happily promises eternal crowns to the victors. Therefore, let the torpor of negligence be far from the*

> *shepherds; let harmful inertia be far from the sharpness of the mind, and let soft sleep give way to the rigid and fruitful vigils of reading, so that the rich field of the Church, sown with the seed of the doctors, may yield a hundredfold fruit to the Almighty.*
>
> *Now I proceed to the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

And after they had proven from sacred Scripture that the Spirit of the Father is in the Son, and the same Spirit is of both the Father and the Son; that the Father gave the Holy Spirit, and the Son also gave the same; that the Father poured out the Holy Spirit, and the Son poured out the same; and that there is one outpouring of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; that the Holy Spirit is of the mouth of the Father and the Son; and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father: they continue:

> *And that the same Spirit proceeds from the Son, the sacred book of Job, with the Lord's mouth, bears witness, where among other things it says: 'And hear the hearing in the terror of his voice, and the sound proceeding from his mouth.' In this place, the mouth of the Father is to be understood as the Son. But the sound proceeding from his mouth is the Holy Spirit, who, proceeding from the Son, appeared descending upon the apostles in fire with a sound, as the Acts of the Apostles testify, where it is written: 'When the days of Pentecost were fulfilled, they were all together in the same place: and suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them divided tongues, as it were of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.' But blessed Gregory, expounding this verse of the book of Job, among other things says: 'The only-begotten Son can be designated by the mouth of God; but the sound of the mouth can designate the same Holy Spirit. Therefore, the sound proceeds from the mouth of the Lord, when his consubstantial Spirit, coming to us through the Son, takes away the deafness of our insensibility.' Concerning this very procession, by which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as he proceeds from the Father, blessed Athanasius, in the book he wrote against Arius, among other things says: 'I believe the Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son; also the Paraclete Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, is of the Son and the Father, because he also proceeds from the Son: as it is written in the Gospel, that by his breathing he gave the Holy Spirit to his disciples,*

saying: “Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them,” etc.’ Cyril also, concerning this very procession of the Holy Spirit, against Nestorius, among other things says: ‘For although the Spirit is in his own substance and is understood in his person as the Spirit and not the Son, nevertheless he is not alien from him; for he is called the Spirit of truth, and Christ is the truth. Hence, he proceeds similarly from him, just as from God the Father.’ Ambrose, among other things, says of the Holy Spirit: ‘For the Spirit is not sent as if from a place, nor does he proceed as if from a place, when he proceeds from the Son.’ Jerome also, concerning this very procession of the Holy Spirit, in his exposition of the Symbol, among other things says: ‘The Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, is coeternal and in all things coequal with the Father and the Son. This is the holy Trinity: that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one Deity and power, one essence; that is, the Father who begets, the Son who is begotten, and the Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son: these three are one God.’ Augustine also, in his exposition of the Catholic faith, among other things says: ‘In that holy Trinity, there is one Father, who alone essentially begot one Son from himself; and one Son, who is essentially born from one Father alone; one Spirit, who alone essentially proceeds from the Father and the Son.’ The same, against the heretic Maximinus: ‘You ask me, if the Son is of the substance of the Father, is the Holy Spirit also of the substance of the Father: why is one the Son, and the other not the Son? Behold, I answer, whether you understand or not: The Son is from the Father; the Holy Spirit is also from the Father; but the one is begotten, the other proceeds; therefore, the one is the Son of the Father, from whom he is begotten, but the other is the Spirit of both, because he proceeds from both.’ And a little later, he says: ‘Therefore, the Spirit is of both, proceeding from both.’ Likewise, in his book on the Trinity, among other things, he says: ‘When I had taught through the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both: if, therefore, I say, the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, why did the Son say: “He proceeds from the Father”? Why, do you think, except that he is accustomed to refer to him even what is his own, from whom he himself is? Hence, that is why he said: “My doctrine is not mine, but his who sent me.” If, therefore, his doctrine is understood here, which he nevertheless said is not his but the Father’s, how much more must it be understood there that the Holy Spirit proceeds from him, where he says: “from

> *the Father"?' The Son, that he may be God: for he is God from God; he has it from him, certainly, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from him: and thus the Holy Spirit has it from the Father, that he proceeds from him, just as he proceeds from the Father. Likewise, the Holy Spirit himself: 'But the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father into the Son, and from the Son to sanctify the creature, but proceeds from both at once: although the Father gave this to the Son, that just as he proceeds from him, so also he proceeds from the Son.' These manifold testimonies of the sacred Scriptures concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit have been gathered by us with the help of the supreme artificer, so that, overcome by the judgments of the divine books and pressed by the cloud of many orthodox witnesses, the enemy may not prevail to resist the truth; but rather, persuaded by Catholic and truthful testimonies, he may return to the safest bosom of the Church, so that, educated together in the Catholic embrace, he may one day deserve to receive the eternal kingdom with the sons.*

From this, it is first clear that the very doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was rejected by the other Latins: for the envoys dispute against the other Latins in this speech for this reason; and they say that this question has recently arisen and has suddenly emerged in their times; and finally, at the end:

> *These testimonies for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son have been gathered, so that the enemy may not prevail to resist the truth, but rather may return to the safest bosom of the Church.*

From these words, it is further clear that the other bishops, believing Catholically, did not even deign to admit into their communion those who believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son; so that Baronius is deservedly ridiculous, who, against the explicit words of the Latin historians cited above, fabricates that the Latins in the Council of Aachen disputed not about the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit but at least about the addition to the Symbol: for the doctrine itself, he says, was always held as valid by the Roman Church. Thus, for the year 809:

> *We think the reader should be reminded that there was no doubt or discussion about whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; but that then among the Spaniards (as we have seen and said more fully in its place) and among the Gauls, those four*

> *syllables, FILIOQUE, had been added to the Symbol: whether this was well done, so that the Symbol, thus augmented, might be sung in the Church. For the Franks had received permission from Leo himself, the Roman Pontiff, that they might sing the Nicene Symbol, or rather the Constantinopolitan, in the Church. But when they sang it with the addition, a controversy arose from this, whether, with those syllables added, it could be legitimately sung in the Church. Otherwise, the procession of the Holy Spirit itself should not have been debated or brought into controversy, since it was established by the authority of Saint Leo the Great (as we have said in its place) that it is rightly said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

It is further clear from this that up to this time, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had been unknown or not handed down in the Latin Church. For they said that this question had at least recently arisen, had long lain neglected by those seeking answers, had suddenly emerged in their times, and that the shepherds, roused from the torpor of negligence, had then again asserted it. Therefore, for a long time, the Latin Church was ignorant of, and thus did not believe, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. How, then, do the Latins say that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was always asserted in the Latin Church by constant tradition and succession? How, further, from the time of Saint Martin, Pope of Rome, to the end of the 8th century, is it handed down in many councils and in the writings of all the Fathers, defended, asserted, and sometimes even fully demonstrated, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, if for a long time, up to the end of the 8th century, this doctrine was unknown in the Latin Church? It is clearly evident from this that all these things were corrupted with the worst faith by the later Latins. Thirdly, it is clear from this that it was only at the end of the 8th century that those arose who introduced the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son into the Latin Church. They say:

> *The question that has recently arisen concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

Again:

> *It did not rest as if it had been debated in ancient times, but as if it were some hidden matter that has suddenly emerged in our times.*

Finally:

> *Since this question had long lain unexamined by those seeking answers, Almighty God wished to stir the hearts of the shepherds, so that, with the torpor of negligence removed, they might, with the arm of holy exercise, dig into the heavenly treasure.*

It should finally be noted that those envoys sent to Leo III, when they were forced to confess that this doctrine had not been handed down in the Latin Church before those times, accused their predecessors of negligence, as if they had neglected to assert this doctrine through some torpor; but they, having shaken off sloth, defended the doctrine handed down from ancient times. But because, they say, this question, etc., as we have just seen their words. And a little later:

> *Therefore, let the torpor of negligence be far from the shepherds, let harmful inertia be far from the sharpness of the mind, and let soft lasciviousness leave the limbs, and let deep sleep and soft slumber give way to the rigid and fruitful vigils of reading.*

They speak in the manner of heretics, to evade the authority of the ancients. But when Nestorius offered similar excuses for his novelty, he was convicted of error by the Synod of Ephesus for that very reason. The words of Nestorius were in the first action of the first Synod of Ephesus, Volume 3 of the Councils, column 530:

> *I observe that our people have much religion and the greatest fervor of piety: but because of ignorance of the knowledge of divine doctrines, they gravely err and fall. This, however, should not be attributed to the people as a fault, but to the doctors (with what modesty shall I say?), to whom leisure is not sufficient to propose anything to you about the more precise doctrines.*

But Peter, a presbyter of Alexandria and chief of the notaries, responding, infers from this:

> *Here he openly affirms that none of the doctors who existed before him spoke to the people what he himself has spoken.*

They finally appealed to the Fathers, but their words were either badly interpreted or corrupted, as we have shown elsewhere. For Cyril does not

mention the procession in the cited place; and Jerome's words do not even exist today; but it has been explicitly shown elsewhere that Athanasius' words are corrupted. The same judgment should be passed on the rest, as in the treatise on the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Latin Fathers.

When, therefore, those envoys had read those testimonies for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son before Leo III, it is read that Leo III entirely approved this doctrine. Thus, Smaragdus in his ecclesiastical annals, Volume 7 of the Councils, column 1194:

> *After the testimonies were read in order by the aforementioned envoys, and diligently examined by the Lord Apostolic with the authorities of sacred Scripture: 'If anyone wishes to think or teach otherwise about this matter, I forbid it; and unless he is converted and wishes to hold according to this meaning, I utterly reject the one who thinks contrary.'*

If indeed this report of the Latins about **Leo III**, approving the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, is true, it is clear that Leo III, deceived by the crafty arguments of these innovators, affirmed something of the sort:

> *Thus I think, thus I hold,*

he says,

> *with these authors,*

namely, those whom the envoys had just cited. For it is clear from the very words of those envoys, who said that this doctrine had been unknown up to that time, that it had been unknown to the Roman Church. The same is argued by the words of **Smaragdus**, who reports with great diligence that Leo III heard the cited testimonies, and only after hearing them did the same Pope affirm the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Therefore, it was not up to that time an established, common, and known doctrine of the Roman Church; but further, it had not been handed down in the Roman Church up to that time with constant consent, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father had been. This is also clear from the words of Leo III himself in the disputation with the envoys about the addition to the Symbol:

Whoever,

he says,

can attain to this meaning with a more subtle understanding, and know it, or knowing it does not wish to believe it, cannot be saved. For there are many things, of which this is one, the higher mysteries of the sacred faith and the more subtle sacraments, to the investigation of which many can attain; but many, hindered either by the quantity of age or the quality of understanding, cannot. And therefore, as we have said, he who could and would not, cannot be saved.

Again, he continues:

It is certainly good, and very good, as it is so great a sacrament of faith, which it is not permitted not to believe, for whoever can attain to this.

Concerning certain and undoubted and well-known doctrines of faith up to that time, it cannot be said that at least those who can grasp them with a more subtle understanding can comprehend them, and not also those who cannot in understanding: so that it is clear again from this that the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was not established and undoubted in the Roman Church up to that time, as the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father had been. But Leo III, deceived by the specious, as they seemed, arguments of the innovators, assented to this doctrine; as he also said:

Thus I think, thus I hold with these authors and the authorities of sacred Scripture,

namely, those which the cited envoys had brought forward.

After this, therefore, the envoys sent from the Synod of Aachen to Rome consulted Leo III about the addition to the holy Symbol itself; but they found the Pope entirely contrary to them in this matter, steadfastly asserting that nothing could be inserted into the Symbol on account of the decree of the holy ecumenical synods; so that he ordered them to remove that addition from the Symbol again. This disputation of Leo III about the addition to the Symbol with the envoys sent from the Synod of

Aachen to Rome was recorded by the aforementioned **Smaragdus**, who was present at it, in his ecclesiastical annals, which is cited from here by **Baronius** for the year 809 and is found in all the Gallic Councils and the more recent editions of the general Councils. Thus, Volume 7 of the Councils, column 1194, Smaragdus continues:

> *These things said, I know that some things proceeded more by conversation than by disputation: the series of their meanings or words, except that it is not sufficiently recalled to memory, does not occur to me. And when this conference proceeded to the point that a more certain disputation, rather than the conversation mentioned above, was to be held; although the propriety of the words was not the same, as far as I can recall, this was the course of the meanings and the sum of the final conclusions. ENVOYS: 'Since, as you say, it is most certain that it must be believed, held immutably by believing, and, where necessary, most steadfastly defended by holding, should it not be taught to those who do not know it, and confirmed for those who know it, so that we may hold it more attentively?' POPE: 'It is so.' ENVOYS: 'If it is so, if someone does not know this or does not believe it, can he be saved?' POPE: 'Whoever can attain to this meaning with a more subtle understanding, and know it, or knowing it does not wish to believe it, cannot be saved. For there are many things, of which this is one, the higher mysteries of the sacred faith and the more subtle sacraments, to the investigation of which many can attain; but many, hindered either by the quantity of age or the quality of understanding, cannot. And therefore, as we have said, he who could and would not, cannot be saved.' ENVOYS: 'If, therefore, it is so, indeed, because it is so, that it is not permitted not to believe, and it is permitted to teach it by not being silent, why is it not permitted to sing or to teach by singing?' POPE: 'It is permitted, I say, to sing by teaching and to teach by singing, but it is illicit in prohibited things, neither by writing nor by singing is it permitted to insert.' ENVOYS: 'Since, therefore, it is known to both that you forbid it to be inserted into the Symbol by singing or writing, or that it be considered or said to be inserted, because those who composed the same Symbol did not insert it, as the other subsequent principal synods, namely the fourth of Chalcedon, the fifth and sixth of Constantinople, prohibited that anything be composed as a new Symbol beyond the Symbol by anyone for any necessity or devotion to saving men, or that anything be inserted by removing, adding, or changing in the ancient ones, there is no need to dwell*

longer on this. But this I seek, this I ask to be said, because it is good to believe it, was it good then, as it is for believing today, so also for singing, if it had been inserted by them?' POPE: 'It is certainly good, and very good, as it is so great a sacrament of faith, which it is not permitted not to believe, for whoever can attain to this.' ENVOYS: 'Would not the authors then have done well, if by adding only four syllables, they had made so necessary a sacrament of faith clear to all subsequent ages?' POPE: 'Just as I dare not say that they would not have done well if they had done it, because without doubt, just as they did the other things they omitted, knowing, and not so much by human as by divine illuminated wisdom: so also I dare not say that they understood this less for us; they considered why they omitted it, or why, having been omitted, it should not be added further, just as they prohibited the other things. You and yours see what you think about yourselves: for I do not say that I prefer myself to them, but far be it from me even to presume to equal them.' ENVOYS: 'Far be it also from us, Father, with our God protecting, that we should think or say anything of these things, or, inflated with pride, presume not only to prefer but even to equal ourselves; but only according to the quality of this time and the weakness of our brothers, compassionating with charity, we seek this, we labor in this, so that, because the end of the world approaches, in which, as has been predicted, there will be perilous times, we may also, among other things, be able to benefit our brothers most greatly. Therefore, let us strive to render the faithful in the Lord in the sacrament of faith; and for this reason, because we find that the aforementioned Symbol is sung by some in this way, and that it ecclesiastically conforms to the faith, as we feel, and through this we have recognized that many learned people now, and without end until the end of the age, are to be instructed about so great a mystery, if it is so held, who would by no means be instructed unless it were sung: it seemed better to us to instruct so many by singing than to leave them untaught by remaining silent. For if Your Paternity knew how many thousands today are ignorant of it, who know it because it is sung, who would never have known it unless it were sung, perhaps you would agree with us, and with your consent, you would acquiesce that it be sung. POPE: For now, I assent, but nevertheless, I ask, answer me: are all the mystical sacraments of this kind of faith, which are not contained in the Symbol, without which anyone who can attain to this cannot be Catholic, to be inserted into the Symbols, and for the sake of the less understanding, to be

added as it pleases each person? ENVOYS: By no means: because not all are equally necessary. POPE: Even if not all, certainly many are similar to these, which, unless they are believed by those capable of understanding, they cannot be Catholic. ENVOYS: Will you give something, I do not say more sublime, but at least similar to this that is lacking in the Symbol? POPE: Indeed, I will give, and I will give abundantly. ENVOYS: Give first one, and if necessary, add another. POPE: Since the matter is conducted with friendly contention, and what is sought is sought for the salvation of both parties (and would that, whenever something of this kind is sought in greater or lesser ecclesiastical or Catholic utilities, it were sought so peacefully in all things and without perverse intention!), lest we speak rashly about such revered mysteries, let a place be given for consideration, and we will give whatever the Lord gives about these. And after a suitable nocturnal delay, the POPE said: That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, just as from the Father, just as the Son, the Wisdom God from the Wisdom God, the Truth God begotten from the Truth God, and yet both are essentially one Wisdom, one Truth, God, even though it is clear that this was not inserted into the same Symbol by the holy Fathers? If, therefore, these two, as befits the wise, are sufficient in such a familiar disputation for you to agree with us and recognize that so many prior Catholic Fathers, who either did not insert this matter into the Symbols or prohibited its insertion, as with the other things, as was said above, did not omit it through present ignorance or future negligent foresight, and prohibited what was omitted from being added, we most willingly rest from gathering testimonies. But it should be known that, not only according to the essence of Divinity but also according to the mystery of the Lord's incarnation, we give, by God's authority and the authority of the same Fathers, such and so many things that are sufficient not only to satisfy the wise but also to overwhelm the foolish. ENVOYS: It is not, I say, necessary to labor on whether we are ignorant of what we know: for whatever others know from this, we, by God's authority, know or can know if we do not know. POPE: This is what we marvel at, that you who can rest without fruitful labor, labor so as not to rest. ENVOYS: We do not labor so as not to rest, but so that through the inertia of pious labor we do not lose its reward, and with more diligent inquiry preserved and obstinate contention avoided, we still consider the greater gain that is acquired through this in the hearts of those seeking, than the loss that occurs to those who added it: as if they were contumacious

despisers of the Fathers' constitutions through stubbornness. For it is one thing to contemptuously scorn good things through arrogance, another to make good things better through benevolence. POPE: This, too, although in some cases it is good to be done, is not therefore to be done everywhere. Many testimonies could be added to prove that this is so: but the matter is quite clear in itself, how much better it is that each person strive to render any good thing as it is useful: or, if perhaps he strives to make that same good thing better, let him first see, let him greatly consider, lest by presuming rashly beyond what he ought, he render harmful by corrupting what was wholesome in itself. Unless perhaps someone wishes to assert concerning the present matter or similar chapters, which it is permitted to teach and learn without danger, that the lawful order of teaching be abandoned, and they be inserted there, where never henceforth would the teacher or learner be innocent, but both would always be justly judged guilty of the crime of transgression. This, perhaps, if you do not disdain to hear, is not unjustly touched upon: that here, what up to now each wise person in the Church of God could know for himself, and the unwise could teach without the thought of fault, now henceforth, I do not say the foolish could learn, but not even the wise could sing without prevarication, or by singing, as you wish, teach anyone, and while you choose to benefit many by a path other than you ought, you leave no one in this part alone, whom, if he followed you, you would not harm. For concerning what you taught above, he who would devoutly seek fruit in doing such a thing is not to be judged or held equally as he who would presume to do this through contumacious assertion. This defense, or, if it may be said, tergiversation, does not look to this, does not intend this: because the Fathers did not discern or decree or sanction the same, that a benevolent person should presume it, not a malevolent one, but simply that no one should. ENVOYS: Did not the permission to sing that very Symbol in the Church come from you? Did not the practice of singing it proceed from us to here? For indeed, the same custom of singing did not come to us from here: and how do we sing it up to this day? POPE: I gave permission to sing; but not to add, subtract, or change anything by singing; and to speak more expressly, since you compel me, as long as this was sufficient for you, how the holy Roman Church holds in singing or celebrating such sacred mysteries, it was by no means necessary for us to labor in such things or to give others occasion to labor. But what you assert, that you sing it thus because you heard others in those parts sing it

before you, what is that to us? For we do not sing it, but we read it, and by reading we teach, nor do we presume to add anything to the same Symbol by inserting it while reading or teaching. But those things that we recognize as lacking in the aforementioned Symbols, not quite congruent with the faith, we do not, as has often been said, presume to insert, but we take care to minister them in places and times that are fitting. ENVOYS: Therefore, as I see, it is decreed by Your Paternity that first, that about which the question is raised, be removed from the oft-mentioned Symbol, and then it may be lawfully and freely learned and taught by anyone, whether by singing or by handing it down. POPE: Without doubt, it is so decreed by our part: it is also urged by us in every way that it be assented to by your part. ENVOYS: Since, therefore, as you yourself said above, what is sought is sought for the salvation of both parties, with those things removed that you wish, it is good that the same Symbol be sung. POPE: It is indeed good, which, however, we say not by commanding but, as before, by permitting, because we do not ignore that it can be useful to those in need, as it was then, so now, if it is done sincerely. ENVOYS: Since, as you say, and you speak truly, it is good to sing that very Symbol: for if a sermon full of right faith is removed from the midst, will that same sermon be condemned by all as if it were against the faith? What counsel, therefore, will you give, lest that very thing lead to some ruin? POPE: If I had been asked before it was sung in this way, I would have answered that it should not be inserted. But now (which, however, I say not by affirming but by discussing with you together), as far as it occurs to my mind, it seems to me that both can be done: that gradually in the palace, because it is not sung in our holy Church, the custom of singing that same Symbol be discontinued, and so it may come about that what the novelty of hearing it caused to be sung, not the authority of any commander, if you abandon it, it will be abandoned by all: and so perhaps, as far as it can be, both can be done not incongruously: that what is now rightly believed by those previously ignorant continues to be believed, and yet the illicit custom of singing be removed without harm to anyone's faith.

Thus, where up to now the addition to the holy Symbol concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had first been introduced into the Latin churches, Pope Leo III, consulted about it, entirely condemned it, proscribed it, and ordered that it be removed again from the Symbol.

Who, therefore, would doubt any longer that this addition is justly

condemned, which the Pope himself rejected when it had just arisen? By what reasoning, with what audacity, when the Pope himself determined that this doctrine could not be added to the Symbol, do the later Latins tenaciously retain it and fight for it as if for their altars and hearths? Is it thus pleasing to depart from the definition of the Pope, whom they otherwise wish to be infallible? But Leo rejects this addition to the Symbol because it was decreed by the ecumenical councils that not even true things should be inserted into the Symbol: for among other things, he said:

> *If, therefore, these two, as befits the wise, are sufficient in such a familiar disputation for you to agree with us and recognize that so many prior Catholic Doctors, who either did not insert this matter into the Symbol or prohibited its insertion, as with the other things, as was said above, did not omit it through present ignorance or future negligent foresight, and prohibited what was omitted from being added, we most willingly rest from gathering testimonies.*

Again, the envoys themselves:

> *Since, therefore, it is known to both that you consider or say it illicit to insert it into the Symbol by singing or writing, because those who composed the same Symbol did not insert it, as the other subsequent principal synods, namely the fourth of Chalcedon, the fifth and sixth of Constantinople, prohibited that anything be composed as a new Symbol beyond the Symbol by anyone for any necessity or devotion to saving men, or that anything be inserted by removing, adding, or changing in the ancient ones, there is no need to dwell longer on this.*

And Leo himself again:

> *Because the Fathers did not discern or decree or sanction the same, that a benevolent person should presume it, not a malevolent one, but simply that no one should.*

Again:

> *In prohibited things, it is illicit to insert either by writing or by singing.*

Finally:

> *I dare not say that they understood this less for us, considered why they omitted it, or why, having been omitted, it should not be added further, as they prohibited the other things.*

If, however, the decree of the holy ecumenical synods holds that not even a true thing can be inserted into the holy Symbol: it is clear, according to the mind of Leo III, that those who frequently include the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the Symbol are guilty of anathema, by which those synods condemned those who innovate and augment the Symbol. Hence, Leo himself also said:

> *Since the matter is conducted with friendly contention, and what is sought is sought for the salvation of both parties.*

Again:

> *Where never henceforth would the teacher or learner be innocent, but both would always be justly judged guilty of the crime of transgression.*

With what audacity, therefore, do the Latins again preserve this addition: if by this very thing they sin against the decree of the holy ecumenical synods; if by this very thing they are guilty of anathema, by which the ecumenical synods condemned those who innovate the Symbol? At the same time, it is clear from this, while, according to Leo himself, the meaning of that decree of the ecumenical synods, by which it is provided that no other definition of faith be introduced into the churches, is that not even a true thing should be inserted into the holy Symbol: the Latins erred completely, who in the Synod of Ferrara spent so many sessions to demonstrate that at least contrary things, not also true things, were not prohibited from being inserted into the holy Symbol by that decree of the holy ecumenical synods. For this testimony of Leo alone convicts them of falsehood; Leo alone, by this testimony, argues that this prior part of the Council of Florence was falsely defended. Indeed, Leo added:

> *But it should be known that, not only according to the essence of Divinity but also according to the mystery of the Lord's incarnation, we give, by God's authority and the authority of the same Fathers, such and so many things that are sufficient not only to satisfy the wise but also to overwhelm the foolish.*

So that, according to the mind of Leo III, they were not only defenders of falsehood but also worse than fools: who, when **Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus**, brought forward similar examples and in great number at Ferrara, nevertheless would not give way to the truth, but still sustained most bitterly to dispute for their opinion. Furthermore, it is clear from this that it is absurd that the Latins commonly hold, and **Andrew of Rhodes** proposed, that the Pope is superior to the ecumenical councils; and hence could insert into the holy Symbol, despite a contrary decree of the synods, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. For Leo here explicitly confesses the contrary, who shows that it is not permitted for him to insert anything into the Symbol against the decree of the ecumenical synods; nor does he presume to prefer himself to the universal holy synods, or at least to equal them. For he said:

> *Those things that we recognize as lacking in the aforementioned Symbols, not quite congruent with the faith, we do not, as has often been said, presume to insert, but we take care to minister them in places and times that are fitting.*

And before this:

> *You and yours see what you think about yourselves. For I do not say that I prefer myself to them, but far be it from me even to presume to equal them.*

It is further clear from this that it was only at the end of the 8th century that the doctrine arose among the Latins, by which it is asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. But up to this time, this doctrine had been entirely unknown: nor had it been handed down or asserted in the same way as the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. For thus Leo said:

> *Whoever can attain to this meaning with a more subtle understanding, and know it, or knowing it does not wish to believe it, cannot be saved. For there are many things, of which this is one, the higher mysteries of the sacred faith and the more subtle sacraments, to the investigation of which many can attain; but many, hindered either by the quantity of age or the quality of understanding, cannot. And therefore, as we have said, he who could and would not, cannot be saved.*

Again:

> *It is certainly good, and very good, as it is so great a sacrament of faith, which it is not permitted not to believe, for whoever can attain to this.*

If at this time the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was still such that at least those who could grasp it with a more subtle understanding could comprehend it, not those who could not in understanding: it is clear that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had not been handed down and proclaimed in the Latin Church up to this time in the same way as his procession from the Father; but the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had been entirely wrapped in silence up to this time. So that it is again manifestly clear from this that the perpetual consensus boasted by the Latins, by which they wish that it was always handed down in the Latin Church that the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son, collapses.

It is further clear from this that the writings of the Latin Fathers and the acts of the councils are corrupted, in which from the time of Pope **Gregory the Great** continuously up to the end of the 8th century, it is handed down, asserted, and sometimes even fully demonstrated that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; likewise, the Symbol is very frequently read with the addition. For it is explicitly shown by Leo's words that this doctrine had been unknown up to this time. Nor is it clear from this except that it was only at the end of the 8th century that this doctrine was first asserted, which was also demonstrated above from other sources. The same is finally proven by Leo's words, which he had at the end:

> *So it will come about that what is now rightly believed by those previously ignorant continues to be believed.*

Therefore, the Latins had not known up to this time that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son: therefore, it had not been handed down up to this time; it had not been asserted in the same way as the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father; and thus, the writings of the Fathers and the acts of the councils are corrupted, in which before these times it is always handed down, asserted, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. Nor up to this time had any but a few

frequently included this doctrine in the Symbol, whom others then followed. For thus the envoys said:

> *For this reason, because we find that the aforementioned Symbol is sung by some in this way, and that it ecclesiastically conforms to the faith, as we feel, we recognized, it seemed better to us to teach these things by singing than to leave them untaught by remaining silent.*

But the first innovators arose from the regions of Germany and Gaul, as **Albinus [Alcuin]** warned the Lyonnais not to insert anything into the Symbol, as mentioned above. And hence Pope Leo:

> *But what you assert, that you sing it thus because you heard others in those parts sing it before you, what is that to us?*

But one of the envoys was **Bernharius**, Bishop of Worms, and the other **Adalhard**, Abbot of Corbie; if, however, this addition to the Symbol did not flow to these envoys and others from anywhere else than from some who previously sang the holy Symbol with the addition, whom they indeed heard singing thus: it is clear that it was only shortly before these times, at the end of the 8th century, that this addition arose and was invented; and thus, it is again clear from this that the acts of the councils are corrupted, in which before these times the Symbol is always read with the addition. It is also clear that this addition did not flow from the Spaniards to the Gauls, as indeed the acts of the Spanish councils, even those held before these times, are corruptedly recorded; but this very addition was first invented and arose among the Gauls and Germans themselves. Since, therefore, Leo III saw that those who augmented the holy Symbol, which ought to remain inviolable and eternal, with the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, gravely sinned against the decree of the ecumenical councils, in order to more effectively counter the perverse attempts of these innovators, he was not content merely with the words by which, in the previous disputation with the envoys sent from the Synod of Aachen, he had refuted that addition and ordered it to be removed again; but he also publicly placed two silver tablets behind the altar of St. Paul, on one of which the holy Symbol was inscribed in the Greek language, and on the other in Latin, with golden letters, undefiled, that is, without the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, so that this would be an eternal monument for posterity,

lest, falling away from the pristine faith, they insert new things into the holy Symbol or accept those inserted by others. And he added:

> *These I, Leo, have placed for the love and caution of the orthodox faith.*

This is widely attested by the ancient Latin writers themselves. **Peter Abelard**, in Book II of the Introduction to Theology, Chapter 14, page 1089, states:

> *They also add, to exaggerate our impudence, the testimony of the condemnation of the faith, that, according to the tradition of the aforementioned councils, Leo III left transcribed on a silver tablet in Rome for posterity, for the love, as he himself says, and caution of the orthodox faith; in which Symbol, indeed, in the procession of the Holy Spirit, he mentions only the Father with these words: 'And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son.'*

Likewise, **Peter Lombard**, Bishop of Paris, in Book I of the Sentences, Distinction 11:

> *They also add to the assertion of their opinion and as a testimony of our condemnation concerning the Symbol of faith, that, according to the tradition of the aforementioned councils, Leo III left transcribed on a silver tablet placed behind the altar of Blessed Paul in Rome for posterity, for the love, as he himself says, and caution of the orthodox faith. In which Symbol, in the procession of the Holy Spirit, only the Father is mentioned with these words: 'And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son.'*

And **Anastasius the Librarian**, who lived not long before, older than both, in the Life of Leo III, page 140, of the Paris edition of his Ecclesiastical History, year 1640:

> *Here, for the love and caution of the orthodox faith, he had two silver tablets made, as mentioned above, both inscribed with the Symbol, one indeed with Greek letters, and the other with Latin, hanging on the right and left above the entrance to the body, weighing there 94 pounds and 6 ounces.*

Peter Damian, even up to his time (he is indeed a writer of the 10th century), reports that he had seen these same tablets, in Opusculum 38, which is the Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Chapter 2, Volume III of his works, page 287:

> *Pope Leo, on a silver tablet, which is seen erected before the most sacred body of Paul, among other symbols of his faith, says: 'And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son.'*

Finally, **Photius**, in his Letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia, in the most recent supplement to the Library of the Fathers, page 529:

> *Likewise, the younger Leo, who not only emulated his name but also his faith. This man, indeed, this man, I say, burning with zeal for piety, so that in no way might the immaculate doctrine of our faith be corrupted by a foreign tongue, in the Greek language, as it is said according to its beginning, handed down to the Westerners that the holy Trinity is to be glorified and celebrated. And not only did he take care to have this done by word and command; but he also inscribed it on certain tablets, as if constructed as shields, erected on columns, and placing them in the sight of all, he set them at the doors of the Church, so that by this act all might easily and uncorruptedly learn piety, and in no way would the way be open to such hidden depravers and innovators to corrupt our Christian piety, and to introduce the Son as a second cause, besides the Father, of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, with the same honor and dignity as the Son who is begotten.*

Thus, Leo proscribed the addition to the Symbol concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son not only with words but also with an eternal monument erected, to which, as he himself says, the love and caution of the orthodox faith impelled him.

Behold, therefore, the judge chosen by the Latins themselves, the Pope, rejects, condemns, and publicly proscribes that addition with an eternal monument. Who, therefore, would doubt any longer that this addition is justly rejected, refuted, and condemned by all; which Leo III, the Roman Pope, wished, determined, and decreed to be avoided by all in every way? If, therefore, the holy Symbol is dear to you, and if you desire to proceed

cautiously concerning the definition of our Christian faith: flee that addition, flee the innovation, which the ecumenical councils condemned in those who altered the Symbol: for with love and caution for the orthodox faith, Leo places these tablets here, in which the holy Symbol is read without that addition. Therefore, with equal love and caution for the orthodox faith, we too, led by these, abhor and condemn that addition, following the admonition and definition of Leo III. Let the Latins go against this, let them look with hostile eyes at that monument or those tablets of Leo, let these be thorns in their eyes: they certainly testify by this very thing how far they have strayed from the pristine faith of the Roman Church; they show themselves to be great despisers of papal definitions, they prove themselves vain, while they otherwise believe the Pope to be infallible, here they oppose the definition of Leo III in every way. It suffices for us that Leo III here gave an eternal testimony to the truth, that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son should never be inserted into the holy Symbol, nor accepted or retained if inserted, and that the Latins themselves, by the judgment of Leo III, were rejected and condemned according to the decree of the ecumenical councils, namely those who included that doctrine in the holy Symbol.

To this, **Baronius**, for the year 809:

> *Pope Leo, the guardian of antiquity, rising as an avenger against those presuming without the consent of the Apostolic See, not only made clear by disputing and prescribing what he wished to be done; but he prepared an indelible monument to be erected, by which it would be known to posterity that nothing is to be added to the holy Symbol.*

Vain man! Did not Leo III, I ask, reject that addition to the Symbol because the innovators attempted it without the consent of the Roman Apostolic See? Have we not seen the disputation of Leo with the envoys sent from Aachen to Rome concerning that addition to the holy Symbol; did he, I ask, even make mention of this with a single word? Rather, he rejected that addition at least because it would sin against the decree of the ecumenical councils, which provided that nothing should be added to the holy Symbol; and he added that therefore neither he nor the Roman See was permitted to insert anything into the holy Symbol. How, therefore, could they have lawfully inserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son into the holy Symbol with the permission of Leo III?

Or how could Leo have consented to this being inserted if they had sought permission from him?

> *We do not presume,*

he said,

> *to add anything to the same Symbol by inserting it while reading or teaching. But those things that we recognize as lacking in the aforementioned Symbols, not quite congruent with the faith, we do not, as has often been said, presume to insert, but we take care to minister them in places and times that are fitting.*

No less absurd are the things **Bellarmine** contrives to evade that act of Leo. For thus, in Book II on Christ, Chapter 27:

> *I respond that the Pontiff deliberately did this to preserve the memory of the Constantinopolitan Symbol as it was, and so that all might understand that that Symbol is not condemned, nor is it contrary to ours. Just as when the Constantinopolitan Symbol was established, the Nicene was not abrogated: so too, when our Symbol was established, the Constantinopolitan ought not to have been abrogated. Therefore, with the most prudent counsel, the Supreme Pontiff,*

lest the Greeks think that we reject the Constantinopolitan Symbol, ordered it to be honorably preserved in the Church." Bellarmine certainly pretends with these words that Leo III approved the Symbol with the addition; but that he publicly placed the Constantinopolitan Symbol in the Church without the addition so that all might understand that it is not contrary to the other, nor abrogated, nor condemned. But how Leo regarded that Symbol with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, we have seen above. Did he, I ask, approve it? Rather, he refuted it, rejected it, and ordered it to be removed again. For it was provided by the decree of the ecumenical councils that nothing should be inserted into the holy Symbol. From this, it was further clear that Leo III erected those tablets for no other purpose than that the holy Symbol might be preserved by all without any addition forever. Hence, he himself, having recited the holy Symbol undefiled on those tablets, subscribed: "These I, Leo, placed for the love and caution of the orthodox

faith”: namely, so that no one would dare to augment the holy Symbol with any addition; but that it might always remain inviolable in the Church, as it had been issued by the holy Fathers of the Constantinopolitan Synod.

Some, to similarly evade that act of Leo III, like Cichovius in The Tribunal, page 321, contrive that it was done out of a just fear, lest, just as the Gauls, disputing with the Greeks about the procession of the Holy Spirit, out of zeal for their doctrine, added the word Filioque to the Symbol without consulting the Pontiff and by their own judgment: so too the Greeks, out of zeal for their doctrine, might add the word Solo. Therefore, to preserve the most intact memory of the holy Symbol, the Pontiff ordered it to be published with only those words with which it was first written: especially since there was not then such a necessity to add the word Filioque to the Symbol as there is now, when the heresy of the Nestorians is reviving, who teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone in such a way that he proceeds neither from the Son nor through the Son ad intra. All absurd. In that lengthy disputation of Leo III with the envoys sent from Aachen to Rome, we have seen that Leo rejected that addition to the Symbol and ordered it to be removed for no other reason than that it was provided by the decree of the ecumenical councils that nothing be added to the holy Symbol. And for this reason, Leo III erected that monument, so that henceforth all, following this example, might preserve, recite, and sing the holy Symbol undefiled. It is, therefore, a fabrication that this was done out of some fear that the Greeks might similarly add the word Solo to the holy Symbol. For, as this cannot be demonstrated by any argument: so it is false what the Jesuit asserted, that the Gauls, disputing with the Greeks, added the word Filioque to the Symbol. Did not, I ask, those envoys in the disputation with Leo III mention this as the occasion or reason for the addition? Rather, they said at least: “For this reason, because we find that the aforementioned Symbol is sung by some in this way, and that it ecclesiastically conforms to the faith, as we feel, we recognized, it seemed better to us to teach these things by singing than to leave them untaught by remaining silent.” And hence Leo himself: “But what you assert, that you sing it thus because you heard others in those parts sing it before you, what is that to us?” Again, the envoys themselves: “Perhaps you would agree with us, and with your consent, you would acquiesce

that it be sung.” Where certainly no mention is made that the addition to the holy Symbol was inserted because of disputations with the Greeks; but a profound silence is kept on this. Moreover, the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit had recently arisen among the Latins themselves, and the Latins disputed among themselves about this, not the Greeks with the Latins; those who defended the ancient doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone did not even deem the other innovators worthy of communion, as we have seen above from the treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit that the envoys sent from Aachen to Rome presented to Pope Leo. And hence Charles the Great held a council at Aachen, where the dispute was not between Greeks and Latins, but at least among the Latins themselves about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol. How, therefore, when around these times no disputations about the procession of the Holy Spirit had occurred between the Latins and the Greeks, but the question had recently arisen among the Latins themselves, could it be said that the Gauls, disputing with the Greeks about the procession of the Holy Spirit, inserted the word Filioque into the holy Symbol? Moreover, he adds, “without consulting the Pontiff.” As if the Pontiff, if they had first sought permission to add the word Filioque to the Symbol, would have consented to this addition? Did not his express words in the disputation about the addition to the Symbol with the envoys sent from Aachen say: “If I had been asked before it was sung in this way, I would have answered that it should not be inserted.” And hence, he further showed there that it was not permitted for him to insert anything into the holy Symbol. But more on this later regarding the similar words of Baronius. As if, indeed, a just fear could ever have seized Leo III that, against the word Filioque inserted into the holy Symbol, the Greeks might similarly insert the word Solo. From the time of Photius to the present day, the Greeks have condemned that addition: yet not one of them has ever dared to add it to the Symbol, or advised that such a thing be inserted into the Symbol against the Latins. And, even if not one in a thousand of them had heard of those tablets of Leo III, the authority of the councils was not so diminished in the minds of the Greeks that they would ever presume to add even a syllable to the holy Symbol against their decree. And, if the Greeks had had a similar intent to alter the Symbol, what would those tablets of Leo III have availed against this? That the Symbol

is preserved everywhere in writings and sung among sacred things with the addition, but at least preserved undefiled on some shields in Rome? Would this have satisfied the Greeks; would this have excused the addition commonly usurped by the Latins to the Symbol? It is clear that the Jesuit accomplishes nothing with these arguments. Finally, he adds: “There was not then such a necessity to add the word Filioque to the Symbol as there is now, with the revival of the Nestorian heresy, which teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds neither from the Son nor through the Son ad intra.” But if the Greeks then equally asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone: how is there now a greater necessity to add the word Filioque to the Symbol than there was in the time of Leo? Rather, as we have seen, many Latins at that time denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; how, therefore, was there less necessity then to add the word Filioque to the Symbol than now, when the entire Latin world assents to that doctrine? It is rightly denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from or through the Son if these are understood concerning the principle itself, nor can this be accused of Nestorianism, as was fully shown concerning Theodore in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. But if you do not understand the principle in relation to the Son, no Easterner has ever denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

You will finally say that these things do not yet hinder the Latins. For if the Greeks approve of Leo’s judgment concerning the addition to the Symbol, they ought also to approve his judgment concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But first, Leo III, in assenting to this opinion, was deceived by the arguments of those envoys sent from Aachen to Rome, as we have shown above. But concerning the addition, he himself, not led by others, is a witness to the meaning of the decree of the ecumenical councils, by which it is provided that no other definition of faith be introduced into the churches. Moreover, the Easterners by no means admit that they are bound to accept the opinion of the Pontiff unless the decrees of the Roman Popes are supported by the most true reasons, for the Pope cannot err. Therefore, in this matter, the definition of Pope Leo is justly objected to them, which must be either true or false. If true, why do they not accept it? But if false, how do they otherwise claim the Pope to be infallible? Finally, above all, in this controversy, the issue is the addition to the Symbol; in the universal synod convened

under Photius, no mention was made of the doctrine itself, but the addition alone was condemned; when the schism arose between the churches, as the primary cause of the schism, the usurped addition was always objected to the Latins by the Easterners. If this alone were removed, Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, taught at Florence that the Easterners could receive the Latins into their communion. Therefore, above all, it was to be considered how the Roman See received this addition, which was recently invented and arisen. We have already seen above that it was entirely reproved, rejected, and condemned by Leo III; namely, that not even true things, by the decree of the ecumenical councils, may be added to the holy Symbol by anyone. And this is as much as can be gleaned from the monuments of the Latins concerning the first beginnings of that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol. But who specifically these first innovators were is not known. The same happened when the Council of Chalcedon was attacked by many; hence they were called Acephali. For thus Isidore of Seville in his Chronicle: “At that time, the heresy of the Acephali appeared, attacking the Council of Chalcedon, who are therefore called Acephali, that is, without a head, because it is not found who first introduced that heresy.” So not undeservedly may the Latins also be called Acephali here, who cannot name the first author or authors of their addition.

It is further clear from this that the Latins are vain who contend that the word Filioque was first inserted into the holy Symbol by some great council or Pope. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, in Part III, Title 22, Chapter 13, Session 23:

> *That this was appended or added to the ancient Symbol, which we now sing in our Symbol, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, where in the ancient it was said, who proceeds from the Father, is certain: nor is it to be believed that it was appended by anyone other than a Pope or some council. For who else would have presumed this? But by which Pope or council is not entirely certain.*

Peter Pithou agrees with him in his History of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, among his miscellanea, page 32:

> *And yet no prudent person, I think, would say that this was done without the authority of the Pope or at least the synod of the Roman diocese.*

But we have seen above from the very monuments of the Latins that it is clear that the word Filioque was not first inserted into the holy Symbol by a Pope or some council; but by private individuals, by people whose names are unknown, who were the first to dare this: who, therefore, were rejected by Pope Leo III, so far is it from that addition having drawn its origin from a Pope himself. Again, Thomas of Jesus, in Book VI of the Conversion of the Gentiles, Part I, Title 3:

> *Since before this time it is not found with that addition, as is clear from the Third Council of Toledo, held in the year 589: it is an evident sign that in that intervening time the addition was made by a Roman Pontiff, as is believed, in a great council of Latin Fathers, because of certain dissensions that arose between Gaul and Spain: although it is not clear what that council was, as Saint Thomas noted in Summa Theologica, Part I, Question 36, Article 2. Hence, although the place and time of this addition cannot be certainly explored, it is nevertheless certain that it was added either in some general council or by the authority of some Pontiff.*

Likewise, Hugh Etherianus, in Book III, Chapter 16, Volume XII, Part II of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 411:

> *Without any pretense, without any reproach, and without any calumny, the older Bishop of Rome is not to be blamed; because for the sake of interpretation, he appended one phrase (I mean that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son) with the consent of many holy and most learned bishops and cardinals.*

Finally, Andrew of Rhodes in the Council of Ferrara, Volume XIII of the Councils, column 119:

> *For this reason, the Roman Church was compelled, when it saw a great danger impending: for it was already being sung in Gaul and Spain with the consent of the Western Fathers, who were neither insignificant in dignity nor few in number, to explain what we say, and as we sing in the Symbol.*

So too others passim. And that a Pope in a great synod of Western bishops added the word Filioque to the Symbol is convicted of falsehood by the fact that no Latin can name what that council was; when and

where it was convened, under which Pope; nor can they produce any argument for this or cite any witness from older writers. Moreover, they wished that the Pope made that addition to the Symbol because of dissensions that arose between Gaul and Spain. This certainly refers to nothing other than the Synod of Aachen, in which the dispute was among the Latins themselves about that addition. But Leo III was then living, who, so far from approving that addition, rather opposed it in every way, proscribed it, and condemned it, as discussed above. For that disputes between Gaul and Spain occurred concerning the addition to the Symbol cannot be proven by the Latins with any other argument than the acts of that Council of Aachen, although it was not disputed there between the Spaniards, but at least among the Gauls and Germans themselves. But if Andrew of Rhodes wishes that a Pope made that addition long before these times in some great synod: his opinion is equally absurd. For it is clear that he thought this because elsewhere he teaches that already at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, the Roman Church sang the Symbol with the addition. For thus in Session 7 of the Council of Florence:

> *What need was there to convene you, who knew very well that the Roman Church sang and preached it: yet you did not oppose it, but were united with it? Therefore, you did not withdraw or separate from it because of this explanation. Rather, Saint Maximus excuses the Roman Church, as unjustly accused by the Easterners.*

And then:

> *If, therefore, at the time of Maximus it was sung in this way by the Roman Church, who was in the time of the Sixth Synod, which Maximus clearly shows: neither is this hidden from you, nor can you say that this was done without your knowledge.*

But the Roman Church had not even sung the Constantinopolitan Symbol itself up to that time: for this was done only in the 11th century, as we will show in the following; nor, if it had sung that Symbol with the addition, would the Roman Church have sung it for that reason: for, as has been shown up to now, it was only at the end of the 8th century that those arose who introduced that addition into the Latin churches. As for the letter of Maximus, mention is indeed made there of the doctrine itself of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but a profound silence

is kept concerning the addition to the Symbol. Which Pope, therefore, or which council before the end of the 8th century already added the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son to the Symbol? Which great synod of bishops, in which a Pope made that addition, would have escaped Leo III? Or how would the other Latins not have objected this definition of the Apostolic See and a great synod to Pope Leo III to prove that addition? If a Pope had already made that addition in a great synod, how would the memory and use of this have perished afterward in the Roman Church, so that, as something against the decree of the ecumenical councils themselves, Leo not only ordered it to be removed again but also publicly erected an indelible monument against it? It is sufficiently clear from this that a Pope had not up to that time added the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son to the Symbol in a great synod of Latin bishops. Finally, Andrew vainly amassed fears for which a Pope was compelled to approve the addition in a synod: “For,” he says, “it was already being sung in Gaul and Spain.” For was an evil to be approved lest you disagree with others? It was also sung in the time of Leo III in parts of Gaul and Germany, even in the palace of Charles the Great himself: did it, therefore, seem to Leo that some danger was impending, for which he approved the addition? No less absurd are those who claim that already in the 4th century, Pope Damasus added the word Filioque to the holy Symbol. Thus, Manuel Calecas, arguing for the Latins, states:

> *For they say that after the first Synod, a heresy called huiopatria arose, because it affirmed the Son as the Father of the Holy Spirit, and the latter as the grandson of the Father. And for this reason, Damasus, Bishop of Rome, having convened a synod, added to the Symbol that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, to refute what was said, that He was begotten by the Son.*

And as a witness to this, Calecas cites a certain Skylitzes. Likewise, Joseph of Methone, in his refutation of the encyclical letter of Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, calls that historian George Aristinus, who recorded that immediately after the first universal Synod of Constantinople, Damasus added the phrase “from the Son” to the Symbol. Genebrardus also reports the same in Book III on the Trinity, citing the history of Alexius Aristinus, and others follow suit.

First, if a heresy that claimed the Holy Spirit as the son of the Son and

grandson of the Father had arisen after the first universal Synod, and it was necessary to assert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the Symbol to counter it: how, I ask, did the first Synod of Constantinople itself, or another synod convened in the East, not make that addition to the holy Symbol, especially since that heresy was spreading in the East, not the West? Secondly, it is false that it was necessary to insert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son into the holy Symbol to counter the said heresy; rather, it was entirely sufficient to assert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. For if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, as Christian faith holds, His procession excludes any generation: it is clear, therefore, that by saying the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it is simultaneously denied that He is also the son of the Son or the grandson of the Father. How, then, would Damasus have added to the Symbol that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son because of the said heresy? Nor is there any trace or evidence of this addition to the Symbol by Damasus in the monuments of the Latins. Likewise, none of the older defenders of that addition, whether Latin or Latinizing Greeks, claimed that the addition to the Symbol had already been made by Damasus. How, indeed, could it have escaped the older writers, when later ones knew of it, if, moreover, the Symbol with the addition was in use in Damasus' time? How could the envoys sent from the Synod of Aachen in 809 to Rome testify in their treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son that long before these times, the Latin Church was unaware of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? And what reasons for Leo III could equally be pressed here, from those by which we have just shown that the Symbol with the addition was not in use in the Latin Church in the 7th century? How, furthermore, could John VIII, in his letter to Photius, say that the addition had recently arisen and was confirmed only within a short span of years, if Damasus himself, centuries earlier, had introduced that addition to the Symbol into the Latin churches? For thus John VIII says of that addition:

> *Since no one could so quickly change such a grave matter; although it arose in a short time, it has not been confirmed by the span of many years.*

Moreover, the cited authors themselves varied in the name of the historian who recorded this. Calecas called him Skylitzes, Joseph called

him George Aristinus, Genebrardus called him Alexius Aristinus, so that even the Jesuit Petavius, in Book VII on the Trinity, Chapter 2, accuses the proponents of this opinion of falsehood.

Just as, as we have shown thus far, the audacity of the innovators, who defended both the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol, was not approved but rather opposed by the rest of the Latins: so too, there were not lacking Latins who resisted those innovations. This is evident from the fact that Theodulphus, Bishop of Orléans in Gaul, published a collection on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, which he dedicated to Louis, Emperor of Gaul and Germany. In the year 820, he had not yet been elevated to the episcopal throne but was still presiding over the Church of Orléans as Jonas. These collections of Theodulphus are praised by the editor of Fulgentius' works, and mention is made of them in Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 191; as well as by Lucas Dacherius in Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, since Theodulphus had cited many words of Fulgentius on the procession of the Holy Spirit in this work. However, these collections have not yet been publicly published among the Latins. It is absurd and a sign of the greatest ignorance of history that some write that Theodulphus published these collections against Photius:

> *In the ninth century, they say, "the same truth was most strongly defended against Photius: Saint Nicholas, Pope, and Hadrian II, and from the Gauls, Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, in a book against the objections of the Greeks to Odo of Beauvais, and Theodulphus, from Abbot of Ferrara to Bishop of Orléans, in collections on the procession of the Holy Spirit to Louis the Pious, Emperor.*

For when Theodulphus wrote that work to Louis, Emperor of Gaul and Germany, how could it have been written against Photius? The aforementioned Louis died in 840. Photius only in 864 publicly opposed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, when he had recently been elevated to the patriarchal throne; so it is abundantly clear that the Jesuit errs completely when he writes that those collections of Theodulphus were published against Photius. Therefore, as we have hinted, Theodulphus wrote that work against other Latins defending the Catholic doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; not against the Easterners themselves. Moreover, traces of the

Catholic truth still appear widely in the writings of Latin authors of this period. Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt, in Homily for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, Cologne edition, 1535, page 125:

> *The Spirit of truth is so called because He proceeds from the Father of truth.*

Again, on the words, “Whatever He hears, He will speak,” page 128:

> *He will hear, namely, from the Father, from whom He is not temporally but eternally, not visibly but invisibly.*

Rabanus Maurus, in Book VI on Ecclesiasticus, Chapter 2, page 456, Volume III, Cologne edition, 1626:

> *Therefore, Christ, the wisdom of God, poured forth into the world the streams of evangelical doctrine, which most abundantly refresh and satisfy the thirsty minds of the elect. He is the channel of the immense flow of water: for just as He is God from God, light from light, so He can tropically be called the immense water from the fountain of the Father or river; since the Father is the origin of divinity, just as the Son is begotten from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, whom the Lord called by the name of water in the Gospel.*

And in Homily 105, Volume V, page 653:

> *The Spirit does not speak of Himself, perhaps because He is not from Himself, but from the Father. For the Son is born from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. He does not speak of Himself, because He is not from Himself: for the Father alone is not from another; but the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. For the Holy Spirit hears from Him from whom He proceeds: because He is not from Himself, but from Him from whom He proceeds. From whom He has understanding, from Him also knowledge, and therefore from Him hearing, which is nothing other than knowledge.*

And further:

> *The Holy Spirit receives from the Father, because He proceeds from the Father, from whom the Son also is born.*

Smaragdus, in Homily for the Third Sunday after the Octave of Easter on John 16, page 97, Strasbourg edition, 1536, has the same as we have just cited from Rabanus' Homily 105.

From this time, Pope Nicholas is read to have defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For when Bulgaria had recently been converted to the Christian faith and Nicholas had sent his legates there, they brought the Symbol with the addition to Bulgaria. Hearing this, Emperors Michael and Basil, in letters sent to the King of Bulgaria, sharply criticized both the Roman and Latin Church for saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. The King of Bulgaria did not hesitate to forward these letters of the Emperors to Pope Nicholas. Pope Nicholas, considering the defense of that doctrine, also called upon the Gauls to defend it. We have seen Nicholas' words on this matter from his Letter to Hincmar of Reims, in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers for the 9th century. Thus, beyond the words cited there, he further urges the Gauls to a common defense of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son:

> *In these matters, therefore, setting aside all other concerns, it is most fitting that you, brothers, exert yourselves with utmost effort: and since these are common reproaches that are cast upon the universal Church, particularly that part which is known to use the Latin language, as we have mentioned, all of you who are seen to be adorned with divine priesthood ought to strive together, so that the paternal traditions may not be exposed to such great derogation; but those things that certain perverse people, both deceitful and erring, seek to defile with their usual contention, may be thoroughly cleansed from all stain of blasphemy by the hand of common defense. For it is ridiculous and a thoroughly detestable disgrace that in our times we permit the holy Church of God to be falsely accused, or allow those traditions which we received from our fathers of old to be violated at the whim of those who are always erring. Therefore, it is necessary that we resist their attempts and oppose the shield of truth to their false darts. This we, with the help of divine power, will not fail to do as far as we are able; nor, when heaven grants the opportunity, will we remain silent against them for the Church of Christ: but it is most fitting that your brotherhood, following the example of our predecessors, be found striving with us and unanimously collaborating in such matters. For unless it has lost its senses, the regions of the West (to say nothing for now of other*

parts of the world) have never been found dissonant from the See of Blessed Peter in questions of this kind. Hence, each of you who has attained metropolitan jurisdiction, together with the brothers and co-bishops under him, should take diligent care of these matters, and strive to investigate what must be opposed to their envious detractions, and eagerly desire to find it, and not deem it of little importance to send what is found to us swiftly: so that we too may be able to send it against their madness, along with our other assertions. For nothing so horrifies the enemy, both visible and invisible, as our concord. Therefore, let us stir up our mutual efforts and be found not as if wandering here and there against common enemies, but as an ordered battle line of camps. Thus it is that we now incite your unanimity to a common conflict, and that you participate in our struggles, so that we may be seen to love your holiness with due affection of mind and to venerate it fraternally, and that you may be known not to dissent in any way from the head, that is, from the See of Peter. And after some words: It is necessary that your venerable industry henceforth show itself such that these same enemies clearly know that it does not dissent in any way from the See of Peter, but rather agrees with it in all things: so that your wisdom, reproving and striking their madness with a strong and forceful invective, inspired by divinely inspired writings, may send to our prelature such a response to the madness of the aforementioned Emperors, which, receiving it, we may again send with our other assertions to refute their folly. And after some intervening words: But your charity, Brother Hincmar, when you have read this letter, should strive with utmost effort to ensure that it is also sent to the other archbishops who are established in the kingdom of our son Charles, the glorious King; and that each of them, in their dioceses, together with their suffragans, in whatever kingdom they are established, should treat these matters fittingly and take care to suggest to us what they find, and not neglect to incite them. So that you may be a vigorous executor of all that the context of this letter contains to them, and be found before us a true and prudent relater of your writings.

Hincmar did not neglect to follow this admonition of Nicholas. Thus, Flodoard, Abbot of Reims, in Book III of the Chronicle of Reims, Chapter 17, Volume X of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 527, writes:

Hincmar, receiving this letter, read it to King Charles, residing in the

> *palace of Compiègne, along with several bishops, and took care to send it to other archbishops, as he had been instructed.*

He also wrote a letter to Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, in which he similarly urges him to gather from all sources what supports the defense of the Latin opinion. This very letter of Hincmar is number 51 among his minor works and letters, Volume II of his works, page 809, Paris edition, 1645. Thus, Hincmar wrote a book against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, as certain words of Fulgentius are cited from Hincmar's responses against the objections of the Greeks to Odo of Beauvais in Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, concerning the works of Fulgentius. Odo also wrote dissertations against the Easterners, as Flodoard testifies in Book III, Chapter 23 of the Chronicle of Reims, cited place, page 538:

> *For he [Hincmar] also wrote to Odo concerning the responses to the objections of the Greeks, which Odo himself had collected and written, and sent to Lord Hincmar. Hence, he gives thanks to God, who found them drinking from the same Spirit; and he indicates that what he thinks about these matters should be discussed together.*

But neither Hincmar's nor Odo's writings have yet been published among the Latins by public press. Furthermore, Æneas, Bishop of Paris, wrote against the Easterners. This is found in Volume VII of the Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, edited by Lucas Dacherius in Paris, 1666, page 1 and following. Finally, Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, wrote four books against the objections of the Easterners. These are found in Volume II of the cited Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, edited by Lucas Dacherius in Paris, 1657, page 1 and following. Thus, the Gauls, with great consensus, defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against the Easterners: for they all by then approved the addition Filioque in the Symbol and sang the Symbol with this addition among sacred rites. Thus, Æneas, Bishop of Paris, in Book Against the Easterners, page 52, Volume 7 of the Spicilegium of Ancient Writers:

> *In the Catholic faith, which the universal Church of the Gauls sings at Mass on Sunday, it sings among other things: 'I believe also in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who with the Father and the Son is together adored and glorified, who spoke through the Prophets.'*

Although, therefore, in the time of Nicholas, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol had widely occupied the Latin Church, there were still always those who opposed the rest of the Latins in this matter. This is clear from the legates of John VIII, whom he sent to Constantinople to Photius for the third time. For when they were questioned about that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol, they responded nothing contrary to Photius, but rather preached, together with him, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Thus, Photius, in his Letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia, in the most recent addition to the Library of the Greek Fathers, page 536:

> *It seems to me not to be overlooked, although it is clear to all because of the proximity of time, to recall the legates who, in our times, came to us from Old Rome not once or twice, but even a third time; and when we spoke with them about piety (as is fitting), they said nothing corrupt about the faith that is spread throughout the world, nor were they found to hold opinions contrary to us, but rather they openly preached with us, with clear words, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

Moreover, among those who at this time denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son was Anastasius the Librarian, who expressly, in his Letter to John the Deacon, denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, if the word “procession” is understood as referring to the productive principle; but he adds that it is piously denied by the Greeks that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, and that the proposition “the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son” holds only if the word “procession” is understood as mission. His words are these, Volume V of the Councils, column 1771:

> *Furthermore, we have interpreted from the letter of the same Saint Maximus written to Marinus the Presbyter the circumstance concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, where he indicates that the Greeks vainly accuse us, since we do not call the Son the cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, as they suppose; but, not ignorant of the unity of substance of the Father and the Son, just as He proceeds from the Father, so we confess that He proceeds from the Son, understanding procession as mission: piously interpreting, instructing those skilled in both languages toward peace, since he teaches both us and*

> *the Greeks that the Holy Spirit proceeds in one sense and does not proceed in another from the Son: signifying the difficulty of expressing the property of one language in another.*

It is beyond doubt, however, that the rest of the Latins at this time did not understand “mission” alone by the word “procession” when they asserted that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Thus, Ratramnus, the aforementioned monk of Corbie, in Book I, Chapter 3, Against the Easterners, Volume II of the Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, page 5:

> *Just as the Father and the Son are of one substance, so too the Holy Spirit, proceeding from both, receives the existence of consubstantiality.*

And in Chapter 7, page 18:

> *That He may be the Holy Spirit, He receives from both the Father and the Son, just as the Son essentially, that He may be, receives from the Father.*

Moreover, when the universal Synod was held, which confirmed Photius’ restored patriarchate, the legates of John VIII, and through them John VIII himself, likewise subscribed to the holy Symbol without the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Photius continues in the cited Letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia:

> *Indeed, when a Synod was convened for certain ecclesiastical matters and issues, the legates sent there, those of the holy Pope John, as if he himself were present and with us theologically examining piety and religion, subscribed to the Symbol of faith, which is preached and promulgated by all ecumenical Synods according to the Lord’s word, in harmony with us in voice, language, and their own handwriting.*

Likewise, an anonymous author who compiled the acts of this Synod from Bec, in Volume II, Part II of the Pandects of Canons Received by the Greek Church, Oxford, 1672, page 285:

> *In this sixth session, a common decree was issued, or the holy Symbol of faith, which is thus, as it is today, with no hindrance at all from those who were present from Rome and the other great sees, regarding ‘who proceeds from the Father.’*

Again, on page 288:

> *The most holy elders and legates of Old Rome proclaimed: 'It is fitting that no other rule be renewed, but that the ancient one, prevailing and celebrated throughout the world, be read and confirmed.' Hence, Photius, the most holy Patriarch, said: 'According to the judgment of our brothers and fellow priests, let it be read.' And among other things, Peter, Deacon and Protonotary, read: 'Thus believing and preaching, we approve with mind and tongue the definition of the pure Christian faith handed down from the Fathers of old to our times, and we steadfastly proclaim it to all with a loud voice; taking nothing away, adding nothing, changing nothing, corrupting nothing: for subtraction and addition, even if not moved by the machinations of evil heresy, by the diligence of those who are irreproachable, brings inexcusable injury to the Fathers; but to change the definitions of the Fathers with corrupt words is far more pernicious. Therefore, this holy and ecumenical Synod, embracing with divine affection and upright mind the definition of faith that was from the beginning, cherishing it with divine zeal, and placing and building the foundation of salvation upon it, thus believes and proclaims to all: "I believe in one God," and what follows in the holy Symbol to the end. Thus we believe, in this confession of faith we were baptized, through this the word of truth shows every heresy broken and dissolved; those who believe thus, we enroll as brothers, fathers, and co-heirs of the supreme city. But if anyone dares to publish another exposition besides this sacred Symbol handed down to us by our blessed and holy Fathers, and call it a definition of faith, so as to steal the dignity of the confession of those divine men, and impose it more with their loquacious trifles, and propose that common document to the faithful, or to those who have returned from some heresy, and presume to corrupt the antiquity of that sacred and venerable definition with spurious words or additions or subtractions: according to the sentence of the holy and ecumenical Synods already issued before our times, if he is one of the sacred, we subject him entirely to deposition; but if he is a layman, we submit him to anathema.'*

After the reading, the entire Synod is recorded to have exclaimed:

> *We all believe thus, we believe thus, in this confession we were baptized, and we were deemed worthy of the priestly rank; those who*

> *believe differently from these, we consider as enemies of God and truth. If anyone dares to publish another besides this sacred Symbol, or to add or subtract, and presume to call it a definition, he is to be condemned and cast out from all Christian confession. For to subtract or add shows our confession of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, handed down to us from above to this day, to be imperfect, and condemns the apostolic tradition and the doctrine of the Fathers. If, therefore, anyone, driven to such madness, dares (as said above) to publish another Symbol and call it a definition, or to make an addition or subtraction to that which was handed down to us by the holy and ecumenical great Synod: let him be anathema.*

We have shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers for the 9th century that these things were sanctioned against the common addition of the Latins by the legates of Pope John VIII with the other Fathers gathered; where we further demonstrated the authority of this Synod and defended it from the objections of the Latins, who falsely claim it was entirely fabricated by Photius. Thus, the legates of John VIII, and with them John VIII himself, openly confess that an inexcusable injury is brought to the Fathers when true things are added to the holy Symbol; but that it is far more pernicious when the holy Symbol is changed with corrupt words. If anyone, therefore, dares this, according to the definition of the holy ecumenical Synods, if he is one of the sacred, he is to be entirely subjected to deposition; if a layman, he is to be submitted to anathema; those who believe differently from these are to be considered as enemies of God and truth; he who dares to add anything to the Symbol is to be condemned and cast out from all Christian confession. For to add to the Symbol shows it to be imperfect and condemns the apostolic tradition and the doctrine of the Fathers. Therefore, he who makes an addition to the holy Symbol is anathema. Such testimonies, therefore, the common addition of the Latins merited from the legates of John VIII and through them from John himself in the Synod of 383 Fathers. Who, therefore, would any longer doubt that the common addition of the Latins is justly condemned and opposed by the Easterners, which the Latin bishops themselves and Pope John VIII condemned in every way?

The same mind of John VIII is further evident from his letter to Photius, in which he similarly condemns that addition as impiety and blasphemy, and subjects its first authors to anathema; from which letter it is further clear

that John VIII also denied the very doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, indeed, that he abhorred it as blasphemy. For, as we have seen above, in the time of Pope Nicholas, the addition to the Symbol had already widely occupied the Latin Church, and even in the time of John VIII, its supporters did not cease to sing the Symbol thus: hence, suspicion arose among some Easterners that John VIII himself approved the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and the addition of this doctrine to the Symbol. Therefore, to clear himself to Photius, John VIII sent this letter to Photius, which is found in Volume II, Part II of the Pandects of Canons Received by the Eastern Church, Oxford, 1672, in Greek and Latin, page 306 and following:

> *We are not unaware that some of those among you, little devoted to peace, neglecting the truth, speak ill of our Church. And the matter has progressed so far that your Fraternity is not far from thinking ill of us and of those subject to us. And they have indeed found an occasion, as I myself would affirm, sufficiently suitable for such a purpose, as the preceding discourse will make clear, and God will confirm to us from above with testimony. But like those who adulterate wine with water, they also mix in certain things, fabricating falsehoods from themselves. And no wonder: for it is necessary that he who from the beginning was the artificer of evil, and set enmity against God, and then separated our first parent from the love of the Creator, and made him an enemy of his Creator, even now has some ministers of his own, and drives them to stir up some scandal among the Churches. But I, directing my eyes to Christ, the author of truth, who has taken away the enmities of the flesh, strive to close the mouths of those men who delight in evil, as far as their strength allows. And for this reason, even before your Fraternity indicates anything to me, I have decided to make these things clear to you, so that, sufficiently informed about our affairs, you may lend less ear to those who strive to contend and revile; but rather reject and spurn them; and further ensure that others do not give credence to their words. For your Fraternity knows that when recently one sent by you came to us and consulted us about the holy Symbol, he found that we preserve it unshaken, as it was handed down to us from the beginning, neither adding nor subtracting anything; since we rightly know that those who dare to do such things await grave condemnation. Therefore, we signify again to your Reverence, that regarding this article from which scandals have arisen among the*

Churches of God, you may place confidence in us, that not only do we not say this, but also that we condemn those who in their madness first dared to say this, as transgressors of the divine word, as subverters of the Theology of Christ the Lord, and of the Apostles, and of the other holy Fathers who, convening synodically, handed down the holy Symbol to us; and we place them together with Judas, because they were not afraid to commit the same things as he: not because they delivered the Lord's body to death, but because they separated the faithful of God, who are as His members, by schism, and divided them from one another; and thus, casting them headlong into eternal fire, and much more themselves, as the aforementioned Judas, the unworthy disciple of Christ, choked themselves. But we believe that your Fraternity, being wise and endowed with learning, rightly knows that persuading our other bishops to believe thus brings us no small trouble, since no one could so quickly change such a grave matter; although it arose in a short time, it has not been confirmed by the span of many years. And for this reason, it seemed reasonable to us that no one be violently compelled by us to abandon that addition which he knows was added to the Symbol, but rather with gentleness and prudence to prepare them, gradually admonishing them to withdraw from blasphemy: 'Feed,' says the chief of the Apostles, Peter, 'the flock of God that is among you, overseeing not by constraint, but willingly, not lording over the clergy, but being made a pattern for the flock.' Therefore, those who accuse us, as if we believe thus, do not accuse us justly. But whoever truly doubts our opinion, and boldly announces this to some others who are now among us, they do not speak falsely. Therefore, it befits your Fraternity not to take any scandal against us, nor to be cut off from the rest of the body of the Church, but rather to sustain the struggles of faith with us, with prudence and patience to recall others who have strayed from the truth to embrace it, so that for these you may receive the same reward with us.

This same letter is widely published among the Latins in Latin and is also found in Volume IX of the Councils, latest Paris edition, and is letter 320 among the letters of John VIII.

There is no doubt that John here deals with the common addition of the Latins. For in the same letter, at least in the Latin edition, it is further read thus:

Therefore, we signify again to your Reverence, that we may satisfy

> *regarding this addition in the Symbol (namely, Filioque); nor have the Latins ever used any other addition in the holy Symbol, nor has there been controversy between Easterners and Westerners about any other; nor in these times have the Latins used any other addition in the Symbol by many, except the very procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: so that it is abundantly clear that the Easterners could not have suspected John VIII of any other addition made in the holy Symbol, nor could Photius have inquired of John VIII through his legate about any other, except the added word: Filioque.*

Therefore, John VIII himself, the Roman Pope, with clear words again condemns those who dared to insert that doctrine into the holy Symbol; that he knew those who dare such things await grave condemnation; that those who first attempted it were mad; that they shook the sacred Scripture, the Theology handed down by the Savior and Catholic Doctors; that they did violence to the holy Symbol; that, like Judas, they betrayed the Savior in His members: since they were the authors of a great schism in the Church of Christ on this account; that they cast not only themselves but all who followed them headlong into eternal fire. Finally, he condemns as blasphemy those who retain the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son inserted in the holy Symbol; and with them, he also condemns the very procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

> *Transgressors, he says, of the divine word, subverters of the Theology of Christ the Lord, they blaspheme, who use the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the holy Symbol.*

But to blaspheme, to transgress the divine word, to subvert the Theology of the Savior, cannot be said of those who add true things to the holy Symbol. John signifies with these words that, since sacred Scripture and the Savior Himself teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, those who dared to assert that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, against these clear words, became transgressors of the divine word and subverters of the Theology of the Savior. But to assert that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son is blasphemy: because thus two principles of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son, are introduced; no less than he would be blasphemous who asserted that the Son is also begotten from the Holy Spirit, since he would similarly introduce two

principles of the Son, the Father and the Holy Spirit. Thus, John VIII himself, the Latin Pope, living in communion with the Easterners and recognized as Catholic by the universal Church, condemns in every way both the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol; so that no clearer testimony could be given, nor even desired, against the entrenched assertions of the Latins.

So greatly did John VIII abhor that addition that he did not cease to admonish the other Latin bishops to abandon it and restore the holy Symbol to its pristine innocence:

> *While our other bishops believe the same as us, he said, we strive with all our strength, it brings us no small trouble.*

That John VIII truly accomplished this is evident from his letters to Methodius, Bishop of Pannonia, of which more later. But among other things, these words of John were:

> *We place them together with Judas, because they were not afraid to commit the same things as he: not because they delivered the Lord's body to death, but because they separated the faithful of God, who are as His members, by schism, and divided them from one another.*

He speaks of the first authors of the addition. He shows, therefore, that from the time that addition was invented, schisms, divisions, and various factions arose among the Latins. For neither at the time of the invention of that addition nor thereafter did schisms arise between Easterners and Westerners on account of that addition made to the Symbol. Therefore, it was among the Latins themselves that some condemned the addition as it arose and was invented, as we have thus far asserted and maintained. Finally, John said:

> *Although it arose in a short time, it has not been confirmed by the span of many years,*

namely, that addition to the Symbol. If, therefore, it arose only in a short time, it is clear that the origin of that addition cannot be placed beyond the end of the 8th century itself. Again, it is false that the acts of Synods, in which the Symbol with the addition is often read before the end of the 8th century, are authentic.

With only this letter of John standing against the affairs of the Latins, they claim it was fabricated by Photius. Baronius, for the year 879:

> *But while we are at it, to thoroughly investigate the workshop of the impostor Photius' falsehoods: still other falsehoods are brought to light from his inner sanctum. He further slandered the same Pontiff John, claiming that he held the same opinion as the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. To prove this, he forged a letter written in the name of the same John to himself; but it is easy to convict it of falsehood on multiple grounds.*

And citing the letter of John, he adds:

> *This, in Photius' hands, is a fabrication and imposture of the same Photius, written at his whim, unless it is rather the work of another Greek asserting the same opinion. For Photius himself, in the letter he wrote on this matter to the Archbishop of Aquileia, which we will present in its place below, makes no mention at all of a letter written to him by Pope John: which, if he had received, he would certainly have extolled with great praise, or at least cited, since even by lying (as you will see) he claims that some Roman Pontiffs were supporters of his opinion; but when he speaks of John himself, he mentions nothing, even slightly, of such a letter written by him, but only of his legates sent to Constantinople, and subscribing in the Synod to the ancient faith's procession without that addition: Filioque.*

But that in the times of Pope John, it was received in the Roman Church without any ambiguity that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father and the Son, is argued, among other things, by the fact that John, a deacon of the holy Roman Church, writing to this same Pontiff John, about four books he compiled on the life of Pope Saint Gregory, where he deals with the dialogues written by him and translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias, justly complains that since Saint Gregory in them asserted with clear words that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, they corrupted the text, and by scraping away those words: Filioque, removed them, strongly reproving them for so boldly and impudently corrupting the text of Saint Gregory; clearly signifying that the Roman Church believes nothing different from Pope Saint Gregory himself, nor does John, to whom he writes, differ from that opinion.

As for the impostures that Baronius attributes to Photius, they are evident from the letters of John VIII, which he sent to Emperor Basil, the clergy of Constantinople, and Photius himself, found among John's letters in Volume IX of the Councils, Letters 199, 200, and 201. First, the complete letters of John are recorded from the Vatican Library's register; then, as cited by Photius, they are also available in Greek after the acts of the Fourth Council of Constantinople in Volume VIII of the Councils. And if you except the middle letter, where only a few words differ, the other two diverge significantly from the others. It is clear, therefore, that some things in them were altered, as John himself mentions in his letter to Photius; although by no means does John there call Photius the devil incarnate, as the editors of the Councils, prone to slander rather than following the judgments of their predecessors about whom the matter was concerned, claim. Indeed, John does not even definitively name Photius as the author of these alterations; rather, he speaks of them doubtfully, and despite these alterations, he confirms Photius' patriarchate. Thus, in Letter 250, Volume IX of the Councils, column 180, he speaks to Photius:

> *Since we have decided to deal with you specially with mercy in writings and words, it is very surprising why many things we had established are known to have been either held differently or altered; and we do not know by whose effort or neglect they are shown to have been changed. Moreover, you hinted in writing that, referring to yourself, mercy is to be sought only from those who act unjustly; which we also confess, though dispensationally, about those who do not acknowledge knowing God: yet we do not wish to exaggerate what has been read, lest we be forced to judge what is worthy; and therefore, let such an excuse be silent, lest by saying this, it touch that sentence which says: 'You are those who justify yourselves before men; but God knows your hearts, for what is exalted among men is abominable before God.' Therefore, let your praiseworthy prudence, which is said to know humility, not take it ill that it was ordered by the Church of God to seek mercy: rather, let it humble itself that it may be exalted, and learn to preserve a fraternal, merciful affection toward itself. For if you strive to observe due devotion and the increase of fidelity toward the holy Roman Church and our humble self, we will embrace you as a brother and hold you as a most dear neighbor. For we also accept the things that were mercifully done by synodal decree in Constantinople*

for the cause of your restoration.

The letters of John were thus altered, but in matters concerning titles, salutations, or a milder manner of speaking; since Photius deemed it permissible to change what was less fitting to his patriarchal dignity. Indeed, in the Seventh Universal Synod, when Pope Hadrian of Rome, toward the end of his letter to the Emperor, more extensively reproached Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, for having been elevated to the patriarchal throne as a layman, lest these very reproaches, if published, give heretics material to oppose, this invective part was not read, Volume VII of the Councils, Action 2 of the Seventh Universal Synod, column 115 and following. Nor were those alterations of John's letters made without the consent of his legates. For how could this have been done without the consent of the legates present there? And this concerns the corruptions of John's letters.

Next, Baronius says that Photius forged the letter of John VIII written to him. But then, after presenting the same letter in full, he considers it forged by someone other than Photius. If, therefore, that letter was forged by another, how did he previously claim it was forged by Photius? Why, I ask, did he attack Photius' reputation without cause? He wove a vast catalog of slanders against Photius, claiming he forged that letter: but then he admits it was forged by another. Why, then, was the innocent Photius so beaten? What is this man's gravity? To insult the innocent, to condemn him of a crime of which he himself later admits he was not guilty. But on what grounds does he teach that the letter was forged by another? That Photius was unaware of those letters when he wrote his letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia. But many things could have caused Photius to mention the opinion of John's legates but not the letter of John written to him. For what if the Archbishop of Aquileia had already mentioned in his letters to Photius that John resisted the addition to the Symbol but did not prevail: that everything was rushing into ruin, and few remained free from this madness? How, then, would Photius have again presented John as an opponent of the addition in his responsive letters to the said Archbishop of Aquileia? Or what if, after writing the letters to the Archbishop of Aquileia, Photius received that letter of John written to him? How, I ask, could he have mentioned this letter of John in the letters to the Archbishop of Aquileia? Or what if he mentioned John's

legates but not the letter written to him because the deed of the legates was evident to all, whereas those letters of John were written privately? Since so many other reasons could have existed why Photius similarly did not mention the letter of John written to him, it is clear that Baronius had no necessity to conclude: Photius does not mention the letter of John written to him in the letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia; therefore, it was forged by another. As for the lies that Baronius perceives, which he attributes to Photius from his letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia, what we have shown in other treatises sufficiently demonstrates that it was not Photius but Baronius, holding spurious and adulterated things as valid, who fell into prolonged error. As for the words of John the Deacon, Baronius should first have proven that they indeed came from John the Deacon himself. For we have extensively shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latins that later Latins inserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in many places in the writings of ancient Latin authors. But suppose those words did come from John the Deacon: it does not necessarily follow that the Roman Church at that time undoubtedly held the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For he could have abused the leniency of John VIII, who, as he knew, sought to recall others from this doctrine and its addition to the Symbol not by force but with gentleness. Indeed, we rather turn this argument of Baronius, as we saw above. Anastasius wrote a letter to that John the Deacon, in which he piously says that the Greeks deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; for they understand the word "procession" as referring to the productive principle: but the Latins similarly, not in this sense, but at least with the word "procession" taken as mission, assert that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. Therefore, one could equally add what Baronius subjoined to that testimony of John the Deacon:

> *Clearly signifying that the Roman Church believes nothing different from this, nor does John the Deacon, to whom he writes, differ from that opinion.*

Therefore, those words did not come from John the Deacon; nor could it be inferred from them that John VIII undoubtedly held the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But Baronius added that there were many other arguments showing that

the Roman Church in the time of John VIII undoubtedly believed that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

> *Among other things, he says, it is an argument.*

But Baronius sells a deception: for no other argument for this matter could ever be drawn from the monuments of the Latins; rather, the contrary could be shown from them. For that John VIII condemned the addition in every way is clear from the acts of the universal Synod that confirmed Photius' patriarchate (as above); it is clear from his letters to Count Szentopulcrum and Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia, in which he similarly reproves and opposes both the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol. Thus, John VIII, in Letter 247 to Count Szentopulcrum concerning Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia (who, being Greek by nation, was sent with Cyril by Emperor Michael, at the request of the Slavic princes, to Moravia, where he first preached the Christian faith to these peoples, as Michovius relates in Book I of the Polish Chronicle, Chapter 13), Volume IX of the Councils, column 176:

> *Therefore, we questioned this venerable Archbishop Methodius, your bishop, in the presence of our brother bishops, whether he believed the Symbol of the orthodox faith and sang it during the solemnities of holy Masses, as the Roman Church holds it, and as it is established to have been promulgated and handed down by the holy Fathers in the six universal Synods according to the evangelical authority of Christ our God. He professed that he holds and sings it according to the evangelical and apostolic doctrine, as the holy Roman Church teaches and as it was handed down by the Fathers. Finding him orthodox and beneficial in all ecclesiastical doctrines and utilities, we have sent him back to you to govern the church of God entrusted to him.*

Never in the West was any other addition heard of, nor had there been controversy among the Latins thus far, except the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son inserted into the holy Symbol. That John speaks of this addition is further shown by those words:

> *As promulgated by the holy Fathers in the universal Synods according to the evangelical authority of Christ our God.*

By which are undoubtedly signified those words of Christ: “Who proceeds from the Father.” Just as in the letter of John to Photius cited above, when expressing that addition to the Symbol:

> *Those who in their madness first dared to say this, he said, we condemn as transgressors of the divine word, as subverters of the Theology of Christ the Lord, and of the holy Pontiffs and other holy Fathers who, convening synodically, handed down the holy Symbol to us.*

Thus, it is clear from these that John VIII established that the holy Symbol must be preserved inviolate in every way, as it came from the holy Fathers of the Council of Constantinople and was thence confirmed by the other universal Synods; and that nothing should be added to the holy Symbol in any way. It is further evident from this that John VIII reproved that addition to the Symbol concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as something the Roman Church did not hold and which was contrary to the holy universal Synods; since they, according to the evangelical authority of Christ, confessed that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father. The same was the mind of Methodius, as is clear from his response to John VIII. The same was the sentiment of the Roman Church, as John VIII equally testified. The same, finally, was approved by those bishops in whose presence John VIII had questioned Methodius about it. From which it is clear that there were still Latin bishops in that age who opposed that addition. It is further clear from this that John VIII did not even approve the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: for he said:

> *If he believed the Symbol of the orthodox faith as it is established to have been handed down by the holy Fathers according to the evangelical authority of Christ our God.*

But if, therefore, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is not to be used in the holy Symbol, because Christ says, “Who proceeds from the Father”: it is clear that because of these words of Christ, it is not simply true that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. For because of those words of Christ, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was not to be used in the holy Symbol: because it was contrary to those words of Christ. Therefore, it is clearly evident from this that John VIII disapproved of both that doctrine and its addition. That Methodius was

questioned about these matters was occasioned by the rumor that he sang the Symbol with the addition during sacred rites. And for this reason, he was summoned to Rome by John VIII, as he had previously promised to sing the Symbol without the addition. Thus, John, in Letter 195 to Methodius, among his letters, Volume IX of the Councils, column 127:

> *Since you ought to instruct and save the people of the Lord entrusted to you as a spiritual shepherd with the doctrines of your preaching, we have heard that you do not teach what the holy Roman Church, learned from the Prince of the Apostles himself, teaches and preaches, and that you lead the people into error. Hence, with these letters of our Apostolate, we order you to come to us in person, setting aside all delay, so that we may hear from your mouth and know whether you hold and preach as you promised in words and letters to believe in the holy Roman Church, or not: so that we may truly know your doctrine.*

Again, when thereafter Methodius continued to recite the holy Symbol inviolate during sacred rites, and was greatly harassed by some other bishop who had ordered that the Symbol be sung with the addition, lying: Methodius, I say, then appealed to John, and with letters inquired what these monstrosities were, that something different from what he had been commanded concerning the holy Symbol was ordered? John, in response, denied that he had ordered anything different; he admonished him to continue preaching the holy Symbol inviolate, as he had promised in Rome, and to endure all adversities. Thus, John, in Letter 268 to Methodius, Volume IX of the Councils, column 194:

> *Approving the care of your pastoral solicitude, which you show to our Lord God in gaining the souls of the faithful, and observing that you are a zealous cultivator of the orthodox faith, we greatly rejoice in the same Lord and do not cease to give Him immense praise and thanks: may He increasingly inflame you in His commandments and mercifully deliver you from all adversities for the benefit of His holy Church. But having heard through your letters of the various misfortunes or events you have suffered, you can perceive with how much compassion we have sympathized with you, in that we admonished you, when you were present before us, to follow the doctrine of the holy Roman Church according to the proven tradition of the holy Fathers, and we instructed that both the Symbol and the true faith be taught and*

> *preached by you; and in our Apostolic letters to the glorious Prince Szentopulcrum, which you say were delivered to him, we signified this very thing; nor were any other letters of ours sent to him, nor did we openly or secretly enjoin that bishop to do anything else, nor did we decree anything else to be done by you: how much less is it to be believed that we demanded an oath from that bishop, whom we have not even addressed with slight words on this matter. Therefore, let this doubt cease, and, with God's cooperation, as the evangelical and apostolic doctrine holds, instill the worship of the orthodox faith in all the faithful, so that from the labor of your struggle, you may bring abundant fruit to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, rewarded by His grace, you may receive a fitting reward. As for the other temptations you have suffered in various ways, do not be saddened; rather, according to the Apostle, consider it all joy. For if God is for you, no one can be against you: yet when you have returned with God as your guide, whatever has been wrongly committed against you, whatever the said bishop has done against you contrary to his ministry, both matters, with the Lord's help, we will submit to a lawful conclusion after discussion before us, and we will not fail to correct his obstinacy with the sentence of our judgment.*

From which it is similarly clear that John VIII reproved every addition to the Symbol, even where the Father is joined to the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit.

Therefore, by the testimony of John VIII alone, who, as shown before, rejected and condemned both the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol, the entire strength of the Latin opinion collapses. For he himself, the Roman Pope, whom the Latins hold to be immune from error, teaches, instructs, and inculcates this. Who, therefore, would doubt that the Easterners defend the truth, when they similarly reject and oppose both that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol?

Finally, among those Latins who around this time opposed the addition and that doctrine was the Metropolitan of Aquileia. He sent an envoy with letters to Constantinople to Photius, in which, greatly complaining about that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol, he asked Photius to likewise interpose his authority and resist the spreading evil. The letter of the Metropolitan himself does not survive: it has certainly not been

published among the Latins by public press, though it would be desirable to have it. For we would hear what complaints that Latin himself would set forth against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, how he would condemn that addition to the Symbol. For now, we have at least Photius' responsive letter. Thus, Photius, in this letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia, in the most recent addition to the Library of the Greek Fathers, page 527:

> *The letters of Your Beatitude that came to us first sealed our mind with the certain mark of their religious piety, and displayed the strength of the spirit's love, how great and exalted it is, surpassing the condition of ordinary men. Then, they also showed that the man to whom they were entrusted, this sacred man, with his other virtues and prudence, as well as the constancy and skill of his mind, through which, as through a mirror, the sacred and God-venerable holiness of Your Beatitude, whatever the letters themselves (being letters) conveyed, allowed us to see more clearly and perfectly, and to be delighted by the greatness of his virtues, and to rejoice exceedingly. For we saw a man venerable more for his prudence than his age; adorned no less with the variety of other virtues than with prudence, and supported by equal constancy and sagacity of mind; and (to say it in a word) endowed with such grace as was fitting for him to shine, who received from God to be established as a priest of our tremendous mysteries, and deemed worthy of your doctrine and the imposition of hands; such experience showed the messenger of your sacred holiness, as we perceived. And hence it was possible to understand and certainly infer that he who held the primacy before him, and was his ordainer, and had authorized him to serve as legate to us, was full of divine graces; and who, conspicuous in the splendor of his whole life and in the ardent zeal and love for doctrines, and also a model of salvation for those looking upon him, would be. For unless he had been broadly imbued with your religious piety, doctrines, and teachings, he who draws the grace of the pontifical office from you would not have shone thus, nor, watered as if from the font of your virtues with such a marvelous and great stream, would he ever have risen to such clarity of virtues, as befits the highest priests of God. For not always, or with a small gleam and splendor, do those that are secondary preserve the likeness of those that preceded them in form. Thanks are to be given to God for all these things, who, pouring out His gifts on all and existing as the creator of all, consecrates luminaries and guides, as in the eastern parts, so also in the western, to shine*

> *daily and illuminate the souls and minds of the people, placing them at the lofty summit of episcopal sees.*

When the Metropolitan of Aquileia had indicated to Photius concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as we will see later, here Photius commends his doctrines and zeal for these doctrines of faith:

> *And who is conspicuous in the ardent zeal and love for doctrines,*

he said; it is clear, therefore, that the Metropolitan of Aquileia agreed with Photius in asserting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Moreover, when he adorns his legate with such praises and commends his doctrines and teachings:

> *For unless he had been broadly imbued with your religious piety, doctrines, and teachings,*

he said; it is clear that Photius similarly did not find this legate opposed to him in the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Otherwise, he would not have merited such praises from Photius, nor would Photius have approved his doctrines. And from here, Photius continues in the same letter to oppose the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: since the Metropolitan of Aquileia had previously indicated this to Photius:

> *But while this opinion of your sacred virtue inspired us, and we rejoiced and delighted in its splendid gifts and ornaments, what has now fallen upon our ears (and would that it never had: for it is a dire pain of the soul, not the body: for through this, from the great hope conceived from the sight, we deemed it worthwhile to reveal our sorrow), I scarcely know how to say it without a bitter and sorrowful mind. For as if the Lord's words themselves were not sufficient, or as if they were not enough, so that they have no regard for the definitions and decrees of the Fathers and Councils, or despise their diligence in this matter, or are blind in mind in such things, or I know not how one could even express it; and would that the matter had not reached our ears, I say, that some Westerners introduce with a new doctrine that the divine and most holy Spirit proceeds not only from God the Father but also from the Son, and through such a word create much harm for those who believe and obey them.*

When he says:

> *While we, from the sight, namely of the legate, rejoiced in his splendid gifts,*

and

> *it has fallen upon our ears,*

or, as he later says,

> *it has reached our ears,*

namely from the letters of the Metropolitan of Aquileia himself, that there are among the Latins those who teach that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son: (for otherwise, Photius had already known this in the time of Pope Nicholas, not now for the first time from some rumor). It is clearly evident from this that the Metropolitan of Aquileia had indicated to Photius concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Therefore, after Photius had argued at length in the same letter against that doctrine, he urges the Metropolitan of Aquileia to continue opposing this doctrine, to recall those rushing into error from their mistake, and, with the zeal shown in this matter, not to cease until he has recalled the erring. Photius' words are:

> *And how should this not be pursued with many tears and sighs? And much diligence is needed to curb the progress of this evil, lest we see more of those numbered in God's flock feeding on the harm. For this reason, we too, humble as we are, call upon your outstanding virtue, as if a great pillar of the Church and a watchman set over the house of Israel, to stir up the zeal for God that you have in your heart into a shining flame, and, as a kindled lamp of the highest priesthood, to bring the saving light to all the erring, and, leading those called back from error to the piety spread throughout the world.*

When he says with these words:

> *To stir up the zeal for God that you have in your heart into a shining flame,*

that is, to resist the procession of the Holy Spirit: it is clear that the Metropolitan of Aquileia had already had zeal for God against this doctrine, and thus had similarly been opposed to that doctrine thus far. Finally, toward the end of the letter, he wishes the Metropolitan of Aquileia prosperous success against the other Latins, not only to recall those rushing into error to the royal way, but also to receive eternal rewards worthy of such work: since, as he has thus far resisted the nefarious audacity of the others in heart, so too henceforth in deed. Thus, on page 537:

> *Would that no one be an emulator of that crime or guilty of its curse: rather, may Christ our God be merciful to those upon whom that injury of parricides has crept, and who have risen against His law and voice; and with His clement goodness and mercy, lead them back from error, and be reconciled with those who have boldly injured Him, and grant that they strive to be corrected, and send among them a strong one to cover the paternal shame; and let no one henceforth become prey and spoil for the beast that is the author and instigator of evils: while your venerable head sustains struggles for their salvation, and raises trophies against the common enemy of the human race, and brings forth to God the fruit of the salvation of those who have fallen into error, and offers it to Him, with which the love of divine charity toward us is inextinguishable.*

But here Baronius most vehemently attacks the Metropolitan of Aquileia. Thus, for the year 883:

> *This man, not only turned away from the Roman Church, but contrary to all the Churches of the West, that is, all the Latin ones, adhering to the schismatic Greeks, most audaciously attacked the opinion of the Latins, established for many centuries, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. But that he alone among the Latins was found attempting this, he sought aid from Photius through a legation and letters, namely that a letter be sent by him against the Latins. Having received these, he [Photius] provided what was requested abundantly enough.*

And then:

> *Finally, as pertains to the Patriarch of Aquileia, who, as you have heard, consulted Photius on these matters through his legation and,*

> *as a schismatic, adhered to a schismatic: I cannot but marvel at the man's levity and ignorance. For if, as befits a priest, he had been steadfast in mind and learned, he would surely have followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, especially those who shone in doctrine and sanctity, such as Saint Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, who, at the Council of Friuli in the time of Charlemagne, discoursed extensively on the sacred dogma that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

All absurd. For by this very fact, the Metropolitan of Aquileia was not turned away from the Roman Church: since John VIII, who then presided over it, similarly opposed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; nor was he contrary to all the Latins: since, from the time that dogma arose and was invented, there were always, up to these times, those among them who resisted the novelties of the others, as we have thus far shown both points. There is no reason, then, to call the Greeks schismatics, nor Photius with them, as he later adds: for it has been abundantly demonstrated in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers Concerning Photius that Photius and the other Easterners lived in the closest union and communion with John VIII. Nor has the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son been established in the Latin Church for many centuries thus far, as shown in the Treatises on the Testimonies of the Latin Fathers and the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers. Moreover, the legates sent from the Synod of Aachen to Rome expressly confess that long before their times, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was unknown in the Latin Church. Nor, therefore, as shown, was the Metropolitan of Aquileia alone among the Latins then found attempting this; and the reason he sent those letters was the flood of that addition already widely inundating the Latin Church. He therefore asked Photius to likewise interpose his authority and resist the spreading evil. But how does Baronius thence accuse the Metropolitan of Aquileia of levity and ignorance? As for Paulinus, (for he could not name more among his predecessors), we have shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers that his words were corrupted. But it is not further clear from the monuments of the Latins which of the Latins resisted the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the Symbol. Since, however, other

bishops agreed with John VIII, and the clergy with the Metropolitan of Aquileia, as we saw above.

it is clear that thereafter, for many years, there were among the Latins those who opposed both. Nor is it less to be believed that the introduction of that doctrine and its addition to the Symbol into other Latin kingdoms, such as Spain and England, gave occasion there to disturbances, factions, and schisms, (although nothing is established about this from the remaining monuments) until finally all the Latins accepted both, and the Roman Church itself sang the Symbol with the addition among sacred rites; which happened at the beginning of the 11th century. Thus, we have thus far seen how, when the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and its addition to the holy Symbol first arose and was invented by some innovators, the rest of the Latins resisted these novelties and struggled with those innovators for an entire century.

TRACTATE VI

In which it is demonstrated from Theological principles that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

ARGUMENT I

By common consensus, the Doctors of the Catholic Church teach that all things in the Trinity are common to each subsistence, with the sole exception of the modes of subsistence. St. Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, in Question CXXXIX to the Orthodox, page 188 of the Paris edition of 1615, states:

> *Whatever is said about the three divine subsistences in the same unchangeable manner, understand as the unity of essence; but what is not said in the same manner, understand as the mode of existence of the persons.*

He clearly states: “whatever is not equally said of the three subsistences implies modes of existence.” Therefore, with the sole exception of the modes of subsistence, all other attributes are common to the three divine subsistences.

Basil the Great, in Letter XLII, which is to his brother Gregory, Volume II of his works, in the Greek-Latin Paris edition of 1618, page 812, writes:

> *When reason observes something common in the Holy Trinity and something particular, the common aspect refers to the essence, while the subsistence is the particular mark of each.*

He divides the divine attributes into common and particular, saying that essence is common, while subsistence is particular. Therefore, things that are not common, or that do not pertain to essence, belong to subsistence or to the properties of subsistence.

Epiphanius, on the mysteries of numbers, number II, page 304, Volume II of his works in the Greek-Latin Paris edition of 1622, states:

> *The Trinity is simple, not at all composite, which no conjecture can comprehend, no speech can explain, ineffable and unbounded: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, consubstantial in all things, united in agreement, power, action, divinity, and magnitude; distinguished only by hypostasis and names, joined in power and effects.*

He states that in all things, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same, with the sole exception of subsistences or the properties of subsistences.

Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, concerning faith to Simplicius near the end, Volume II of his works in the Paris Greek-Latin edition of 1615, page 473, writes:

> *Every honorable name is similarly said of the Holy Spirit, just as it is of the Father and of the Son, except for those by which the subsistences are sufficiently and without confusion separated from one another. For I say that the Holy Spirit is neither called Father nor Son; but the rest, whatever the Father and Son are called, the same are attributed to the Holy Spirit by Scripture.*

In these exact words he states that everything said of the Father and the Son is also said of the Holy Spirit, or that in the Trinity all things are common, with the sole exception of subsistences and thus the properties of subsistences.

Caesarius, the blood brother of Gregory Nazianzen, in dialogue 1, Volume I of the Library of Greek Fathers published in Paris in 1624, page 549, states:

> *All unity and equality and identity is in the Trinity, except for unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

Therefore, all things in the Trinity are common to the three persons, with the sole exception of the properties of the persons.

Jerome, in his explanation of the Creed to Damasus, Volume II of his works in the Paris edition of 1602, column 158, writes:

> *There is absolutely no gradation in the Trinity, nothing that can be called inferior or superior: but the whole Godhead is equal in its perfection, so that, except for the terms that indicate the property of the persons, whatever is said of one person can most worthily be understood of all three.*

With these words he clearly teaches that all things are common to the three persons, except for the properties of the persons.

John Chrysostom, in his Homily on Faith, page 289, Volume VII of his works published in Greek at Eton in England by Henry Savile in 1612, writes:

> *The Trinity is simple, uncomposed, ineffable, inexpressible, inseparable in agreement, power, operation, Deity, and magnitude; divisible in subsistences and names, united in matters and effects.*

If the Trinity is indivisible in all other respects but divisible only with respect to subsistences, it is evident that all other things are common to the three subsistences, with the exception of the subsistences themselves or the properties of the subsistences.

Theodoret, in Dialogue I, which is called “Immutable,” discussing things said about God, Volume IV of his works in the Paris Greek-Latin edition of 1642, page 6, writes:

> *We have said that some things are common to the Holy Trinity, and some things are proper to each subsistence.*

He distinguishes between things said about God as common and those proper to subsistence; he knows no other difference between them. Therefore, things not common to the three subsistences are proper to subsistence.

The author of the books on the Unity of the Trinity in Deity, which circulate under the name of Athanasius but are more properly ascribed to Vigilius, a Latin Father, in Book II, Volume II of Athanasius’s works in the Paris Greek-Latin edition of 1627, page 555, writes:

> *You see that one differs from another, or one from another, only in person, and not in the fullness of divinity of essence… Know that one*

differs from another, or one from another, only in person, and not in the united fullness of divine essence.

And in Book II near the middle, page 556:

Tell me, is this Trinity divided or undivided? It is clearly divided only in the names of the persons, but in Deity it is undivided.

These passages are also quoted in the 9th century by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in his Book on the Non-Trine Deity, Volume I of his works, page 482, in the Paris edition of 1645. The same author, in Book VII on the Unity of the Trinity in Deity, page 574, writes:

Let us avoid admitting this blasphemy, when we accept one name of Deity said in unity in the Trinity, through which we have also received the remission of sins by the operation of baptism in us; but we perfectly distinguish only the names in the persons.

He therefore recognizes no other communion and division in the Trinity except that communion is according to essence, and division according to subsistences. Therefore, things that do not pertain to essence, or that are not common to the three subsistences, will pertain to subsistence, or to the subsistential or hypostatic property.

Leontius the Monk explicitly states in his work on sects, action I, Volume I of the Library of Greek Fathers in the aforementioned edition, page 493:

One is the subsistence of the Father, another of the Son, and a third of the Holy Spirit; and these three differ from each other in nothing except in properties alone, and in that this one is the Father, that one the Son, and this one the Holy Spirit. For of these three there is one substance, one power, and one will: they differ only in this, that the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him.

The author of the book on the Trinity, which is ascribed to St. Cyril of Alexandria, in Chapter IX (found in Volume VI of Cyril's works in the Paris Greek-Latin edition of 1638, at the end), writes:

The three holy subsistences differ from one another only in these subsistential properties, not in essence, but in the characterization of their proper subsistence indivisibly distinct.

And in Chapter X:

We acknowledge one God, indeed only in the properties of paternity, sonship, and procession; according to cause and caused, and the perfection of subsistence, that is, the mode of subsisting, we understand the difference.

Finally, in the same place:

According to all things the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the same: except for unbegottenness, generation, and procession.

Each of these statements that we have adduced from the Book on the Trinity is repeated by John of Damascus in Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapters X and XI, pages 37 and 41 of the Basel Greek-Latin edition of 1577, and what was quoted last from there, he repeats again in Book I, Chapter II of the Orthodox Faith, and in the history of Barlaam and Josaphat, Chapter XIX.

Moreover, in the book against the Acephali, which Henry Canisius included in Volume IV of his ancient readings, and which is different from the one found among the works of John of Damascus, in Chapter XLVII, page 187:

The Word had no other nature besides Divinity, and the Word is of the same nature with the Father and the Spirit; and all things are common to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, except the mode of subsistence.

In his book against Nestorius, number XXI, Volume IV of Canisius's ancient readings, page 248:

If there is one nature of the Holy Trinity, and one operation, and all things in it are common, except for hypostasis.

In Book III of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter V:

We recognize the difference of hypostases in only three properties, in cause and paternal, caused and filial, caused and processive.

In the Epistle on the Trisagion, before the middle:

> *They are not separated by place, or will, or operation, or strength, or power, or by any of the things that are said about God, except only by the hypostases and the characteristic properties of each hypostasis.*

And in the same work near the end:

> *In what the hypostasis does not differ from the hypostasis, that is, in natural things.*

And why elaborate on these at length? Gregory of Nyssa certainly testifies that it is a dogma of the Catholic Church that all things are common to the three subsistences, with the sole exception of the modes of subsistence. For thus he states in Oration I against Eunomius, Volume II, page 64:

> *Since ecclesiastical doctrine preaches one property, and goodness, and essence, and glory, and all other things of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, except for the difference which is according to hypostasis.*

Hence even John the Provincial, who disputed against Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, in favor of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son at the Council of Florence, in Session XVIII of the same Synod, stated:

> *Since therefore in divine matters, apart from hypostatic and personal properties, all other things are common: it follows that when we say something is from something, we understand that it also receives its being from that.*

And before him, Bruno the Carthusian, in Sermon I on the Holy Trinity, Volume III of his works, page 73 of the Cologne edition of 1611, wrote:

> *One Deity, one virtue, one majesty, one wisdom, one strength, one omnipotence, one light, one principle, one charity, and whatever else, apart from personal property, is said of one person, is likewise said of all… For in divinity, whatever is or subsists is either essence or subsistence; there is no middle ground.*

It is therefore necessary that whatever is said about God is said either by reason of essence or by reason of person; or either proper to nature or

proper to subsistence. Therefore, things not said by reason of essence are said by reason of person; or things not proper to nature are proper to person. But that being caused, not being Father or Son, are said of at least two persons, and hence it might seem that there are some intermediate notions between essence and hypostatic properties—this objection we shall resolve later. Therefore: All things in the Trinity are common to the three persons, with the sole exception of hypostatic properties.

Since, therefore, the production of the Holy Spirit or procession is not common to the three subsistences—for the Holy Spirit is not the producer of himself, nor does he produce himself, as is agreed by all—it follows that the production of the Holy Spirit is a hypostatic property. But a hypostatic property belongs only to that one whose property it is; or it belongs to only one person. For a property is proper to only one person; and just as one person is most distinct from another person and is not confused with another, so likewise it necessarily follows that what is proper to a person does not belong to other persons. Hence Athanasius, in Dialogue II on the Holy Trinity, Volume II of his works, page 170, writes:

> *Subsistence, besides the fact that it admits number, has a property not at all common to the hypostases that underlie the essence.*

St. Basil, in Letter XLIII, after the beginning, Volume II, page 808, states:

> *The Son has no communion according to the proper notions with the Father, or with the Holy Spirit.*

Theodoret, in the dialogue called “Immutable,” Volume IV of his works, page 6, writes:

> *Things that signify subsistences are not common to the Holy Trinity, but are proper to that subsistence to which they belong.*

Anastasius Sinaita in the Hodegos, Chapter XVI, page 304 of the Ingolstadt edition of 1606, states:

> *The Word does not have the unbegottenness of the Father, nor the power of generation, nor is it without beginning, nor does it sit at his right hand, nor does it bear anyone in its bosom, nor does it have the*

procession of the Spirit, nor the other hypostatic properties of the Father and the Holy Spirit.

So also others. The production of the Holy Spirit, therefore, as a hypostatic property, as has been shown, likewise belongs to only one subsistence and not to several; and since it is indubitable that the Holy Spirit himself proceeds from the Father, according to the words of Christ, it is clearly established from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not simultaneously from the Son.

You might say that the production of the Holy Spirit is among the intermediate notions that are said of only two persons, among which number are also being caused, not being Father, Son, or Holy Spirit, not generating, not being generated, not proceeding. But all these latter things do not contradict the Catholic dogma of the Church, by which the Fathers taught that all things in the Trinity are common except for the subsistential properties alone. For being caused and the rest, which were objected, which are said of at least two persons, are indeed based on two different modes of subsistence, or are again divided into two hypostatic properties. For being caused is said of the Son for no other reason than because he is generated; of the Holy Spirit, however, for no other reason than because he proceeds. Again, not being the Father is said of the Son and the Holy Spirit, but of the Son it is said because the Son is the Son and is generated; of the Holy Spirit, however, because the Spirit is the Spirit and proceeds. The same applies to not being the Son or the Holy Spirit, not generating, not being generated, not proceeding. For although they are said of two persons, they derive from different hypostatic properties in which they are grounded: thus because the Father generates and the Spirit proceeds, neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit is the Son, and so forth. But the production of the Holy Spirit is said in the same and equal way of both the Father and the Son according to the Latins, and is one and the same in both. It is not in the Father because of one property and in the Son because of another, nor is it divided again into two different hypostatic properties. These things, therefore, are very different, and hence the production of the Holy Spirit common to the Father and Son cannot be classified with all the others, but for the stated reason it still contradicts the Catholic dogma of the Church, by which the Fathers taught: All things in the Trinity are common to the three persons,

with the sole exception of personal properties.

ARGUMENT II

But from this it is further evident that all of God's works *ad intra* can belong to only one person, not to several. For all things in the Trinity were common except for the subsistences and hypostatic properties. Therefore, God's works *ad intra* are grounded in the properties of the persons themselves and are not different from them. For God's works *ad intra* are not common to the three subsistences, as is clear by induction: for neither to generate, nor to produce, nor to be generated, nor to proceed is common to all three subsistences. But a hypostatic property belongs to only one subsistence and not to several, as has just been shown. Similarly, therefore, God's works *ad intra* will belong to only one person and not to several. Now, among the number of God's works *ad intra* is also the production of the Holy Spirit. For it is an operation of God that He terminates from eternity within His essence, without regard to any creatures. Therefore, the production of the Holy Spirit is no less a work of God *ad intra* than the active generation of the Son. Therefore, the production of the Holy Spirit belongs to only one person and not to several. How, then, could the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father and the Son together, which are indeed two persons? Since, however, it is indubitable that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father—"who," says the Savior himself, "proceeds from the Father"—it is evident from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not simultaneously from the Son.

ARGUMENT III

Again: It is said of the Father that he produces the Holy Spirit not by reason of common nature but by reason of person. Hence, first, the Holy Fathers everywhere teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the person of the Father. Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity, Volume II, page 163, writes:

> *We also say that all things are from God. Orthodox: But some things are by his command, as created things; the Son, however, is from his*

hypostasis as begotten, and the Spirit as proceeding. Anomoean: Do you say that the Spirit is also from the hypostasis? Orthodox: How else?

Gregory of Nyssa, in his Treatise on Common Notions, after the beginning, Volume I, page 917, states:

One and the same person of the Father, from whom the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds.

Concerning Syagrius, Gennadius of Marseilles, in his catalog of illustrious men, Chapter LXV, writes:

Showing that the Father can indeed be called unbegotten, although Scripture has not said so, and that from himself he begot the Son in person, not made him; and from himself brought forth the Holy Spirit in person, neither begetting nor making him.

Mansuetus, Bishop of Milan, and with him the rest of the synod of Latin Fathers, in the Epistle to the Emperor Constantine prefixed to the acts of the Sixth Universal Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 604, write:

When we say eternal Son, it refers to the person of the eternal Father; and when we name the Holy Spirit, we show that he proceeds from the person of the eternal Father.

That the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father by reason of person is also proved by the argument that, as shown in Argument I, all things are common to the Trinity except those things that are said by reason of person, or with the exception of the subsistences themselves. Then, no less could the Father have produced the Holy Spirit from his person than he generated the Son from the same. Furthermore, essence does not generate or is generated, does not produce or is produced; but subsistence alone generates or is generated, produces or is produced. Therefore, the Father produced the Holy Spirit from his person, and hence it is said of the Father that the Holy Spirit proceeds from him by reason of person, not by reason of essence. Although in all other respects the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one and the same, they do not agree at all in terms of persons, but in terms of them they are most

distinct from one another. If, however, person differs entirely from person, then surely those things which are said of any person as person, and not by reason of essence, are by no means common to the other person; but these things likewise differ from any other person. The same is evident by induction of those things said of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, not by reason of essence but by reason of person. Furthermore, a person is proper only to that one whose person it is, and is not confused with others. Therefore, things said by reason of person, not by reason of essence, are no more common to others than the person itself. Likewise, things said by reason of mode of existence are proper to only one person. For one mode of existence constitutes only one person. But things said by reason of person, not by reason of essence, are said by reason of mode of subsistence, because nothing but the mode of subsistence itself constitutes a person. Therefore, what is said not by reason of essence but by reason of subsistence could not be common to another. When, therefore, the production of the Holy Spirit is said of the Father by reason of person as person, and not of nature, it necessarily follows from this that by reason of the production of the Holy Spirit, the Father differs from the Son, and that it is by no means common to both the Father and the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son simultaneously and from the Father, but from the Father alone.

ARGUMENT IV

Again, when we Christians confess that the Son of God and the Holy Spirit have a principle, we certainly do not understand a temporal principle, for the Son was born and the Holy Spirit proceeds before all time, but by the word “principle” we merely imply the producer or cause. And when we say that the Father is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, we signify nothing other than that the Father is the cause or producer or author of the Holy Spirit and the Son, or that he produced both. If, therefore, the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit in such a way that the Son is also simultaneously the producer of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit will no longer have one principle but necessarily two, just as he would thus have not one but two producers, the Father and the Son. And this is demonstrated by various arguments.

First, they themselves confessed that they posit two producers of the

Holy Spirit—whoever among the Latins inserted this into Hilary of Poitiers, whoever preserves those words as genuine (but all do this), whoever finally objects these same words to the Orientals for the confirmation of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus Hilary, in Book II on the Trinity, page 29, states:

> *It is not necessary to speak about the Holy Spirit, because he must be confessed from the Father and the Son as authors.*

Therefore, the Latins themselves confess that they introduce two authors, and consequently two producers, or two principles. That they assert two producing ones by that very fact, all Latins commonly admit. Hence the author of the book on the mirror in Augustine, Chapter XXVII, Volume IX, folio 287, writes:

> *How is the Spirit of both, who is produced through procession, not preceded by you who bring him forth?*

And one who inserted these things into Gregory the Great, in Book XXX on Job, Volume II, page 984:

> *How is he who is produced through procession not preceded by those who bring him forth?*

Now, to be a producing one and to be a producer are the same in the force of the word. For to be a producer signifies nothing more than to be a producing one, and conversely, to be a producing one signifies nothing more than to be a producer. And every producing one is a producer, just as every producer is a producing one. Thus, to be a generating one and to be a generator are the same in the force of the word; nor does to be a generator signify anything more than to be a generating one. Again, when it is said that the Father is the producing one of the Holy Spirit, it certainly means that he is the producer of the Holy Spirit. In the force of the word, therefore, to be a producing one and to be a producer are the same. Therefore, whoever posits two producing ones of the Holy Spirit necessarily also posits two producers of him, and consequently two principles. Furthermore, the Latins concede that when they say that the Father and the Son produced the Holy Spirit, they thereby posit two who have produced the Holy Spirit, and this is likewise found inserted here

and there in the Latin Fathers. But again, when the Father is called the producer of the Holy Spirit, nothing is signified by this except that the Father produced the Holy Spirit. Again, when the Father is said to have produced the Holy Spirit, in the force of the word, nothing else is signified except that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, to produce and to be a producer are the same in the force of the word. And hence everyone who produces is a producer, and every producer produces. From this conversion, therefore, it is again explicitly clear that to produce and to be a producer are the same. Since, therefore, according to the Latins, there are two who have produced the Holy Spirit, it is evident that thus simultaneously two producers, and consequently two principles of the Holy Spirit, are introduced.

Second, it is said of the Father that he produces the Holy Spirit not by reason of essence but by reason of person, as shown in Argument III. Therefore, the person of the Father, as person, is the principle of the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, the Son also were to produce the Holy Spirit, it would no less be said of the Son not by reason of essence but by reason of person that he produces the Holy Spirit, and thus likewise the person of the Son, as person, would be the principle of the Holy Spirit. But everything that is said by reason of person, as person, divides and distinguishes, not unites, for one person differs entirely from another and is most distinct. Necessarily, therefore, since the Father and the Son are two different persons, but by reason of person it is said of both the Father and the Son that they produced the Holy Spirit, it follows from this that, just as by reason of persons the Father and the Son are not one but two, so also they are not one but two producers, and consequently two principles of the Holy Spirit. And there is no way to understand that the Father and the Son would be one producer of the Holy Spirit unless the persons of the Father and the Son are contracted and confused, since the person, as person, of the Father produced the Holy Spirit, and again the person of the Son, as person, would produce the Holy Spirit.

Third, it is impossible that two persons of the Divinity ever be one product, or one caused thing, but they always are and remain two products, two caused things—namely, when being caused is said by reason of person, and person is produced, not essence—just as not even two rivers flowing in different channels, although they flow from one source, can be one river, but necessarily always remain two. But in a

similar way, it is said of those producing by reason of person, and not by reason of essence, that they produce. Likewise, person, not essence, produces. Similarly, therefore, the Father and the Son, as two different persons, can in no way be one producer, but are necessarily two producers and remain so; and consequently two principles, two causes of the Holy Spirit, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son together.

Fourth, the same is clear if we posit the impossible case that the Holy Spirit is also generated from the Father, like the Son. Then indeed, if someone were to say that the Holy Spirit is generated both from the Father and from the Son, it would certainly be clear to all that he is introducing not one Father but two Fathers of the Holy Spirit, and consequently inferring not one but two producers of the Holy Spirit through generation. For there would not be only one Father of the Holy Spirit if, besides one Father, the generator of the Son, another Father of the Holy Spirit, namely the Son, were introduced. In a similar manner, therefore, where the Holy Spirit currently proceeds only from the Father, if the Holy Spirit were to proceed from the Father and the Son together, not only one producer of the Holy Spirit through procession would be introduced by that very fact, but necessarily two, and consequently two principles. For if, because the Father and the Son generate the Holy Spirit, there would thus be two producers of the Holy Spirit through generation, because there would thus be two Fathers of him, in a similar manner it follows that if the Father and the Son simply produce the Holy Spirit, there would thus be two producers, and consequently two principles of the Holy Spirit.

Fifth, it is certain that if someone were to blaspheme that the Son was begotten by the Father and the Holy Spirit together, he would thus introduce two Fathers, two principles of the Son. For thus John of Damascus, in the *Dialogue on the Heresy of the Manicheans* after the beginning, writes:

> *For it is impossible for the Father to be from the Son, or the Son from the Spirit. I confess one principle as the natural cause, the Father of the Son and the Spirit.*

If, therefore, someone were to say that the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit, he introduces two principles, because besides

the Father, he asserts that another person is the principle of the Son. It is necessary, therefore, that where besides the Father, yet another person is introduced as the principle of the third, two principles are thus posited. But one who says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son likewise, besides the Father, asserts that another person, namely the Son, is the principle of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, therefore, one who teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son introduces two principles of the Holy Spirit.

Sixth, furthermore, John of Damascus explicitly teaches that if the Holy Spirit were to proceed also from the Son, the Father would no longer be the only cause of the Holy Spirit. For thus in Book I of the *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XIII, he writes:

> *And the Spirit of the Son, not as from him, but as proceeding through him from the Father. For the Father is the only cause.*

If, therefore, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son removes the Father as the only cause, it is evident that the Father would no longer be the one cause of the Holy Spirit, but definitely two, namely the Father and the Son, if the Holy Spirit were to proceed also from the Son.

Seventh, Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Treatise on Common Notions* after the beginning, writes:

> *The persons of men do not all have being from the same person in a continuous sequence, but this one from that one, this one from that one, in many diverse beings, causing even causes upon the caused. But in the Holy Trinity, the matter is not so; for one and the same person of the Father, from whom the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Wherefore we also properly assert one cause of the caused, one God, since he exists together with these.*

Among men, he says, not all are produced from one person, but these from that one, those from this one, so that both the caused and the causes are diverse. But in the Trinity, the matter is not so, namely that not from one but from diverse persons the persons are produced, and thus they would have several causes; but both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the person of the Father alone. And hence also the Father is only one cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he explicitly

acknowledges that in the Trinity there would likewise be several causes if the persons originated from several persons, and hence the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the person of the Father alone, and consequently there is only one cause of both, one Father. Similarly, therefore, there would be two causes, the Father and the Son, of the Holy Spirit, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from both. Likewise, if because the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one person of the Father, there is only one cause of both, and not several, it is evidently clear that if the Holy Spirit proceeds from several persons, the Father will no longer be the one cause, but there will be two causes of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, Cyril of Alexandria, in his *Confession on the Trinity*, in words likewise quoted in the *Treatise on the Testimonies of the Oriental Fathers*, writes:

> *For not as the Son came forth from the Father generatively, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, so that we would place the first as a cause, then the second, and the third. Away with such blasphemy and the Greek plurality of gods. For to these two persons there is one cause and nexus, the Father.*

If the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Son, Cyril explicitly shows from this that there would follow a plurality of gods, or several principles, since the Father would be a principle, and again the Son would be a principle. Therefore, two causes, two principles are introduced where the Son is now established as a principle in divinity, which indeed those establish who say that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. Furthermore, if the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son because the Father is the only cause, it is clearly evident that the Father would not be the only cause of the Holy Spirit if the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, but the Son would likewise simultaneously be the cause of the Holy Spirit; and consequently there would be not one but two causes of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son. Therefore, the Latins introduce two producers, two principles, two causes of the Holy Spirit when they say simultaneously that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and from the Son, which is impossible. For by every anathema, those who introduce two principles in divinity have been and are condemned by the Catholic Church, because thus finally two gods are also introduced in the manner of the Gentiles.

They commonly object to these things that there are indeed two producers of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son, but not two producers and two principles. For they say that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are three creators, yet there is only one creator. But concerning the former, enough has been said. But it is false that there are three creators: for you would incorrectly conclude: the Father is creating, the Son is creating, the Holy Spirit is creating, therefore three creators—no less than if you concluded there are three creators because the Father is creator, the Son is creator, and the Holy Spirit is creator. But just as here, while there is still only one creator, namely the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, so likewise these three subsistences are only one creator.

First, being creating and being creator are the same by force of the word; nor does being creator signify more than being creating. Second, being creating is a property of the divine substance or essence. But according to this they do not differ, but are one and the same—the Father and Son and Holy Spirit: therefore only one creator. Third, what is said by reason of the divine essence cannot be said plurally of the Trinity. Hence Augustine, Book V *On the Trinity*, Chapter VIII:

> *Whatever God is said to be in relation to Himself (not relatively) is said singularly both of the individual persons, that is of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and simultaneously of the Trinity itself not plurally but singularly.*

And Damascenus, *Letter on the Trisagion* near the end:

> *In those things in which hypostasis does not differ from hypostasis, that is in natural things, it is not proper to number plurally in God: but to say natural things singularly in each hypostasis, and joining them to say natural things singularly again appropriately concerning the three hypostases.*

God, and God, and God. The same is clear by induction of those things which are said by reason of essence, such as being immense, eternal, immortal, Lord, God, omnipotent; for there are not three immense, three eternal, etc., but only one immense, eternal, and so forth. Likewise therefore there are not three creators, but only one creator: for being creating is also said by reason of the divine essence. Fourth, if there are three creators, there will also be three omnipotent ones, especially since

creation is the principal species of omnipotence. For he who is creating is omnipotent. We do not know two or three finally who created all these things, but only one, namely one God, one who is immense, who is omnipotent, and one principle of all things. Therefore there are not three creators, but only one; and so it still remains established that if there are two producers of the Holy Spirit, there will also be two producers of Him.

From this even the Jesuit Petavius finally slides to the point of preferring to posit the Son and Father as one producer of the Holy Spirit. For thus in Book VII *On the Trinity*, Chapter X:

> *The divine essence is the principle of production not acting through itself, but by which those who breathe act, or rather the breather, if Latinity allows it, and which by acting they derive into the third.*

But how persons are confused if the Father and Son are not said to be one producer of the Holy Spirit, but also one producer or breather, is sufficiently clear from what was said above.

Let there finally be three creators, but only one creator: would it not follow from this that there are two producers of the Holy Spirit, therefore there are also two producers of Him? These are certainly very different things: for there is only one creator because being creator is proper to the divine essence; but according to this, as was said, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are entirely one. But to produce the Holy Spirit is said of the Father by reason of person, and would no less be said of the Son also by reason of person if the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as was shown in Argument III. But person is most distinct from person; nor are the Father and Son one by reason of person, but entirely two: and hence the Father and Son are not one but two producers of the Holy Spirit.

They further object that two persons are one producer of the Holy Spirit in such a way that nevertheless the persons are not confused, just as three persons are one creator and one principle of all things: for the Father and Son agree in the same way in the reason of producing the Holy Spirit, and because of that unity they are one producer and one principle of the Holy Spirit, so that the persons are by no means confused. But the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one principle of created things because the action and power is one in all; and it belongs to them by reason of essence, according to which the persons do not differ from

each other, but are entirely one and the same. But the production of the Holy Spirit is not said by reason of essence, but by reason of person; but by reason of person the Father and Son are not one but entirely two.

But enough about this mode. Indeed, commonly they say there are two producers of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son, as one: because otherwise the persons would be confused. But what reasons, I ask, show that persons are confused if only one producer of the Holy Spirit is asserted? Will they not likewise show that persons are confused if only one producer of the Holy Spirit is asserted? But they said that the production of the Holy Spirit is something common to the Son and Father, and hence while they agree in this, the Father and Son are only one producer of the Holy Spirit. But that there is no such intermediate notion which is said neither by reason of person nor by reason of essence, yet is one, and is said for one reason, not for diverse properties, nor is founded in two diverse properties again, was already shown above at the end of Argument I. But it remains that the production of the Holy Spirit is said entirely by reason of person, as was shown in Argument III.

Others finally add that therefore the Father and Son are one principle of the Holy Spirit, not two, because the Son has from the Father, not from himself, that he be a principle of the Holy Spirit. But this by no means pertains to the matter: for always still, although the Son has all things from the Father, the Father and Son remain most distinct persons; and so because the Father as person and the Son as person only can produce the Holy Spirit, two producers of the Holy Spirit always remain, the Father and the Son: because by reason of persons the Father and Son are not one but two. Moreover, we condemn everyone who would say that the Son is also begotten from the Father and Holy Spirit, as introducing two principles. But would it help him at all if he objected that the Holy Spirit has from the Father that he be a principle of the Son, and so the Father and Holy Spirit are only one principle of the Son? Again, positing the impossible, that the Holy Spirit is generated from the Father, if the Holy Spirit were also generated from the Son, even if you say the Son has from the Father that he generate the Holy Spirit, certainly there would still always be two Fathers of the Holy Spirit, and so also two principles would be introduced. Therefore it remains established that the Latins, while they say the Father and Son produced the Holy Spirit, thus introduce two producers of Him, two principles.

Argument V

It is certain moreover that what pertains to the mode or difference of existing cannot belong to another person also: for the mode of existing constitutes the person itself. Hence John Damascenus, Book *On the Two Wills and Operations in Christ*, Chapter VI:

> *In the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, because the existence of each one differs, there are three hypostases.*

Therefore just as a person is proper to only one, so also the mode of existing can belong not to many but to only one. Now various arguments prove that being a producer or breather of the Holy Spirit pertains to the mode or difference of existence of the first divine subsistence or the Father.

First, the mode or difference of subsisting is nothing other than what signifies not the being or substance or essence, but how the subsistence exists. For that very expression “mode or difference of existing” shows this: since it is said not existence but mode or difference of existing, it is clear that by this is signified that which declares not what the subsistence is but how it is. Hence Anastasius Sinaita, Book I *On the Dogmas of Faith*:

> *The diversity of generation and procession does not demonstrate a difference of substance: for the difference of existence does not signify being, but declares how to be, the same substance remaining of him from whom and of those who are from him, according to different mode, that is understanding.*

Therefore the mode, as was said, of existence is different; but the reason of substance is the same. But being a producer or breather declares not the being or essence but how the being of the first divine subsistence or the Father is. For if it declared essence, it would be common to the entire Trinity, which is impossible. But it signifies being a producer in a certain way: for in a singular mode, indeed unknown to us, the Holy Spirit is produced, just as indeed the Son is produced from the Father in a mode known to us, namely generatively. The same is clear from comparison: for to proceed does not signify essence or being, but how the being of the subsistence is, which is undoubted among all. From the opposite

therefore, being a breather likewise also signifies not being but how the being of the subsistence is. Again, what *spirari* (being breathed) designates, *spirare* (breathing) designates the same; nor is there any other difference between these except that this signifies action, that passion. If therefore *spirari* (being breathed), *spirare* (breathing) will also signify not being but how the being of the subsistence is. Thus furthermore, both *generare* (generating) and *generari* (being generated) signify not being but how the being of the subsistence is. It is necessary therefore that likewise *spirare* (breathing) and *spirari* (being breathed) signify the same. For the Father *ad intra* is no less constituted whether he breathes than whether he generates; nor is the Father *ad intra* less a cause of the Holy Spirit than of the Son: while namely he produced the Holy Spirit from his person in an ineffable mode no less than he generated the Son from the same; and so the Father is as much a breather or *spirator* as he is a generator. By what reason therefore it will be proven that either to proceed, or to generate and be generated signify how to be and not to be of the subsistence: by the same always it will also be proven that to breathe signifies the same. But to generate signifies not being but how the being of the Father is for no other reason than because it signifies being productive in a certain way, namely through generation. But to breathe likewise signifies not being but being productive in a certain way, namely in an ineffable mode.

Second. In the Trinity, modes of existing are founded only in cause and caused: as is clear from active and passive generation, and procession, which signify either cause or caused. But being a breather is likewise comprehended under the term of cause: therefore together with active generation it constitutes the mode of existing of the first subsistence.

Third. Insofar as the Father is a breather of the Holy Spirit, he is a begetter of the Son, and the Son and Holy Spirit equally complete the Trinity, and Deity is communicated to the Holy Spirit equally as to the Son, while the Father produced both the Son and Holy Spirit from his person. Therefore, as much as generating pertains to the mode of existing of the first divine subsistence or the Father, so much breathing also ought to pertain to the same.

Fourth. What enters the constitutive of some subsistence certainly pertains to the mode of subsisting of it: because the mode of subsisting is

the constitutive of the person. But breathing constitutes the first divine subsistence in being a breather, just as generating constitutes the same subsistence in being a generator. Therefore breathing enters the constitutive of the first subsistence. But if breathing does not therefore enter the constitutive property of the Father because breathing does not constitute the Father, then neither will generating enter the constitutive property of the first divine subsistence: because it is a producer just as it is also Father. But being Father or generating does not constitute the first subsistence in being a producer or breather.

Fifth. The same finally taught the holy Fathers, who in the *Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers* testified that the Son and so also the Holy Spirit have all things of the Father except the cause. If therefore the Father alone has the proper cause, with all other things being common; but the mode of subsisting without doubt could not belong to others: it is clear that the mode of subsisting of the first divine subsistence or the Father is to be the cause, namely of the Son and Holy Spirit; therefore the production of the Holy Spirit likewise enters the mode of subsisting of the Father.

Finally, the Fathers also teach so often that all things are common in the Trinity except the modes of subsisting alone. Hence Justinus, Question CXXXIX to the Orthodox:

> *Whatever is said of the three subsistences in the same immutable mode: in these understand the unity of essence. But what is not in the same mode, from these understand the mode of existence of the persons.*

The author of the book *On the Trinity*, which is commonly ascribed to Cyril, Chapter X:

> *We acknowledge one God, in the properties alone of paternity, filiation, and procession, according to cause and caused, we understand the perfection of subsistence, that is, the difference of the mode of subsisting.*

John Damascenus, Book against the Acephali, Volume IV of Canisius' Ancient Readings, Chapter XLVII:

> *All things are common to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, except the mode of subsisting.*

But if other things are common to the three subsistences, with only the mode of subsistence excepted: it is clear that since the production of the Holy Spirit is not common to the three subsistences, it enters the mode of subsisting of the Father: for it is undoubted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from him. Since therefore the production of the Holy Spirit pertains to the mode of subsisting of the Father, but the mode of subsisting can belong to only one person, as was said before: it is clear that the production of the Holy Spirit belongs to the Father alone and not to another person also; therefore not to the Son either. Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not simultaneously also from the Son. Namely, the constitutive or mode of subsisting of the paternal subsistence is to be the cause of the Son and Holy Spirit, of the former indeed as generator, of the latter as breather. Therefore, both generation and spiration enter into the constitutive or mode of existing of the paternal subsistence: neither alone completes it, but both together constitute the same. But for passive generation and procession to constitute one mode of existing was impossible: for the same could not be generated and spirated by the same; for spiration entirely excludes generation. But for the same to be begotten and not begotten by the same is impossible. However, one could generate one and not generate or spirate another: just as the Father generated the Son and produced the Holy Spirit; apostolic indeed pertains to the mode of existing of the Father, but not insofar as he is Father or generator, but insofar as by his name the complete divine subsistence is first signified. For being generator or Father also pertains to the mode of existing of the spirator, but not insofar as he is spirator, but insofar as by the voice of spirator the first divine subsistence is signified.

The Fathers indeed posit the mode of existing of the Father, or of the first subsistence, to be generator or Father, but by this very fact it is not excluded from the mode of subsisting of the first divine subsistence to be apostolic. For they also often posit the mode of subsisting of the first divine subsistence to be unbegotten at least. Do they therefore deny that generator or Father is not the mode of existing of the first divine person? Thus Gregory the Theologian in Oration XXXVII:

> *From these words, that he is not begotten, and that he is begotten, and that he proceeds, this has been established, so that one is called Father, another Son, another Holy Spirit; and thus the unconfused*

distinction of the three persons is preserved in one nature and dignity of divinity.

Caesarius, the brother of the same Gregory, in Dialogue I:

All unity, equality, and identity in the Trinity, except unbegottenness, generation and procession.

Cyril in Book on the Trinity, Chapter VII:

Whatever the Father has belongs to him, except unbegottenness, which signifies neither difference of essence, nor dignity, but mode of existence.

Finally, John Damascene among other things in Book I of *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter IX:

Except unbegottenness, the Son has all things that the Father has.

The same, moreover, when he had so often excepted only the unbegottenness of the Father from the Son, in Book III on Images, then excepts paternity as well:

The Son is, he says, the image of the Father, differing in nothing, in all things similar to the Father, except only unbegottenness and paternity.

Therefore, that the holy Fathers so often say the mode of existing of the Father is to be generator, or to be Father: this happened because, although the first divine subsistence is no less apostolic than Father; nevertheless, in sacred Scripture the first divine subsistence was never revealed under any proper name by reason of the produced Holy Spirit, as indeed by reason of the begotten Son, under the name of Father: for the Holy Spirit was produced in an ineffable manner, certainly not revealed to us. Hence neither does he himself have a proper name, but claims as proper to himself at least the common name of Father and Son. From this name of Father, therefore, which alone was revealed in sacred Scripture, the Fathers declare the mode of existing of the first subsistence; which indeed sufficed to show that the first subsistence differs perfectly from the Son, and even from the Holy Spirit also. Thus Gregory of Nyssa in Oration I against Eunomius:

For the Holy Spirit is joined to the Father, according to which both are uncreated; again he is distinguished from him: in that he is not Father, as that one is.

Objection and Response

You will say: The Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit does not have a Father, nor is the Father except of the Son: how therefore would spiration constitute the person of the Father? For if the active spirator is the Father: therefore since by Father is understood only the relation to the Son (as so many holy Fathers testify), the Holy Spirit is necessarily the Son; and whoever conceives the spirator Father, necessarily conceives the spirated Son: since it is impossible for anyone to be Father, except in respect to a Son, and it is the same thing, as holy Athanasius testifies, to have a Father as to be begotten. If therefore the Holy Spirit has a Father, he ought to be begotten and Son.

But how could it ever be denied that the active spirator of the Holy Spirit is the Father, or that the Holy Spirit has the Father as principle? Do not the Latins likewise affirm this? But how could it be inferred from this that the Holy Spirit is the Son of the Father? But if it should follow: the spirator is the Father; but by the voice of Father is understood only the relation to the Son: therefore the Holy Spirit is necessarily the Son; again, whoever conceives the spirator Father, necessarily conceives the spirated Son; since it is impossible for there to be a Father except in respect to a Son; if, I say, this should follow: likewise it would follow, because it is established among all, that the Father is the producer or spirator of the Holy Spirit: the Father is spirator; but by the voice of spirator is understood only the relation to the spirated: therefore the Son is necessarily Spirit. Again, whoever conceives the Father as spirator, necessarily conceives the begotten as spirated, or the Holy Spirit: since it is impossible for anyone to be spirator, except in respect to the spirated.

Since these things are absurd: it is clear that likewise the superior inference is of no value: namely, the Holy Spirit indeed has the Father as principle, and the active spirator of the Holy Spirit is the Father; but not insofar as he is Father, but insofar as by the name of Father the first subsistence is signified. But by Father, insofar as he is Father, is understood the relation to the Son; not indeed insofar as by the name of

Father the complete subsistence is signified. It is false, finally, that we assert the Holy Spirit to have a Father; since we say at least either that the mode of existing of the Father, insofar as by this voice the first subsistence is signified, spiration of the Holy Spirit enters, or that the spirator is the Father, not however insofar as he is Father.

You will say further, the Fathers teach that the Son is the term of the Father: how therefore would the constitutive of the Father be not paternity alone, but also active spiration? But, as said, we say that active spiration enters the constitutive not of the Father insofar as he is Father, but insofar as by the name of Father the first subsistence is signified: for to be apostolic is not to be generator. But the Son is the term of the Father insofar as he is Father, not insofar as by the name of Father the first subsistence is signified. Therefore this dogma is not absurd, not contrary to the holy Fathers, not devised only to detract spiration from the Son.

Argument VI

It is confessed among all that there is one and the same principle at least of the Deity, namely of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. But the Son, who is generated from that one unique principle, is begotten from the Father alone. Therefore the Father alone is that one and the same principle of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit also proceeds from that one unique principle; which since it is the Father alone: it is clear that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. . . not simultaneously from the Son.

Argument VII

Again, if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son, all things indeed would be common between Father and Son, except where opposition of relations stands in the way: but for this reason there would not be as great unity between Father and Holy Spirit as between Father and Son; nor would the Holy Spirit have all things of the Father in such a way as indeed the Son has all things of the Father, or the Father all things of the Son. For it will not be excepted only where opposition of relations stands

in the way; but also the Holy Spirit would not have some things of the Father, where opposition of relations does not stand in the way at all. For the Father would have active generation, which the Holy Spirit does not have, yet it is not relatively opposed to the Holy Spirit. Therefore there would be greater unity between Father and Son than between Father and Holy Spirit. But this is absurd and diametrically opposed to the dogma of the Catholic Church. For in the same way the holy Fathers teach, just as the Son has all things of the Father, so also the Holy Spirit has all things of the Father.

Dionysius the Areopagite in the book *On Divine Names*, Chapter II:

> *What belongs to the Father and Son, he applies also to the divine Spirit socially and conjointly.*

Basil in Book III to Eunomius:

> *What things are common to Father and Son, are equally common to the Holy Spirit.*

Augustine in Book II on the Trinity, Chapter IV:

> *All things that the Father has belong not only to the Son, but also to the Holy Spirit.*

Leo the Great, Roman Pope, in Sermon I on Pentecost:

> *The Father's things are not different, the Son's different, the Holy Spirit's different; but all things whatsoever the Father has, the Son has, and the Holy Spirit has.*

Finally Antiochus the Monk of Laura of Abbot Sabas, in Homily I on Faith:

> *To speak briefly, the divine Word of majesty himself says: 'I and the Father are one.' And: 'All mine are yours, and yours are mine.' Likewise whatever belongs to the Father and Son, the Son himself ascribes the same entirely to the Holy Spirit, because of the indiscrete equality of the common and one nature, namely because of the reverend worship of divine operation, the fountainhead and perpetual cause of creative power, when he says: 'Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'*

Therefore the Son has all things of the Father in the same way as the Holy Spirit; but the Holy Spirit does not have the active generation of the Son: therefore neither will the Son have the production of the Holy Spirit. Therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and not simultaneously from the Son.

Argument VIII

The holy theology of the Fathers teaches that the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit are one God for this reason: because both the Son and the Holy Spirit are referred to one principle, the Father. Thus we have heard teaching in the *Treatise on Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers*: Saint Gregory the Wonderworker in the exposition of faith which is called "according to parts"; Saint Gregory the Theologian likewise in Orations XXIX, XXXVII, and XL; Saint John Damascene in the book *Against the Acephali*, Chapter LXVII; Michael Syncellus in the life of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite; finally Elias Metropolitan of Crete in scholia to Orations III, IV, and VI of Gregory the Theologian.

If therefore besides the Father the Holy Spirit were also referred to another as principle: then certainly both the Son and the Holy Spirit would not be referred more to one principle the Father, and thus to one Father, and thus the Father and Son and Holy Spirit would not be more one God, which is impossible. Lest therefore the unity of divinity be dissolved, it must necessarily be confessed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not simultaneously from the Son.

Argument IX

We indeed believe Trinity in one divinity: because being Father is not said simultaneously of others, but of the Father alone; being Son is said likewise of the Son alone, and not also of others; finally being Holy Spirit is said of the Holy Spirit alone and not of others also. Because therefore three proper names, or three diverse hypostatic properties occur in divinity: hence we believe Trinity in divinity. But we believe again also unity: because things are said singularly not plurally, e.g., to be God, Lord, eternal, omnipotent, omniscient, and so forth.

Likewise therefore besides Trinity and unity, duality would already be given in divinity: if the production of the Holy Spirit were common to Father and Son. For in this way two persons, Father and Son, would agree in that one thing, namely in the production of the Holy Spirit; and thus by reason of this would be one and the same; just as hence also the Latins want the Father and Son to be one producer of the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit would not simultaneously agree in this but would be entirely excluded from it. Therefore the Father and Son would be one, who agreed in the production of the Holy Spirit; but the Holy Spirit would be another who did not agree in the same: therefore that duality would thus be inferred besides Trinity and unity is clearly evident from this. But this is impossible. Therefore the production of the Holy Spirit is not common to Father and Son. Therefore it does not belong to the Son, but to the Father alone; for that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father is undoubted among all.

If you object that it is caused, not proceeding, that the Father is not, and similar things, we have already resolved these in Argument I at the end. For these individual things are founded in two diverse hypostatic properties, and are divided again into two hypostatic properties. Therefore these things are most diverse from the production of the Holy Spirit.

Finally we note that the Latins would no less absurdly assert to the Son also the production of the Holy Spirit with those words: produced and unproduced cause; principal cause and less principal. For while they pretend that the Son has not from himself but from the Father that he be the principle of the Holy Spirit, hence they call the Father indeed unproduced cause and principal principle, but the Son produced cause and less principal principle. Absurdly indeed. For although the Son also has from God the Father that he be God: it would be said absurdly, indeed blasphemously, God the Father, unproduced God or principal God; but the Son produced God, or less principal God. Moreover, the Son also has from the Father that he be creator: could the Father therefore be called principal and unproduced creator; but the Son less principal and produced creator? But why should such things be abstained from: except because thus there would already seem to be two Gods, two creators? But if such words are absurd, to be disapproved and omitted concerning divinity: equally they were to be disapproved concerning the production

of the Holy Spirit, for the reason of this is equal.

The Fathers indeed call the Father the principal cause; but they do not presuppose thereby another less principal cause of the Holy Spirit, but understand at least that the Father is the cause of the Son. Again the Fathers say the Son is principle from principle, principle, I say, of created things: never however do they call him less principal principle. But as the Son is said to be principle from principle: so likewise he is said to be God from God, light from light. Yet no one would say the Son is therefore less principal God. It is different therefore: for the Son to be called principle from principle, and less principal principle.

Otherwise we know spontaneously, from this at least, that because God the Father has from himself that he be principle, but the Son has this from the Father, it does not necessarily follow that Father and Son were two principles of the Holy Spirit. For equally the Father has from himself that he be the principle of created things, but the Son has the same from the Father: and yet therefore Father and Son are not two principles of created things, but one at least. But that is what we urge in this argument, that it is absurd to use those words concerning the production of the Holy Spirit, namely produced and unproduced cause, principal and less principal cause, which were invented by later Latins for no other purpose than to elude the truth.

For they could not believe more conveniently that they could escape the words by which the holy Fathers so often expressly taught that the Father alone is the cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, unless by this distinction; or corrupt the words of the Fathers most opposing them, than if they inserted the single word “principally.” Which was done especially concerning Augustine, as was demonstrated in the *Treatise on Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers*.

TRACTATE VII

in which it is shown that by that decree of the Ecumenical Synods, by which it is commanded that no other definition of faith be brought into the Churches except the Nicene, not only contrary things, but even true things are prohibited from being inserted into the Holy Symbol; and therefore even if it were true that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, it could by no means have been inserted into the Holy Symbol.

The decree of the third Ecumenical Synod, that is, Action VI of the same Synod, Volume III of the Councils, column 689, states:

> *Having read these things, the holy Synod decreed that it is not permitted for anyone to put forward or write or compose another faith, besides that defined by the holy Fathers gathered at Nicaea with the Holy Spirit. But those who dare either to compose another faith, or to put forward, or to offer it to those wishing to be converted to the knowledge of truth, whether from paganism, or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever: if they are bishops or clerics, it decreed that bishops be alien from the episcopate, and clerics from the clergy; but if they are laymen, let them be subject to anathema.*

The same decree was repeated and confirmed by the following three holy Ecumenical Synods. Thus the Chalcedonian [Synod], Action V, Volume IV of the Councils, column 367:

> *Therefore, with all care and diligence having been arranged by us from every side, the holy and universal Synod has defined that it is not permitted for anyone to put forward or write or compose or think or teach another faith. But those who dare to compose another faith, or to put forward, or to hand down another Symbol to those wishing to be converted to the knowledge of truth, whether from paganism, or*

> *from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever: if they are bishops or clerics, let bishops be alien from the episcopate, and clerics from the clergy; but if they are monks or laymen, let them be anathematized.*

These words are repeated and approved in all respects by the Fathers of the fifth Ecumenical Synod gathered at Constantinople, collation VI, Volume V of the Councils, column 544. Finally, the sixth universal Synod, in its definition, Action XVII, thus repeats and confirms that decree, Volume VI of the Councils, column 1028:

> *Therefore, with all caution and diligence having been formed by us from every side, we define that it is not permitted for anyone to put forward, or write, compose, or think, or even teach otherwise, another faith. But those who presume to compose another faith, or to put forward, or to teach, or to hand down another Symbol to those wishing to be converted to the knowledge of truth from paganism, or Judaism, or from any heresy; or those who introduce novelty of voice or speech for invention, for the subversion of those things which have now been determined by us: if indeed they are bishops or clerics, let bishops be alien from the episcopate, clerics truly from the clergy; but if they are monks or laymen, let them also be anathematized.*

On the Understanding of the Nicene Symbol

Under the name of the Nicene Symbol, various arguments show that the third Ecumenical Synod understood the Constantinopolitan Symbol as well. For the fourth universal Chalcedonian Synod, having distinctly praised the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Symbol, where it had extensively explained the Catholic dogma concerning the two natures in our Savior against Eutyches, added this decree, by which it prohibits, following the decree of the third universal Synod, that another faith be brought into the Churches of Christ.

Therefore it understands that both the Nicene Symbol and the Constantinopolitan should endure in the Church of Christ, and that nothing else besides this should be brought into the Churches of Christ. The same was the sense of the fifth Ecumenical Synod, which indeed repeated the entire definition in which those things of the universal Chalcedonian Synod are also contained.

Finally, the sixth universal Synod, having thus far in its definition distinctly praised the Symbol of the first and second Ecumenical Synods and having thence set forth the Catholic faith against the Monothelites, added that decree concerning not innovating the Symbol. Therefore it also, while prohibiting putting forward another faith, understands that no other definition of faith besides the Nicene and Constantinopolitan should be frequented in the Church.

Therefore the same is the sense of the third Ecumenical Synod, where it decrees that no other definition of faith besides the Nicene should be brought into the Churches. The Catholic Church always had the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Symbol as one and the same Symbol, since the Constantinopolitan was handed down by the Fathers of the second Ecumenical Synod as a certain addition to the Nicene. And hence, with only the Nicene being named, the first universal Ephesian Synod also implied the Constantinopolitan Symbol.

Testimonies from the Councils

Thus the universal Chalcedonian Synod, having distinctly praised the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Symbol, Action V, Volume IV of the Councils, column 568, soon adds:

> *Indeed this wise and salutary Symbol of divine grace would suffice for the full knowledge and confirmation of piety.*

And the fifth Ecumenical Synod, collation IV, Volume V of the Councils, column 455:

> *We know only one Symbol of faith, which the holy Fathers at Nicaea set forth when they handed it down; this also the three holy Synods handed down.*

The sixth Ecumenical Synod also, having distinctly praised both the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Symbol in Action XVIII, likewise says, Volume VI of the Councils, column 1024:

> *Indeed the pious and orthodox Symbol of divine grace would suffice for perfect knowledge and confirmation of orthodox faith.*

And in the same sixth universal Synod, Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his letter to Sergius of Constantinople, read in Action XII of that Synod near the end, Volume VI of the Councils, column 888:

> *Following these blessed and holy five Synods, I acknowledge only one definition of faith, and I know the anathema and Symbol, which the most wise and blessed multitude of 318 God-bearing holy Fathers at Nicaea spoke forth from the Holy Spirit; which the congregation of 150 God-inspired Fathers at Constantinople confirmed; and which the first Council of 200 divine Fathers at Ephesus corroborated.*

The Emperor Justinian's Testimony

And hence also Emperor Justinian explicitly says that the Ephesian [Synod] forbade that any other Symbol besides the Nicene, as augmented by the Constantinopolitan Fathers, be handed down to those approaching baptism. Thus in his confession of right faith against the three chapters, Volume V of the Councils, column 702:

> *The holy Fathers who were first gathered at Ephesus against the impious Nestorius, and those holy Fathers who convened at Chalcedon against the impious Eutyches, anathematized those who hand down another definition of faith, or Symbol, or anathema to those approaching holy baptism, or converted from any heresy, besides that handed down, as has been said, by the 318 holy Fathers, and explained by the 150 holy Fathers.*

Therefore equally with the other Synods, the third Ephesian, while it decreed that no other Symbol should henceforth be brought into Christian Churches besides the Nicene itself, understands this as augmented by the Fathers of the second Ecumenical Synod.

The Occasion and Purpose of the Decree

The first Ephesian Synod issued that decree because the Nestorians had given occasion, who, in order to spread their heresy more widely, not acquiescing in the Symbol of Catholic faith, were handing down another to their followers under the pretext of fuller explanation, in which they simultaneously wove their heresies.

Therefore the Ephesian Fathers, in order to meet these attempts of the heretics, having condemned the errors of Nestorius, moreover issuing the praised decree, decreed that no one henceforth should frequent another Symbol besides the Nicene, as augmented by the Constantinopolitan Fathers, or hand it down to those approaching or returning to the truth; but that the holy Symbol should be preserved intact by all both in word and sense, and be handed down to all who receive themselves into the Catholic faith: so much so that hence it is not lawful to augment the holy Symbol even with words, even if agreeable to Catholic truth.

Hence not even the third Ecumenical Synod itself wished to insert into the Symbol against Nestorius that the holy and immaculate Virgin is the Mother of God; but likewise, with the holy Symbol retained intact both in words and sense, it separately explained this Catholic faith against Nestorius, not so that the same exposition would take the place of the Symbol, but so that it would be a shield for priests against the ravings of heretics.

Saint Cyril's Interpretation

That this is the sense of that decree, that not even true things should be inserted into the holy Symbol, is taught first by Cyril of Alexandria, who took the principal parts in the third Ecumenical Synod, and by whose authority without doubt that decree was issued; so that justly hence from him, as the best interpreter of his own words, the sense of that decree should be derived.

Thus Cyril in his letter to John, Bishop of Antioch, Part III of the Council of Ephesus, number 34, Volume III of the Councils, column 1112:

> *We by no means suffer that the faith, or Symbol of faith which was issued by the holy Fathers of old at Nicaea, be shaken by anyone, nor do we permit ourselves or others to change even one word from those things which are placed there, or even to pass over one syllable, keeping in memory him who says: 'Do not transgress the eternal boundaries which our Fathers established'; for it was not they who were speaking, but the Spirit of God and the Father, who proceeds indeed from him, but is not alien from the Son, according to the reason of essence.*

By these words he clearly teaches that the third Ecumenical Synod by its decree took care that not even any word in the holy Symbol be changed, or one of its syllables be passed over: how therefore, by inserting even a true and fuller declaration of faith, would it be lawful to augment both the words and syllables of the holy Symbol?

Indeed, he says, (lest you draw this at least to contrary things) we do not permit ourselves, nor others, to change even one word, or pass over a syllable. To us, I say, Catholic Fathers (for such was Cyril, and such he held himself to be) we do not permit doing such a thing; who indeed would have inserted only Catholic things into the holy Symbol.

Pope Agatho's Testimony

Agatho, Pope of Rome, in his letter to Emperor Constantine, read in Action IV of the sixth Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 633:

> *What has been regularly defined by the holy and Apostolic predecessors and the venerable five Councils, we preserve with simplicity of heart and without ambiguity from the faith handed down by the Fathers, always desiring and striving to have one principal good, that nothing of those things which have been regularly defined be diminished, nothing be changed or augmented, but that the same things be kept inviolate both in words and senses.*

If indeed not even the holy Symbol should be changed as to words as they lie: it is clear that neither can a fuller exposition of faith, although true, be inserted into the holy Symbol: for likewise otherwise the very words would be augmented.

Then: "And," he says, "they must be preserved inviolate both in words and senses." Since indeed contrary words entirely change the sense also; but hence he makes mention distinctly both of words and senses: it is clear that he understood by the name of words, not contrary and false words, but true words. Therefore neither can true things be inserted into the holy Symbol.

Paulinus of Aquileia's Understanding

Furthermore, Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, in the Synod of Friuli in the year 791, Volume VII of the Councils, column 993:

> *After the inviolable definition of the Symbol, to be inserted in all ways according to my understanding, marvelously prelibated by the venerable bishops of old (as has been said) with the holy Spirit revealing: by the three hundred eighteen indeed, who [were] at Nicaea in Bithynia, and one hundred fifty, who [were] at Constantinople. Concerning the mystery indeed of the holy and wonderful Trinity, I profess that I have promised to speak in plainer discourse: On account of various errors of heretics indeed, and diverse suspicions of certain simple people, I do not consent to compose or teach another faith, but that which, handed down by the holy Fathers, all sincere ages have received. For I know that it has been sanctioned in certain synodal leaves, for refuting indeed new and multiple heresies, especially because of the fraudulent and feigned not faith I would say, but rather perfidy of Nestorius and Eutyches, false-speaking and pestilent men, that it is not lawful for anyone to teach or compose a Symbol of another faith. But far be it from us, and far be it from every faithful heart, to compose or teach another Symbol or faith, or otherwise than they instituted. But according to their sense, those things perhaps, which on account of the compendium of brevity are understood less than is fitting by simple or unlearned people, we have decided should be expounded and handed down, and we have committed to memory to retain that same text of the Symbol.*
>
> *Indeed it is not in the argument of faith to add or diminish those things which have been well and wholesomely promulgated by the holy Fathers: to think rightly according to their sense, and to supply their subtle genius for exposition: but to add or diminish, is craftily to think diversely against their most sacred sense, otherwise than they, with cunning tergiversation, and to compose a perverse dogma with confused style, and through this to presume to chatter boastfully rather than to teach with impious mouth.*

After reciting, he says, the inviolable holy Symbol, he will speak concerning the mystery of the most holy Trinity: for on account of various heresies he likewise consents that another faith or Symbol should not be

composed or taught, but only that should be preserved which all ages have always sincerely received, as it was handed down by the holy Fathers themselves, since indeed it was provided in the Ephesian Synod, for refuting the heresies of Nestorius, that it should not be lawful for anyone to compose another faith.

Therefore he will not compose another Symbol, but with the text of the Symbol retained integrally, he will thenceforth separately expound the Catholic faith: for he indeed finally adds something to the faith of the Fathers, who hands down perverse things, not one who [hands down things] consonant with Catholic dogmas. Therefore he does not add anything to the faith, where, with the text of the Symbol retained, he more fully explains the very mind of the holy Fathers.

Conclusion

From these things it is clear that this Paulinus held this to be the sense of the decree of the Ephesian Synod, that not even a fuller exposition of faith, although true, should be inserted into the holy Symbol. For this reason indeed, he says, after the inviolable Symbol has been recited, or, as he afterwards adds, with the very text of the Symbol preserved intact, he will expound the Catholic faith: because on account of heresies it is not lawful to compose another Symbol, and this from the decree of the Ephesian Synod.

But Paulinus had in mind to bring forward only Catholic things; or, as he speaks, the very sense of the Fathers: yet he says he consents that this should not be inserted into the holy Symbol on account of heresies: but with the text of the very holy Symbol retained integrally, it should be handed down separately; Because the Synod of Ephesus prohibited the introduction of another Creed.

Caution Against Adding to the Creed

(p. 471, col. 2)

Therefore, the same Synod [of Ephesus], according to Paulinus’s understanding, prohibited a more abundant exposition of faith, though true, from being added to the Holy Creed; if on account of this decree, a

Catholic sense should not be added to the text of the Creed itself. If therefore the Creed must be preserved as it was handed down by the Fathers; as it was always preserved sincerely by following centuries in the text of the Creed, not even inserting those things which they made against heretics: it is clearly evident that without any addition whatsoever, however true it might be, Paulinus teaches here that the Creed ought to be preserved.

But let Leo III come forward, by whose testimony alone the dissenting Latins are so openly convicted of falsehood, that with all subterfuges failing them against the clearest words, they ought to be more silent than fish. For when certain Latins recently dared to corrupt the Holy Creed with an addition, Leo III, when consulted about it, thus explained that decree of the ecumenical Fathers, in a disputation with the Ambassadors sent to him from the Synod of Aachen in the year 809, Volume VII of the Councils, column 1196:

> *Is it not more salutary to believe, or dangerous not to believe, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, just as from the Father, than that the Son is begotten as wisdom God from wisdom God, truth God from truth God, and yet both are essentially one wisdom, one truth God, when nevertheless it is established that this was not put into the Creed by the Holy Fathers? If therefore these two things, as befits wise men, in such familiar disputation are worth this much, that you may feel and recognize with us, that so many previous Catholic Fathers, who did not insert this matter under discussion into the Holy Creed, or prohibited inserting it, just as they prohibited other things as stated above, did not omit it through present ignorance or future negligent providence, and prohibited what was omitted from being sent forth, we most willingly rest from accumulating testimonies. It should be known, however, that not only according to the essence of divinity, but also according to the mystery of the Lord's incarnation, we give so much authority from God, from the authority of the same Fathers, and such things as can not only satisfy the wise but also overwhelm the foolish.*

And then:

> *What the same Fathers did not distinguish by decreeing or establish by sanctioning, let no one presume—not a malevolent person, but simply no one.*

And before these words:

> *Just as I do not dare to say they did not act well, if they had acted, because without doubt, just as in other matters which they either omitted, they acted knowingly and with not so much human as divine illuminated wisdom: so also I do not dare to say that they understood this less; they considered why they left it out, or why what was left out should not be sent further; just as they also prohibited other things.*

And again before this:

> *Although, I say, although it is permitted to teach by singing, and to teach by singing, yet it is illicit in prohibited matters, neither by writing nor by singing is it permitted to insert.*

From this, the Ambassadors themselves understand that this was Leo's mind, by these clearest words in the same place, after the last quoted words of Leo they report. For they say thus:

> *Since therefore it is known to both parties, that it is therefore considered or said illicit by you, that it should be inserted into the Creed by singing or writing: because those who composed the same Creed did not put it in, like other things, and the following principal Synods, namely the Fourth of Chalcedon, also the Fifth and Sixth of Constantinople, prohibited anyone from composing a new Creed beyond this for any necessity whatsoever, or devotion to saving men, and from inserting anything by removing, adding, or changing in the old ones, there is no need to linger there longer.*

From which it is most clearly established that Leo III held the sense of the decree of those ecumenical Synods to be that not even true things can be added to the Holy Creed. What more do we desire? We have as interpreter of this decree of the Synods the Roman Pope himself: we have a witness whom the Latins ought to do nothing but revere. Therefore all disputation of the entire Synod of Ferrara falls; the assertion of the Latins falls, by which they contended at Ferrara that at least contrary things were prohibited by that decree.

The other part of the Florentine Synod is thus convicted of falsehood and error by Leo himself; so that from this alone it is established what should

be thought of the Florentine Synod, whose so many sessions were spent not on defending truth, but falsehood, as Leo III alone demonstrates.

Let us hear Leo disputing in the person of St. Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus: Leo taught that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son could not be added to the Creed, because not even true things are permitted to be added to the Creed by decree of the universal Synods. Mark gave the same warning at Ferrara.

Leo taught that this could be demonstrated from other things as well as from the incarnation of the Son of God, while namely the ecumenical Fathers themselves did not insert into the Holy Creed what the heretics denied. Mark brought forward the same and many other things at Ferrara. But Leo added: these arguments not only satisfy the wise, but also overwhelm the foolish. Behold at last Leo's judgment about the Synod of Ferrara! When Mark had brought forward at Ferrara the same things that Leo had up to this point, indeed far more, they could accomplish nothing among the Latins, but the tale was told to deaf ears. Julian intervened, who was not ashamed to bring forth childish and unworthy arguments against Mark's assertions.

But what should be thought of all those Latin Fathers gathered in the same Synod with their Eugene IV, Roman Pope, whom they call the vicar of Christ, and not to mention other things, infallible and supreme judge of all controversies, with Leo as judge? Not wise: for Mark's arguments would have satisfied them; nor foolish: for Mark's arguments would have overwhelmed them otherwise, but worse than the foolish themselves. For what arguments, with Leo as judge, would overwhelm the foolish themselves, could not overwhelm the Latins gathered there; namely because those whom the affection for their own opinion has blinded do not easily recognize the light of truth. The Latins, thinking they were defending true things, descended into the arena for no other end than to draw the Orientals to their side; certainly not so that, convicted of error, they might yield to truth. Hence they exalted their own arguments, but considered those of the Orientals childish and inept. But finally truth emerges, and Leo brings us witness that Mark was defending true things. At least it would have been desirable that Mark had learned of these words of Leo III, so that he might have objected the same to the Latins at Ferrara; but I believe they would have moved Acheron itself before they

would have allowed themselves to succumb to Mark as deceived.

Finally Leo shows that it is not permitted even for him to insert true things into the Holy Creed because of that decree of the Synods. For thus in the same disputation with the Ambassadors sent from Aachen to Rome:

> *What we recognize is lacking in congruence with the aforesaid Creed of faith, we do not, as is often said, presume to insert, but we take care to minister in opportune places and times, to which it pertains.*

So that by Leo III's testimony it is clearly evident that the sense of the decree of the universal Synods, by which they prohibited bringing another Creed into the Churches of Christ, is that not even true things can or should be inserted into the Holy Creed.

But furthermore, we can also testify about the Ambassadors themselves sent from Aachen to Rome, though they were defenders of the common addition, in this part. For thus in the cited disputation they respond to Leo objecting that decree of the Synods:

> *We do not labor so that we may rest, but lest through inertia we lose the reward of pious labor, and with more diligent inquiry preserved, and pertinacious contention avoided, we still consider the gain that is acquired in the heart of those seeking through this to be greater than the loss of those who have added, as if through contumacy they existed as contemners of Paternal constitutions. For it is one thing to despise good things by arrogantly transgressing, another to make good things better through benevolence.*

Therefore those Ambassadors themselves cannot deny that the sense of the decree of the Fathers, by which they guarded against bringing another faith into the Churches, is that not even true things can be added to the Holy Creed. And from this, lest they be pressed by this argument, they say they did not add the word "and from the Son" to the Creed by despising Paternal sanctions, but with the intention of transforming them through benevolence into a better condition. But they seek a subterfuge quite absurdly. We all confess that the holy ecumenical Synods did whatever they confessed or decreed, led by the Holy Spirit. By the same author therefore that decree was also issued by them about not innovating the Creed, indeed by this name: because, if it were permitted

for anyone to hand down any confession of faith to those approaching faith, many would offer them a Creed filled more with their own opinions, or even heresies; since this cause is eternal: how, when that decree was issued with the Holy Spirit as author, could it be transformed for the better? How could that be antiquated, whose cause is eternal?

Indeed by this reasoning finally all the disobedient and enemies of the Catholic Church would assert that they do not despise the laws of the Church, but change them for the better through benevolence; if these things would suffice for eluding the sanctions of the ecumenical Synods. As Leo himself responds to these things from this: that the holy Synods interdicted by their decree not even the malevolent alone, but all, even the benevolent, from adding even true things to the Creed. For his words are in the same disputation:

> *This definition, or, if it may be said, tergiversation, does not look to this, does not intend this: because the same Fathers did not distinguish by decreeing, nor did they establish by sanctioning, that a benevolent person should presume, not a malevolent one, but simply no one.*

Furthermore, the universal Synod, which was gathered to confirm the Patriarchate of Photius, likewise shows this to be the sense of that decree of the universal Synods. For thus it says in Volume II, Part II of the Pandects of Canons received by the Greek Church, published at Oxford in the year 1672, page 288:

> *We approve with mind and tongue the definition of the pure Christian faith anciently descended from the Fathers even to our times, and constantly announce it to all with a loud voice, taking nothing away, adding nothing, changing nothing, corrupting nothing. For removal and addition, moved by no machinations of evil heresy, from the industry of those who are irreproachable, brings inexcusable injury to the Fathers, but to change the definitions of the Fathers with corrupted words is much more pernicious.*

When after they had said: “Removal and addition, moved by no machinations of evil heresy, brings inexcusable injury to the Fathers,” they add: “But to change the definitions of the Fathers with corrupted words is much more pernicious”: it is clear that by the former words they

do not understand corrupted words, but true ones, if they are inserted into the Holy Creed.

In the same sense they add:

> *If anyone, however, dares to publish another exposition, besides this sacred Creed handed down to us by our blessed and most holy Fathers, and to name it a definition of faith, so as to steal the dignity of the confession of those divine men, and impose it on his garrulous trifles, and propose that common document to the faithful, or to those who have returned from some heresy, and presumes to corrupt the antiquity of that sacred venerable definition with spurious words, or additions, or removals: according to the sentence of the holy ecumenical Synods, already published before our times, if he is one of the clergy, we subject him to perfect deposition, but if he is a layman, we subject him to anathema.*

When they say: “If anyone dares to publish another definition of faith, so as to steal the dignity of the holy Creed, and impose it on his garrulous trifles,” and later they immediately add: “Or presumes to corrupt the antiquity of the Holy Creed with spurious words, or additions”: it is clear that by those former words they did not understand spurious words and additions alike, but things that were indeed true, but nugatory and garrulous, when they are inserted into the Holy Creed without reason.

And therefore this universal Synod also, in which 383 Fathers were present together with the legates of John VIII, Roman Pope, shows that the sense of that decree of the universal Synods is that not even true things can be added to the Holy Creed.

Moreover, the holy Fathers of the Council of Ephesus seem to have wanted to follow the admonitions of Saint Basil himself, who, after the Constantinopolitan Fathers had added to the Creed about the incarnation and the Holy Spirit, himself already seeing that power was badly left to posterity for changing and touching the Creed, by private counsel thereafter established that no one should insert anything further into the Holy Creed, beyond what those Constantinopolitan Fathers had added. Where certainly it is clear to anyone that the mind of Saint Basil was that not even for the sake of more abundant declaration should anything be added to the Holy Creed.

For thus in the Epistle to Epiphanius, which is among his Letters 325,

Volume II of his works, Greco-Latin Paris edition, year 1618, page 1099:

> *I have sent to our beloved brothers, who are Eleon, our* Palladius*, and* Innocent *the Italian, a response to their questions. That we can add nothing, not even one syllable, to that Nicene faith, except the doxology concerning the Holy Spirit, of which matter our Fathers made mention as it were in passing, the question about the Holy Spirit not yet having been moved. But the dogmas about the incarnation of our Lord which were added to that confession, as they transcend our understanding, we have had neither as rejected nor as received. Knowing this certainly, that when we admit the simplicity of faith once moved from its place, we will circumscribe no limits of disputing, further carried away by the art of contradiction, and we will moreover disturb the souls of the simpler ones, with the invention of new dogmas superinduced.*

It is certainly clear to anyone that when Basil the Great denies to himself and others that anything can be added to the Holy Creed, beyond what the Constantinopolitan Fathers had added to it, he understands that not even a true and further exposition of faith can be inserted into the Holy Creed. For what was inserted into the Creed at the Constantinopolitan Synod is true. But with only these excepted, he prohibits all other things from being added to the Holy Creed. Therefore he excludes true and pure further exposition of faith; he adds the reason for this, because if we once admit the simplicity of faith moved from its place, carried away again and again by the passion of disputing with new dogmas, we will augment the Holy Creed. The Latins have experienced this evil to their cost: for while they think it is lawful to augment the Holy Creed with those things which seemed true to them, with what monstrous dogma have they not augmented it?

Lest you doubt that this Epistle proceeded from Saint Basil, since he mentions a certain Italian asking whether the Creed can be augmented, these words from the things added contribute to this: “But the dogmas about the incarnation of our Lord which were added to the confession, we have had neither as rejected nor as received.” These are certainly the words of one who was present at that universal Constantinopolitan Synod itself, in which that addition to the Creed was made.

It is therefore established up to this point, that the sense of that decree

of the Synods, by which they guard lest another exposition of faith be brought into the Churches, is that not even with a true more abundant exposition of faith can the Holy Creed be augmented, except in the way that the holy Fathers of the Constantinopolitan Synod explained that Nicene Creed.

Since therefore the Latins, where they had formerly received in the Holy Creed from their Fathers the procession of the Holy Spirit added at least from the Father, afterwards added, and always preserved what was added, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son: it is clearly evident that, even if it were true that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, by this very fact they sin against the said decree of the universal Synods, and are guilty of anathema, by which the Fourth universal Synod condemned those innovating the Creed.

How therefore could the Florentine Synod ever define that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was reasonably inserted into the Holy Creed, where there exists the decree of four universal Synods, by which even true things are prohibited from being added to the Holy Creed? Would that be reasonably inserted, which so many Synods condemn? Could it be legitimate, and to be numbered among the ecumenical holy Synods: which foully trampled upon the sanctions of so many universal Synods, and defined the contrary to those very ones?

But if indeed even the addition of a true dogma at least made to the Creed earned the anathema of the holy ecumenical Synods: how much more gravely certainly will sin be committed, where the Holy Creed is violated with some false and monstrous dogma, namely the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son?

For this reason we believe three subsistences, one God, because the Son and Holy Spirit are referred to one cause, the Father. For the holy Fathers hand this down by common consensus, as we have seen in its place. Therefore not one God, but several Gods are established, where either the Son or the Holy Spirit is not referred at least to one Father as principle, but besides the Father, another producer of the Holy Spirit, for example, is introduced.

Therefore the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is condemned by all those anathemas by the holy Fathers, by which they ever condemned heretics introducing two principles. By what crime

therefore, by what sacrilege, by what blasphemy, was the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son inserted into the Creed (when not even true things could be added)? To insert gentilism, two principles, two causes, two Gods, what profanation of the Creed could ever be greater than this very one?

Justly hence by the Latins themselves, Albinus Alcuin, Paulinus of Aquileia and many others gathered in the Synod of Aachen, both the dogma and that addition were proscribed. For who would doubt that some of the innovators had expounded that dogma about the principle? Justly furthermore by others that addition was rejected at the end of the ninth century; among whom John VIII, Roman Pope, stood out, how much he himself condemns that addition we have seen in its place. Justly finally it was always opposed by the Orientals, and is still opposed.

Therefore Leo IX, Roman Pope, acted with supreme madness, when through his legates no less bereft of mind, in a writing placed on the holy table of the great Church of Constantinople, he dared to say anathema maranatha to Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the other Orientals following him, also for this cause, that like the Pneumatomachi they had cut off from the Holy Creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, with the Pneumatomachi and all heretics, indeed (I shudder to say) with the Devil and his Angels, as is reported in that writing of condemnation, Volume XI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 336, and Volume IX of the Councils, column 992, and in Leon Allatius, Book II on the Ecclesiastical Books of the Greeks.

Therefore by Leo IX six ecumenical Councils are condemned, which likewise professed in the Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only. Those words of sacred Scripture are condemned by him, where likewise the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father at least. The entire Catholic Church is condemned, which before that addition obtained in the Holy Creed, believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father at least. Who, I ask, would not shudder at these criminal deeds?

He then objects that the Orientals cut off from the Creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But how could the Orientals be said to have cut off from the Creed what the Constantinopolitan Fathers themselves had not added; what not even the remaining five universal

Synods had ever included in the Holy Creed; and what was thus always preserved uncorrupted in the Oriental Churches up to those times? How therefore could the Orientals be devoted to all curses for a crime which they had not perpetrated; how could they be condemned with the Pneumatomachi and all heretics, Devils and his Angels?

How much rather all these anathemas fell back upon the head of the author, who indeed sustained to approve the monstrous dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son inserted into the Holy Creed. So that deservedly hence the remembered Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, in a Council of several Bishops condemned that writing of condemnation and its authors with anathema; and having given letters to the remaining Oriental Patriarchs, he made them more certain about so great a crime of the Latins. Hence the schism was confirmed, which having arisen at the beginning of the eleventh century for whatever cause finally had divided the Churches up to that time, which we see enduring from then to the modern day.

By way of conclusion we note that the Constantinopolitan Fathers, about to assert the Catholic dogma against heretics impugning the divinity of the Holy Spirit, did not want to insert any words whatsoever into the Holy Creed which would declare the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and Son; but brought forward only the very words of Scripture. For thus the universal Synod of Chalcedon, Act V, Volume IV of the Councils, column 565:

> *The holy and great and universal Synod also confirms the teaching which concerning the substance of the Holy Spirit was handed down by the Fathers of 150 later gathered in the royal city on account of those who were impugning the Holy Spirit; which they made known to all not as if something was lacking to the former, adding, but declaring their understanding concerning the Holy Spirit against those who attempted to reject his dominion, with testimonies of the Scriptures.*

And hence they did not even insert the word God, but called the Holy Spirit at least Lord and life-giver; because nowhere in Sacred Scripture is it said in express and so many words that the Holy Spirit is God; although it is established by other most manifest arguments from sacred Scripture that the Holy Spirit is God. As hence furthermore, what the Constantinopolitan Fathers added to the Holy Creed concerning the Holy

Spirit, are the very words of sacred Scripture.

Since therefore the Constantinopolitan Fathers followed such a rule in explaining the article concerning the Holy Spirit, how, I ask, could the Latins ever insert against this mind, against this rule of the second universal Synod, into the Holy Creed in the article concerning the Holy Spirit, what never occurs in so many words in sacred Scripture? For these are not words of Scripture, that the Spirit proceeds from the Son; when it is only said: who proceeds from the Father, who is the Spirit of the Son, he will receive from mine, etc.

From this therefore it is again evident that contrary to the mind of the holy Constantinopolitan Fathers, and the rule which they followed in declaring the article concerning the Holy Spirit, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was added by later Latins to the remaining words of the Holy Creed.

Finis Primae Partis

End of the First Part

TRACTATE VIII

In which it is demonstrated that the Holy Spirit being sent by the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son

The primary argument that the Latins draw from Sacred Scripture to support their position is that by which they infer from the mission of the Holy Spirit that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

First, they argue that the mission is the same as procession: therefore, if the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, it also proceeds from Him. Again, they say that from whom someone is sent, from Him they also proceed; and Sacred Scripture frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit would never be sent by the Son unless He also proceeded from Him, just as God the Father, who owes His existence to no one, is never said to be sent by anyone. Finally, they argue that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son either by command, as from a superior; or by counsel, as from one wiser; or according to natural production. But the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son neither by command nor by counsel; therefore, He is sent by the Son according to natural production. This is the position of the Latins.

Response I

However, heretics once used this same argument to infer against the Catholics that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son generatively, and thus is the Son of the Son and the grandson of the Father. Thus, Athanasius writes in his later Epistle to Serapion (Tom. II, p. 16):

“They then add, as you write: if the Spirit receives from the Son and is

> *given by Him (as it is written), they immediately infer: therefore, the Father is the grandfather, and the Spirit is His grandson."*

At the same time, it is clear from this that the Fathers did not consider the fact that the Holy Spirit is sent or given by the Son as an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For they could have resolved this argument with a single word, showing that it indeed follows that the Son is a principle of the Holy Spirit, but that the Holy Spirit is not generated from the Son, but proceeds. However, as is evident from the example of Athanasius, the Fathers at least reject this argument as absurd and cannot provide its resolution. Therefore, they did not consider the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son as an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Thus, we rightly object to the Latins' argument, which infers that the Son, and also the Holy Spirit from the Son, is produced in some degrees from the Father, just as Athanasius opposed the heretics' argument:

> *"What Christian, hearing this, would not judge them to be pagans?"*

Response II

Moreover, how could the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son be inferred from His mission by the Son, when the Fathers explicitly teach that the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Son not because of His origin, but at least because of the fellowship and unity of nature? Therefore, the Son has the ability to send the Holy Spirit not because of the production of the Holy Spirit, but at least because of the unity of nature.

Thus, Ambrose, in his Book on the Symbol (Ch. X, Tom. IV, col. 94), says:

> *"The Son says: 'He proceeds from the Father,' because of His origin; He says: 'Whom I will send,' because of the fellowship and unity of nature."*

By these words, he clearly teaches that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father because of His origin, but is said to be sent by the Son not because of His origin, but at least because of the unity of nature. Likewise, Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah (Ch. LVII, Tom. IV), says:

> *"The Holy Spirit, who goes forth from the Father, is sent by the Son because of the fellowship of nature, as He says: 'If I go, I will send Him to you."*

Response III

If, however, you wish to ascend to the cause of the Holy Spirit's mission by the Son (for whoever is sent is caused), the Fathers again teach that the mission of the Holy Spirit is an argument for His procession, but not from the Son, but from the Father. Thus, Gregory Nazianzen, in his Oration XXXVII (p. 611), says:

> *"Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit, such as being given, sent, distributed, breathed, promised, interceding, and so forth, must be referred to the principal cause (the Father), to show from whom the Spirit is, and not to admit three divided principles, as if there were many gods."*

Here, Gregory the Theologian is not speaking only of the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Father, but also of that from the Son, for he speaks generally:

> *"Whatever is said more humbly, such as being given, sent,"*

under which the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son is also included. Likewise, the "breathing" he mentions was done by the Son, not by the Father.

Therefore, he shows that the Holy Spirit is said to be given, sent, and distributed to demonstrate from whom the Holy Spirit is, that is, to show that the Holy Spirit is from another, not from Himself. Thus, when showing who is the cause of the Holy Spirit, for which reason the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by both the Father and the Son, he names only the Father, not the Son. Therefore, it clearly follows that the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son is not an argument for His procession from the Son, but for His procession from the Father.

He says similar things in Poem III on the Principles (Tom. II, p. 163):

"If anything is said about the Son or the Holy Spirit by Sacred Scripture or pious writers, as if they were inferior to the Supreme Parent, whatever it may be, prudently understand it thus: this only shows that both derive their cause from the Father, not that the divine nature of either is distinct from Him; so that you do not venerate many, but one dominion, not with disperse worship."

Likewise, Augustine, in Book IV of On the Trinity (Ch. XX), says:

"And just as for the Holy Spirit to be the gift of God is to proceed from the Father, so to be sent is to be known to proceed from Him."

Response IV

And hence, the Fathers universally deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, although they also add that He is sent by the Son. Cyril, in Book on the Trinity (Ch. X), says:

"We must know that we do not say the Father is from anyone; but we say He is the Father of the Son. We do not say the Son is without cause, nor the Father; but we say He is from the Father, and the Son of the Father. We say the Holy Spirit is from the Father, and we call Him the Spirit of the Father; but we do not say the Spirit is from the Son; however, we call Him the Spirit of the Son (for, as the divine Apostle says, 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ…'), and we confess that He is manifested and given to us through the Son."

John Damascene repeats the same in Book I of the Orthodox Faith (Ch. XI) and in his Oration on Holy Saturday:

"We worship the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him; yet He is also called the Spirit of the Son, because through Him He is manifested and imparted to created things, but He does not have His existence or subsistence from Him."

Maximus, in his Epistle to Marinus, says:

"In the first place, you have brought forward the opinions of the Roman Fathers, and also of Cyril of Alexandria from his sacred commentaries

> *on John, through which they demonstrated that they by no means assert that the Son is the cause of the Spirit: for they acknowledge one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father—through generation for the former, through procession for the latter; but they signify that He comes forth through Him, and for this reason show the communion of the same essence without variation."*

Anastasius the Librarian, in his Epistle to John the Deacon, says:

> *"Moreover, we have interpreted from the letter of the same Saint Maximus written to Marinus the circumstance concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, where he indicates that the Greeks wrongly accuse us, since we do not say that the Son is the cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, as they suppose; but, not being ignorant of the unity of the substance of the Father and the Son, we confess that just as He proceeds from the Father, so He proceeds from the Son, understanding mission as procession: piously interpreting, instructing those knowledgeable in both languages toward peace, since he teaches both us and the Greeks that the Holy Spirit proceeds in one sense and does not proceed in another from the Son."*

Finally, Michael Syncellus, in his Life of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, says:

> *"He proposes one God, one Lord to be worshipped by him, to be worshipped and adored in three subsistences, related to one principle and cause, the Son and the Holy Spirit—the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father alone, and going forth through the Son and manifested to men."*

Therefore, the Fathers did not consider the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son as an argument for His procession from the Son.

Response V

Clearly, when they posited that whoever is sent by another also has the cause of their existence from them, or proceeds, they were assuming something false as a universal principle, and thus were playing with a fallacious inference. For the mission of the Holy Spirit is both to

creatures and in time, and thus is among the external works of God. Catholic doctrine holds that these external works of God pertain not only to one subsistence but to all three.

Athanasius, in his Oration Against the Sabellians on the Eternal Substance of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit with God (Tom. I, p. 661), says:

> *"Since all things are done by God through Christ in the Holy Spirit, I see an undivided operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."*

He says similar things in his Epistle to Serapion against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature (Tom. I, p. 205), and in his Treatise on the Human Nature Assumed by the Only-Begotten (Tom. I, p. 605), where, after frequently teaching what is attributed to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, he adds:

> *"The works that belong to the Father, Scripture says are also those of the Son and the Holy Spirit."*

Likewise, in his Book on the Common Essence of the Father and the Son (Tom. I), he shows in many places the same operation of the Trinity, especially concerning created things.

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book I on the Holy Spirit (Tom. VI, col. 495), near the end, says:

> *"In all things, it is demonstrated that the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is the same."*

Basil the Great, in Book V Against Eunomius (Tom. II, p. 119), says:

> *"The one and entirely same operation of God through the Son in the Holy Spirit is seen."*

Again (p. 124):

> *"We demonstrate the same operations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."*

And near the end (p. 135):

"Since all things are done by God through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, I see the undivided operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

In his Epistle LXXX (Tom. II, p. 905), near the end, he says:

"Seeing the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit differing in no way or diversely."

And near the end (p. 906):

"There is one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

Ambrose, in Book I on the Holy Spirit (Ch. III, Tom. IV, col. 216), says:

"Where any operation is designated to the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, it is referred not only to the Holy Spirit, but also to the Father and the Son, and not only to the Father, but also to the Son and the Holy Spirit."

He shows the same in many chapters of his books on the Holy Spirit.

Gregory of Nyssa, in his Book That There Are Not Three Gods (Tom. II, p. 454), near the middle, says:

"Whatever pertains to our providence or to the administration and constitution of the universe is done through the three divine subsistences."

John Chrysostom, in his Homily on Faith (p. 290, Tom. VII, Greek edition at least, Eton), says:

"Since it has been demonstrated that there is one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, it is necessarily shown that one substance must also be believed."

Augustine, in Enchiridion to Laurentius (Ch. XXXVIII), says:

> *"Since that creature, which the Virgin conceived and bore, pertains only to the person of the Son, the whole Trinity made it; for the works of the Trinity are not separable. Why then is only the Holy Spirit named in its making? Or is it that when one of the three is named in any work, the whole Trinity is understood to operate? So it is, and it can be shown by examples."*

He teaches the inseparable operation of the Trinity in many places, such as Sermon XI on the Words of the Lord, Epistles XCIX and CII, Book I on the Predestination of the Saints (Ch. VIII), Sermon XXXVIII on the Times, Tractates XX, XCV, and CIV on John, Book Against the Sermon of the Arians (passim), Book I on the Trinity (Ch. IV, V, XII), Book II (Ch. X), Book IV (Ch. XXI), Book XIII (Ch. XI), Book XV (Ch. III), and elsewhere.

The author of Questions from the Old and New Testament (Question II, among Augustine's works, Tom. IV), says:

> *"Whether the Father acts, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit: it is the Trinity that operates."*

The same is found in Question XCVII.

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book IV on John (Ch. III, Tom. IV, p. 366), says:

> *"Since the one divinity by nature is understood in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, none of them operates anything separately from what is done; but what is said to be done by one is entirely the work of the whole divine nature."*

He says the same in Book IV on John (Ch. I, pp. 346–347) and Book X (Ch. II, p. 859).

Theodoret, in his Commentary on Psalm CI (Tom. I, p. 802), near the end, says:

> *"What the Father does, the Son does likewise, and the same nature is recognized in both: for we know one operation of the Trinity."*

Leo the Great, in Sermon XII on the Passion of the Lord, says:

> *"The works of the Trinity are common in all things, as are their signs."*

He says similar things in Sermons II and III on Pentecost.

Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, in his commentary on Romans (Ch. VI, Tom. V, Part III, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 826), says:

> *"The works of the Trinity are inseparable."*

Fulgentius, in his Response to Five Questions (Question I, Tom. VI, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 68), says:

> *"Since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are inseparable, it follows that they operate inseparably."*

The author of Books on the Unity of the Divine Trinity (Book VII, among Athanasius' works, Tom. II, p. 573), says:

> *"Hypocrite, say that there is one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: while all that the Father operates, those same works are shown to be of the Son and the Holy Spirit, so too what the Son operates, those same works are referred to the Father, and to the principal Spirit, those same works are declared to be of the Father and the Son. Do you see the united operation in the one nature of the divinity?"*

Vigilius, Pope of Rome, in his Encyclical Epistle to the Universal Church (Epistle XV, Tom. V, Concil., col. 332), says:

> *"In the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, there is one operation."*

Pelagius, Pope of Rome, in Epistle LXVI to King Childebert (Tom. V, Concil., col. 803), says:

> *"I believe in three persons or three subsistences, of one essence, one power, one operation, one blessedness, and one authority."*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith (Tom. VI, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 697), says:

> *"It has been copiously demonstrated that there is one operation of the holy Trinity, which simultaneously demonstrates one substance."*

Agatho, Pope of Rome, in his Epistle to the Emperor, read in the fourth session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Tom. VI, Concil., col. 637), says:

> *"Where this one nature of the holy and inseparable Trinity is said to be, consequently one natural will and one natural operation must be understood."*

The Sixth Council of Toledo (Canon I, Tom. V, Concil., col. 1742), the Eleventh Council of Toledo (Tom. VI, Concil., col. 544), and the Sixteenth Council of Toledo (Tom. VI, Concil., col. 1333) say:

> *"The works of the Trinity are inseparable."*

John Damascene, in Book I of the Orthodox Faith (Ch. VIII), says:

> *"One operation, one power, one dominion, one kingdom is acknowledged in three perfect persons."*

He teaches the same in Book I (Ch. XI), Book IV (Ch. XIX), Book on the Two Wills and Operations in Christ (Ch. VI), and elsewhere.

Bede, in his Commentary on John (Ch. XVI, Tom. V, col. 567), says:

> *"The works of the Trinity are inseparable."*

And in his Commentary on Acts (Ch. XXI, Tom. V, col. 660), he says:

> *"The Holy Spirit, like the Father and the Son, is Lord and God; nor can their operation be separated, whose nature and will are one."*

Finally, Albinus (Alcuin), in Question XI, says:

> *"Are the works of the holy Trinity inseparable? Certainly, whatever God operates, the whole holy Trinity operates these same things inseparably: for there is one operation of the holy Trinity, just as there is one substance, essence, and will."*

Thus, since the external works of God are common to all three subsistences, and the mission of the Holy Spirit is among the external works of God, it is clear that the Holy Spirit no less sends or imparts Himself to the faithful than He is sent or given by the Father or the Son.

Indeed, Sacred Scripture itself says:

“The Spirit blows where He wills” (John 3:8).

And the Apostle, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (12:11), says:

“All these are worked by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as He wills.”

Hence, Augustine, in Book XV of On the Trinity (Ch. XIX), says:

“Nor, because they give Him, is He given and therefore lesser than they; the Holy Spirit is given as a gift of God in such a way that He also gives Himself as God. For He cannot be said to be not of His own power, of whom it is said: ‘The Spirit blows where He wills.’ And that Apostolic saying, which I already mentioned above: ‘All these are worked by one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each one individually as He wills.”

Bede, in his Book of Retractions on the Acts of the Apostles (Ch. X, Tom. VI, col. 20), says:

“The Holy Spirit is given as the gift of God, so that He also gives Himself as God: for ‘The Spirit blows where He wills.”

And in Homily VI on the Saints in Summer (Tom. VII, col. 111), he says:

“The Father sends the Spirit; the Son sends the Spirit; the Spirit blows where He wills: for, as we have said, the will and operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one.”

And in his Winter Homily on the Saints in Epiphany (Tom. VII, col. 322), he says:

“The Son has no less power to give the Spirit to men than the Father: for, indeed, there is one substance in the divinity, an inseparable operation of the Father, the Son, and the same Holy Spirit. For it is testified of the Spirit Himself that He comes of His own accord where He wills and operates of His own accord what He wills, as the Son says, which I mentioned above: ‘The Spirit blows where He wills.’ And the Apostle says: ‘All these are worked by one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each one individually as He wills.”

Albinus (Alcuin), in Book II on the Trinity (Ch. XIX), says:

> *"Because He is given equally by the Father and the Son, indeed, He is given by Himself, as the Son also says of Him: 'The Spirit blows where He wills."*

Haymo, in his Sermon on the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension, says:

> *"When the Holy Spirit is given by the Father, He is also given by the Son; and to whom He is given by the Son, He is also given by the Father. The Holy Spirit also comes of His own accord, that is, by His own will, according to what the Lord says elsewhere: 'The Spirit blows where He wills,' that is, He enlightens the heart of whomever He wishes to enlighten. And Paul, after enumerating the gifts of the same Spirit, concludes: 'All these are worked by one and the same Spirit, apportioning to each one individually as He wills,' because He is of one substance with the Father and the Son."*

And hence, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, though a defender of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, repeats the aforementioned words of Albinus (Alcuin) in Book on the Non-Trinitarian Deity (Tom. I, p. 422).

Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, though a proponent of the same opinion, in Book I on the Procession of the Holy Spirit Against the Easterners (Ch. V, Tom. II, Spicilegium Veterum Scriptorum, p. 11), says:

> *"The holy Gospel testifies, saying: 'The Spirit blows where He wills.' What does 'blows' mean? Clearly, because when He wills and wherever He wills, He pours Himself forth. Let us see the one operation of the whole Trinity: the Father pours forth, the Son pours forth the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit, blowing where He wills, pours Himself forth."*

Finally, among others, even Lombard himself, after the schism had already begun, in Book I, Distinction XV, says:

> *"Hence, it must be considered, since the Holy Spirit is given to men by the Father and the Son, which is to proceed temporally from both or to*

be sent, whether He is also given by Himself? If He is given by Himself, does He also proceed or is He sent by Himself? To which we say that the Holy Spirit is both God and a gift or given: and therefore He gives and is given. He gives, indeed, insofar as He is God; and He is given insofar as He is a gift or given. But since the giving or donation of the Holy Spirit is an operation of God, and the operation of the three persons is common and undivided, the Holy Spirit is given not only by the Father and the Son but also by Himself. And after he had praised the words of Augustine we cited above, he continues: 'For if the Holy Spirit cannot give Himself, and since the Father can give and the Son can give, then the Father and the Son can give something that the Holy Spirit cannot. Likewise, if the Father and the Son give, and the Holy Spirit does not give anything, then the Father and the Son operate what the Holy Spirit does not operate. Therefore, the Holy Spirit gives Himself. But if He gives Himself, then He also proceeds and is sent by Himself, which is certainly true. For the temporal procession or mission of the Holy Spirit is His donation, and this is the operation of God. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds temporally from Himself and is sent by Himself, because He is given by Himself."

Response VI

Likewise, since the mission of the Son is equally an external work of God, as is clear to all, and since divine operations, that is, external ones, are undivided, the Son of God must be said to have sent Himself into this world. The holy Fathers teach this again and again, and they also recall the same reasoning, further demonstrating it from the fact that Sacred Scripture teaches that the Son of God gave Himself for the world.

Ambrose, in Book III on the Holy Spirit (Ch. II, Tom. IV, col. 255), says:

"Since the Prophet did not specify by whom He (the Son of God) was given, he shows that He was given by the grace of the Trinity; but since the Son Himself gave Himself, He could not, according to His divinity, be subject to Himself."

Idacius Clarus, in Book Against Varimundus (Tom. IV, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 622), says:

"Can you say, in those great and such testimonies by which the Son

testified that He is God from Himself, that He came from another and not from Himself, when it is clear that He who graciously assumed our flesh came voluntarily and was not sent by another?"

These words are also found in Epistle I of Higinus, Bishop of Rome, though forged by Isidore Mercator (Tom. I, Concil., col. 566).

Augustine, in Book III Against Maximinus, Bishop of the Arians (Ch. XX, Tom. VI, fol. 240), says:

"Nor was the Son of God sent in such a way that He did not send Himself, just as He is shown to be handed over by the Father, where it is written: 'He who did not spare His own Son but handed Him over for us all' (Rom. 8:32); but elsewhere it is said of the Son Himself: 'Who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. 2:20)."

Above all, Augustine discusses this in Book II on the Trinity (Ch. V):

"Perhaps someone might compel us to say that the Son was also sent by Himself: for that conception and birth from Mary is the operation of the Trinity, by whose creation all things are created. And how, he says, did the Father send Him, if He sent Himself? To which I first respond, asking him to say, if he can, how the Father sanctified Him, if He sanctified Himself? For the Lord says both: 'He whom the Father sanctified and sent into this world, you say, "You blaspheme," because I said, "I am the Son of God"' (John 10:36). But elsewhere He says: 'And for them I sanctify Myself' (John 17:19). Likewise, I ask, how did the Father hand Him over, if He handed Himself over? For the Apostle Paul says both: 'Who did not spare His own Son but handed Him over for us all' (Rom. 8:32). But elsewhere he says of the Savior Himself: 'Who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. 2:20). I believe he will respond, if he understands this rightly, that the will of the Father and the Son is one, and their operation is inseparable. Therefore, let him understand that incarnation and birth from a virgin, in which the Son is understood to be sent, was effected inseparably by the one and same operation of the Father and the Son. For even if we ask thus, what we say may appear clearer: how did God send His Son? Did He command Him to come, and did He come obeying the command, or did He request, or only suggest? But whatever it was, it was certainly done by a word, and the Word of God is the Son of God Himself. Therefore,

since the Father sent Him by a word, it was done by the Father and His Word that He was sent. Therefore, the Son was sent by the Father and the Son, because the Word of the Father is the Son Himself. For who would adopt such a sacrilegious opinion as to think that a temporal word was made by the Father so that the eternal Son might be sent and appear in the flesh in time? But certainly, in the very Word of God, which was in the beginning with God and was God, it was without time that in time He should appear in the flesh. And so, since without any beginning of time, the Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; without any time, it was in the Word Himself that in time the Word would become flesh and dwell among us. When the fullness of time came, God sent His Son, made from a woman, that is, made in time, so that the incarnate Word might appear to men; which was in the Word Himself without time, in which time it would happen. For the order of times is in the eternal wisdom of God without time. Since, therefore, this was done by the Father and the Son, that the Son might appear in the flesh, He who appeared in that flesh was fittingly said to be sent; but He who did not appear in it was said to have sent Him. For those things that are done outwardly before the eyes of the body proceed from the inner apparatus of the spiritual nature, and therefore are fittingly said to be sent. But that form of the assumed man is the person of the Son, not also of the Father. Therefore, the invisible Father, together with the invisible Son, by making the same Son visible, is said to have sent Him; but if He became visible in such a way that He ceased to be invisible with the Father, that is, if the invisible substance of the Word were changed and transformed into a visible creature, the Son would be understood to be sent by the Father in such a way that He would be found only sent, not also sending with the Father. But since the form of a servant was assumed in such a way that the form of God remained immutable, it is clear that what appeared in the Son was done by the Father and the Son, who do not appear, that is, that the same Son was sent visibly by the invisible Father with the invisible Son. Why, therefore, does He say: 'I have not come of Myself'? This was said according to the form of a servant, according to which it is also said: 'I do not judge anyone' (John 8:15)."

Eusebius of Emesa, in Sermon on Tuesday after the Fourth Sunday (Tom. V, Part I, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 654), says:

> *"What does it mean that He says: 'Who sent Me,' except 'Who willed Me to become man and assume flesh'? But this is the operation of the whole Trinity, and not only of the Father."*

Bede, in his Commentary on Romans (Ch. VIII, Tom. VI, col. 170), says:

> *"It is said by the Apostle: 'Who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. 2:20); it is said of the Father: 'Who did not spare His own Son but handed Him over for us all' (Rom. 8:32). If, therefore, the Father handed over the Son, and the Son handed over Himself: what did Judas do? The Father, by handing over the Son to death for us, did good; Christ, by handing over Himself for us, did good."*

The Eleventh Council of Toledo (Tom. VI, Concil., col. 544) says:

> *"The Savior is also understood to have been sent by Himself, because not only the power but also the operation of the whole Trinity is acknowledged as inseparable."*

Etherius and Beatus, in Book I Against Elipandus (near the end, Tom. VIII, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 358), say:

> *"Because there is one will and one power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: the Father sent the Son, according to which He is lesser; and the Son Himself sends Himself, according to which He is equal."*

Lombard also says the same in Book I of the Sentences (Distinction XV).

If, therefore, the Son also sent Himself, it follows equally that the Holy Spirit also sent Himself; or He would not be of the same power and faculty as the Son, which is impossible. What reason, then, could there be why the Son sends Himself, but the Holy Spirit does not send Himself? No reason for disparity can be given here: for the mission of the Son of God, like the mission of the Holy Spirit, was done in time and pertains to created things, that is, it is among the external works of God. Nor could it be less said that the Holy Spirit gave or poured Himself forth than, as Scripture says, the Son gave Himself for us.

Augustine, Eusebius, the Council of Toledo, and Etherius with Beatus taught that the Son also sent Himself because the operation of the Trinity

is one. For the same reason, since the mission of the Holy Spirit is equally an external work of God, it necessarily follows that the mission of the Holy Spirit is an operation of the Trinity, and thus the Holy Spirit sends Himself.

If, therefore, as has been shown thus far, the Holy Spirit pours forth, gives, and sends Himself, how, I ask, could the Latins assume that from whom someone is sent, they are also produced? Would the Holy Spirit then also be the cause and principle of Himself, and would the Father and the Son no longer suffice for the Latins? Moreover, if, as shown, the Son also sends Himself, would the Son also be His own generator and Father? Therefore, it is utterly false that a divine subsistence is necessarily produced by the one by whom it is sent.

But they object with the words of Athanasius in his Oration Against the Sabellians:

“If there is one person, why does one send, and another is sent?”

Epiphanius is said to have similar words in Heresy LXV Against the Novatians. But the Fathers understand the passages of Scripture where mention is made of one as sending and another as sent; where, indeed, the sender and the sent could not be one person. But does it therefore follow that the sender and the sent must always be two persons? Certainly, when the Apostle says:

> *“Who did not spare His own Son but handed Him over for us all” (Rom. 8:32),*

here, since mention is made of one as handing over and another as handed over, the one handing over and the one handed over could not be one person. But elsewhere, Sacred Scripture says:

> *“Who loved me and gave Himself for me” (Gal. 2:20).*

Does it therefore follow, because according to the former testimony of the Apostle the one handing over and the one handed over could not be one person, since one was handing over and the other was handed over, that according to the latter testimony there must be two persons, the one

handing over and the one handed over? Absurd: for we Christians believe not in two, but in one Christ.

For the same reason, therefore, the Holy Spirit is rightly said to have sent Himself, and for the same reason, the cited words of the Fathers do not contradict this doctrine. The matter is so clear, especially since the cited testimony of the Apostle makes it indubitable, that to be more verbose in explaining this would be superfluous.

They further object with the words of Basil the Great in Book V Against Eunomius:

> *"Certainly, the Holy Spirit does not send Himself. But He calls mission the going forth to a work, not a migration from place to place."*

But Basil's meaning is that the Holy Spirit does not send Himself, that is, His divinity, to us: for, since He is present everywhere in His divinity, He could not send Himself anywhere where He was not present. In this sense, we will hear below, with clear words, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, the author of the Breviary Against the Arians edited by the Jesuit Sirmond, Ammonius, and Severianus teaching that the Holy Spirit is not sent. And hence Basil adds:

> *"But the mission of the Holy Spirit is understood as a going forth to a work, not a migration from place to place,"*

signifying, namely, that the Holy Spirit cannot send Himself, that is, His divinity, because His mission signifies a going forth to a work, not a migration from place to place. For, since the Holy Spirit is present everywhere, that going forth of the Holy Spirit consists in this: that the Holy Spirit, who until then was absent from no one in His substance, begins to work His gracious gifts in the faithful.

Finally, a certain Jesuit objects:

> *"It must be asked: what do these propositions mean: 'The Holy Spirit is, or proceeds, externally from the Son, or through the Son'? And if it is said to be the same as being sent by Him and given to men, it follows from this, since they themselves say that the Holy Spirit is also sent and given by Himself, that they should also say that the Holy*

> *Spirit is from Himself, or proceeds from Himself, or through Himself, just as He is said to be from the Son, from both, to proceed from the Father and the Son, or through the Son; and to be produced by the Father through Himself, as Saint Damascene says He is produced by the Father through the Word. This knot is not easily untied."*

But in the theology of the Catholic Church, this is very easily said, with Saint Basil the Great teaching that what proceeds from God does not proceed in time, even if its effect appears in time, and that procession, or rather mission, externally always presupposes a principative power in the sending person, and thus it is never said that the Father is sent or given, because He is the principle without principle.

And first, the Latins themselves, when they say the Holy Spirit proceeds externally from the Son or through the Son, understand only that the Holy Spirit is sent and given by the Son: for this is the clear and plain meaning of those words, and they signify nothing beyond this with the same force of the terms. But from the fact that the Holy Spirit is said to send Himself, the Latins themselves infer, as we saw above around Response IV with Lombard, that the Holy Spirit is from Himself or proceeds externally.

Meanwhile, although we admit that some Latins take the term "procession" improperly for temporal mission, we by no means assert that in its proper and received meaning in the Catholic Church, the term "procession" can be extended to this, but that it signifies only the mode of existence of the Holy Spirit from the Father. And hence we do not assert, as the Jesuit supposes, that the holy Fathers, using the term ekporeuesthai (to proceed), teaching that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, mean this to be externally in respect of the Son, as we will discuss in its place.

Likewise, the cited testimony of Damascene, by which he asserted that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Father through the Son, is irrelevant here. Therefore, it remains for the Jesuit to untie that knot by which he objected: if the Holy Spirit sends Himself, the Holy Spirit must equally be from Himself. But this knot is easily untied. For when, because the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, the holy Fathers say the Holy Spirit is from the Son, the meaning is, of course, that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, namely, given to us, as we have shown at length in the treatise where we resolve the cited testimonies of the Eastern Fathers, particularly the

words of Cyril of Alexandria:

> *"Is it not truly said that the Holy Spirit pours Himself forth to us from Himself, gives Himself? Therefore, the Holy Spirit is truly said to be from Himself, namely, given to us."*

Likewise, in Acts of the Apostles (Ch. II), Peter repeats these words of Joel:

> *"And it shall come to pass in the last days, says God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh" (Acts 2:17).*

Since, therefore, the Holy Spirit pours Himself forth of His own accord, and here God is said to pour out of His Spirit, the Holy Spirit must equally pour forth of Himself or from Himself. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is said to be from Himself, namely, given to us.

But regarding what the Jesuit adds, that mission externally always presupposes a principative power in the sending person, we will discuss this at length below. That Saint Basil also taught this is utterly false. The Jesuit does not cite the passage or place; but he could not hide or veil his falsehood. Likewise, if the Jesuit had wished to respond to the other objections with the words of Saint Basil, by which he teaches that what proceeds from God does not proceed in time, even if its effect appears in time, he should have cited the passage of Basil himself, so that the meaning of Basil could be judged by examining and scrutinizing the passage; although these words, simply stated, also admit an entirely Catholic meaning, and by no means provide any support for the Latins' position.

Response VII

But the Son is also sent by the Holy Spirit. For the mission of the Son is an external work; but, according to what we have cited above, external works are common to all three subsistences. For the Son of God Himself says in Isaiah:

> *"Behold, the Lord and His Spirit have sent Me" (Isa. 48:16).*

For thus far God speaks:

> *“I am God, the first, and I am after these things, and besides Me there is no God” (Isa. 44:6).*

And then:

> *“I have founded the earth with My hand, and My Spirit has established the heavens; I command all the stars. I have raised up a king in righteousness, and all My ways are right” (Isa. 48:13–15).*

And hence He adds:

> *“Behold, the Lord and His Spirit have sent Me” (Isa. 48:16).*

Therefore, the Son of God speaks these words: for the Father is not sent; as is also clearly added in the following, that the Savior spoke these things:

> *“Thus says the Lord, your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel” (Isa. 48:17).*

Likewise, in Luke 4, the Savior Himself reads from the Prophet, as if speaking about Himself:

> *“The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me; He has sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor” (Luke 4:18).*

The holy Fathers teach this with common consent.

Origen, in Tom. II of Exegetics on John (p. 57), says:

> *“In Isaiah, Christ confesses: He is not sent only by the Father, but also by the Holy Spirit. For He says: ‘And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.”*

Athanasius, in On the Holy Mother of God (Tom. I, p. 1039), says:

> *"And first in Isaiah, He Himself, sent, says: 'Listen; I am the first, and I am forever, and My hand founded the earth, and My right hand established the heavens.' And going forth in the time of operation, He adds: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit,' clearly declaring through these words that He Himself, the God who made the heavens and the earth, says: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."*

The words of Basil the Great from Book III Against Eunomius that pertain here we will cite below.

Ambrose, in Book III on the Holy Spirit (Ch. I, Tom. IV, col. 255), says:

> *"Now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit. Who is it that says: 'The Lord God and His Spirit have sent Me,' except He who came from the Father to save sinners? Whom, as you hear, the Spirit also sent, lest when you read that the Son sends the Spirit, you believe the Spirit to be of lesser power. Therefore, the Father sent the Son, and the Spirit sent the Son; the Father and the Son sent the Spirit—if, therefore, the Son and the Spirit send each other, as the Father sends, it is not an injury of subjection, but a communion of power."*

And in Chapter II:

> *"He (the Son of God) was given, I dare say, also by the Spirit, who was sent by the Spirit."*

And in Book II on Faith (Ch. IV, Tom. IV, col. 138):

> *"Consider that our Lord Jesus Christ spoke in Isaiah, saying that He was sent by the Holy Spirit. Is the Son, therefore, lesser than the Spirit because He was sent by the Spirit? You have it written that the Son says He was sent by the Father and His Spirit: 'I am the first,' He says, 'and I am forever, and My hand founded the earth, My right hand established the heavens.' And below: 'I have spoken, and I have called, I have brought him, and I have made his way prosperous; come to Me, and hear this: I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; when they were made, I was there. And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' Certainly, He who made the heavens and the earth says He was sent by the Lord and His Spirit. See, therefore, that it is the simplicity of the discourse, not the injury of mission."*

Idacius Clarus, in Book Against Varimundus (Tom. IV, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 635), says:

> *“Just as the Son of God sent the Spirit to the disciples, so He proclaimed Himself sent by the Holy Spirit, as announced by the Prophet, with Isaiah himself speaking: ‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me, and sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, and sight to the blind.”*

Jerome, in Commentary on Isaiah (Ch. XLVIII, Tom. IV, col. 338), says:

> *“To announce these things, the Prophet says He was sent by the Lord and His Spirit. This is according to the Hebrews and their opinion. But according to Symmachus, who translated: ‘Who announced these things to him? The one whom the Lord loved, who did His will in Babylon,’ and according to the Septuagint: ‘to raise up the seed of the Chaldeans,’ it refers to the person of the Lord, who is truly loved by the Father, and who did all the will of the Father, and who overthrew in Babylon, that is, in the confusion of this world, all the seed of the Chaldeans, who are interpreted as demons. He also now says: ‘I, who was always with the Father, and in the Father, and never without the Father, even now speak, and according to the fragility of the assumed flesh, I say that the Lord God sent Me, and His Spirit,’ and in a brief verse, He shows us the mystery of the Trinity.”*

John Chrysostom, in Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit (near the end, Tom. VI, Greek-Latin edition, p. 225), says:

> *“But if I show that the Maker of heaven and earth is sent by the Holy Spirit, what will you do? Either deny Christ, or erase the Scriptures, or, as a servant of the Scriptures, obey the Scriptures. And where, you say, is this said? Hear God speaking through the Prophet Isaiah, the herald of truth: ‘Hear Me,’ He says, ‘Jacob and Israel, what I say: I am God, the first, and I am after these things, and besides Me there is no God.’ Pay attention, I pray. For what is sought remains. Who, then, is it who says this, the Father or the Son? See how, in the figure of monarchy, He rightly preaches the Trinity: ‘I am God, the first, and I am after these things, and besides Me there is no God.’ Who is it who says this? The Creator of the world. For He adds: ‘I founded*

the earth with My hand.' See how the Maker speaks: 'And My Spirit established the heavens. I commanded all the stars, I raised up a king in righteousness, and all My ways are right.' He said He Himself is the Maker and Creator of heaven and earth. He says afterward: 'I have not spoken to you in secret from the beginning, nor in a dark place.' He said: 'I founded the earth, and I made the heavens: when they were made, I was there: and now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' You, who made heaven and earth, who commanded the stars, the Lord sent, and His Spirit. The Maker of heaven and earth says: 'The Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

Augustine, besides teaching the same in Sermon VI on the Times, Book II on the Trinity (Ch. V), Book Against the Sermon of the Arians (Ch. XXI), and Book III Against Maximinus the Arian, also says in Book Against the Sermon of the Arians (Ch. XIX):

"It is shown through the Prophet that both the Father and the Holy Spirit sent the Son. For who, except the Son, announcing His coming through Isaiah, says: 'Hear Me, Jacob and Israel, whom I will call: I am the first, and I am forever, and My hand founded the earth, and My right hand established the heavens, I will call them, and they will stand together, they will also gather, and all will hear, who announced these things to them? Loving you, I did your will over Babylon, to take away the seed of the Chaldeans. I have spoken, I have called, I have brought him, and I have made his way prosperous. Come to Me, and hear this; for I have not spoken in secret from the beginning: when they were made, I was there: and now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' What is clearer? Behold, He Himself says He was sent by the Holy Spirit, who founded the earth and established the heavens. Where the Only-Begotten is acknowledged, through whom all things were made."

The author of the Breviary Against the Arians (p. 107, among the dogmatic works of five ancient writers edited by the Jesuit Jacob Sirmond in Paris, 1630), says:

"But perhaps someone will say: He (the Holy Spirit) is lesser because He is read to be sent. And what will he say when he reads in the Prophet Isaiah, speaking in the person of Christ: 'The Lord has sent

Me, and His Spirit'? How, then, is He to be believed lesser, who is shown to have sent God, who is equal to the Father, for our redemption, and not only to have sent, as we recalled through Isaiah, but also to have created according to the flesh?"

The author of Questions from the Old and New Testament among Augustine's works (Tom. IV, Question XCVII) says:

"We read in Isaiah, the Lord saying: 'I am the first, and I am forever, and My hand founded the earth, and My right hand established the heavens. When they were made, I was there: and now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' Whom do you wish to be the one who founded the earth? For He Himself says He was sent. Surely not the Father? Far from it. Therefore, it is the Son, who says He was sent by God and the Holy Spirit. Behold, there is equality between the Son and the Holy Spirit. For just as the Holy Spirit is read to be sent by the Father and the Son, so Christ was sent by God and the Holy Spirit."

Eusebius of Emesa, in Sermon on Tuesday after the Fourth Sunday (Tom. V, Part I, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 654), says:

"What does it mean that He says: 'Who sent Me,' except 'Who willed Me to become man and assume flesh'? But this is the operation of the whole Trinity, and not only of the Father."

Cerealis, Bishop of Africa, in Book Against Maximinus (Ch. III, Tom. V, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, Part III, p. 647), says:

"And the Holy Spirit sent the Son of God, as it is written, with Him teaching through the Prophet Isaiah: 'And now,' He says, 'the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

Paschasius, in Book I on the Holy Spirit (Ch. VII, Tom. V, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 736), says:

"And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit. Therefore, one is the Lord the Father in person, another is the Spirit of God the Father. Thus, while the Son is read to be destined by the Father and the Holy Spirit, it is clearly shown that the Holy Spirit subsists of Himself under the name of the three persons."

The author of Books on the Unity of the Divine Trinity (Book III, among Athanasius' works, Tom. II, p. 562), says:

> *"Remember that this power of nature is reciprocal between the sender (Christ) and the sent (the Holy Spirit), while He who is now sent is found to have already sent the sender. Finally, through Saint Isaiah, accept the Son of God testifying: 'Come to Me and hear this: I have not spoken in secret from the beginning: when they were made, I was there: and now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' Learn at last that this divinity of nature is united, of the sender and the sent; while He who now in the Gospel testified that He would send the Spirit, the Paraclete, yet professed through the renowned Isaiah that He Himself was sent by Him."*

Fulgentius, in Book II to Monimus (Ch. VI, Tom. VI, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 24), says:

> *"If the sender is believed to be greater than the sent, let them recognize that their perfidy is convicted in this; for just as the Holy Spirit is read to be sent by the Father and the Son, so the Son is found to be sent by the Father and the Spirit. But also in another place of the same Prophet, He shows Himself sent by the Lord and His Spirit in these words: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.' Therefore, the Son was sent by the Father and the Spirit, and the Spirit was sent by the Father and the Son."*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith (Tom. VI, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 696), says:

> *"We have learned that the Son Himself was sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, as He Himself said through Isaiah: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."*

Isidore of Seville, Bishop, in Book I of the Sentences (Ch. XV), says:

> *"Christ testifies that He was sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, with the Prophet saying: 'Come to Me, and hear this: I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time before it was, I was there: and now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."*

He says the same in Book on the Nativity of the Lord (Ch. IV).

The Eleventh Council of Toledo (Tom. VI, Concil., col. 544) says:

"The Son is to be believed sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, in that He Himself says through the Prophet: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

Hildephonsus, in Book on the Virginity of Mary (Ch. VII, Tom. VII, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 429), says:

"If you have not believed the persons of the Deity speaking individually, believe the same indivisible Trinity cooperating together and operating together. For thus it is said through Isaiah: 'And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

Etherius and Beatus, in Book II Against Elipandus (after the middle, Tom. VIII, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 377), say:

"The Son alone appeared to men through His substance; He did not appear through that by which He is equal to the Father, but through that by which He was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit."

Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, in the Council of Friuli in 797 (Tom. VII, Concil., col. 996), says:

"Hence through Isaiah, He (the Son of God) testifies that He is of the Father (the Holy Spirit), when, on account of the assumed man, He speaks: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me.' And that: 'The Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

The Gloss Ordinary on the words of the Prophet: the lord has sent me, and his spirit:

"The Father constituted the Son to be incarnate; He was conceived by the Holy Spirit."

Likewise, Lombard, in Book I of the Sentences (Distinction XV), teaches at length that the Son was also sent by the Holy Spirit.

It is, therefore, established thus far that the Son was sent into this world by both the Father and the Holy Spirit. From this, it is again clear that the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son is not an argument for His procession from the Son; or, not everything that is sent by someone is necessarily produced by the same. For the Son is not produced by the Holy Spirit, though He was sent by Him.

This is also evident from the words of Ambrose cited above: for considering that the Son is sent by the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit in turn by the Son, he said in Book III on the Holy Spirit (Ch. I):

> *"If, therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit send each other, as the Father sends, it is not an injury of subjection, but a communion of power."*

Therefore, from equal and common power, the Holy Spirit sends the Son, and in turn, the Son sends the Holy Spirit; not, however, by reason of being a principle does the Holy Spirit send the Son, and thus neither is the Holy Spirit sent by the Son by such a reason.

Therefore, the author of Questions from the Old and New Testament among Augustine's works (Question XCVII) acknowledges equality between the Son and the Holy Spirit, saying with the words cited above:

> *"Behold, there is equality between the Son and the Holy Spirit, for just as the Holy Spirit is read to be sent by the Father and the Son, so Christ was sent by God and the Holy Spirit."*

But there would be no equality between the Son and the Holy Spirit if the Son sent the Holy Spirit by reason of being a principle, while the Holy Spirit did not send the Son by the same reason.

Likewise, the author of Books on the Unity of the Divine Trinity among Athanasius' works (Book III) says:

> *"Remember that this power of nature is reciprocal between the sender and the sent, namely, the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, while He who is now sent is found to have already sent the sender."*

Therefore, it is a power of nature by which the Son sends the Holy Spirit, and in turn, the Holy Spirit sends the Son; but the power of nature is not

to be the producer of another. Therefore, just as the Holy Spirit does not send the Son by reason of being a principle, so neither does the Son send the Holy Spirit by this reason.

All object unanimously to this: the Son was indeed sent by the Holy Spirit, but according to His human nature. But to what end is this? Either they mean that the Son was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit for different reasons, since He was sent by the Holy Spirit at least according to His human nature, but by the Father also according to His divinity; or they mean that the Son was sent equally by the Father and the Holy Spirit according to His human nature, but the Son sent the Holy Spirit according to His divinity. For the Latins' proposition would thus be limited according to divinity:

> *"From whom someone is sent according to divinity, they are also produced as a cause."*

As to the former, it is certainly false that the Son was sent by the Father for one reason and by the Holy Spirit for another, in the sense they intended, that the Son was sent by the Father also according to His divinity.

First, the mission of the Son of God is an external work of God: for it pertains to our salvation and was done in time; but, as shown above, the external works of God are common to all three divine subsistences. Therefore, just as the Father sends the Son, so too the Holy Spirit sends the Son in the same way.

Second, the words of the Prophet were:

> *"And now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit" (Isa. 48:16).*

By these words, just as the Lord sent the Son, so too the Holy Spirit is said to have sent the Son. For in the same sense and manner that the Father relates to the mission of the Son, the Holy Spirit is shown by the same words to relate to the same mission. Therefore, the Son is not sent by the Holy Spirit only according to His humanity, but by the Father also according to His divine nature.

Third, it is false that the Son was sent by the Father according to His divinity: for whoever is sent somewhere must not have been there before.

For if He was already present in that place, He could not be sent there; but the Son of God, according to His divine nature, was never absent from any place. How, then, could the Son be sent by the Father somewhere according to His divine nature? Moreover, the mission of the Son was done to redeem men; the Son was sent into this world: but the Son of God was never absent from the world or from men according to His divinity. How, then, could the Son of God have been sent by the Father into the world to redeem the faithful according to His divinity?

Fourth, the Apostle teaches us what the mission of the Son consists in:

> *"When the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law" (Gal. 4:4).*

By these words, the Apostle clearly shows how the Father sent the Son into the world, namely, according to His human nature, since the Son was incarnate from a woman.

And fifth, the holy Fathers unanimously deny that the Son was sent to us by the Father according to His divine nature, and they interpret the mission of the Son by the Father as at least His incarnation.

We rightly place before the others the holy Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council, whose single testimony would suffice to demonstrate what we have posited: for who would ever dare to contradict the dogmas of such a council? This very synod, by the same argument by which we inferred that the Son, because He fills all things with His presence, cannot be sent according to His divine nature, likewise shows that the mission of the Son of God at least signifies His incarnation.

Thus, Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, on behalf of the other holy Fathers, in Gelasius' Book II (Ch. XXIII, Tom. II, Concil., col. 222), says:

> *"We say again that this condescension, descent, and sending must be understood according to the mode of His incarnation, as we previously demonstrated. For by His divinity, He always fills all things with the Father, according to the previously given understandings."*

Origen, in Tom. II of Exegetics on John (p. 27), says:

> *"If what is written in Isaiah, where our Savior says He was sent by the Father and by His Spirit, it must be answered that in this place too*

Christ was sent by the Spirit, not because of a difference in nature, but because of the dispensation of our Savior, the Son of God, who humbled Himself in taking on humanity."

Basil the Great, in Book III Against Eunomius (after the beginning, Tom. II, p. 82), says:

"Isaiah, speaking in the person of the Lord, namely according to His humanity, says: 'The Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit."

Gregory the Theologian, in his Oration on Theophany cited by Theodoret in Dialogue II, called Inconfusus (Tom. IV, p. 98), says:

"He was sent indeed (the Son of God), but as man: for His nature was twofold, hence He labored, hungered, thirsted, was weary, and wept according to the law of the human body."

These words of Nazianzen are cited by Leo the Great, Pope of Rome, in Epistle XCVII to Emperor Leo.

Gregory of Nyssa, in his Oration on the Deity of the Son and the Holy Spirit (Tom. II, p. 902), says:

"It is said, therefore: 'He who sent Me is greater than Me.' Let us see, then, from whom this speech proceeds? How was He sent, endowed with the form of God? Or having taken the form of a servant, remaining in full divinity? Or when He emptied Himself in the form of a servant? For I think it is entirely clear that the divine power and nature, since it is everywhere and pervades and embraces all things, cannot rightly be said to be sent. For there is nothing empty or void outside it, to which, when it was not there before, it might go after being sent. But since it holds all things together and contains them by its conserving power, it has nowhere to go, since it is the fullness of all things. Therefore, the descent of the Son of God to our humility and weakness, which happened by the will of the Father, is called mission. For the migration from the immortal nature to our life does not signify a movement of the Lord from place to place, but indicates a descent from the height of glory to the humility of the flesh. He descended, therefore, and appeared not as the bare Word, but as flesh, not appearing in the form of God by Himself, but in the form of a servant."

Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah (Ch. XLVIII), introduces the Son of God speaking thus:

> *"According to the fragility of the assumed flesh, I say that the Lord God sent Me, and His Spirit."*

Idacius Clarus, Bishop of Spain, in Book Against Varimundus (Tom. IV, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 622), says:

> *"Do you see that the Son was not sent by the Father according to His divinity, but according to the flesh, which He graciously and piously deigned to assume for us? . . . For He who, remaining in the Father, subsists by the power of His might, had nowhere to be sent by the Father: for no part of the ages or the earth is excluded from the sight of the Father, where the Son would be sent by the Father according to them."*

John Chrysostom, in Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit (near the end, Tom. VI, p. 225), says:

> *"God sent His Son into the world: was it so that He who was not present in the world might be? Did He come into the world because He was not in the world before? How, then, does the Evangelist John say: 'All things were made through Him' (John 1:3); 'He was in the world, and the world was made through Him' (John 1:10)? How, then, was He sent into the world again? Was He sent, who sent; and did He who sent remain above, and He who was sent below? How did He say: 'And He who sent Me is with Me' (John 8:29)? I beseech you to attend diligently, keep the discourse secure: for a heretic can say: 'He is with Me as a helper,' as I also say: 'God is with me.' He did not say simply, but what? 'The Father who dwells in Me.' If He was with Him, and remained in Him, how did He send, or how was He sent? If He who sent remained above, and He who was sent came below, how does the Son say: 'The Father is with Me'? If He who sent remained above, how does the sender have the sent with Him? For He said: 'I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me' (John 14:10). How, then, was He sent, who says: 'The Father is in Me'? . . . You, who made heaven and earth, who commanded the stars, the Lord sent, and His Spirit; begotten according to divinity, sent according to the flesh?"*

Augustine, in Book II on the Trinity (Ch. V), says:

> *"Convicted in these things, they turn to saying: 'The sender is greater than the sent; therefore, the Father is greater than the Son, because the Son constantly recalls that He was sent by the Father; He is greater also than the Holy Spirit, because Jesus said of Him: "Whom the Father will send in My name" (John 14:26). And the Holy Spirit is lesser than both, because both the Father sends Him, as we recalled, and the Son, when He says: "If I go, I will send Him to you" (John 16:7).' In this question, I first ask: how and whence was the Son sent? He says: 'I came forth from the Father and came into this world' (John 16:28). Therefore, to come forth from the Father and come into this world is to be sent. What, then, does it mean that the same Evangelist says of Him: 'He was in this world, and the world was made through Him, and the world did not know Him' (John 1:10)? Then he adds: 'He came to His own' (John 1:11). Surely He was sent there where He came; But if He was sent into this world because He came forth from the Father and came into this world, and He was in this world, then He was sent there where He was. For also that which is written in the Prophet, where God says: "I fill heaven and earth" (Jer. 23:24), if it was said of the Son (for some wish to understand it as the Son speaking in the Prophets or through the Prophets), where was He sent, except where He was? For He was everywhere, who says: "I fill heaven and earth." If, however, it was said of the Father, where could He be without His Word and without His Wisdom, which reaches from end to end mightily and orders all things sweetly? Therefore, if the Son is sent there where He was, it must be asked how this mission of the Son is to be understood. The Apostle writes of the Son: "When the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law" (Gal. 4:4–5). He says: "He sent His Son, born of a woman." Since, therefore, he says: "God sent His Son, born of a woman," he sufficiently shows that the Son was sent by the very fact that He was born of a woman. Therefore, what was born of God was in this world; but what was born of the Virgin Mary came sent into this world. And he discusses more about the incarnation and birth from the Virgin, in which he teaches that the Son was sent.*

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Augustine, in *Book IV on the Trinity*, Chapter XX, before the middle, writes:

> *Therefore, the Son is not said to be sent by the very fact that He was born of the Father, but either by the fact that the Word made flesh appeared to this world, whence He says: “I came forth from the Father and came into this world” (John 16:28), or by the fact that He is perceived by someone’s mind in time, as it is said: “Send Him, that He may be with me and labor with me” (Num. 11:17).*

And in *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, Chapter IV, he continues:

> *But this can be understood such that the Son is said to be sent by the Father by the very fact that the Son of Man appeared in the flesh, not the Father. For who is sent where He is? But where is the Wisdom of God, which is Christ, not, which is written: “It reaches from end to end mightily and orders all things sweetly” (Wis. 8:1)? Since, therefore, the Son is everywhere, where was He to be sent where He was not, except by appearing, as He appeared?*

And in *Book on Christian Doctrine*, Chapter XI, he adds:

> *Therefore, He is said to have come to us not by moving through the spaces of places, but by appearing to mortals in mortal flesh. For He came there where He was, because He was in this world, and the world was made through Him.*

Nilus, disciple of John Chrysostom, in *Letters*, Letter CCXIX (Roman Greco-Latin edition, 1668, translated by Leo Allatius, p. 81), states:

> *It is said that the Son is sent not according to His nature as God the Word, who is infinite and contains all things—since all things are from Him, through Him, and in Him, and in Him we live, move, and have our being—but according to the fact that God the Word took upon Himself the afflictions of the assumed body.*

Cyril of Alexandria, in the latter discourse of *Book on the True Faith to the Queens*, after the beginning (Volume V, Works, Part II, p. 136), writes:

> *Where is the Word of God not present, if His divine nature fills all things? How, then, is He sent by the Father, and how does He go to Him? Therefore, He is sent according to His humanity, in the manner and reason of mission and apostleship, to preach release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind.*

And in his *Commentary on Joel*, Book IV, Chapter III (Volume IV, p. 366), he continues:

> *When, therefore, the Son says that He is sent, He signifies His Incarnation, nothing else. And after some remarks: "Even though I became flesh," He says, "for this is what it means to be sent."*

Author of the Breviary Against the Arians, among the five ancient writers published by Sirmond in Paris, 1630, p. 77, states:

> *But perhaps because you hear that the Son is sent, you think He is lesser than the Father. I ask you, do you believe the Son is God, or not? Without doubt, you will respond that He is God, for even if you wished to deny it, you would be convicted by the sacred Scriptures. And after proving that the Son is God, he continues on p. 78: If, therefore, He is God—indeed, because He is God, through whom all things were*

made, and not only is He not lesser but is the exalted God—I ask you, is God everywhere, or perhaps confined to a place? Since it is impious to deny that God is everywhere, I ask you: where was He sent? But understand the mission of the Son as His Incarnation, as the Apostle himself explains: "God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law." Finally, we read of Him in the Prophet: "I fill heaven and earth, says the Lord." And the Evangelist says of the same: "We have all received of His fullness." And if He fills all things, where was He sent, whose majesty fills all things?

Author of the Book of Meditations, among Augustine's works, Chapter XIII (Volume IX of Augustine's works), writes:

You, God the Father, are never and nowhere read to have been sent; but of Your Son, the Apostle writes: "When the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son." When he says "sent," he sufficiently shows that He was sent into this world when, born of the Blessed Virgin Mary, He appeared in the flesh as true and perfect man. What does the preeminent Evangelist say of Him? "He was in the world, and the world was made through Him." He was sent there, through His humanity, where He always was and is through His divinity. I believe with my whole heart and confess with my mouth that the mission is the work of the entire Holy Trinity.

Author of the Book of the New Canticle, also among Augustine's works, Chapter VII (Volume IX), states:

Christ, insofar as He took on human nature, is said to be sent; insofar as He is God, He is equal to the Father. For where would the Father send Him, where He Himself was not with the Son?

Primasius, in *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Chapter IV (Volume VI, Part II, Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 81), writes:

The mission of the Son is understood as His Incarnation, not a diminution of His Majesty.

Eusebius of Emesa, in *Sermon II after the Second Sunday* (Volume V, Part I, Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 642), states:

The Son was sent by the Father, born in the flesh, and became man: for this is what mission means, namely, Incarnation.

And in *Sermon III after the Fourth Sunday*, he continues:

What does it mean when He says, “He who sent me,” if not that He willed me to become man and take on flesh? But this is the work of the entire Trinity, not only of the Father.

Cerealis, Bishop of Africa, in *Book Against Maximinus*, Chapter III (Volume V, Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part III, p. 647), writes:

How the Father sent the Son is thus taught: the mission of the Son is the Incarnation of the Son. The Apostle Paul testifies to who was sent, whether the Son or the Son of Man, saying: “God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law.”

Fulgentius, in *Book on the Faith to Peter*, Chapter XV, states:

The Son of God, when the fullness of time had come, was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit and was born of a woman, whom He alone made, and was born under the law, which He gave.

And in *Book VIII, Against Fabianus*, cited by Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, in his collections on the procession of the Holy Spirit (Volume VI, Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 190):

Because the term “mission” is used in the sacred Scriptures in more than one way, therefore in the mystery of the Incarnation, the Son was sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, because the Mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ, was formed by the operation of the entire Trinity.

Hildephonsus, in *Book on the Virginity of Mary*, Chapter VII (Volume VII, Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 439), writes:

Through Isaiah, it is said: “And now the Lord has sent me, and His Spirit.” Behold, in that the Son of God came to be incarnated through our Virgin, the entire Trinity showed a new wonder of its operation.

Bede, in *Commentary on John*, Chapter V (Volume V of his works, col. 499), states:

> *This mission is the Incarnation of Christ.*

And on Chapter VIII (col. 524):

> *What is the mission of Christ, if not His Incarnation? Christ was sent, which is the same as saying: Christ was incarnated, and He was sent by the Father, yet never departed from the Father, and was here through His Incarnation, and is here now through His divinity.*

And later (col. 533):

> *Therefore, let us understand that the mission of the Son is called the Incarnation of the Son.*

In the *Book of Questions*, last question (Volume VIII of his works, col. 302), he adds:

> *God the Father is said to send the Son improperly, because He is not sent so as to be locally removed from Him, who is present everywhere with Him; but He is said to send in a certain likeness, because just as we separate from ourselves those whom we send, so the Father sent the Son when, in the assumption of the flesh, He separated Him somewhat from Himself. For although the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit cooperated in the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, only the person of the Son assumed the flesh, and thus He is seen to send, as it were, because the Father did not assume the flesh from the Virgin with the Son.*

Etherius and Beatus, in *Book I Against Elipandus*, near the end (Volume VIII, Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 358), write:

> *Because there is one will and one power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Father sent the Son according to His lesser nature; and the Son sent Himself according to His equality.*

And in *Book II*, after the middle (Volume VIII, p. 377):

The Son alone appeared in His substance to men, not through that by which He is equal to the Father, but through that by which He was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit.

Paulinus, Metropolitan of Aquileia, in the *Synod of Friuli* (Volume VII, Councils, col. 996), states:

Hence, through Isaiah, it is testified that it belongs to the Father (that the Holy Spirit is of the Son of God), when, on account of the assumed human nature, He says: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," and that: "The Lord has sent me, and His Spirit."

The words of Bede, cited above from his commentary on Chapters V and VIII of John, are also held by **Albinus (Alcuin)** on the words of John: "If I judge, my judgment is true" (Volume V of his works). Likewise, in *Book III on the Trinity*, Chapter IV (col. 739), he writes:

It must be asked how the mission of the Son is understood. For the Father alone is never read to have been sent; but of the Son, the Apostle writes: "When the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law." When he says, "God sent His Son, born of a woman," he sufficiently shows that the Son was sent by the very fact that He was born of a woman. Therefore, what was born of God, the Son of God, was in this world, as the Evangelist says: "He was in the world, and the world was made through Him." But what was born of the Virgin Mary was sent into this world. For the Lord Himself says: "I came forth from the Father and have come into this world"; this is to be sent.

And in Chapter VI:

He was fittingly called sent, who appeared in the flesh (but it was He who did not appear in it who sent Him). Therefore, the form of the assumed man is the person of the Son, not of the Father. Wherefore, the invisible Father, together with the invisible Son, is said to have sent Him by making the same Son visible.

Gloss on the words of the Prophet: "NOW THE LORD HAS SENT ME AND HIS SPIRIT":

> *The Father ordained that the Son be incarnated, conceived by the Holy Spirit.*

Anselm of Canterbury, in *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Chapter IV (Volume II of his works, Cologne edition, 1612, p. 245), writes:

> *He sent Him, that is, He caused Him to be incarnated, so that He might be visible to men, namely, Him who, according to the flesh, was born of a woman, that is, of a mother's seed.*

Lombard, in *Book I of the Sentences*, Distinction XV, states:

> *From the above, it is clearly shown that the Son was sent by the Father, by the Holy Spirit, and by Himself; and what this mission is, namely, the Incarnation, that is, that He became man, through which He appeared visibly, which is the common work of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*

Therefore, those among the Latins who assert that the Son was sent by the Holy Spirit at least according to His humanity, and by the Father according to His divinity, are deceived and deceive others. For from the above, it is certainly clear that the Son was sent by the Father, at least according to His humanity.

Then it is seen that what they said—that the Holy Spirit at least sent the Son according to His human nature, but the Holy Spirit Himself was sent by the Son according to His divinity—is utterly false, that the Son sent the Holy Spirit according to His divinity. For the Holy Spirit in His divinity fills all things and is present everywhere. But where someone is present, he cannot be sent by another. How, then, could the Holy Spirit be said to be sent according to His divine nature? Secondly: The Holy Spirit who is given to us can increase or decrease. Hence, Elisha desired a double portion of Elijah's Spirit. And the Apostle warns the Thessalonians in Chapter V: "Do not quench the Spirit." And in the First Epistle of John, Chapter IV, it is said: "He who abides in love abides in God, and God in him." But the Holy Spirit, according to His divinity, cannot increase, decrease, be quenched, or depart from anyone. Therefore, He is not given or sent to the faithful according to His divinity. Thirdly: The words of the Evangelist are: "The Holy Spirit was not yet,

because Christ had not yet been glorified." But in terms of His substance, the Holy Spirit was and existed even before Christ was glorified. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit, who was sent to us, was not before Christ's glorification, it is clear that the Holy Spirit is not given to the faithful according to His divinity. Fourthly: When the Holy Spirit is sent to us, it is not He alone, but the Father and the Son also come with Him. For these are the words of the Son of God Himself: "If anyone loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our dwelling with him." But the Father or the Son could not come anywhere according to their divinity, as even the Latins admit. Therefore, neither does the Holy Spirit, with whom the Father and the Son come when He is sent, come to us according to His divinity. Fifthly: The same is taught by the many Fathers cited: **Gregory of Nyssa**, **Idacius Clarus**, **John Chrysostom**, **Augustine** in his *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, **Nilus the Ascetic**, **Cyril of Alexandria**, the **Author of the Breviary Against the Arians**, and the **Author of the Book of the New Canticle** among Augustine's works, and finally the Fathers of the **First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea**; when they denied that the Son was sent according to His divinity, that is, insofar as He is God, because the Son of God fills all things with His presence. For if the Son could not be sent according to His divinity because He is present everywhere, likewise neither could the Holy Spirit be sent according to His divinity, because He is no less present everywhere.

Thus, the Holy Fathers cited so far teach us that the Holy Spirit is not sent according to His divinity, just as they deny that the Son is sent according to His divinity for the same reason. Among these, since the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council are included, who would dare to doubt the truth of this doctrine?

And hence, sixthly: elsewhere, too, the Holy Fathers deny that the Holy Spirit Himself is sent according to His divinity, or insofar as He is God. **Gregory the Theologian**, in *Oration XXXVII* (p. 611), writes:

> *Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit—such as being given, sent, distributed, breath, promise, intercession, and so forth, if I need not mention each one—must be referred to the principal cause. Therefore, the mission of the Holy Spirit is said more humbly, and thus it does not properly belong to His divinity.*

John Chrysostom, in *Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit* (Volume VI of his works, p. 224), states:

If you hear it said, “I will send you the Holy Spirit,” do not take it according to His deity. For God is not sent. These names signify an operation, because everyone who sends, sends to those places where he is not. Suppose I speak to someone in this place. I cannot say to anyone, “Come, I will send you here”; this is not sending but placing or appointing. But if God is everywhere—for He says, “I fill heaven and earth, says the Lord”—where does He send, who is everywhere? If I ascend to heaven, You are there; if I descend to hell, You are present; if I take the wings of the dawn and dwell in the farthest parts of the sea, even there Your hand will lead me. Where, then, does God send? Or perhaps He Himself is everywhere, but the one who is sent is not everywhere?

And in *Homily LXXVII on John*:

But why does He say, “I will send Him”? This means: I will prepare you for His reception. For how can He who is everywhere be sent?

Augustine, in *Book III on the Trinity*, near the end, writes:

It remains, therefore, to consider that when the Lord was born of the Virgin, and the Holy Spirit descended in the bodily form of a dove, and with visible fiery tongues, with a sound from heaven on the day of Pentecost after the Lord’s ascension, it was not the Word of God Himself in His substance, which is equal and coeternal with the Father, nor the Spirit of the Father and the Son in His substance, which is equal and coeternal with both, but rather, through a creature that could be formed and exist in those ways, He appeared to bodily and mortal senses. What difference is there between those demonstrations and these properties of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, though made through a visible creature?

And in *Book II on the Trinity*, Chapter V:

God could never be without His Spirit. Therefore, if God is everywhere, His Spirit is also everywhere; thus, His Spirit was sent where He was.

For he who could not find a place to flee from the face of God, and says, "If I ascend to heaven, You are there; if I descend to hell, You are present," wishing to signify that God is present everywhere, first named His Spirit. For he says: "Where shall I go from Your Spirit, or where shall I flee from Your face?"

Cyril of Alexandria, in *Book on the Faith to the Queens* (Volume II, Councils, Part I, Acts of the Council of Ephesus, col. 240), writes:

If anyone takes the term "mission" as applied to the Word Himself, let it not trouble anyone, for it is the custom of divinely inspired Scripture to use such expressions sometimes, not because it wishes to circumscribe or define that divine and heavenly nature (for it knows it to be free from the body, above all limit and place), but because it strives to manifest to us, in such human terms, what otherwise exceeds the capacity of our mind. For the Savior Himself also promises to send the Paraclete to us; yet the Holy Spirit fills all things, as it is said: "The Spirit of the Lord has filled the orb of the earth."

Author of the Breviary Against the Arians, in Sirmond, p. 107:

But perhaps someone will say: He is lesser because He is read to have been sent (the Holy Spirit). Should it be believed that He who is known to be everywhere is sent, as the Psalmist says: "Where shall I go from Your Spirit, or where shall I flee from Your face?"

Ammonius, in the *Chain of Greek Fathers on John*, Chapter XIV:

He who is present is not sent, since He is perfectly present everywhere; but this signifies the time of His coming. For if Christ had not been sacrificed and sin had not been absolved, the Spirit would not have come upon the believers.

Severianus, cited by Theophylact in his *Commentary on Acts*, Chapter II (p. 32, Cologne edition, 1568):

He did not say, "I will pour out My Spirit," but "of My Spirit." The Spirit is not poured out. But how the Holy Spirit is sent is easily understood from what has been said above. For how can the Holy Spirit increase,

> *decrease, be quenched, or depart? How was He not present before Christ's glorification? How, finally, did He come to the faithful with the Father and the Son, all of which sacred Scripture teaches, if not in the gifts of grace?*

Hence, Psalm 67 says that the Savior, in His very ascension, received gifts for men: "You have ascended on high, You have led captivity captive, You have received gifts for men" (Ps. 68:18). The Savior also promises to send the power of the Holy Spirit, as in Luke 24:49: "Remain in Jerusalem until you are clothed with power from on high, and you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you." And in Acts 2:38: "Let each of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins, and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." The Fathers teach the same throughout.

Athanasius, in *Book on the Sayings and Interpretations of the Parables of the Gospel*, Question XXIX (Volume II of his works, p. 400), writes:

> *Speaking of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles at Pentecost, and considering the saying, "You will be baptized with the Holy Spirit and receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you," and that, "The Holy Spirit was not yet, for Jesus had not yet been glorified," he says: He calls the Holy Spirit not the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, for this was before, is, and will always be; but the gift of the Holy Spirit, which came upon the disciples of Christ on the tenth day of the ascension, the fiftieth day of the resurrection.*

John Chrysostom, in *Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit*, near the end (Volume VI of his works, p. 225), states:

> *When the Son says, "I send you the Holy Spirit," He speaks of the gift of the Holy Spirit, so that you may learn that the gift is sent; but the Spirit Himself is not sent. The Savior says to the Apostles: "Remain in Jerusalem until you are clothed with power from on high, and you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you." It is the power that is granted, and the Spirit who grants it is another, dividing to each as He wills. Therefore, you cannot show that the Holy Spirit is sent from pure deity.*

And later:

Heretics take the mission of the Spirit as an insult. The Father sent, who does not move or change place; the Son sent the Holy Spirit, who does not cause Himself to depart, and from whom He is not separated. And therefore, Scripture says: "God poured out His Spirit," that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit. The divinity is not poured out, but the gift; for this reason, to show that what is poured out is not the Holy Spirit but the grace of the Spirit. David says of Christ: "Grace is poured upon Your lips." Grace is poured out, not He who gives grace. And after he had extensively shown, at the beginning of the same oration, that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are called by the name of the Spirit in sacred Scripture, he finally adds: But heretics, who did not know that when it speaks of the Spirit of sanctification or of promise, it refers to the gifts, refer it to His nature, saying that God gave and donated the Holy Spirit. You see, he says, that it is the gift of God? They read of gifts and refer them to His nature, the wretched ones. They ought to understand which names pertain to His nature and which signify the gifts of grace.

Augustine, in *Sermon XXII*, which is III on Pentecost, in the supplement to Augustine's works (Paris edition, 1654, Volume I, p. 54), writes:

What, then, does it mean: "He cannot come unless I go away"? For He says, "It is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come to you." What this means, as much as we understand, estimate, or perceive by His gift, or what we believe, we speak—let your charity receive it briefly. It seems to me that the disciples were preoccupied with the human form of the Lord Christ, and as men, they were held by affection for the human man. But He wanted them to have a divine affection instead, and thus to make them spiritual from carnal, which does not happen without the gift of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, He says: "I will send you the gift by which you will become spiritual," namely, the gift of the Holy Spirit. But you cannot become spiritual unless you cease to be carnal.

And in *Tractate LXXIV on John*:

The Spirit Himself is not divided, but the gift through the Spirit; for there are divisions of gifts, but the same Lord.

Leo the Great, Pope of Rome, in *Sermon III on Pentecost*, writes:

The coming of the Holy Spirit was hoped for because the Lord Jesus had promised that He would come, not as if He would then begin to be the indweller of the saints, but that He would more fervently enkindle and more abundantly flood the hearts consecrated to Him, increasing His gifts, not beginning them; not new in operation, but richer in generosity.

Theodorus, Bishop of Heraclea, in the *Chain of Greek Fathers on John*, Chapter XX, states:

He calls the Holy Spirit the spiritual grace, saying: "Receive the Holy Spirit," because He was making His hearers spiritual, as He Himself said above: "The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life." If, therefore, He calls His words, which He spoke, spirit, that is, spiritual, how much more fittingly would He name so great a gift the Spirit in a similar way?

Fulgentius, in his *Book II to Monimus*, Chapter VI (Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, Vol. VI, p. 24), writes:

No Christian should understand the mission of the Son or the Holy Spirit as a local movement; rather, by the term "mission," we should understand the work of divine manifestation granted to us. For the Son is not sent locally, nor is the Holy Spirit sent locally, just as the coming of the Father Himself is not local. Yet, the Son promises not only His own coming but also that of the Father to those who love Him. For He says: "If anyone loves Me and keeps My word, My Father will love him, and We will come to him and make Our dwelling with him" (John 14:23). Therefore, just as the Father and the Son are never absent anywhere, yet They come to whomever They will—They come through grace, though through Their power They are never absent—so too, in the mission or coming of the Holy Spirit, no local movement of His should be understood, but rather the effect of our sanctification should be believed.

And in Chapter VII, he continues:

For this reason, as the Apostle says: "Comparing spiritual things with spiritual" (1 Cor. 2:13), we must consider that in the Spirit, who is

naturally God, nothing corporeal, nothing local, nothing temporal, nothing mutable should be thought. Sometimes, the term "Holy Spirit" refers to the gifts of spiritual grace. For we read in the Book of Kings that when Elijah was to be taken up by divine power and, before he was taken, gave his disciple confidence to ask for whatever he wished, the disciple requested that a double portion of the Spirit that Elijah had received be granted to him (2 Kings 2:9). Here, we understand that the term "Spirit" designates the gift of spiritual grace. For the substance of the Holy Spirit cannot be increased or diminished, as He, being eternal without beginning or end, is also perfect without increase or decrease.

Severianus, as cited by Theophylact, affirms:

The Spirit is not poured out, but the gift of the Spirit is.

Isidore of Seville, in *Book I of Sentences*, Chapter XV, states:

The gift of the Holy Spirit is distributed individually among the members of the Church, and particular gifts are granted to each. Christ, however, possessed the fullness of all graces, as it is written: "Full of grace and truth" (John 1:14). Therefore, in Christ is the fullness of all graces, for to each of the elect, individual gifts are given.

Augustine, in *Tractate 74 on John*, as cited by Bede in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Chapter XII, is noted to be repeated by Bede.

Albinus (Alcuin), in *Book II on the Trinity*, Chapter XXII, writes:

The gifts of the Holy Spirit are distributed individually among the members of the Church, and particular gifts are granted to each. In Christ alone is the fullness of all gifts, because the entire fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him. Hence, He is proclaimed by the Evangelist as "full of grace and truth" (John 1:14). All grace of gifts resides in the Holy Spirit. For He, as He wills, bestows the graces of gifts, giving to some the word of wisdom, to others knowledge, to others faith, and thus, grace is granted to each in the power of the Spirit according to the will of the Giver. And a little later (col. 736): But now, unlike in the past, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are not in men as

> *they once were. For in the people of Israel, the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone forth through certain signs or prophecies; but now, the grace of the Holy Spirit is poured out among the entire multitude of believers according to the will of the distributing God. This is what is meant in the Gospel: "The Spirit had not yet been given because Jesus had not yet been glorified" (John 7:39). For just as the members of one body have different functions, yet all are operated and governed by one soul, assigning to each member its task—to the eye to see, to the hand to work, to the foot to walk, to the ear to hear—so too are the diverse gifts distributed to the faithful as members, according to the measure proper to each. Although the graces of gifts vary among the entire multitude of the faithful, the Church is one body, united and joined by one Spirit through the bond of charity.*

On John, Chapter I, regarding the words: "Of His fullness we have all received" (John 1:16), he adds:

> *All the saints do not receive the fullness of His Spirit but receive from His fullness as much as He grants, for to some is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, to others the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit (1 Cor. 12:8).*

Marcus the Hermit, in response to those who doubted divine baptism, addressing the question: "How did you just say that the Holy Spirit dwells perfectly in us?" (Bibliotheca Patrum Graecorum, Vol. I, p. 931), writes:

> *I said that the first fruits of the Holy Spirit dwell in us, not because I wished to introduce some part or division of the Holy Spirit (for He is neither divided nor altered), but to show our capacity, which cannot fully contain the power of the Holy Spirit except through perfect fulfillment of the commandment, that is, through death. For death for the truth of Christ is a commandment of God. Therefore, in whatever way He, who is perfect, full, simple, and equal, bestows His benefit to all, each person, to the extent that they have a purified eye, receives light, even if they are a commoner. Thus, the Holy Spirit, from the reception of baptism, has made believers capable of all actions and gifts; however, He has not granted to all to exercise the gifts equally, but to each according to their worthiness and the manner of fulfilling the commandments, as testified by good works and the clear measure of faith in Christ.*

Lombard, in *Book I of Sentences*, Distinction XIV, notes:

> *There are some who say that the Holy Spirit Himself, who is God, is not given, but His gifts, which are not the Holy Spirit Himself. They say that the Holy Spirit is said to be given when His grace is given, which, however, is not Himself who is given to men. They claim that Bede held this view in the words cited above, where he says that the Holy Spirit proceeds when His grace is given to men, as if He Himself is not given, but His grace.*
>
> *And from this, the Father and the Son come to us not except through gifts or grace, or, what is the same, through gracious indwelling.*

Remigius of Rheims, in *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Chapter XII (Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, Vol. V, Part III, p. 889), writes:

> *It must be acknowledged that, although God is everywhere through the power of His divinity, He is not everywhere through the grace of indwelling, and in those in whom He dwells through grace, He does not dwell equally.*

Fulgentius, in *Book II to Monimus*, as cited above, reiterates:

> *As the Father and the Son are never absent anywhere, yet They come to whomever They will—They come through grace, for through Their power They are never absent—so too, in the mission or coming of the Holy Spirit, no local movement of His should be understood, but the effect of our sanctification should be believed.*

Augustine, in *Epistle 57*, well before the middle, writes:

> *It must be acknowledged that God is everywhere through the presence of His divinity, but not everywhere through the grace of indwelling. For because of this indwelling, where His grace of love is undoubtedly recognized, we do not say, “Our Father, who art everywhere,” though this is true, but, “Our Father, who art in heaven” (Matt. 6:9), so that in prayer we may rather commemorate His temple, which we ourselves ought to be. Since, therefore, He who is everywhere does not dwell in all, and even in those in whom He dwells, He does not dwell equally.*

For how else could Elisha have asked that the Spirit of God, which was in Elijah, be doubled in him? And why are some saints holier than others, if not because they have the indwelling God more abundantly?

He continues, in *Book I of On the Trinity*, Chapter IX:

He says a little earlier: "And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Advocate to be with you forever" (John 14:16). Therefore, He will not depart when the Father and the Son come, but He will be in the same dwelling with them forever, because He does not come without them, nor they without Him. But for the sake of manifesting the Trinity, certain things are said separately about each person, even though they are not understood as separated from the others because of the unity of the same Trinity and the one substance and divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

And again in *Epistle 57*, well before the middle:

Who would dare to think, unless they are entirely ignorant of the inseparability of the Trinity, that the Father or the Son can dwell in someone in whom the Holy Spirit does not dwell, or that the Holy Spirit can dwell in someone in whom the Father and the Son are not? From these things, it is sufficiently clear thus far that the Latins who claimed that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son according to His divinity were mistaken, since, as has been shown, He is sent according to gifts, grace, and gracious operations.

And in *Book II of On the Trinity*, Chapter V, he writes:

If, therefore, the Son of God is said to be sent insofar as He appeared outwardly in a corporeal creature, while inwardly in His spiritual nature He is always hidden from mortal eyes, it is now easy to understand why the Holy Spirit is also said to be sent. For a certain form of a creature was made in time, in which the Holy Spirit was visibly shown, whether when He descended upon the Lord Himself in the bodily form of a dove, or when, ten days after His ascension, on the day of Pentecost, there came suddenly from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and there appeared to them tongues as of fire, which also settled on each one of them (Acts 2:2–3). This

operation, visibly expressed and offered to mortal eyes, is called the mission of the Holy Spirit: not so that His very substance, which is invisible and immutable like the Father and the Son, might appear, but so that human hearts, moved by these outward visible signs, might be turned from the temporal manifestation of the One coming to the hidden eternity of the One always present.

Author of the Breviary Against the Arians, among the five ancient writers edited by Sirmond, p. 108, states:

It must be believed that He who is known to be everywhere is sent, as the Psalmist says: "Where shall I go from Your Spirit, or where shall I flee from Your presence?" (Ps. 139:7). But just as the mission of the Son is declared by His incarnation, so too the Holy Spirit is declared to be sent when He deigned to appear in the form of a dove, or in fire, or in other such assumed signs.

Author of the Book of 65 Questions, in Augustine, Vol. IV, Question IX, in response to Orosius asking:

I ask, what do you think about the mission of the Holy Spirit? Did He also assume a human form to be said to be sent? He responds: Just as the Son is neither said to be sent nor lesser according to His substance, so too the Holy Spirit. Just as the Son is said to be lesser or sent because of the human form, so the Holy Spirit is said to be sent because of the dove or fire: that is, because He did not appear in the substance that is equal to the Father, but, as said, through a subject creature.

Albinus (Alcuin), in *Book III of On the Trinity*, Chapter V, writes:

This mission (of the Holy Spirit) was made through certain visible creatures for a time. For a certain form of a creature was made in time, in which the Holy Spirit was visibly shown, whether when He descended upon the Lord Himself at His baptism in the bodily form of a dove, or when He was seen in the bodily form of fiery tongues descending upon the Apostles. This operation, visibly expressed and offered to mortal eyes, is called the mission of the Holy Spirit.

And thus, the Fathers never acknowledged that the Holy Spirit could be sent according to His divinity.

Response VIII

It is therefore established that the Holy Spirit is sent only according to His gifts or gracious operations. What, then, I ask, is the consequence? The Holy Spirit, by consenting through consubstantiality with the Son, pours out His gifts upon us. Is the Holy Spirit, therefore, produced by the Son? It is clear to all that there is no necessity for this consequence. It is the same as if you were to argue: The Son is consubstantial with the Holy Spirit; therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. I said, however, that the Holy Spirit, by consenting through consubstantiality with the Son, begins to pour out His gifts, and that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son. For the Son does not concur in the mission of the Holy Spirit except through the identity and communion of nature. Thus, **Ambrose**, in *Book of the Symbol*, Chapter X (Vol. IV, col. 94), states:

> *He says, "He proceeds from the Father" because of His origin; he says, "Whom I will send" because of the communion and unity of nature.*

And in *Book III of On the Holy Spirit*, Chapter I (Vol. IV, col. 255):

> *If, therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit send each other as the Father sends, it is not an injury of subjection but a communion of power.*

Jerome, in *Commentary on Isaiah*, Chapter 57, writes:

> *The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and, because of the communion of nature, is sent by the Son, who says: "If I go, I will send Him to you" (John 16:7).*

Cyril of Alexandria, in *Book XI on John*, Chapter X (Vol. IV, p. 987), states:

> *Because He is the Spirit of the Father, He is the Spirit of the Son and of the Father who sends, or who promises to give Him to the saints, and again, when the Son bestows Him as His own, because of the identity of substance He has with the Father.*

And the **Author of the Books on the Unity of the Divine Trinity**, Book III, among Athanasius' works (Vol. II, p. 562), writes:

> *Learn at last that this is one divinity of the Sender (the Son) and the Sent (the Holy Spirit), when He who now in the Gospel testified that He would send the Spirit, the Paraclete, also professed through the renowned Isaiah that He Himself had already been sent by Him. No less, at least because of the will and consubstantial consent (for the will and consent of the Trinity are one), the Son must be said to send the Holy Spirit to us, just as for the same reason the Holy Spirit is said to have sent the Son.*

But against the claim that the Holy Spirit is sent at least according to His gifts, the Latins raise various objections. **Bellarmine**, in *Book II on Christ*, Chapter XXII, argues:

> *To assert the contrary, he says, is a manifest error. For it is said in Romans 5: "The love of God has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us" (Rom. 5:5). Here you see clearly that the Holy Spirit and His gifts are distinguished, and both are given. Although we assert that the Holy Spirit is sent at least according to His gracious gifts, we do not thereby deny, as if it were far from the truth, that the Holy Spirit Himself is also sent. For just as the Son of God is sent not as God or according to His divinity but at least according to His human nature, yet it is the Son of God, the Word, who is sent into this world. The Son of God is sent into this world, and the man Christ is sent into this world. Does it follow, therefore, that because mention is made of both the Son of God and the flesh sent, the Son of God is not sent into this world at least according to His flesh? Therefore, in the words of the Apostle cited, the Holy Spirit is distinguished from His gifts, as the author and operator from His operations, who is indeed given to us, working His gifts in us. But if some of the Fathers, according to the words cited above, deny that the Holy Spirit is sent or poured out, they understand, as we have also seen, that the Holy Spirit is not sent or poured out according to His divinity, that is, as God. Indeed, Cyril of Alexandria, who expressly denied that a mission befits the Holy Spirit, elsewhere in Dialogue VII with Hermias says: "Not only of grace, but of the one and Holy Spirit Himself did the Apostles become partakers through the Savior's breathing upon them."*

Bellarmine continues:

> *Likewise, in 1 Corinthians 6: "Your bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit, whom you have in you" (1 Cor. 6:19). And below: "Carry God in your body" (1 Cor. 6:20). But certainly, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are not God, nor is a temple due to them. And in 1 John 4: "Whoever abides in love abides in God, and God in him" (1 John 4:16). Therefore, not only love, which is not God, remains in us, but God Himself truly remains. Finally, what is said in John 16: "If I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come to you, and if I go, I will send Him to you" (John 16:7), and in John 14: "He will give you another Paraclete" (John 14:16), would be most absurdly interpreted as referring to gifts: for gifts neither come nor are sent, nor can they be compared with Christ as one Paraclete with another. And to the cited words of Chrysostom in his commentary on Romans, Chapter 5, and Cyril of Alexandria on John, Chapter 16, he adds: "All of them teach that the Holy Spirit, who is God, is sent by the Son."*

The Jesuit demonstrates with these arguments that not only the gifts of the Holy Spirit are given to us, but the Holy Spirit Himself is also sent. But, as said, we have never denied this. The Jesuit should have demonstrated that the Holy Spirit is sent not only according to His gifts but also according to His very divinity, if he wished to oppose the opinion of the Easterners. As we just noted, Christ, the man, is sent into this world, and the Son of God is sent into this world. Does it follow, therefore, that the Son of God is not sent into this world at least according to His human nature? Furthermore, the mission of the Holy Spirit is one thing, and His indwelling after being sent is another. For God has no relation to place; but where He exercises some operation, He is said to be present, as the following teach: **Basil**, *Homily 30 on Paradise* (Vol. I, p. 628); **Didymus of Alexandria**, *Book II on the Holy Spirit*; **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Book I Against Eunomius* (in the appendix to Nyssa's works edited by Gretser, Paris, 1618, p. 55); **Augustine**, *Book V of On the Trinity*, Chapter I; *Book I of Literal Commentary on Genesis*, Number 102; *Book VIII of Literal Commentary on Genesis*, Chapters XIX and XXVI; *Epistles II and CXII*; **Maximus the Martyr**, in his *Disputation with Pyrrhus* (Concilia, Vol. V, col. 1810); **Nemesius**, Bishop of Emesa, *On the Nature of Man* (Bibliotheca Patrum Graecorum, Vol. II, p. 493); **John of Damascus**, *Book I of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XVI.

Since, therefore, the Holy Spirit, operating all things in all through His

substance, is absent from no one, He cannot be sent anywhere according to His substance. The Holy Spirit is said to come or be sent where He pours out His gifts or exercises His gracious operations. For according to His gracious operations, He was not present to all, though through His substance He was always present to all. But where the Holy Spirit exercises those gracious operations, because God is present where He operates, He is said to be present even more according to His substance, the more manifest His operation is there. And hence, because of His more manifest operations, we the faithful are called the temple of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the words of the Apostle cited from 1 Corinthians 6 and 1 John 4 do not speak of the mission but of the gracious indwelling of the Holy Spirit already sent. As for **Chrysostom** and **Cyril**, the former expressly taught that the Holy Spirit is sent not according to His divinity but at least according to His gifts; the latter similarly denied that it can be understood according to His divinity when the Holy Spirit is said to be sent, but that God uses such language for human understanding. For it is one thing for the Holy Spirit, who is God, to be sent, and another for the Holy Spirit to be sent according to His divinity.

Bellarmine adds:

> *But there is a most evident reason: for if the Holy Spirit were said to be sent by the Son because the Son is the author of the gifts, it could also be said that the Father is sent by the Son, or even that the Father and the Son are sent by the Holy Spirit, since any person is the author of all gifts.*

We say that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son because, through consubstantial consent with the Son, He begins to pour out His gracious gifts. But to the absurdities that would similarly be objected from Bellarmine's argument, we will respond in the following sections. Finally, Bellarmine adds:

> *Likewise, if the Holy Spirit being sent by the Son meant the sending of His gifts, then when we read that the Son is sent by the Father into this world, those who do not believe this could respond that it is not truly the Son who is sent but some created gift, and thus the mystery of the incarnation would be nullified.*

But we do not simply assert that the Holy Spirit being sent by the Son means the sending of His gifts, as if we simultaneously denied that the Holy Spirit Himself is sent to us; rather, we defend that the Holy Spirit is sent to us not according to His divinity but at least according to His gifts. How, therefore, would it follow from this that the Son is not truly sent but only a created gift? Clearly, by the same reasoning, the Son is sent into this world not according to His divinity but in another way, namely, according to His humanity. For, as regards the manner of mission, it is impossible for the Son and the Holy Spirit to be equivalent: for the Holy Spirit, unlike the Son, is not incarnate. How, therefore, according to this exposition of the mission of the Holy Spirit, would the mystery of the incarnation be nullified?

You may further press: The Holy Spirit is sent to us as God, equal to the Father and the Son, and thus the third person of the divinity. If this is so, the Holy Spirit is sent to us according to His divinity, or certainly His divinity is sent, unless you wish to deny divinity to His subsistence. But when the Holy Spirit is sent to us, the Father, who is true God, the first divine subsistence, also comes; and the Son of God, who teaches us these things, equal to His Father, the second divine subsistence, also comes to us. Yet neither the Father nor the Son come to us according to Their divinity. Truly, the Son of God, the Word, equal to God the Father, the second divine subsistence, was sent into the world; yet He was not sent into the world according to His divinity. Likewise, the Son of God, the Word, equal to God the Father and the Holy Spirit, and thus the second person of the divinity, became man, was incarnate, suffered, died, and ascended into heaven. **Fulgentius**, in *Book of Faith to Peter*, Chapter XIII, writes:

> *Hold most firmly and never doubt that one person of the Trinity, namely God the Son, who alone was born of the nature of God the Father and is of one and the same nature with the Father, was, in the fullness of time, voluntarily conceived in a virgin and born of a virgin according to the assumption of the form of a servant, the Word made flesh.*

And in Chapter XLV:

> *It is also fitting to believe for salvation that one person of the Trinity, namely the only-begotten God, became man alone for our salvation.*

And in *Book on the Incarnation and Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, Chapter X:

> *The Son alone, that is, He whom the Father begot coeternal and coequal with Himself in the unity of nature, that is, one person of the Trinity, Christ, the only Son of God, was conceived and born in the flesh from the womb of a virgin mother to save us.*

John of Damascus, in *Book III of the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XI, states:

> *That the Word became flesh means that the very hypostasis of the Word became unchangeably the hypostasis of the flesh.*

And in *Book IV*, Chapter V:

> *The hypostasis of the Word of God before the incarnation was simple and uncomposed, incorporeal, and uncreated. But when incarnate, it became also the hypostasis of the flesh and was composed of the divinity, which it always had, and the flesh, which it assumed.*

If, therefore, the hypostasis of the Son was incarnate, and likewise suffered and ascended into heaven, does it follow that Christ was incarnate and suffered according to His divinity? By no means does it follow, therefore, that the person of the Holy Spirit is sent to us; therefore, He is sent according to His divinity. For although certain things are truly predicated of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit and their persons, it cannot be necessarily inferred from this that these things are said of them according to their very divinity, since they are said of both persons, indeed, but not insofar as they are divine persons, but in another way: as the person of the Son of God was incarnate and suffered according to His humanity, so the person of the Holy Spirit was sent according to His gifts. Nor does it follow from this that divinity is denied to the persons; no more is this the case than when we deny that the Son and the Holy Spirit are sent according to their divinity, or that the Son was incarnate or suffered according to the same. For it is clear to all that divinity is not thereby denied to the Son or the Holy Spirit. We have already given the reason for this, and it applies here as well. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear from all the responses given thus far that

there is no necessity to infer, as the Latins do, that “He who is sent proceeds from Him who sends Him; therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, since He is sent by the Son.”

Furthermore, they objected: The mission is the same as the procession; therefore, if the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, He also proceeds from Him. But these are entirely distinct. For the mission of the Holy Spirit took place in time, for it was made to us; but the hypostatic procession or production of the Holy Spirit is eternal, before all times and ages. The mission of the Holy Spirit is for our sake and is thus a work of God *ad extra* (outward); but the production or procession of the Holy Spirit, like the generation of the Son of God, was from eternity, without any respect to creatures, and is thus a work of God *ad intra* (inward). The mission is the outpouring of gifts or the gracious operation of gifts (as discussed above), but the procession is the mode by which the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence. Furthermore, the procession is the mode of subsistence of the Holy Spirit; the mission is not. Just as the generation of the Son of God from the Father is His mode of subsistence, but His mission into the world is not. For the Holy Spirit already subsisted from eternity by His mode of subsistence, but the mission of the Holy Spirit was made only in time. Moreover, the Holy Spirit also poured out, gave, and sent Himself; but the Holy Spirit does not proceed from Himself. Therefore, it is as false to say that the mission of the Holy Spirit is His procession as it is false to say that the birth of the Son of God from the most holy Virgin is the same as His generation from the Father, for the reasoning is the same in both cases.

But if some Latins used the term “procession” to signify the temporal mission as well, this was done improperly and most inappropriately, as we have already noted. For in the true, proper, and accepted sense of the Catholic Church, the term “procession” signifies only the mode of production of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, if you press this improper sense and add that there is at least one procession of the Holy Spirit, and thus the mission is the procession itself, this is false, for by this reasoning there would be at least one kind of procession, but the procession would be either temporal or eternal and hypostatic for the Holy Spirit. Hence, **Lombard**, in *Book I of Sentences*, Distinction XIV, notes:

It must be carefully noted that the procession of the Holy Spirit is

> *twofold: namely, the eternal, which is ineffable, by which He proceeds eternally and without time from the Father and the Son; and the temporal, by which He proceeds from the Father and the Son to sanctify the creature. But in the improper signification, where "procession" signified mission, the mission is one and the same with the procession, not insofar as the term "procession" signifies the mode by which the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence.*

But others say: Although the mission is not the procession itself, it presupposes in the sender the faculty of originating. The mission indeed entirely presupposes the notion of a principle; hence, when the Son is sent, He is caused; similarly, when the Holy Spirit is sent, He is produced. But it is false that the mission necessarily presupposes in the sender the faculty of producing, for the Son is indeed sent by the Holy Spirit, as shown above; yet this mission of the Son by the Holy Spirit does not presuppose in the sending Spirit the faculty of producing the Son, for only the Father is the generator of the Son. Furthermore, the Son and the Holy Spirit send themselves, as shown above; but is there in the Son or the Holy Spirit the faculty of producing themselves? Indeed, when **Gregory Nazianzen** acknowledges that the Holy Spirit, though sent, presupposes a producer, he does not name the Son as the producer of the Holy Spirit but only the Father. Thus, in *Oration 37*:

> *Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit, such as being given, sent, distributed, breathed, promised, interceding, and so forth, must be referred to the principal cause (the Father), to show from whom the Holy Spirit is, and not to admit three divided principles, as if there were many gods.*

Cichovius presses: To remove the distinction between *ad extra* and *ad intra*, it must first be asked of the adversaries: From which holy Greek Father did they learn that there is a purely temporal procession of the Holy Spirit, proper only to the Son? For that which is in the Father necessarily presupposes the eternal procession. Who taught them that the Holy Spirit is differently of the Son and differently of the Father, and differently from the Son and differently from the Father, even though He is one and the same Spirit of both? Whence do they have it that the Father cannot be the bestower of the Holy Spirit unless He is His

principle? But that the Son can be His bestower even if He is not His principle? And first, how could it be impossible for the Son to have only the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit and not also His production, when it is permitted for the Father to have both the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit and His production, since the Holy Spirit only temporally sends the Son and does not generate Him eternally, while the Father both sends the Son temporally and generates Him before all ages?

The purely temporal procession, or mission, of the Holy Spirit (for by the term “temporal procession” only the temporal mission is signified) is taught both by Sacred Scripture, which speaks of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and by the many Fathers cited above who taught that the Holy Spirit is not sent according to His divinity but at least according to His gifts. But it is false that this mission is proper to the Son, for it belongs also to the Father and even to the Holy Spirit Himself. For although the purely temporal mission in the Father presupposes the eternal procession, this mission, considered in itself, is entirely the same in number in the Father and the Son, in whom it does not similarly presuppose the eternal procession, for the mission of the Holy Spirit is a work *ad extra*, and thus it is the same in number for the Father and the Son. Creation in the Father presupposes the cause of the Son and also of the Holy Spirit, but not in the Son; yet there is one faculty of creating in the Son and the Father. The Father sent the Son, and the Holy Spirit sent the same, as said above; but in the Father, the mission presupposes eternal generation, while in the Holy Spirit it does not. Yet the mission of the Son remains one in number in the Father and the Holy Spirit. And this is so because, even if the mission of the Son or the Holy Spirit in the Father presupposes the faculty of causing, the definition of the mission of the Son applies to the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the definition of the mission of the Holy Spirit applies equally to the Father and to the Son of God.

We do not say, however, that the Holy Spirit is differently of the Son and differently of the Father. But this will be discussed in a separate treatise. Nor do we assert that the Holy Spirit is differently from the Father and differently from the Son. For if by “being” His eternal procession is signified, the Holy Spirit is in no way from the Son but only from the Father. But if by “being” the temporal mission is signified (as discussed elsewhere), we say that the Holy Spirit is equally from the Father and the Son. It is false, however, that the Holy Spirit cannot be one and the same

of both unless He proceeds from both the Father and the Son. But this, as I said, will be discussed in a separate treatise. That the Son can be the bestower of the Holy Spirit, though not His principle, even though the Father is both His bestower and producer, is clear from the fact that, although the Father both sends and generates the Son, the Holy Spirit does not generate but only sends the Son. Indeed, the Holy Spirit is the bestower of Himself but not His producer. The holy Fathers teach this as often as they teach that the Son is the bestower, but not the cause, principle, or source of the Holy Spirit, while the Father is both the bestower and the cause of the Holy Spirit.

Cichovius objects elsewhere: The power of sending is either the same in the Son as in the Father or different. If different, the missions will also be different, and the operation of the Son and the Father will not be one; consequently, their essence will not be one (for those whose natural powers and operations are different also have different essences, since power flows from essence). If the same, then, since the power of sending in the Father presupposes the power of spirating, it must presuppose the same in the Son. But it is entirely true that the power of sending the Holy Spirit is the same in the Father and the Son; but it is utterly false that it must similarly presuppose the same power of spirating in the Son. For the same power of sending the Son is in the Father and the Holy Spirit (for if it were different, by the Jesuit's own argument, the missions would be different, and the operation of the Father and the Son would not be one; consequently, their essence would not be one), yet the power of sending in the Holy Spirit does not presuppose the power of generating. Furthermore, the Son sends Himself, as we have seen above, and the power of sending Himself in the Son is the same as the power of sending the Son in the Holy Spirit; but the power in the Holy Spirit of sending the Son is one and the same with the power of sending the Son in the Father, yet the power of sending Himself in the Son does not presuppose the power of generating. The power of creating is indeed the same in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but although it presupposes in the Father the power of causing the Son and the Holy Spirit, it does not presuppose such a power in the Son or the Holy Spirit. Does the power of sending the Holy Spirit in the Father, which presupposes a principle without a principle, similarly presuppose such a principle without a principle in the Son? But by the same reasoning used by this Jesuit: The

power of sending is the same in the Father and the Son. But the Son sends the Holy Spirit from the Father, while the Father does not send Him from the Son. (This will be discussed later.) But if the Jesuit's reasoning held, it would similarly follow that the Father must send the Holy Spirit from the Son. The power of sending the Holy Spirit in the Son does not presuppose the power of spirating, even though the Father sends the Holy Spirit, as is clear from the words of **Ambrose**, in *Book III of On the Holy Spirit*, Chapter I:

> *If, therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit send each other as the Father sends, it is not an injury of subjection but a communion of power.*

What power of sending is in the Holy Spirit sending the Son, as the Father sends, Ambrose says is the same power of sending in the Son sending the Holy Spirit, as the Father sends. But it is clear to all that the power of sending the Son in the Holy Spirit does not presuppose the power of generating; similarly, the power of sending the Holy Spirit in the Son will not presuppose the power of spirating. Hence, the Jesuit's argument concludes nothing, because to constitute one and the same power of sending, it is not necessary that it have one and the same origin, as is clear from the example of creation. The power of creating is one and the same in the Father and the Son, but the Father has it from Himself, while the Son has it from the Father. It suffices that one and the same power in number be acknowledged in some, if the complete definition of that power applies to them, just as the Latins themselves argue elsewhere that it does not prevent one spiration, even though the Father has that power of spirating from Himself, while the Son, according to their assertions, has it not from Himself but from the Father.

They further objected: The Holy Spirit is sent by the Son either as from a greater, or as from a wiser, or as from a producer. He is not sent by the Son in the former ways. Therefore, He is sent by Him as from a producer. But their enumeration of the reasons for sending was insufficient. For it would similarly follow: The Son is sent by the Holy Spirit either as from a greater, or as from a wiser, or as from a producer. But the Son is not sent by the Holy Spirit in the former ways. Therefore, He is sent by Him as from a producer. Here, therefore, it is spontaneously clear why the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, namely, for the same reason that the Son is sent by the Holy Spirit, namely, because of the consubstantial consent and will

that the Holy Spirit be sent; for the Son is sent by the Holy Spirit for the same reason. We have heard the Fathers expressly teaching this above, where they taught that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son because of the communion and identity of nature. Indeed, **Ambrose**, in *Book III of On the Holy Spirit*, Chapter I, expressly acknowledged that the Son and the Holy Spirit send themselves out of the communion of power:

> *If, therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit send each other as the Father sends, it is not an injury of subjection but a communion of power.*

But neither by command, nor by counsel, nor by production, but by consubstantial consent and will is the Son sent by the Holy Spirit; therefore, for the same reason, the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son. Hence, the similar argument of a certain Jesuit collapses, whose further reasoning is: Because mission requires that the person sent be moved in some way by the sender, either by command, or by counsel, or by impressed power, or by natural origin, as a branch is sent from a tree; since none of these can apply to divine persons except the last, it cannot be said that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son eternally unless He derives His natural origin from Him. For besides the enumerated modes of sending, it is clear that in divine persons, one person can be sent by another because of consubstantial will and consent, as is evident from the fact that the Son is sent by the Holy Spirit, who is sent neither by command, nor by counsel, nor by impressed power, nor by natural origin from the Son, but, as said, by consubstantial will and consent. It is utterly false to say that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son eternally, and when the Jesuit assumes this, he assumes what was in question from the beginning.

But the same Jesuit presses elsewhere: It must be asked how, in this giving or communication *ad extra*, the Son relates to the Holy Spirit. Does He have any role as a principle, or as a minister through whom the Holy Spirit is given by the Son, or finally as a cooperator or approver? If they say the last (as they are accustomed to say), it must be inferred that it can and should be said that the Father is sent by the Son and the Holy Spirit, given by them, and proceeds from them. This is proved as follows: In John 15:25, the Lord Jesus says: “If anyone loves Me, he will keep My word, and My Father will love him, and We will come to him and make Our dwelling with him” (John 14:23). It is certain, therefore, that to him who keeps Christ’s commandments, not only the Son and the Holy Spirit

but also the Father come; with this presupposed, I argue thus: You say that the Holy Spirit is, proceeds, etc., from the Father and the Son, or from both, or from the Father through the Son, because the Holy Spirit comes to us, teaches us, and bestows gifts upon us with the approval of the Father and the Son. But the Father also comes to us with the approval of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as is clear from the cited passage, teaches us, as is clear from Matthew 16 in the revelation given to Saint Peter by the heavenly Father, and bestows gifts upon us, as is clear from the beginning of the Epistle of Saint James. Therefore, for the same reason you say that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, proceeds, flows, or is poured out from the Son, you must say that the Father is, proceeds, flows, or is poured out from the Son and the Holy Spirit. We shall see whether their entire argument does not collapse under this.

But first, if the identity of will and operation were not sufficient for the Son to be said to send the Holy Spirit when the Son and the Holy Spirit come to us, but it is further required that the Holy Spirit proceed from the Son, and thus, with this presupposed, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son and not the Son by the Holy Spirit, it would similarly follow that when the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit come to us, the Son comes to us with the approval and cooperation of the Father, and further, that the Father is the cause of the Son; it would follow, I say, that the Son, when He comes to us with the Holy Spirit, is also sent by the Father, which is impossible. For all the holy Fathers unanimously teach that the mission of the Holy Spirit, by which He was sent to the Apostles at Pentecost, or descended in the form of a dove upon Christ at His baptism, or is sent daily to the faithful, is proper to the Holy Spirit alone and does not also apply to the Son; but the temporal mission of the Son into the world was only His incarnation, and thus it was not caused by the Son, but there is another cause why, when the Son and the Holy Spirit come to us, only the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Son. Namely, when the Holy Spirit is said to be sent in visible forms, such as in fiery tongues upon the Apostles or in a dove upon Christ at His baptism, the Son of God indeed concurs in this effect because of the identity of will, pleasure, and operation (for the Son also creates visible creatures and forms), but only the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Son because only He appeared in those visible forms and, as it were, appropriated them to Himself, though they were also created by the Son. Therefore, although

the Son similarly concurred in the identity of will and operation, when the Holy Spirit was sent to the Apostles and the Son of God also came to them with the Holy Spirit, as Christ's words indicate, it could not be said that the Son was sent by the Holy Spirit. For Christ did not appear in that visible form, nor did Christ appropriate those visible forms to Himself, as the Holy Spirit did. The same applies when the Holy Spirit comes to us and deigns to manifest Himself through various assumed signs, as the **Author of the Breviary Against the Arians** says (Sirmond, p. 108). Similarly, therefore, when in the mission of the Holy Spirit upon the faithful no visible signs appear, it still cannot be said, because of the same identity of will, that the Father or the Son is similarly sent by the Holy Spirit. For although the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit act in one pleasure, one will, and one operation, namely of gifts (for these are not subsistences but energies, and thus created, as **Basil** says, *Book V Against Eunomius*, Vol. II, p. 141), the Holy Spirit appropriates those created gifts to Himself in a certain way, just as He does visible forms like the dove or fiery tongues, and in an invisible way manifests Himself to us through them. Furthermore, for this reason, the Holy Spirit is said to send Himself, and thus is both sender and sent; sender by a common reason, for He also created His gifts and came by His own pleasure and will; but sent by a peculiar and proper reason, yet He does not proceed from Himself. The holy Fathers teach this as often as they taught above that the Holy Spirit is sent according to His gifts, not according to His divinity. Hence, it follows that the Holy Spirit is sent according to His gifts by a certain proper reason, not by the common reason by which the Father and the Son also create and pour out those same gifts upon us. Therefore, it is clear that just as the Holy Spirit appropriates to Himself both external visible forms and the gifts He bestows upon us, it does not follow that the Son is sent by the Holy Spirit when He comes to us with the Holy Spirit by the pleasure and will of the same Holy Spirit; it is clear that it is not required that, if the Son is not to be said to be sent by the Holy Spirit, the Son must send the Holy Spirit because of His origin. And this is in response to that objection.

We proceed. They finally objected: The Father is never read to be sent, for no other reason than that He does not owe the cause of His existence to another. Therefore, to be sent indicates to be produced; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, since He is sent by Him. We spontaneously

concede that He who is unproduced cannot be sent, and conversely, that He who is sent is necessarily produced; but it is false that from the fact that He who is not produced cannot be sent, it follows that the sent is necessarily produced by Him from whom He is sent. The Holy Spirit indeed sends the Son to become incarnate; is the Son, therefore, produced or generated by the Holy Spirit? The Son sends, and the Holy Spirit sends Himself; yet neither is the cause and principle of Himself. Rather, **Gregory Nazianzen** and **Augustine** teach that the mission of the Holy Spirit is known to be such that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, not from the Son, as we saw above in the response to Argument I.

Cichovius presses: In divine matters, speaking properly, a person cannot be said to be sending, especially eternally, unless they have the role of a principle with respect to the person sent; and this is the only reason why the Father is not said to be sent (as testified by **Augustine**, *Book IV of On the Trinity*, Chapter XX, and Vol. VI, *Against the Sermon of the Arians*, Chapter IV): because He alone has no author from whom He proceeds. The reason the Father is not sent is that He has no one from whom He proceeds. Therefore, He who has no author from whom He proceeds is not sent; and thus, by conversion, it follows that He who is sent has an author from whom He proceeds. This is Augustine's doctrine. But it is false that it follows from this that the sender is the producer of the sent; for He who is sent does not necessarily have as His producer the one from whom He is sent. Nor does Augustine's cited reasoning prove this: it does not say that He who is sent by someone has the same as His author, or has an author from whom He is sent; but simply that He who is sent has a producer from whom He proceeds. But if this is understood as sending eternally, it is entirely true that the sender necessarily has the role of a principle with respect to the person sent; but it is false that the Holy Spirit is thus sent by the Son.

But besides this understanding of the term "mission," by which only that which is made to us is understood, the Fathers sometimes also understand by the term "mission" the eternal and hypostatic production itself. Thus, **Anastasius of Sinai** in his *Hodegos* and **Epiphanius** in several places used this term, as we saw in the *Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers in the Sixth Century* concerning Anastasius' testimony. And **Cyril of Alexandria**, in *Book II on John*, Chapter V (Vol. IV, p. 197), writes:

> *He says He is sent, but it is clear that this is either from God and the Father according to the mode of incarnation, by which He shone into the world with flesh by the Father's pleasure and will, or as the Word proceeding in some way from the generating intellect and fulfilling the will.*

The same is found in *Book II on John*, Chapter III (Vol. IV, p. 169) and *Book IV on John*, Chapter V (p. 413):

> *It must be known that when He says He is sent, He does not show Himself as lesser in dignity than the Father; for it must not be thought that this mission is servile, even though He, clothed in the form of a servant, pronounces this of Himself blamelessly. But He is sent in the way that a word is from the mind and splendor from the sun.*

Therefore, the term "mission" is sometimes taken by the Fathers for the eternal production with respect to both the Son and the Holy Spirit. But this understanding does not apply here. For we are now dealing only with the temporal mission of the Son and the Holy Spirit made into the world and to us, and in this sense, we take the term "mission." But in this sense, it is utterly false that the mission is the production of the person or presupposes it. If the proposition is taken in the former sense, it is again utterly false that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son. Nor does it help to say that the term "mission" is also taken eternally; for whoever is sent temporally is not also sent eternally by the same. For with respect to the Son, the term "mission" was used, yet the Son is not sent eternally by the Holy Spirit, though He was sent temporally into this world to become incarnate.

Finally, what a certain Jesuit objects from certain words of **Gregory Thaumaturgus**, **Gregory the Theologian**, and **Athanasius** in his *Oration II Against the Arians* can easily be resolved by those who have access to these books. For it will be easy to show, by weighing the text itself, that either the temporal mission is being discussed there, or there is no necessity to understand it as the production itself. The objections raised by the same from the testimonies of **Athanasius** from his *Book on the Assumed Human Nature* and the *Epistle to Serapion* near the end, and of **Anastasius of Sinai** from *Book I of On the Dogmas of Faith*, we have resolved in the *Treatise Discussing the Testimonies Objected from*

the Eastern Fathers. As for the words of **Fulgentius** that he similarly cites, we do not dwell on them, as they are considered corrupted according to the *Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers*.

And thus far regarding the argument of the Latins, by which they inferred the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from His mission by the Son.

TRACTATE IX

The Latins also object to our position with the fact of Christ's action, whereby He breathed on His disciples and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit." For, they argue, He would not have breathed on them unless the Holy Spirit proceeded from Him; and by this very act, He signified that the Holy Spirit is eternally breathed or spirated from Him. They claim there is one spiration of the Holy Spirit, and here the Holy Spirit is spirated or breathed by the Son. Therefore, this breathing is identical with the eternal spiration of the Holy Spirit.

Response I

First, if anyone attempts to infer the cause of the Holy Spirit from that act of Christ's breathing, they would not conclude from this that the Son of God is the producer of the Holy Spirit, but rather, at the very least, the Father. For this is what Gregory the Theologian teaches in Oration XXXVII, p. 611. He states:

> *All things said more humbly about the Holy Spirit—such as being given, sent, distributed, breathed, promised, interceding, and so forth, if I were to list them individually—are to be referred to the principal cause, the Father. This shows from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, so that we do not accept three divided principles, as if there were many gods. It is shown that the Holy Spirit is said to be breathed to demonstrate from whom He proceeds, or that He is from another.*

Thus, to demonstrate who is the cause of the Holy Spirit, for which reason He is said to be breathed by the Son, Gregory names only the Father, not the Son. It clearly follows from this that the breathing of the Holy Spirit is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but rather for His procession from the Father.

Response II

From this, both the author of the book On the Trinity, Chapter X, and John Damascene, in Book I of On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter XI, teach that the Holy Spirit was breathed by the Son of God upon the Apostles, yet they simultaneously deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son of God. They state:

> *We confess that the Holy Spirit is not from the Son, but is manifested to us and given through the Son. For He breathed and said to His disciples, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' just as from the sun come both the ray and the splendor: for the sun itself is the source of the ray and the splendor; but through the ray, the splendor is communicated to us, and it is that which illuminates us and is shared with us.*

Therefore, the holy Fathers never considered the breathing of the Holy Spirit by the Son as an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Response III

Indeed, the Son of God gave the Holy Spirit to the disciples when He breathed on them and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit." However, the act by which the Son of God breathed on the disciples was by no means the Holy Spirit Himself, but rather signified Him. For thus Augustine states in Book XIII of City of God, Chapter XXIV:

> *The Holy Spirit is not a creature but the Creator. For that bodily breath proceeding from the mouth of His flesh was not the substance and nature of the Holy Spirit, but rather a signification, by which, as I have said, we understand that the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son, for They do not each have Their own individual Spirit, but He is one for both.*

And in Book X of On Genesis Literally, Chapter V:

> *Nor was that breath from the Lord's body the substance of the Holy Spirit when He breathed and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'*

Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt, in his sermon for the first Sunday after the Passion, on the words “Receive the Holy Spirit,” states:

> *That breathing was not the Holy Spirit, just as the fire that came upon the disciples on the tenth day after the Lord’s ascension to heaven was not. That breathing was nothing other than moved air. Just as your breath is not a part of your soul, so too that breathing was not the Holy Spirit; but through that breathing and the bodily fire, the incorporeal Holy Spirit, who was sent into the hearts of the disciples by the Lord, was signified.*

Likewise, Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, in Book I Against the Easterners, Chapter III, in Volume XII of Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, p. 7, states:

> *That bodily breath, taken from the air and expelled through the organ of the mouth by the action of the lungs, was not the substance of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, by that breathing, the Holy Spirit is signified, and it is shown that the Holy Spirit was given and imparted to the Apostles by the Savior; but that breath itself was by no means the substance of the Holy Spirit.*

We have demonstrated in a special treatise that the mission or giving of the Holy Spirit is not an argument for His procession from the Son.

Response IV

Furthermore, if Christ breathes the Holy Spirit on the disciples, the Holy Spirit also spirates Himself. For the Savior says, “The Spirit breathes where He wills.” This is interpreted as referring to the Holy Spirit by Augustine in Book XV of On the Trinity, Chapter XIX; Bede in his Book of Retractions on the Acts of the Apostles, on Chapter X, and in Homily VI for the summer on the saints, and in his winter homily on the saints for Epiphany; also by Albinus (Alcuin) in Book II of On the Trinity, Chapter XIX; Haymo in his sermon for the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension; Hincmar of Reims in his Book on the Triune Deity; and finally Ratramnus in Book I Against the Easterners, Chapter V. We have seen the words of all these in the treatise showing that the mission of the Holy Spirit is not an argument for His procession from the Son, around Response V.

If, therefore, the Holy Spirit likewise spirates Himself, how could His breathing be an argument for His procession from the Son? Would it then follow, as would equally be the case, that the Holy Spirit is His own cause?

When some Latins raised this objection, a certain Jesuit responds:

> *The Lithologus proves that the Holy Spirit spirates outwardly from the words, 'The Spirit breathes where He wills,' and exposes himself to ridicule by all who regard* Theophylact *as a legitimate interpreter of Scripture, who clearly teaches that in that passage, 'Spirit' signifies the wind, not the person of the most holy Trinity.*

However, when we interpret these same words as referring to the Holy Spirit Himself, we do not thereby accuse Theophylact, who interprets them as referring to the wind, of a perverse interpretation. Indeed, many passages of sacred Scripture have multiple literal senses, because the holy Fathers, in interpreting sacred Scripture, often diverge in their interpretations. The same happens here: the words of Christ, "The Spirit breathes where He wills," admit various senses. Hence, Theophylact follows one sense, while the cited Fathers commend another. The Jesuit foolishly objects that those who take Christ's words as referring to the person of the Holy Spirit expose themselves to ridicule, since Theophylact interprets them as referring to the wind. How much more does he expose himself to ridicule by all, when he so ineptly subjects a dissenter to mockery!

Response V

Moreover, the mission of the Holy Spirit at the time of Pentecost far surpasses that breathing of the Savior. For although the Savior gave the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing, He nonetheless, just before ascending to heaven, instructed the Apostles not to depart from Jerusalem but to wait there for the promise of the Holy Spirit, which He had repeatedly promised to the disciples (John 14, 15, and 16). Again, the Savior said, "If I do not go away, the Holy Spirit will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you." Thus, He deferred the coming of the Holy Spirit until after His ascension.

How, then, were the Apostles to await the coming of the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem after the Lord's ascension? How was the Holy Spirit not given

while the Lord was present, when the Savior Himself, breathing, said, “Receive the Holy Spirit”? These things can never be reconciled unless, following the holy Fathers, we affirm that the Holy Spirit was given at both times; but through that breathing, only a single gift of the Holy Spirit—namely, the remission of sins—was conferred upon the disciples, as the Savior, breathing, said, “Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven.” But at the time of Pentecost, the fullness of all gifts, such as the gift of tongues and other gifts, was imparted. It is clear to all how much the mission of the Holy Spirit, so often promised, surpasses that breathing.

Since, therefore, the mission of the Holy Spirit by the Son is by no means an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as we have shown in a special treatise, it is evident that it does not follow from that breathing that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For the holy Fathers reconcile the passages cited in objection in the manner described.

Eusebius Pamphili, in his response to Marinus, as recorded by Anastasius of Sinai in Question CXLVIII, states:

> *The Holy Spirit, breathed by Christ upon the Apostles, absolved and remitted all sins. But what was promised—that they would be baptized in the Holy Spirit and partake in the power of operations—indicates the effective faculty of the miraculous deeds they were to perform and the dangers they were to overcome. For before this power, He did not wish them to preach to the Gentiles; but He commanded them to make themselves partakers of the power coming from on high. This gift the Apostle distinguishes from other operations of the Holy Spirit, saying, ‘To others are given the working of miracles and prophecy: the Lord will give the word to those who evangelize with great power.’*

Cyril of Jerusalem, in Catechesis XIV, states:

> *At the same time, all (the disciples), enjoying the salvific breathing and receiving the power to remit sins in the strength of the Holy Spirit.*

And in Catechesis XVII:

> *The Gospel narrates that only after the resurrection did He breathe on them. But He gives grace now, adds more fully later, and says to them, ‘I am ready to give, but you cannot yet receive. In the meantime,*

receive the grace you can, and afterward you will receive it more abundantly. Remain in the city of Jerusalem until you are clothed with power from on high. Now receive partially, then you will receive perfectly; for he who receives often has it in part, but he who is clothed is surrounded by it on all sides.'

Athanasius, in On the Sayings and Interpretations of the Parables of the Gospel, Question XXIX, Volume II, p. 399, states:

Why did Christ breathe on His disciples, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'? He gave them through this breathing the power and gift of remitting sins. To this was added the efficacy of baptism and signs, which He gave on the day of Pentecost. Therefore, He says, 'You will be baptized in the Holy Spirit, and you will receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you.' For before His passion, the Apostles did not heal the sick through the Holy Spirit, but through the power and mandate given to them by Christ; for the Holy Spirit was not yet given, because Christ had not yet been glorified. But rising from the dead, He was glorified. The Holy Spirit, however, is not called the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, for this was before and is and will be forever; but the gift of the Holy Spirit, which came upon Christ's disciples on the tenth day of the ascension, the fiftieth day of the resurrection.

Ambrose, in Book X of his Commentary on Luke, Chapter XXIV, toward the end, states:

The Holy Spirit: either Christ breathed it on those eleven (disciples) as if they were more perfect, promising it would later be given to the others; or He breathed on them there and promised it here. Nor does it seem contradictory, since there are divisions of graces: for to one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith in the same Spirit, to another the grace of healings, to another the grace of tongues. Therefore, He breathed one operation there, and promises another here. For there, the grace of remitting sins was given, which seems narrower; and therefore, it is breathed by Christ, so that you may believe the Spirit of Christ and believe the Spirit to be of God, for God alone forgives sins.

Jerome, in his Letter to Hedibia, Question IX, states:

How did the Savior, according to John, breathe the Holy Spirit on the holy Apostles, and according to Luke, promise to send Him after His ascension? The solution to this question is very easy if, as the Apostle Paul teaches, we recognize the diverse graces of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Lord, who after His resurrection, according to Luke's Gospel, had said, 'Behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you; but stay in the city until you are clothed with power from on high,' and according to the same in the Acts of the Apostles, spoke, 'He commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which you have heard,' He said, 'through My mouth; for John indeed baptized with water, but you will be baptized in the Holy Spirit not many days hence.' Again, at the end of the Gospel according to John, on the day He rose, that is, on the Lord's Day, with the doors closed, He is said to have entered to the Apostles and said to them a second time, 'Peace be with you,' and added, 'As the Father has sent Me, so I send you.' When He had said this, He breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' Therefore, on the first day of the resurrection, they received the grace of the Holy Spirit by which they could forgive sins and baptize, making sons of God and imparting the Spirit of adoption, as the Savior Himself said, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' But on the day of Pentecost, it was promised more fully that they would be baptized in the Holy Spirit and clothed with power from on high, by which they would preach the Gospel of Christ to all nations, according to what we read in Psalm 67: 'The Lord will give the word to those who evangelize with great power,' so that they might have the operation of miracles, the grace of healings, and receive the kinds of tongues to preach to many nations, so that it might then be known which of the Apostles should proclaim to which nations. This promise of the Holy Spirit was fulfilled on the tenth day after the Savior's ascension, as Luke reports.

Chrysostom, in Homily LXXV on John, after the middle, in the commentary on John published in Greek and Latin by Commelius, p. 432, states:

How, then, if He says, 'Unless I go away, He will not come,' does He now give the Spirit? Some say He did not give the Spirit, but made them suitable to receive it through the breathing. Yet one would

not err if one said that they then received some power and spiritual grace—not to raise the dead or perform miracles, but to forgive sins. For the graces of the Spirit are diverse; therefore, He adds, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven,' showing that He bestows the grace of this power. But after fifty days, they received the operation of signs. Therefore, He says, 'You will receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you will be My witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea,' witnesses indeed made so through signs.

Similar statements are found in his Sermon on Pentecost on the Holy Spirit, near the beginning, in the Latin edition of Paris, 1588, Volume III, column 788.

Eusebius of Emesa, in his sermon for the first Sunday after Easter, in Volume V, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 678, speaking of that breathing, states:

If, then, the Lord gave His disciples the Holy Spirit; but not with the fullness with which He would later give it.

Magnus, in Sermon II on Pentecost, states:

All who believed in the Lord Jesus had the Holy Spirit infused in them; and the Apostles had already received the power to remit sins when, after His resurrection, the Lord breathed and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit: whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' But for that perfection which was to be conferred on the disciples, a greater grace and more abundant inspiration was reserved, through which they would receive what they had not yet received and could possess more excellently what they had received. For it was necessary that the capacity of those being led be increased, and the constancy of that charity which casts out all fear and does not fear the rage of persecutors be multiplied. This, indeed, the Apostles began to desire more ardently and to be able to do more effectively after they were filled with the new abundance of the Holy Spirit, progressing from the knowledge of precepts to the endurance of sufferings, so that, no longer trembling under any storm, they might overcome the waves of the world and the pride of the world with surpassing faith, and, despising death, bring the Gospel of truth to all nations.

Anastasius of Sinai, in Question CXLVIII, asks:

How is it to be understood that the Lord said, 'If I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come,' when He imparts the Holy Spirit to the Apostles through breathing?

And he responds:

Through the breathing, He grants them the power and spiritual grace to remit sins. For He adds, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' But through the descent at Pentecost, He bestowed on them the grace of baptism and the operation of signs. Hence He says, 'You will be baptized in the Holy Spirit, and you will receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you.' For before the passion, the Apostles did not confer the benefits of healing through the Holy Spirit, but through the power and mandate of Christ; for the Holy Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus had not yet been glorified. But He was glorified when He rose from the dead.

Ammonius, in the Chain of Greek Fathers on John, Chapter XX, states:

He gave them a spiritual gift to absolve and judge sins. But it can be said that they then received the gift of remitting sins, and after Pentecost, the power to raise the dead and perform what was more perfect.

Bede, in Question II on the Acts of the Apostles, asks:

How was the Holy Spirit breathed on the Apostles by the Savior before the ascension, according to the Evangelist John, when according to the Acts of the Apostles, He was sent to the Apostles on the tenth day after the ascension?

And he responds:

There are many gifts of the graces of the Holy Spirit, according to what the Apostle says: 'To one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another the grace of healings in one Spirit,' and so forth. Therefore, before the ascension, they received the grace of the Holy Spirit by which they could forgive sins and baptize, and infuse the

> *Spirit of adoption into believers, according to what was then said when the Spirit was breathed on them by the Savior: 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' But after the ascension, they received a much greater grace of the Holy Spirit in the operation of miracles, the grace of healings, and the perception of diverse tongues, according to what was promised to them on that same day, that they would be baptized in the Holy Spirit and clothed with power, by which they could preach the Gospel of Christ to all nations. In this reception of the Holy Spirit, according to the Lord's gracious distribution, the progress of the Apostles is demonstrated, not the contradiction of diverse Scriptures.*

Amalarius Fortunatus, in Book IV of On Ecclesiastical Offices, Chapter XXVII, in Volume IX, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 381, after praising the words of the Savior, "Receive the Holy Spirit," states:

> *They had already received the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins, but the gift they had not yet received, which they were to receive on the day of Pentecost, remained; that is, that they might confirm their preaching with the signs of miracles, and not fear the rage of persecutors, nor be ensnared by the bond of earthly desire, nor be shaken by any error.*

Oecumenius, in his commentary on Acts, Chapter I, in Volume I of his works, Paris Greek-Latin edition, 1631, p. 4, states:

> *But if the Holy Spirit had not yet come, how did He say, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'? Either because He said this to make them suitable and receptive to receiving the Spirit, and they received Him when He descended; or because He spoke of the future as if it were present; or because the giving of the Spirit is one thing as purifying, another as perfecting. This perfect and perfecting coming of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles at the time of Pentecost did not come while He was present.*

Elias, Archbishop of Crete, in his commentary on Gregory Nazianzen's Oration on the Holy Spirit, and Theophylact, in his commentaries on John, Chapters III and XX, and on Acts, Chapter I, on the words "You will be baptized in the Holy Spirit," and finally Bernard, in Sermon VI on the Ascension of the Lord, in Volume I of his works, column 269, state:

> *It is certain that they had received the Spirit before, when He breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'; but clearly the Spirit of faith and understanding, not of fervor, so that their reason might be more illuminated than their affection inflamed. For they needed a twofold Spirit: for those whom the Word of the Father had already taught discipline and knowledge and filled their hearts with understanding, the divine fire coming afterward, finding already clean receptacles, more abundantly infused the gifts of anointing and transformed them entirely into spiritual love, so that the charity kindled in them, strong as death, no longer deigned to close even the doors, let alone the mouths, for fear of the Jews.*

At the same time, the Fathers mention other reasons why the Holy Spirit was given twice. Some teach that it was done for the sake of the twofold love, namely, of God and of neighbor.

Augustine, in Book XV of On the Trinity, Chapter XXVI, states:

> *What was the reason that He gave the Holy Spirit after His resurrection, first on earth and later from heaven? I think it was because through this gift, charity is poured into our hearts, by which we love God and our neighbor according to those two precepts on which the whole law and the prophets depend. Signifying this, the Lord Jesus gave the Holy Spirit twice, once on earth for the love of neighbor, and again from heaven for the love of God.*

He says the same in Book XVII of Sermons, Sermon VI, and in Tractate LXXIV on John.

Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, in Homily XXVI on the Gospels, states:

> *We must ask: Why did our Lord give the Holy Spirit once while standing on earth and once while presiding in heaven? For it is not clearly shown that the Holy Spirit was given elsewhere, except now when He is received through breathing and afterward when, coming from heaven, He is manifested in various tongues. Why, then, is He given first on earth to the disciples and afterward sent from heaven, if not because there are two precepts of charity, namely, the love of God and of neighbor? The Spirit is given on earth so that the neighbor may be loved; the Spirit is given from heaven so that God may be loved. Just as there is one charity and two precepts, so there is one Spirit*

and two givings: first by the Lord standing on earth, afterward from heaven; for in the love of neighbor, it is learned how one should come to the love of God.

He repeats the same in Homily XXX.

What we cited from Augustine's Book XV of On the Trinity, Chapter XXVI, Bede repeats in his commentary on Romans, Chapter V, as if from Augustine's sermon on the Ascension of the Lord, in Volume VI of his works, column 83, and proposes the same interpretation in Question II on Acts, in Volume VI, column 29.

Etherius and Beatus, in Book I Against Elipandus, in Volume VIII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 342, state:

He gave the Holy Spirit once on earth for the love of neighbor and a second time from heaven for the love of God.

Albinus (Alcuin), in Book II of On the Trinity, Chapter XXI, states:

Without doubt, the Holy Spirit was given twice to commend the two precepts of charity. For there are two precepts, but one charity, just as there is one Spirit and two givings; nor is the charity that loves the neighbor different from that which loves God. The Spirit is given on earth so that the neighbor may be loved, and from heaven so that God may be loved.

The words of Gregory the Great, cited from Homily XXVI, are repeated by Alcuin in his commentary on John, on the words "Receive the Holy Spirit."

Haymo, in his sermon for the first Sunday after the Passion, on the words "Receive the Holy Spirit," states:

We read in the holy Gospel that the Holy Spirit was given by God to the disciples twice: once on the day He rose from the dead, standing on earth, and once after the ascension, presiding in heaven. Why is this? Because there are two precepts of charity, namely, the love of God and of neighbor. Just as there is one charity and two precepts, that is, the love of God and of neighbor, so there is one Spirit and two givings. The Spirit is given on earth so that the neighbor may be loved, and from heaven so that God may be loved; and it is given first on earth and afterward sent from heaven, because through the love of

> *neighbor, one comes to the love of God. For, as the Evangelist John says, 'He who does not love his brother whom he sees, how can he love God whom he does not see?'*

To this reason, Augustine adds another in Book Against the Letter of the Manichees Called Fundamental, Chapter X, in Volume VI of his works:

> *Because of this twofold clarification of the Savior as man and God, the Holy Spirit was also given twice, once after He rose from the dead when He breathed on the face of the disciples, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' and again after He ascended to heaven, ten days having passed.*

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book XII on John, on the words "Receive the Holy Spirit," in Volume IV of his works, p. 1096, states:

> *Perhaps someone may doubt and, out of a desire to learn, ask: Where and when did the Apostles receive the grace of the Spirit? Was it when the Savior appeared to them in the house immediately after His resurrection and breathed, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' or on the holy day of Pentecost, when, as they were gathered together, there came suddenly from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and there appeared to them divided tongues as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they began to speak in various tongues as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance? Either we must say that a twofold grace was given to them, or we must confess ignorance of the time when the Apostles truly became partakers of the Spirit, if indeed the words of the Savior are true and what is written in Acts about the holy Apostles is true. But there is no small reason for doubt, especially since Christ Himself elsewhere said, 'It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come to you; but when I go, I will send Him to you.' Someone may press the point and say: The Truth, that is, Christ, cannot lie. When, therefore, He said that the Paraclete would not come to us unless He went to the Father, but that He would surely send Him when He returned to the Father, how do we find the Spirit given by Him when He had not yet returned? Although what is asked is obscure and the matter difficult, so that one might rightly doubt, it has a very reasonable solution; for we do not believe that Christ is merely one like us, but rather God from God, speaking with authority according to the most fitting dispensation and*

> *order of things. He promised to send the Paraclete from heaven when He was with the Father, which He certainly did when He returned to the Father, pouring out the Spirit most generously on those willing to receive it; for here, through faith in Him and holy baptism, it is received, fulfilling the prophetic word: 'For I will pour out My Spirit on all flesh.' But it was necessary that the Son also be seen as the giver of the Spirit with the Father, so that those who would believe in Him might understand that He is the power of the Father, which created all things and brought man from nothing into being. Thus, when He said He would send the Paraclete to us after He ascended to the Father and assigned that time for the general grace, He nevertheless gave the first fruits of the promise and, as it were, a pledge to us in the disciples for many just reasons, as we have said. Therefore, the Apostles received a participation in the Holy Spirit when He breathed and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' for Christ cannot lie, nor would He say it unless only He had given it. But on the days of Pentecost, when God willed a more manifest expression of grace and a declaration of the Spirit dwelling in them, fiery tongues appeared, which did not signify the beginning of the gift in them, but rather led to the beginning of speech…*

Finally, others deny that Christ, breathing and saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," gave the Holy Spirit to the Apostles at that time, and they say that through that breathing, Christ made the Apostles suitable for receiving the Holy Spirit later.

John Chrysostom, in Homily I on Acts, in the Greek-Latin Heidelberg edition, together with his commentary on John, 1609, p. 452, states:

> *The Spirit came when the fiftieth day was fulfilled. But if He had not yet come, how does it agree with what He said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'? Surely, to make them capable and suitable for receiving the Spirit. For if Daniel was set apart to see an angel, how much more fitting was it for these to be set apart to receive such a gift of God? Whether, therefore, this question may be resolved in this way, or rather it should be understood that He spoke of what was to come as if it had already happened, as when He says, 'Tread on serpents and scorpions and all the power of the enemy'?*

And in Homily LXXXV on John, in the cited edition, p. 432, he states:

> *Some say He did not give the Spirit, but made them suitable for receiving it through the breathing. For if Daniel was terrified at seeing*

> *an angel, what would have happened to them in receiving that secret grace, had God not first prepared them? Therefore, they say, He did not say, 'You have received,' but 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' Yet one would not err if one said that they then received some power and spiritual grace.*

Ammonius, in the Chain of Greek Fathers on John, Chapter XX, states:

> *Others say that He made them suitable to receive the Spirit twice, which they were to receive after the ascension; therefore, He did not say, 'You have received the Holy Spirit,' but 'Receive.'*

Oecumenius, on Acts, Chapter I, in the cited words, states:

> *But if the Holy Spirit had never come, how did He say, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'? Either because He said this to make them suitable and receptive to receiving the Spirit, and they received Him when He descended; or because He spoke of the future as if it were present; or because the giving of the Spirit is one thing as purifying, another as perfecting.*

This interpretation also had a supporter in Theodore of Mopsuestia, cited in the fourth session of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, in Volume V of the Councils, column 440. He states:

> *What was said, 'Receive,' is said for 'You will receive.' For if, when He breathed, He had given the Spirit to the disciples, as some have foolishly thought, it would have been superfluous to say afterward, especially at the time of His ascension to heaven, not to depart from Jerusalem but to wait for the promise of the Spirit. And in what follows: 'But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you.' And Luke clearly says that the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples happened on the fiftieth day of the resurrection after the ascension. It should also be noted that if they had received the Spirit from the breathing, He would not have said, 'Receive,' but 'Since you have received.' For what was said, 'Receive,' applies to those who have not yet received.*

This interpretation was rightly rejected by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in its own sense, namely, that it simply denies that the Holy Spirit was given to the Apostles through the breathing. For in Anathema XII, in Volume V of the Councils, column 576, it states:

> *And among other countless blasphemies, he dared to say that after the resurrection, when the Lord breathed on the disciples and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit," He did not give them the Spirit, but only breathed figuratively.*

This is repeated by Emperor Justinian in his confession against the three chapters, found after the acts of the Fifth Council, column 706.

Nevertheless, a certain Jesuit rises against Theophylact alone, saying:

> *And therefore, let a fair reader judge whether Theophylact has not gravely sinned against the tribunal of the Eastern Fathers (to say nothing of the Western ones), when in his commentary on Chapter III of St. John, he calls their interpretation foolishness, led by the trivial reasoning of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He says, "If He then gave the Spirit to the disciples when He breathed, why did He afterward promise to give it to them and give it on the day of Pentecost?" He should have remembered that this contradiction of his was noted in the Fifth Ecumenical Council among the errors of Theodore, Chapter XIV, which Pope Vigilius refutes in the constitution proposed to that Synod, saying: "What was said in that chapter, that the Lord Jesus Christ, breathing on the Apostles, did not give them the Holy Spirit but promised to give it, so that either the Truth itself, which is absurd, is thought to have lied by saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' which He did not give, or as if a mere man He did not have what to give or could not give at all; if anyone holds or preaches this, let him be anathema." Theophylact should have read this, lest he expose himself and others to grave danger.*

As if Theophylact alone had given such an interpretation of those words of Christ, so as to deserve to be singled out by the Jesuit, when indeed so many named Fathers, and others they themselves mention, followed the same interpretation; or as if Theophylact had learned that interpretation only from Theodore of Mopsuestia, when Chrysostom and others older than Theodore, whom Chrysostom also mentions, followed the same.

But it is clear to all that, although the Holy Spirit could be said to have been given twice for the other reasons cited, the passages in which the Apostles are said to have already received the Holy Spirit and yet are commanded to wait for Him again after Christ's ascension to heaven

cannot be reconciled except by the earlier interpretation, which states that the Holy Spirit was first given according to the gift of the remission of sins, and then at the time of Pentecost according to the perfection of all gifts.

Thus, it is sufficiently clear that the mission of the Holy Spirit at the time of Pentecost was far more perfect than the breathing performed by the Savior. Since, therefore, no reason precipitates from that mission of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as shown in a special treatise, it is evident that it does not follow from the fact that the Son of God, breathing, gave the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Response VI

What is gathered from Christ's breathing of the Holy Spirit is nothing other than that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, not alien from His essence, that He is of God, given from the divine essence, substance given through the Son, that the Spirit of the Father is also the proper Spirit of Christ, and that the humanity of Christ received all the prior gifts of the Holy Spirit for distribution to the faithful.

> *Athanasius, in his later Letter to Serapion on the Holy Spirit, in Volume II of his works, p. 18, states:*
>
> *"When the Father sends the Spirit, the Son, breathing, gives Him to the disciples, since all that the Father has belongs to the Son; and when the Word was active in the prophets, they prophesied by the Spirit."*

And in On the Human Nature of Assumed Disputation, in the words cited in the discourse treatise on weighing the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers objected to by the Latins:

"He breathed on the face of the Apostles, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit,'" so that we might understand that the Holy Spirit, who is given to the disciples, is from the fullness of deity. For in Christ, it is said, the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily, as the Evangelist John says, "We have all received from His fullness." For in bodily form, that is, under the image of a dove, the Holy Spirit was seen to descend and remain upon

Him. For in us, only the first fruits and pledge of divinity dwell, but in Christ, the whole fullness of deity."

Basil the Great, in Homily XVII on Baptism, states:

"Approaching baptism, let him remember the Lord, who breathed the Holy Spirit and through that breathing signified that the Spirit is of divine essence."

Epiphanius, in Heresy LXXIV, which is that of the Pneumatomachoi, in Volume I, p. 905, states:

"As if the Spirit were not alien from the deity of God, He breathed on the face of the disciples and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit.""

Ambrose, in Book X of his Commentary on Luke, Chapter XXIV, states:

"Therefore, the Holy Spirit is breathed by Christ so that you may believe the Spirit of Christ and believe the Spirit to be of God, for God alone forgives sins."

Augustine, in Book XIII of City of God, Chapter XXIV, states:

"In what the Lord did when He breathed, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," He wished it to be understood that the Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of the Father but also of His Only-Begotten Son. For He is indeed the Spirit of the Father and the Son, with whom is the Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—not a creature but the Creator. For that bodily breath proceeding from the mouth of His flesh was not the substance and nature of the Holy Spirit, but rather a signification, by which, as I said, we understand that the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son, for They do not each have Their own individual Spirit, but He is one for both."

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book IX on John, far before the end, in Volume IV of his works, p. 810, states:

"How, if the Son is of a different substance from the Father, does He present the Father's Spirit as His own? For it is written that He breathed on the Apostles, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit." Again, there: "Since each of us contains his own spirit within himself and pours it forth from his inmost parts to the outside, so Christ bodily breathed, showing by this sign that just as the human spirit proceeds

bodily from the human mouth, so from the divine substance, in a manner befitting deity, the Spirit, who is given by Him, is poured forth.”"

And in his exposition of the Nicene Creed:

“He proceeds as from a source, God and Father; but He is granted to creation through the Son: hence He breathed on the holy Apostles, saying, “Receive the Holy Spirit.”"

And in Book XII on John, p. 1095, Volume IV:

“He sanctifies by giving His own Spirit through manifest breathing, so that we too may believe that He is not alien from the Son, but consubstantial with Him and proceeding through Him.”

Isidore of Pelusium, in Book I, Letter XCVII, states:

“To show the connection of the Holy Spirit to Himself and the Father, our Lord, rising from the dead, said to the disciples, “Take the Holy Spirit; if you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven,” by the authority, namely, of the Holy Spirit whom you receive, who has divine power to forgive sins.”

Ammonius, in the Chain of Greek Fathers on John, Chapter XX, states:

“That He gave the Spirit by breathing shows that He is consubstantial with Him and by no means alien from Him, as He who proceeds through Him from the Father, who confirmed them to do what is pleasing to God and to recognize the power of Christ’s mystery.”

Sophronius of Jerusalem, in his Letter to Sergius, in Action XI of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, in Volume VI of the Councils, column 879, states:

“He imparts the Holy Spirit to them as one related to Him and of the same tribe.”

The author of the book On the Trinity, which exists under the name of Cyril of Alexandria, Chapter X, and John Damascene, in Book I of On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter X, state:

“We confess that the Holy Spirit is not from the Son, but is manifested to us and given through the Son. For He breathed and said to His disciples, “Receive the Holy Spirit.”"

> *Bede, in his Commentary on John, Chapter XX, in Volume V of his works, column 613, states:*
>
> *“By breathing, He signified that the Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of the Father but also His own.”*

This is repeated by Albinus (Alcuin) in his Commentary on John on the words “Receive the Holy Spirit.”

For if the Son of God is God, and what is breathed by the Son and given by the Son follows, it must be of divine essence; and thus, Basil the Great, in the words cited, most excellently inferred from that breathing of Christ that the Holy Spirit is of divine essence. Likewise, Epiphanius does not infer from this the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but rather that the Holy Spirit is not alien from the deity of God. For if the Son of God is God, and the Son breathes the Spirit as His own Spirit, it must be that the Holy Spirit is not alien from the deity of God.

Ambrose indeed inferred from this that the Holy Spirit is God from God; but he did not infer this because the Son gave the Holy Spirit by breathing, but because the Holy Spirit is said here to forgive sins.

Likewise, if the Holy Spirit is breathed by the Son as His proper Spirit, and the Son of God is God, it must be that the Holy Spirit is poured forth upon the faithful from the divine substance, in a manner befitting deity, not, for example, in a servile manner, as Cyril of Alexandria inferred in Book IX on John.

Therefore, when the Holy Spirit is thus breathed by the Son, it is clear that the Holy Spirit also proceeds to us through the Son from the Father, as Cyril of Alexandria, in Book XII on John, and Ammonius, in the Chain of Greek Fathers on John, Chapter XX, inferred. For these two cited Fathers do not here deal with the eternal and hypostatic procession, but with the temporal effusion of the Holy Spirit through the Son.

Thus, according to the teaching of the holy Fathers, these things are gathered from Christ’s breathing: by no means that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

They claim there is one spiration of the Holy Spirit, and here the Holy Spirit is spirated or breathed by the Son; therefore, this breathing is identical with that eternal spiration of the Holy Spirit, and thus it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

But these things are entirely different. For the breathing took place in time and was done for us; but the production of the Holy Spirit is before all ages and times, and eternal. The breathing was done for the grace of the Apostles, and thus it is an external work of God; but the production of the Holy Spirit is without any regard to creatures, no less than the generation of the Son of God was done eternally, and thus it is an internal work of God.

Through the breathing, one gift of the Holy Spirit was given to the disciples, namely, the remission of sins; but the procession is the manner in which the Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence. The procession is the mode of the Holy Spirit's subsistence; the breathing is by no means so. Moreover, the Holy Spirit spirates Himself, as shown above, but He does not proceed from Himself. Again, the bodily breath proceeding from the mouth of Christ was not the substance of the Holy Spirit, but that which is spirated or proceeds eternally is the Holy Spirit Himself.

If this argument were valid, it would follow that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the very body that the Son of God assumed in time, or has the cause of His existence from it; and again, that God is produced into existence by a creature, which is impossible, indeed blasphemous. For that breathing was done by the breath of the mouth, and thus from the body. If, therefore, that breathing and spiration are the same, it follows that the Holy Spirit is produced by the human body, as He was breathed by the human body.

There is indeed one spiration or production of the Holy Spirit. But what follows from this? Therefore, when the Holy Spirit is here spirated or breathed, is this breathing identical with the spiration or production of the Holy Spirit? There is indeed one eternal spiration of the Holy Spirit; but if we consider what was done temporally for our salvation, another temporal breathing or spiration of the Holy Spirit must be acknowledged.

Since, therefore, this breathing is entirely different from the eternal spiration of the Holy Spirit, it is clear that it does not follow that when the Holy Spirit is here spirated or breathed, this breathing or spiration is identical with the eternal production or spiration of the Holy Spirit; although, if we wish to speak precisely, it must even be denied that the Holy Spirit was breathed here. For although, when the Savior breathed, He gave the Holy Spirit to the disciples and signified this giving of the

Holy Spirit by that breathing, the bodily breath itself was by no means the substance of the Holy Spirit, as we heard above from Augustine and others teaching.

Therefore, the Holy Spirit was not breathed by the bodily breath, but only economically or dispensationally, since, namely, the Holy Spirit was given simultaneously with that breathing, and His giving was signified by that breathing; thus, the Holy Spirit can be said to have been breathed by Christ.

But the Fathers of the Catholic Church did not use the term “spiration” in explaining the procession of the Holy Spirit. For how could it be established that the Holy Spirit is produced by way of spiration, when the reason for the procession of the Holy Spirit is entirely unknown, as we have shown elsewhere? Nor does the name “Spirit” support this: for this name is common to the Trinity, and both the Son and the Father are Spirit, for sacred Scripture says, “God is Spirit.”

But does it follow that because the Son is Spirit, He is likewise produced by the Father by way of spiration? But this is discussed elsewhere.

Some say, however, that although the breathing is not the production of the Holy Spirit itself, it nevertheless fittingly signified the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But by this very assertion, they assume what is in question, for this is what is being discussed and debated. Moreover, we have argued against this thus far: for to assert that that breathing is an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and again that that breathing has a fitting demonstration of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, there is no need to dwell further on this point.

A certain Jesuit finally objects to these things, citing words from Cyril, in Book XII on John, p. 563:

> *“The Apostles, therefore, receive participation in the Holy Spirit, since He breathed on them, saying, “Receive the Holy Spirit,” for Christ cannot lie, nor would He say, “Receive,” unless He gave.”*

But Cyril teaches nothing else by these words than that through that breathing, the Holy Spirit was given to the disciples; he by no means adds that that breathing signifies the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Who, indeed, has ever denied that the Holy Spirit was imparted

to the disciples by the Savior through that breathing? But that the giving of the Holy Spirit through the Son is an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is absurd.

The same author continues:

> *"And from this presupposition (namely, that Cyril believed Christ signified the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son through that breathing), the same holy Patriarch infers in Book IX on John, folio 810, that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. He says, "How, if the Son is of another substance from the Father, does He present the Father's Spirit as His own? For it is written that He breathed on the disciples, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' Will not someone rightly believe that the Son substantially participates in the natural goods of God the Father, not having the Spirit as something adventitious or from outside (for it is madness to think so), but as each of us contains his own spirit within himself and pours it forth from his inmost parts? Therefore, Christ breathed bodily, showing that just as the human spirit proceeds bodily from the human mouth, so from the divine substance, in a manner befitting God, the Spirit, who is from Him, is poured forth.""*

But it is false, first, that Cyril infers that the Son is consubstantial with the Father from the presupposition that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is signified by that breathing; for Cyril neither teaches nor suggests this in the cited words. He says the Holy Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Son, not adventitious, but as each of us contains his own spirit within himself and pours it forth from his inmost parts; and thus, just as our spirit proceeds naturally from the body, so Christ, by that breathing, showed that the Spirit is poured forth into the Apostles not externally or adventitiously, but from His divine essence, in a manner befitting God, who is given to us by Him.

Since this is Cyril's meaning, how could Cyril have inferred from this breathing of Christ that He is consubstantial with the Father, unless it is presupposed that the procession of the Holy Spirit from Him is signified by that breathing of Christ? Cyril necessarily inferred from this: It is clear from the Savior's breathing that the Son gives the Holy Spirit not as something external or alien, but as His own. Since the same Holy Spirit is the Father's and His proper Spirit, it must surely be that the Son is

consubstantial with the Father; for the Spirit, who is the proper Spirit of the Father, is also the proper Spirit of the Son. But where is it necessary to suppose, or where is it supposed, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, or that the procession of the Holy Spirit from Him is signified by that breathing of Christ?

What could be objected from the cited words of Cyril has been fully addressed in the treatise in which we refute the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers objected to by the Latins, concerning Cyril's words.

The same Jesuit continues:

> *"But lest anyone say that only the charisms of graces were given through that breathing, Cyril responds in Book VII of his Dialogues with Hermias, folio 638, "Not of grace, but of the one and holy Spirit Himself did the Apostles become partakers through that breathing of the Savior.""*

We have never denied that when the Savior says, "Receive the Holy Spirit," the Holy Spirit was truly given to the disciples. However, just as there are various charisms of the Holy Spirit, so we assert that through that breathing, the Holy Spirit was given only according to the gift of the remission of sins. As for the rest, the objected words of Cyril are not found in the cited place. What corresponds to them, in Volume II of his works, Latin edition of Paris, 1604, p. 321, is this:

> *"This, which imprints the divine image on us and, as it were, effects the seal of heavenly beauty, is it not the Spirit? Hermias: "But not as God, but as a minister of divine grace." Cyril: "Therefore, it is not He, but the grace through Him that is signified in us. It was therefore necessary that man be called the image of grace and not of God." And speaking of Adam: He was conformed to God when the spirit of life was breathed into him. But when he lost sanctification through the fall into sin, Christ, renewing what was old, restored him to the primeval and ancient beauty, to the divine and spiritual form, and in a way not different from that in the beginning. For He breathed on the holy Apostles, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit."" And after some words: "Is not God the Spirit, who transforms to God, not as a minister of grace, but as He Himself granting participation in the divine nature to the worthy?""*

Therefore, Cyril's meaning is that when Christ breathed on the Apostles, He did not give grace as if from a minister, but also the Holy Spirit. Thus, Cyril does not deny that grace was then given, but only understands that the grace given was not such as is given by a minister, which grace we ourselves entirely deny was given then.

The Jesuit further adds words from Athanasius, from On the Human Nature Assumed. But these are addressed in the treatise in which we refute the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers objected to. To this place, he adds those of Athanasius from his Letter to Serapion, in Volume II of his works, p. 1:

> *"When He breathed on them, He gave Him from Himself to the disciples. And he adds: "How from Himself, if not proceeding?""*

But does the Son not have the Holy Spirit in Himself and as His own by nature? If, therefore, the Son bestows the same Spirit on others, He must surely give Him from Himself. How, then, could the Son not bestow the Holy Spirit from Himself unless He were proceeding from Him?

Then he cites words of Anastasius of Sinai from Book I of On the Dogmas of Faith, and indicates that he similarly cites words of Cyril of Jerusalem for the same purpose, which we will address in the treatise in which we refute the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers objected to. As for the words of Epiphanius from Heresy LXXIV, they have been addressed above.

He further adds those of Epiphanius from Heresy LXIX:

> *"In another place, He does not give by asking, but by His own authority, as a source existing from a source, and God from God, He breathed on their face and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit.""*

But nothing is elicited from this for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For Epiphanius' meaning is that the Savior, according to His human nature, sometimes asks the Spirit from the Father, but elsewhere (as in that breathing), by His own authority, as His proper Spirit, and not as if supplicating another, according to His divine nature, as God and a source or distributor of the Holy Spirit (for He is God from God and a source from a source; for the Father is likewise a source and distributor of the Holy Spirit), imparts the Holy Spirit.

Therefore, when he says that the Son also gives the Holy Spirit by His own authority, he means that the Son, not made a suppliant to the Father, but as His proper Spirit, as consubstantial, as God or a source, distributes the Holy Spirit. And when he says that the Son gives the Holy Spirit as a source from a source, he understands this externally.

In the same Heresy LXIX, number LIV, p. 776, of the Greek-Latin Paris edition, when Epiphanius similarly called the Son a source from a source, he says:

> *"Not by another name, but according to the name of the Son and likewise the Word, one existing, a source from a source, the Son progressed, always existing, begotten with the Father: for with You is the fountain of life."*

Immediately following these words, he also calls the Holy Spirit a source from a source, which can only be understood externally. For immediately after the cited words, he adds:

> *"And to show also concerning the Holy Spirit: "In Your light we shall see light." For he shows the Father as light, and the light of the Father to be the Son, and the light to be the Holy Spirit, and a source from a source, the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Only-Begotten. For rivers of living water shall flow from His womb, said the Gospel concerning the Holy Spirit."*

The Jesuit then cites the words of Basil from Homily XVII on Baptism, cited above, and adds:

> *"This statement can only be explained by this argument: Whatever proceeds from God is of divine essence. The Holy Spirit breathed on the Apostles is from God (for the Son is God). Therefore, the Holy Spirit breathed on the Apostles is of divine essence."*

But we have already seen above that Basil's words can, indeed must, be explained entirely otherwise. For Basil's argument is this: The Holy Spirit is breathed by the Son of God. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is of divine essence, as is clear from his words. Here, at least, the major premise is missing, which, if added, Basil's complete syllogism would be as follows:

> *“Whoever is breathed by the Son of God is of divine essence (for the Son of God is God; and what is breathed by the Son is given by the Son). But the Holy Spirit is breathed by the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is of divine essence.”*

But that the Jesuit forms the minor premise: “The Holy Spirit breathed on the Apostles is from God,” he does so contrary to Basil’s intention. For these were not Basil’s words, but he simply said: “Through that breathing, He signified that the Spirit is of divine essence.” Thus, Basil shows that from the breathing alone it is inferred that the Holy Spirit is of divine essence. Here, according to Basil’s intention, this minor premise suffices: “The Holy Spirit is breathed by the Son on the disciples.”

From this, it is also clear that the major premise was not formed by the Jesuit according to Basil’s intention: “Whatever proceeds from God is of divine essence.” For, as is clear to all, such a major premise does not result from Basil’s words, as has been shown to the eye.

The same author continues:

> *“In Book V Against Eunomius, Chapter on the Remission of Sins, folio 780, toward the end, to prove that the Holy Spirit is God, he takes this argument: “Whoever can forgive sins through the Apostles is God (since it is for God alone to forgive sins). The Holy Spirit, breathed and given to the Apostles, can forgive sins through the Apostles. Therefore, He is God.” This argument clearly proves that the Holy Spirit Himself was given to the Apostles through those words, “Receive,” not some created gift, since to say and prove that any creature is God is blasphemy or paganism.”*

But we do not deny that the Holy Spirit Himself was then given to the Apostles with the gift of the remission of sins by the Savior. On the occasion of Theophylact, the Jesuit disputes these very things, as discussed above.

He continues:

> *“That the procession of the more divine Spirit was signified through that breathing, St. Gregory the Theologian further teaches in Oration XLIV on Pentecost, in the Antwerp edition, 1612, folio 269: “After the completion of the work of our salvation, the breathing undoubtedly had the character of a more divine inspiration.””*

But the words of St. Gregory are these:

“That breathing was clearly a more divine inspiration.”

Indeed, that breathing was a more divine inspiration than that first expulsion of diseases and spirits, which was not done without the Holy Spirit. For he shows in that place that the Holy Spirit was given to the Apostles three times: first obscurely, then more clearly, and thirdly more perfectly, as the time and the capacity of the Apostles permitted. And by the name of a more divine inspiration, he signifies a more manifest and clearer distribution of the Holy Spirit.

He states:

“The Holy Spirit exercised His power in Christ’s disciples, and in them in three ways (as their capacity permitted) and at three times, namely, before Christ was glorified through the passion; after He was glorified through the resurrection of; and then after His ascension to heaven or restoration, or whatever else that event may be called by. This is clearly shown by that the first expulsion of diseases and spirits, by which was done not a without the power; then that breathing of this Spirit after the completion of his the work of our salvation, which is clearly a more divine inspiration; and finally by, this present division of fiery tongues; and indeed by, first obscurely, by second more expressly clearly by, now thirdly more perfectly:; by as for He is not by merely present by operation in His power, as before previously, but by, so to speak, says essentially, as a person present and dwelling in us.”

Likewise, Nicetas in his commentary on Gregory states:

“The Holy Spirit exercised His power over on the in the Apostles in three ways, as they were capable of and as the nature of the three times permitted. For, first, before Christ’s passion, obscurely, when He sent them to disciple preach to and, gave them the power to expel diseases and demons by, all of which was by not His own power; by; secondly, by after the resurrection, more expressly and clearly:; for by Christ, when He breathed, said, “Receive the Holy Spirit,”, by no means by being an another Spirit than by He who had breathed from the beginning of creation, by but only by the same Spirit; then thirdly, by more perfectly, when Christ ascended to heaven.”

Again, he cites those of Gregory of Nyssa's, in his Oration on on the Words: "Then, the Son Himself will also do Be a Subjected,", explaining by the words of Scripture, "The glory You have glorified Me,", saying that it is His own glory, the glory of the Holy Spirit, whom He gave to His the disciples by through breathing.

But, as we have repeatedly stated that, we by no means that the Holy Spirit Himself did not deny that He was then given to the Spirit; the Son calls the Holy Spirit His own glory because the Holy Spirit glorified Him glorified. How? For Because, by, namely, the Spirit taught us that by the Son of God who is the image of the invisible God, the brightness of His glory by the Father, and the character of His character substance by the Father's, as St. by Ambrose says in Ambrose in Book II of his On the Holy Spirit on the Spirit, Chapter XII, states:.

But Ambrose, for "Therefore the Spirit also glorifies the Son, just as He glorifies the Father; but by the Son of God also by glorifies the Spirit by the Spirit, as we said above.; For Thus He does not appear weak, who renders mutual glory through the unity of His eternal light by the light."

Finally, he cites testimony from Augustine: the. testimony But of the words from the Latin Fathers asserting that the procession of the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son by the Son are addressed by in the treatise discussing on the corruptions in the Latin Fathers' writings; and concerning Theophylact by Theophyl, we have discussed above.

Therefore, it by no means follows that from the fact does that not the Savior breathed upon the mouth mouths of His apostles and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit," that therefore the Spirit Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son of God.

TRACTATE X

In which it is demonstrated that the Son's possession of all that belongs to the Father is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son

From the words of Christ, "All that the Father has is mine," the Latins infer that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. For if the Son has all that the Father has, and the Father produces the Holy Spirit, it must necessarily follow that the Son likewise produces the Holy Spirit. Others argue thus: The Son has all that the Father has, except only the relation of being the Father. Therefore, the Son spirates the Holy Spirit, for this is not the same as being the Father.

Response I

First, the proposition "The Son has all that the Father has" was by no means intended to apply to those things that pertain to hypostatic properties or to the internal operations of God. Certainly, the Father has the generation of the Son, which does not at all pertain to the Son. Furthermore, the Father is unbegotten (agennetos), while the Son is not. The Father is the cause and source of divinity, but the Son is not. The Father exists from no other, while the Son exists from the Father. It is at the Father's right hand, not the Son's, that one is said to sit. The Father, not the Son, bears someone in His bosom. For even this last attribute is listed among the hypostatic properties of the Father by Anastasius of Sinai in *Hodegos*, Chapter XVI. He says:

> *The Word does not have the unbegottenness of the Father, nor the power of generating, nor is it without a principle, nor does it sit at His right hand, nor does it bear anyone in its bosom, nor does it possess the other hypostatic properties of the Father.*

Since, therefore, so many things that belong to the Father do not pertain to the Son, and these very things relate to the hypostatic properties of the Father or His internal operations, it is clear that the proposition “The Son has all that the Father has” cannot and should not be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or the internal operations of God. For the universal proposition “All that the Father has is mine” holds universally only with respect to those things to which it applies. Since it does not hold universally with respect to hypostatic properties or internal operations, it is distinctly clear that this proposition is not to be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or the internal operations of God.

Now, the production of the Holy Spirit is certainly among the internal operations of the Father and His hypostatic properties. For this is an internal operation of God, something God does from eternity without reference to any creatures, which certainly applies to the production of the Holy Spirit, no less than the generation of the Son is an internal operation of the Father. Moreover, we have extensively proven in the treatise in which we adduced various arguments drawn from theological principles for the production of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone that this production is a hypostatic property of the Father. At the very least, we remind again that the dogma of the Catholic Church holds, as shown in the cited treatise, that whatever does not pertain to the divine essence signifies a mode of subsistence or subsistential properties. Therefore, since the proposition “All that the Father has is mine” is not to be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or internal operations, and since the production of the Holy Spirit, which pertains to God the Father, is among these, it is clear that the Latins cannot subsume under this proposition “The Son has all that the Father has” the claim that the production of the Holy Spirit pertains to the Father.

But they press the universality of the proposition: All. The Son has all that the Father has. We do not deny this universality; rather, we fully concede that it is most universal, but only in those things to which it applies, and by no means in those to which it does not apply, namely, the hypostatic properties and internal operations of the Father. Indeed, if so many properties of the Father just enumerated are excepted from this proposition, and yet its universality remains intact, then its universality will equally remain intact if the remaining properties of the Father are

also excepted. For if this proposition were to be understood as applying to these properties as well, not even one of them could be excepted. But more on this later.

Response II

And from this, Gregory Nazianzen likewise excepts from the proposition "The Son has all that the Father has" at least the generation of the Son, or rather, simply the cause, that is, the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. For in *Oration XXIV, On the Arrival of the Egyptians*, near the end, he says:

> *Whatever the Father has, the Son has, except the cause.*

And further:

> *All that the Son has belongs also to the Spirit, except filiation and those things said of Him corporeally on account of me, a human, and for my salvation.*

Therefore, the production of the Holy Spirit cannot be subsumed under the proposition "The Son has all that the Father has," but is entirely excepted from it.

You might say that by the term cause, Gregory means only the cause of the Son. However, whenever Gregory uses this term simply, he signifies the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, as is clear from all his orations. Indeed, in *Oration I, The Apologetic on His Flight*, p. 17, after attributing the prerogative of cause solely to the Father, as the Father possesses it, he proceeds to explain what this prerogative of cause is, which pertains only to the Father and is excepted by the Son, mentioning the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. He says:

> *It is not fitting to be so affected by love for Christ as to deny Him the name of Son or to deny the Father the prerogative of cause, which He has as Father and generator. For it would be a cause of small and base things, indeed basely and unworthily, unless it were the cause of that divinity and goodness which is considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit; in the former, I say, as Son and Word, in the latter as proceeding, not as some mere breath without substance.*

Therefore, when Gregory excepts the cause from the Son, he understands the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Response III

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit also has all that the Father has. For if the Son alone had all that the Father has, and the Holy Spirit did not, there would be a greater unity between the Father and the Son than between the Father and the Holy Spirit, which is absurd. Moreover, there is one divinity, one majesty of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and just as the Father differs from the Son only in subsistence, so too He is distinguished from the Holy Spirit only by this, as we have extensively heard from the Fathers in the treatise in which we adduced various arguments from theological principles for the production of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone.

Dionysius the Areopagite, in *On the Divine Names*, Book II, near the beginning, applies to the divine Spirit, in a social and conjoined manner, what belongs to the Father and the Son. Basil the Great, in *Book III Against Eunomius*, states:

> *What is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Holy Spirit.*

Augustine, in *Book XI of On the Trinity*, Chapter IV, says:

> *All that the Father has belongs not only to the Son but also to the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit is able to glorify the Son, whom the Father glorifies.*

Pope Leo the Great, in *Sermon I On Pentecost*, says:

> *There is nothing different belonging to the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit; but all that the Father has, the Son has, and the Holy Spirit has, and this communion has never been absent in that Trinity. For to have all things there is to exist always. Let no times, no grades, no differences be thought of, and if no one can explain what God is, let no one dare to assert what He is not. For it is more excusable to fail to speak worthily of the ineffable nature than to define what is contrary to it. Therefore, whatever pious hearts can conceive of the eternal and*

> *unchangeable glory of the Father, let them understand it inseparably and indifferently of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For we confess this blessed Trinity as one God because in these three persons there is no diversity of substance, power, will, or operation.*

And in *Sermon III On Pentecost*:

> *What the Father has, the Son has; and what the Father and the Son have, the Holy Spirit has, for the whole Trinity together is one God.*

Finally, Antiochus, a monk of the Laura of St. Sabbas, in *Homily I On Faith*, in Volume I of the Library of Greek Fathers, p. 1028, says:

> *To speak briefly, the very Word of divine majesty says: 'I and the Father are one,' and 'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.' Likewise, whatever belongs to the Father and His Son belongs entirely to the Holy Spirit, and the Son Himself ascribes this to the Holy Spirit in the majesty of the most august deity on account of the indistinguishable parity of their common and single nature, namely, on account of the reverent worship of the divine operation's fontal source and the perpetual cause of creative power, when He says: 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'*

Therefore, the Holy Spirit equally has all that the Father has, just as the Son does. But if it were to follow from the fact that the Son has all that the Father has that the Son, excepting only generation, has all the rest that belongs to the Father, including the production of the Holy Spirit, then by the same necessity it would follow that the Holy Spirit, since He equally has all that the Father has, excepting at least His own production, has all the rest that belongs to the Father, including the generation of the Son; or, excepting only the generation of the Son, has all the rest that belongs to the Father, including His own production. These are, of course, impossible. But from this it is clearly evident that the proposition "The Son has all that the Father has" cannot be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or the internal operations of God the Father. For this proposition, "The Holy Spirit has all that the Father has," which corresponds to the former proposition, "The Son has all that the Father has," is by no means understood as referring to hypostatic properties or

the internal operations of God the Father. For the Holy Spirit does not have even one such property or internal operation of the Father: He does not generate, He does not produce, He is not unbegotten, He does not bear anyone in His bosom, He does not sit at His right hand, and so forth; yet the Holy Spirit has all that the Father has. Therefore, this proposition, and consequently the other, "The Son has all that the Father has" (for it corresponds to it and holds in the same sense), is not to be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or internal operations. How, then, could the Latins subsume under this proposition, "The Son has all that the Father has," the production of the Holy Spirit, which is certainly an internal operation of the Father and His personal property? Since, therefore, from the proposition "The Holy Spirit has all that the Father has," both the generation of the Son and the production of the Holy Spirit are excepted, and the universality of that proposition is not undermined by these exceptions, it is clearly evident that the universality of this proposition, "The Son has all that the Father has," is likewise not undermined if these two, namely, active generation and the production of the Holy Spirit, are excepted.

Response IV

Next, the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has. For if both the Son and the Holy Spirit have all that the Father has, and the Father in turn has all that the Son has, then the Holy Spirit certainly has all that the Son has. Dionysius the Areopagite, in the words just cited, applies to the divine Spirit, in a social and conjoined manner, what belongs to the Father and the Son. Didymus of Alexandria, in *Book II On the Holy Spirit*, says:

> *What belongs to the Son, the Holy Spirit also has.*

Epiphanius, in *Against Heresy LXXVI* (that of the Anomoeans), Chapter XXII, against Aetius, says:

> *He who begot the Begotten from Himself and sent forth His Holy Spirit from Himself made the Spirit a participant in what belongs to the Son, but He did not beget all, but one.*

Jerome, in *Explanation of the Faith to Cyril*, says:

> *All that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son, and all that belongs to the Son belongs entirely to the Holy Spirit.*

John Chrysostom, in *Homily LXVII On John*, after the middle, says:

> *What belongs to the Father belongs to the Son, and what belongs to the Son belongs to the Spirit.*

We have already seen the words of Leo the Great. Anastasius of Sinai, in *Book I On the Dogmas of Faith*, p. 694, Volume VI of the Library of the Fathers of Cologne, says:

> *The Holy Spirit receives all that the Son has, who has all that the Father has.*

Finally, we have already seen the words of Antiochus the Monk. Therefore, the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has. But if, because the Son has all that the Father has, it were to follow that the Son, excepting only generation, has all the rest that belongs to the Father, including the production of the Holy Spirit, then by the same necessity it would follow that the Holy Spirit, since He has all that the Son has, excepting His own production according to the Latins, has all the rest that belongs to the Son, including the passive generation of the Son, which is impossible. But from this it is once again clear that the proposition “The Son has all that the Father has” cannot be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or the internal operations of God the Father. For this proposition, “The Holy Spirit has all that the Son has,” is by no means understood as referring to hypostatic properties or the internal operations of the Son of God. For the Holy Spirit does not have even one such personal property or internal operation of the Son; yet the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has. Therefore, this proposition, and consequently the other, “The Son has all that the Father has” (for it corresponds to it and holds in the same sense), is not to be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or internal operations. How, then, could the Latins once again subsume under this proposition, “The Son has all that the Father has,” the production of the Holy Spirit, which is certainly an internal operation of the Father and His personal property? Since, therefore, from this proposition, “The Holy Spirit has all that the Son has,” hypostatic properties and internal operations of God, such as

passive generation and, according to the Latins, His own production, are excepted, and the universality of that proposition is not undermined by these exceptions, it is clearly evident once again that the universality of this proposition, “The Son has all that the Father has,” is likewise not undermined if these two, namely, active generation and the production of the Holy Spirit, are excepted. For the reasoning of both propositions is the same.

Response V

Meanwhile, the proposition “The Son has all that the Father has” is to be understood as referring to those things that pertain to the one divine essence. For since the Son has all that the Father has, the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has, and again, the Father has all that the Son has, the Holy Spirit has all that the Father has, and the Father has all that the Holy Spirit has, it is clear that these propositions must be understood as referring to the one divinity and majesty. For what pertains to divinity (and only these things, not others) is common to the entire Trinity. Moreover, as has been shown, the propositions “The Son has all that the Father has” and “The Holy Spirit has all that the Father and the Son have” are not to be understood as referring to hypostatic properties or internal operations. But what pertains to hypostatic properties pertains to the divine essence and is common to the entire Trinity. For what does not pertain to the divine essence pertains to hypostatic properties, as we have shown in the treatise in which we adduced various arguments from theological principles for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Hence, the holy Fathers themselves interpret the words of the Savior, “All that the Father has is mine,” as referring to the one substance and divinity of the Father and to those things that are said according to this one substance and divinity of the Father.

Dionysius the Areopagite, in *On the Divine Names*, Book II, near the beginning, says:

> *The divine Word Himself says: ‘I and the Father are one,’ and ‘All that the Father has is mine.’ And again: ‘Whatever belongs to the Father and to Himself, He applies socially and conjointly to the divine Spirit, such as divine operations, worship, the fontal and unfailing cause, and the distribution of heavenly gifts.’ And I believe no one nourished by*

the most correct and pious understanding of the divine Scriptures will contradict this opinion, that all divine things, according to the most exact reasoning, are inherent in the entire divinity.

Theophilus of Antioch, in *Commentary on the Gospels*, Book I, Volume II of the Library of the Fathers of Cologne, p. 151, says:

He said: 'All that the Father has is mine.' If, therefore, the nature of the Father was in the Son, the knowledge of that nature could not fail to generate.

Tertullian, in *Against Praxeas*, Chapter XVII, says:

The name of the Father is God Almighty, Most High, Lord of Hosts, King of Israel, He who is; as the Scriptures teach, we say these things also pertain to the Son, and that the Son came in these, always acted in these, and thus made them manifest to humanity.

Athanasius, commenting on "All things have been handed over to me by the Father," in Volume I of his works, p. 151, says:

Where He wishes to indicate His unity with the Father, He does not do so obscurely but teaches distinctly, saying: 'Whatever the Father has is mine.' For if all things are established in the Father's power, they are likewise in the Son's power. But what the Father has must be examined again. He indicates this when He says He is always with the Father, for these words, 'Whatever the Father has,' show the Father's dominion, while 'is mine' shows inseparable unity. Therefore, we must understand that eternity, immortality, and the like are in the Father, not as something foreign, but residing in Him and in the Son as in a source. Therefore, when you begin to think of the Son, having been taught what is in the Father, you must believe that these are also in the Son. As there is life in the Father, so also in the Son, to teach indivisible eternity. Therefore, it is clearly demonstrated that the Father is the Only-Begotten of the age to come, and a mighty and powerful God, and that He has all that the Father has, and that, like the Father, He gives life; so too it is in His power to vivify whom He wills. For He says: 'The dead will hear the voice of the Son of God and live.' There is one will of the Father and the Son, and the same counsel in establishing things, because there is one nature and the same indivisible in both.

And in his *Letter to Serapion* against those who say the Son is a creature, Volume I of his works, p. 167, he says:

> *Since the Father is eternal, the Son must also be eternal. For we must not doubt that what we understand to be in the Father is in the Son, as the Lord Himself says: 'All that the Father has is mine,' and 'All that is mine is the Father's.' Therefore, the Father is eternal, and the Son is co-eternal; for through Him the ages and worlds were established, who is God blessed forever, as the Apostle says. The Father is omnipotent, the Son is omnipotent, as John testifies: 'Who is, who was, who is to come, the Almighty.' The Father is light, the Son is radiance, ray, and true light. The Father is true God, the Son is true God. For it is written by John: 'We are in His true Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.' And in sum: there is nothing that the Father has that is not the Son's. Therefore, the Son is in the Father, and the Father is in the Son; because what belongs to the Father is the same in the Son, and vice versa, what is understood in the Father belongs to the Son. Thus, the saying 'I and the Father are one' must be interpreted. Since there is nothing different in one or the other, but what is in the Father is the same in the Son; and what you see in the Father, you see in the Son.*

And a little later, p. 169, he says:

> *All that the Father has pertains to the Son, because He is consubstantial with the Father. For just as, if He had some kinship with created things, He would be consubstantial with them, so, remaining alien to created things in substance, the Word is proper to the Father and distinct from them. But because all that the Father has is proper to Him, He is rightly considered consubstantial with the Father. Thus, the Fathers at the Council of Nicaea, understanding this, confessed that the Son is coessential and from the substance of the Father. For they clearly saw that created substance could never claim this saying: 'All that the Father has is mine.' For how could things that have a beginning of existence have in themselves 'He who is and was eternally'? Therefore, since the Son has all these, and what belongs to the Father, it is necessary that the Son's nature is not created but consubstantial with the Father. Especially since that created nature could in no way be capable of what is proper to God; but what is proper to God is that by which God is known, such as omnipotence, the essence itself,*

immutability, and the other things mentioned above, lest the Creator Himself appear consubstantial with His creatures according to these foolish ones and have only what created things can have in themselves.

In *Dialogue III on the Trinity*, Volume II of his works, p. 212, Athanasius says:

The very glory of the Father, and His counsel and power, is the Son's; therefore, the Son says: 'Whatever the Father has is mine.'

And in his disputation with Arius at the Council of Nicaea, Volume I, p. 132, he says:

He did not speak concerning created things when He said: 'All that the Father has is mine,' but He showed that what pertains to the Deity of the Father is proper and peculiar to Himself, namely, immortality, incorruptibility, immutability, incomprehensibility, power, and the faculty of foreknowledge, and whatever the Father is, He claimed as proper to Himself.

Hence, in *Dialogue I on the Trinity*, Volume II, p. 181, he teaches that at least the properties of the substance, not also of the subsistence, of the Father are common to the Son. The Anomoean says:

If all that is proper to the Father is common to the Spirit and the Son, it follows that the Father must also be the Spirit and the Son.

The Orthodox responds:

I did not say that what is proper to the Father is common to the Son and the Holy Spirit; but that what is proper to the substance of God is common to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, such as incorruptibility, immortality, immutability, not lying, and whatever is of this kind.

Hilary of Poitiers, in *Book IX On the Trinity*, says:

Therefore, the Father gave all things, and the Son received all things, and there is no ambiguity when He says: 'All that the Father has is mine.' And here, the present discourse does not signify the species

of creatures or the diverse establishment of elements, but, revealing to us the glory of blessed and absolute divinity, it shows that God is to be understood in these things that are His, in power, in eternity, in providence, and in authority.

These words are repeated by the author of the book *On the Unity of the Father and the Son*, among Hilary's works, p. 760.

Didymus of Alexandria, in *Book II On the Holy Spirit*, says:

Although the Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father, and God gives the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him, yet because 'All that the Father has is mine,' the Spirit of the Father is also mine, and He will take from what is mine. But beware, when these things are said, lest you fall into error with grave understanding and think that there is some thing or possession that is held by the Father and the Son; but what the Father has according to substance, that is, eternity, immutability, incorruption, immutable goodness existing of itself and subsisting in itself, the Son also has. And whatever belongs to the Son, the Father also has. But in this discourse and proposed sense, consequently, what we said above belongs to the Father, the Son also has; and what belongs to the Son, the Holy Spirit also has.

Basil the Great, in *Sermon on Faith*, Volume I, p. 500, says:

Remaining in essence, the Son is all that the Father is, according to the voice of the Lord Himself saying: 'All that the Father has is mine.' For indeed, all that exists in the prototype is in the image. The Gospel says: 'We have seen His glory, the glory as of the Only-Begotten from the Father,' that is, not given to Him by gift or grace, but by the natural communion of the Father's divinity, the Son obtains the dignity. Therefore, as the Son naturally possesses what belongs to the Father, as the Only-Begotten, He comprehends it in Himself, dividing nothing with another. From the very designation of the Son, we learn that He is equal in goodness, equal in power, and a sharer in the same glory.

And in *On the Holy Spirit*, Chapter VIII, Volume II, p. 161, he says:

Therefore, the Lord says: 'All that is mine is yours,' as if the origin of created things is to be referred to Him; and 'yours is mine,' because the authority of creating comes to Him from the Father, not that the

> *Father used the Son's assistance in working, nor that the ministry of each work was committed to Him by particular commands, but that the Word, full of the Father's goods, shining forth from the Father, does all things in the likeness of Him who begot Him. For if He differs in nothing from the Father in essence, neither does He differ in power. And where the power is equal, the operation is equal. For Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, and thus all things were made through Him, and all things were created through Him.*

Ambrose, in *On the Sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation*, Chapter VIII, says:

> *When He said: 'All that the Father has is mine,' and later: 'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine,' He affirmed unity.*

And in *Book II On Faith*, Chapter III, he says:

> *'All that the Father has is mine.' What are all these things? He did not speak of created things, for all these were made through the Son; but what the Father has, that is, eternity, majesty, and divinity, He possessed by being born. Therefore, we cannot doubt that He who has all that the Father has (for it is written: 'All that the Father has is mine') is omnipotent.*

In *Book IV On Faith*, Chapter IV, near the beginning, he says:

> *When the Son says: 'All that the Father has is mine,' this means not what He Himself handed over to the Father, but what He received from the Father by the right of generation. And therefore, we say that the Son is the eternal power. If, therefore, His power and divinity are eternal, His authority is also eternal.*

And in the following, he distinctly excepts from the words of Christ, "All that the Father has is mine," those things that are of the Father's property:

> *Nor does the Son have less because He is not the Father; nor does the Father have less because He is not the Son. For the Son said: 'All that the Father has is mine.' So much so that generation in the Father's property is not an injury to power.*

And in *Book II On Luke*, near the end, he says:

> *Then when He says: 'In whom I am pleased,' He praises not what is foreign in the Son, but His own. For what does it mean to say: 'In whom I am pleased,' except that all that the Son has, the Father has; just as what belongs to the Father belongs to the Son? The Son said: 'All that the Father has is mine.' For the power of indifferent divinity does not separate between the Father and the Son, but one power is shared by the Father and the Son.*

In his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, on Chapter II, he says:

> *This is the difference between the Father and the Son: that the Father received this (the name of God) from no one; but the Son, through generation, received all that the Father has, so that in power, substance, and name, the Son differs in nothing from the Father. Hence He says: 'All that the Father has is mine,' and 'mine is the Father's.'*

Jerome, in *Explanation of the Faith to Cyril*, says:

> *The Savior says: 'All that belongs to the Father is mine.' If, therefore, what belongs to the Father belongs to the Son, and all that belongs to the Son belongs entirely to the Holy Spirit, then nothing is lacking in the Son that does not pertain to His power, nothing that was not made by Him, and nothing that is not governed by His will and direction. Since, therefore, the Son has all things in His power, nothing is lacking to Him in all things. Therefore, the Holy Spirit also has the power of all these things, which the Son has.*

Epiphanius, in *Against Heresy LXVII* (that of the Anomoeans), in the refutation of Chapter I of Aetius, near the end, says:

> *Here we embrace identity according to nature from the evangelical testimony, namely: 'All that the Father has is mine,' that is: God the Father, I am God. Life the Father, I am life. And all the rest that befit the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in one Deity, Trinity, having nothing diverse.*

And in *Ancoratus*, number XVI, Volume II, p. 21, he says:

The foolish, who are not adorned with the Holy Spirit, think: Is there anything in the Father that is not in the Deity of the Son? For just as the Father has life in Himself, so the Son has life in Himself; and 'All that belongs to my Father is mine,' says the same holy Word of God. But what are these things that belong to the Father? God belongs to the Father, this also to the Son. Life belongs to the Father, this also to the Son. Light belongs to the Father, surely also to the Son. Immortality belongs to the Father, likewise also to the Son. Incomprehensibility belongs to the Father, likewise also to the Son. All that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son.

John Chrysostom, in *Homily on the Trinity*, well after the beginning, Volume VI of his works, Greco-Latin edition, p. 192, says:

'All that the Father has is mine,' says the Only-Begotten God, existing in the bosom of the Father. Moses says: 'He who is sent me.' He who is, is the Father. He who is, is the Son, and He relates Himself to Him who is without beginning, and was not begotten in time. All that the Father has, who is truly life, immortality, light, omnipotent, God, and Lord, the Son also has. For He says: 'I am the truth and the life,' and 'He was the true light,' and 'the Word was God.'

Augustine, in *Sermon VI On the Seasons*, near the end, says:

'All,' He says, 'that the Father has is mine.' When He says 'all,' He left nothing here that He has less than the Father. All, that is, the power, substance, majesty of one deity.

And in *Tractate CVII On John*, he says:

What He said, when speaking of the Holy Spirit: 'All that the Father has is mine,' therefore I said, 'because He will take from what is mine and announce it to you,' He said concerning those things that pertain to the very divinity of the Father, in which He is equal to Him, having all that He has.

And the author of *Questions on the Old and New Testament* among Augustine's works, Volume IV, Question CXXV, says:

'All that the Father has is mine,' by which He signified that the substance of God the Father is His substance.

Cyril of Alexandria, in *Book XII On John*, Chapter II, Volume IV of his works, p. 931, says:

> *'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.' For where there is no difference, but substantial equality and likeness in all things, how could it be that they are not of the same nature?*

And further:

> *Since the Son is the fruit and character of the Father's hypostasis, He claims for Himself all that belongs to Him according to nature. Therefore, He says: 'Whatever the Father has is mine,' therefore I said to you, 'because He will take from what is mine and announce it to you.'*

In *Book XI On John*, Chapter IX, p. 969, he says:

> *For the kingdom and dominion over all is one for the holy and consubstantial Trinity, and whatever belongs to the Son is subject to the glory of the Son and the Father, and vice versa, whatever is said to be subject to the Father is also subject to the Son's dominion. For this reason, He says: 'And all that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.' For where the most perfect identity of nature shines forth in all things, there the glory of dignity is plainly the same, not attributing something to one separately, excluding another, but imparting equal, one, and the same glory in all things. For since He is substantially the heir of the divine dignities of His Father, He is seen to have all that belongs to the Father, and He shows that the Father has all that belongs to Him.*

And in *Book I On John*, Chapter III, near the end, p. 27, he says:

> *All that the Father has is entirely the Son's; what is perfect in the Father will be perfect in the Son, for He has the proper and excellent things of the Father.*

Eulogius of Alexandria, in the collections of an anonymous author against the Severians, Volume IV of Canisius's Ancient Readings, Part I, p. 240, says:

> *We say that the Trinity is homoousios, that is, consubstantial, because the same substance is recognized entirely in the three persons, since*

> *the Father has the perfect substance of divinity, likewise the Son, likewise the Holy Spirit. Hence, the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, the Holy Spirit is perfect God. Paul, the preacher of truth, agrees with this when he says: 'For in Him dwells the fullness of the Deity bodily.' For he does not say that the Father was incarnate, but that the entire divinity is in the three persons, with nothing deficient in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, perfectly in each, according to the voice of the Lord who said: 'All that the Father has is mine,' that is, whatever are the notions of the Father's substance: these also belong to the Word of God incarnate, not that the Father is the Son, or the Son the Father, for these names signify the relation between them. How, therefore, would we not say that the substance of divinity is fully in Christ, without defect, if we say that He is perfect?*

Antiochus, a monk of the Laura of St. Sabbas, in Homily I On Faith, repeats the words of Dionysius the Areopagite just cited, as we have already adduced these words of Antiochus above around Response III. The words we cited from Augustine's Tractate CVII On John are repeated by Bede in Book IV of his Commentary on Luke, Chapter LXIII, on Chapter XV, Volume V of his works, column 375; and in his Commentary on John, on Chapter XVII, Volume V, column 585; and in Summer Homily on the Season, Sunday Cantate, Volume VII, column 21; and finally in Lenten Homily, Saturday after Reminiscere, near the end, Volume VII, column 248. The same words of Augustine are repeated by Alcuin in his Commentary on John, on the words of the Savior: "All that the Father has is mine." Haymo, on Sunday Cantate, on the words: "All that the Father has is mine," says:

> *What are the things that the Father has? Eternity? Likewise, the Son has eternity, for He is co-eternal with Him. Show me fire without heat; I will show you the Father without the Son. The Father did not precede the Son in time, but in origin. The Father is omnipotent, likewise the Son is omnipotent with the Holy Spirit. The Father is the creator of the whole world, likewise the Son is the creator of the whole world. Through Him, God the Father created all things, both in heaven and on earth, as the same John the Evangelist, who wrote this Gospel, said in the beginning of his book: 'All things were made through Him.' Therefore, He said: 'Because He will take from what is mine and announce it to you.'*

Rabanus Maurus, in Homily CV, Volume V of his works, p. 654, says:

> *'All that the Father has is mine,' therefore I said, 'because He will take from what is mine and announce it to you,' He said concerning those things that pertain to the very divinity of the Father, in which He is equal to the Father, in which the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son: because there is one substance, one nature, one majesty, one glory, one eternity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and there is one omnipotent, invisible, and incomprehensible God to all creatures, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*

Smaragdus, on the Third Sunday after the Octave of Easter, says the same. Finally, the words of Augustine cited from Tractate CVII On John are also repeated by Hincmar of Reims in On the Non-Trinal Deity, Volume I of his works, p. 422.

Therefore, it is sufficiently clear from this that the words of the Savior, "All that the Father has is mine," are to be understood as referring to those things that pertain to the divine essence of the Father. How, then, could the Latins subsume under this proposition the claim that the Father produces the Holy Spirit? For the production of the Holy Spirit is not said of the Father by reason of essence, but is His internal operation and proper to His subsistence.

But the Latins insist, first: The Fathers, when showing how the Son has all that the Father has, at least except unbegottenness, and thus tacitly deny that the production of the Holy Spirit is excepted by the Son. Gregory Nazianzen, in Oration XLIV On Holy Pentecost, says:

> *All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except unbegottenness.*

John Damascene, in Book I On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX, says:

> *The Son is like the Father in all things, except unbegottenness.*

And again, in the same place:

> *Except unbegottenness, the Son has all that the Father has.*

This he repeats in Book III On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter XIII, and in On the Two Wills in Christ, Chapter VII. But if the Fathers, concerning the proposition “The Son has all that the Father has,” except at least unbegottenness, they likewise teach throughout that the Holy Spirit has all that the Father has, except at least unbegottenness. Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XXXVII On the Holy Spirit, p. 61, says:

> *What divine name is there by which the Holy Spirit is not called, except the names of unbegotten and begotten?*

Caesarius, the brother of the same Gregory, in Dialogue I, says:

> *All unity, equality, and identity in the Trinity, except unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

Cyril, or whoever is the author of the book On the Trinity, Chapter VIII, says:

> *All that the Father has belongs to the Holy Spirit, except unbegottenness.*

And in Chapter IX:

> *We believe also in one Holy Spirit, having all that the Father and the Son have, except unbegottenness and generation.*

And again:

> *On account of the Father, both the Son and the Holy Spirit have whatever they have, that is, they have it on account of the Father, except unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

This is likewise repeated by John Damascene in Book I On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter X. Therefore, if, because the Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has except unbegottenness, it were to follow that the Son also produces the Holy Spirit, it would likewise follow that, because the Holy Spirit has all that the Father has except unbegottenness, the Holy Spirit either generates the Son or produces Himself, which are impossible and blasphemous.

Furthermore, if it were simply permissible to argue: “The Son has all that the Father has except unbegottenness, therefore the Son produces the Holy Spirit,” it would likewise follow that the Son has the power of generating. For being unbegotten and generating are not the same. Being unbegotten signifies not being from another; generating, however, is producing another by way of generation. It would further follow that one sits at the Son’s right hand, that the Son bears someone in His bosom, and that He has the other hypostatic properties of the Father. From these, it is spontaneously clear that when the Fathers except only unbegottenness, which does not pertain to the Son or the Holy Spirit, since all else is common to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, by distinguishing one personal property, the other personal properties are also comprehended, because notional properties are interconnected like a chain. Hence, Damascene, when he said in On the Two Wills in Christ, Chapter VII, that the Son has all that the Father has except unbegottenness, immediately in the following also excepts generation. For he says there:

> *All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except unbegottenness, as the Lord Himself, the true witness of this, says: ‘All that the Father has is mine.’ And to the Father Himself, He says: ‘All that is mine is yours.’ But the property of His hypostasis is to be the Son begotten from the Father, and not the unbegotten Father, nor the generator. For He was begotten from the Father impassibly.*

Also, in Book III On Images, he excepts not only unbegottenness, as he was accustomed to do in other places, but also paternity:

> *The Son is the image of the Father, differing in no way, like the Father in all things, except only unbegottenness and paternity.*

He does the same in On the Two Wills in Christ, Chapter XII. Therefore, it is not permissible to infer from one property of the Father being named as excepted that the other properties of the Father also pertain to the Son, since, for example, being unbegotten is not producing the Holy Spirit, yet under the one named property of unbegottenness, all other properties are also comprehended. For here, the property of unbegottenness is taken not intransitively but transitively, that is, for what is proper to the

person who is unbegotten, as even Cichovius, that Jesuit against whom we have so often disputed and will dispute, resolves a similar difficulty in a similar case, namely, why unbegottenness at least, and not active generation and production by the Spirit, is excepted. He says:

> *It is said here that the Holy Spirit has all that the Father and the Son have, except the property of unbegottenness and begottenness, taking it not intransitively but transitively, that is, for what is proper to the person who is unbegotten and for what is proper to the person who is begotten. The property of the unbegotten person is to generate the Son and to spirate the Holy Spirit with the Son. The property of the begotten person is to be begotten by the Father and to spirate the Holy Spirit with the Father.*

Therefore, just as the person of the Father includes all that is said of the Father by reason of person and not by reason of essence, so where at least one of these, unbegottenness, is excepted by the Son, it cannot be inferred that the other things said of the Father by reason of person at least also pertain to the Son.

The Latins insist, second: The Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has, except at least being the Father. But producing the Holy Spirit is not being the Father. Therefore, the Son produces the Holy Spirit. Athanasius, in his Letter on the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, Volume I, p. 923, says:

> *He has parity with the Father in uniform expressions, so that what is said of the Father, the Scriptures say of the Son, except only that He is not called the Father; hence the Son says: 'All that the Father has is mine.' And to His Father, He said: 'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.'*

And further, p. 924:

> *All that you find said of the Father, you will find said of the Son, except that He is not called the Father, as said above.*

Gregory of Nyssa, in Oration I Against Eunomius, Volume II of his works, p. 19, says:

We say that He who has all that is proper to the Father has the whole of it, except that He is the Father.

And in Oration II, p. 87:

The Son is all that the Father is, except that He is the Father.

John Chrysostom, in Homily XXXVIII On John, says:

Behold how they differ in no way at all, except that one is the Father, the other the Son.

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book I On John, Chapter IV, Volume IV of his works, p. 36, says:

When the Only-Begotten Word and Son of God wished to show Himself as true God existing from the true God the Father, He says: 'All that the Father has is mine.' But the Son is naturally the heir of all the proper things that are in the Father, existing from Him according to nature. But to be the Father, He will never have. For this is one of the things that are in the Father. Yet the Son remains, lacking none of the things that are in the Father, even if He is not understood as the Father, having in Himself perfectly all that is proper and peculiar to the essence of the Father. Therefore, conforming such a Word to the person of the Father, we say that He has all things, those that are said of the Son naturally, but He can never be the Son or the Word.

And in Book XI On John, Chapter II, p. 930:

With nothing separating or distancing the Son from the Father, since He is like and equal in all things, except that He is the Father, with the substance shining forth in both in an undivided manner, how would they not be common, or rather, the same in both, so that what belongs to the Father is in the Son, and what belongs to the generator is in the generated?

And again in the declaration of the ninth anathema:

The Son is all that the Father is, except only being the Father.

And in the Thesaurus, Assertion XII, Volume V, Part I, p. 110:

> *If anyone diligently examines the Scripture, he finds the Son called by the same names as the Father, except only that He is called the Father. And again concerning the Father: He is called by the same names as the Son, except only that He is called the Son.*

John Damascene, in Book III On Images, says:

> *The Son is the image of the Father, differing in no way, like the Father in all things, except only unbegottenness and paternity.*

Finally, Bede, in his Commentary on John, on Chapter V, Volume V, column 493, says:

> *All things are equal in the Father and the Son, except that the Father is the Father, and the Son is the Son; there is separation in persons, but unity in nature.*

But when it is said that the Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father, this can be understood in two senses. For being the Father either indicates only the relation to the Son, or by this term is signified that person who is the generator of the Son, with the term Father signifying the entire first subsistence. In the former sense, therefore, being the Father indicates nothing more than generating. If the Latins understand the exception in this sense, we will refute this in the following objection, where we will show that it does not follow from the Fathers teaching that the Son has all that the Father has, except generating, that the Son produces the Holy Spirit. But in the latter sense, if being the Father is taken, it can easily be shown that it does not follow from the Son having all that the Father has, except being the Father, that the Son produces the Holy Spirit. First, because the holy Fathers also teach concerning the Holy Spirit that He has all that the Father has, except only that He is not the Father. Various testimonies of theirs to this effect were adduced in the treatise in which we brought forth various arguments from theological principles for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Thus, Epiphanius, in On the Mystery of Numbers, number II, Volume II, p. 304, says:

The Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is consubstantial in all things, in agreement, power, action, divinity, magnitude, distinguished only in subsistence and names (namely, that one is the Father, another the Son, another the Holy Spirit), conjoined in power and effects.

Gregory of Nyssa, in On Faith to Simplicius, near the end, Volume II, p. 473, says:

Every honorable name is similarly said of the Holy Spirit as of the Father and the Son, except those by which the subsistences are sufficiently and distinctly separated from one another. For I say that neither the Father nor the Son is called the Holy Spirit; but the rest, whatever the Father and the Son are called, are adapted to the Holy Spirit by Scripture.

John Chrysostom has similar statements in Homily on Faith, p. 289, Volume VII of the Greek edition. The author of the books On the Unity of the Deity of the Trinity, published under Athanasius's name, in Book II, near the middle, Volume II of Athanasius's works, p. 556, says:

The Trinity is clearly divided only in the names of the persons; but in Deity, it is undivided.

Damascene, in Against the Nestorians, number 21, Volume IV of Canisius's Ancient Readings, p. 218, says:

If the nature of the holy Trinity is one, and its operation is one, and all things are common in it, except the hypostasis.

Finally, Gregory of Nyssa testified that the dogma of the Catholic Church holds:

There is no other difference in the Trinity except that which is according to hypostasis.

Thus, in Oration I Against Eunomius, Volume II, p. 64, he says:

Since ecclesiastical doctrine proclaims one power, goodness, essence, glory, and all the rest of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, except the difference that is according to hypostasis.

Therefore, just as the Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father, so they teach the same concerning the Holy Spirit. Therefore, just as it does not follow: “The Holy Spirit has all that the Father has, except being the Father; therefore, the Holy Spirit produces Himself,” for producing the Holy Spirit is not being the Father, so too, in the same way, it is not necessarily concluded: “The Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father; therefore, the Son produces the Holy Spirit,” for this is not being the Father.

Second, from the testimonies just adduced, it is further clear that the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has, except being the Son, as is evident to all. Therefore, just as it does not follow again: “The Holy Spirit has all that the Son has, except being the Son, therefore, according to the Latins, the Holy Spirit produced Himself,” for this is not being the Son, so too, in the same way, it is not necessarily concluded: “The Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father; therefore, the Son produces the Holy Spirit,” for this is not being the Father.

Third, since thus far the term Father signifies the entire divine subsistence with all its proper personal attributes, by no means could anything be subsumed under this proposition, “The Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father,” that was among those things said of the Father not by reason of essence but by reason of person, as is the case with the production of the Holy Spirit (for we are now doing nothing other than showing that, with the term Father taken for the entire subsistence, it in no way follows that the Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father; therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son). And from this, Gregory Nazianzen teaches that under the prerogative of cause, which the first divine subsistence has as Father and generator, the cause of the Holy Spirit is also comprehended. Thus, in Oration I, he says:

> *It is not fitting to be so affected by love for Christ as to deny Him the name of Son or to deny the Father the prerogative of cause, which He has as Father and generator. For it would be a cause of small and base things, indeed basely and unworthily, unless it were the cause of that divinity and goodness which is considered in the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

For he says that the prerogative of cause pertains to the Father, which He

has as Father and generator. Explaining what this cause is, he mentions the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he understood such a cause when he said that the prerogative of cause pertains to the Father, which He has as Father. In this sense, therefore, being the Father is by no means only generating, as the Latins' objection assumed.

Fourth, therefore, the Fathers, when they teach that the Son has all that the Father has, except being the Father, do not mean that the Son has certain things said of the Father by reason of person and not by reason of essence. But at least they oppose being the Father to the divine essence and to all that is said by reason of essence, and they subsume nothing under this proposition, "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except being the Father," except what is said by reason of the one divine essence. Thus, Athanasius, in the words cited earlier in the first place, immediately adds:

> *Such as that He is called God. For the Word was God, and that He is omnipotent, and that He is light, and the author of creation, that He is eternal, that angels serve the Father as Lord, but the Son Himself is also worshipped by them, that He is equal to God, and that He is truth from the true, and life from the living, with the Father meanwhile holding the role of the source, and that the Son vivifies and raises the dead, as does His Father. For so it is written in the Gospel. And of the Father, it is written: 'The Lord your God is one Lord,' and 'The God of gods has spoken and called the earth.' But of the Son: 'The Lord God has appeared to us,' and 'The Lord of gods will be seen in Zion.'*

And after some things, he adds what we cited in the second place from the same Athanasius. Cyril, likewise, in the words cited from Book I On John, said:

> *Having in Himself perfectly all that is proper to the essence of the Father. The Father has all that we say belongs to the Son naturally.*

And in the words cited from Book XI On John, he prefaces:

> *For He gave through what He said to understand that, since He is the fruit of His substance, He attracts all that is in this substance according to nature and says they are proper.*

And from this, in the same words cited above, he immediately adds:

> *For this reason, as I think, the Word spoke about these things very acutely and with the greatest compulsion. For He did not say that all that the Father has, I also have, lest He be understood as a mere image formed only by representation and external adornments to the archetype, as we ourselves are, for we were made in the image of God; but He says: 'is mine,' showing the ultimate union He has with the generator and the power of consubstantiality, with immutable properties in both, for He speaks more openly in other places to the Father: 'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.' For where there is no difference, but the greatest identity of substance, how would they not be of the same nature?*

And in the cited words from Assertion XII of the Thesaurus, he immediately adds:

> *This can be clearly proven by examples. The Father is omnipotent: it is said also of the Son: 'Thus says He who was, who is to come, the Almighty, Lord.' The Father is Lord, and one Lord Jesus Christ. The Father is light: the Son says: 'I am the light of the world.' The Father forgives sins: the Son does this too. For He says: 'That you may know that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins.' Therefore, all that is in the Father is in the Son. Truth says: 'All that the Father has is mine.' And again, speaking to His Father, He says: 'All that is mine is yours, and yours is mine.'*

Since, therefore, while this proposition, "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except being the Father," is to be understood at least of those things said of the Father by reason of the one and same divine essence, it is clear that it is absurd for the Latins to subsume under this proposition the production of the Holy Spirit, which is said of the Father not by reason of essence but by reason of person. And since, moreover, the Son does not have being unbegotten, sitting at His right hand, or bearing someone in His bosom, which nevertheless pertain to the Father, although the Son has all that the Father has, except only being the Father, it is clear from this once again that in these propositions, either the term Father signifies the entire first subsistence with all its subsistential properties, or, if the term Father indicates only the relation to the Son,

under the property of generation, the other properties of the Father are also comprehended. On which matter:

The Latins insist, third: The Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has, except only that He generates; but producing the Holy Spirit is not generating; therefore, the Son produces the Holy Spirit, for He proceeds from the Father. Thus, Jerome, in his Explanation of the Faith to Cyril, says:

> *Far be it that there be anything more or less in the Son of God, or in place, or in time, or in power, or in knowledge, or in equality, or in subjection, when these are attributed to His divinity, not His flesh. For if anything more or less, or such a thing, is found, except that the Father begot the Son, and except that the Son was not born of Himself but was born of the Father properly, not in time, but always, not from elsewhere, but from His substance, perhaps according to their word, the Father is thought to be either envious or impotent, and moreover, He is recognized as temporal.*

Cyril, in Dialogue II To Hermias, says:

> *We believe the Son to be co-eternal with the Father and having all things equally with the Father, except only generating.*

Again, John Damascene, in Book III On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter VII, says:

> *The Son has all that the Father has, so that He is consubstantial with Him, differing in the mode of generation and relation from the Father's hypostasis.*

But the solution to this is spontaneously clear from what we disputed against the first objection. For if the Fathers, concerning the proposition "The Son has all that the Father has," except at least generating, they likewise teach throughout that the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has, except passive generation. Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XLIV On Holy Pentecost, p. 978, says:

> *All that the Son has belongs to the Spirit, except generation.*

And in Oration XXIV On the Arrival of the Egyptians:

Whatever the Son has, the Holy Spirit also has, if you except filiation.

John Damascene, in Book I On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter X, says:

We believe also in one Holy Spirit, having all that the Father and the Son have, except unbegottenness and generation.

And in The History of Barlaam and Josaphat, Chapter XIX:

The property of the Father is to be unbegotten, of the Son is nativity, of the Holy Spirit is procession. Therefore, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one in all things, except the properties I mentioned earlier.

And before Damascene, Caesarius, the brother of Gregory the Theologian, in Dialogue I, says:

All unity, equality, and identity in the Trinity, except unbegottenness, generation, and procession.

Leontius the Monk, in On Sects, Action I, says:

One is the subsistence of the Father, another of the Son, a third of the Holy Spirit, and these three differ from one another only in their properties; and that this one is the Father, that one the Son, this one the Holy Spirit: for of these three, there is one substance, one power, one will. They differ only in this, that the Son is begotten from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him.

The author of the book On the Trinity, attributed to Cyril, in Chapter X, says:

We acknowledge one God, understanding a difference only in the properties of paternity, filiation, and procession, according to cause and caused, and the perfection of subsistence, that is, the mode of existence.

And again in the same place:

> *In all things, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, except unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

This is likewise repeated by John Damascene in Book I On the Orthodox Faith, Chapter XI. Therefore, if, because the Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has except generation, it were to follow that the Son also produces the Holy Spirit, it would likewise follow that, because the Holy Spirit has all that the Son has except generation, and according to the Latins, the Son produces the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit produced Himself, which is impossible. Furthermore, if it were simply permissible to argue: “The Son has all that the Father has except generating; therefore, the Son produces the Holy Spirit,” it would likewise follow that the Son is unbegotten, for being unbegotten and generating are not the same: being unbegotten signifies not being from another, while generating is producing another by way of generation. It would further follow that one sits at the Son’s right hand, that the Son bears someone in His bosom, and that He has the other hypostatic properties of the Father. Therefore, it is spontaneously clear from these that when the Fathers teach that the Son has all that the Father has, except generation, under the distinction of this one personal property, the other personal properties are also comprehended, since notional properties are interconnected like a chain. For Gregory the Theologian, in Oration I, in the words just cited, after teaching that the prerogative of cause, which the Father has as Father and generator, pertains to the Father and not to the Son, showing what this prerogative of cause is, which the Father has as Father and generator, expressly names the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, to which testimony nothing is clearer. Therefore, it is not permissible to infer from one property of the Father being named as excepted that the other properties of the Father also pertain to the Son, since, for example, generating is not producing the Holy Spirit, yet under the one named property of generation, all other properties are also comprehended. For here, the property of generation is taken not intransitively but transitively, that is, for what is proper to the person who generates, by which distinction we saw above that a certain Jesuit used to resolve this question: why the Fathers except at least generation from what the Son has from the Spirit. Therefore, just as the person of the

Father includes all that is said of the Father by reason of person and not by reason of essence, so where at least one of these, active generation, is excepted by the Son, it cannot be inferred that the other things said of the Father by reason of person at least also pertain to the Son.

Finally, Bellarmine insists, fourth, in Book II On Christ, Chapter XXII:

> *If the Father and the Son did not have all things in common, except the opposed relation, they would be distinguished by more than relation, and thus they would be distinguished in substance. For the Father as spirator is not relative to the Son. Therefore, if the Father as spirator is distinguished from the Son, He is distinguished by spiration, not as a relation, but as a certain form subsisting in the Father; therefore, the Father and the Son differ in substance, which is the Arian heresy.*

But the Jesuit reasons poorly and should have purged his head with hellebore before ever daring to bring forth such things. For if this reasoning were valid, it would likewise follow: “All that the Father has belongs also to the Spirit, as shown above. If, therefore, the Father and the Holy Spirit did not have all things in common, except the opposed relation, they would be distinguished by more than relation, and thus they would be distinguished in substance; for the Father as Father is not relative to the Holy Spirit but is as spirator. Therefore, if the Father as Father is distinguished from the Holy Spirit, He is distinguished by paternity, not as a relation, but as a certain form subsisting in the Father. Therefore, the Father and the Holy Spirit differ in substance, which is the Arian heresy.” Therefore, the Father does not differ from the Holy Spirit by paternity, and thus the Holy Spirit also generates the Son, which is blasphemous and impossible. Furthermore, if the Jesuit’s reasoning were valid, it would follow that the Holy Spirit is unbegotten like the Father. For since, according to Bellarmine’s reasoning, the Holy Spirit must have all that the Father has where an opposed relation does not prevent it, and in the Holy Spirit there is nothing that relatively opposes the notion of unbegottenness, the Holy Spirit must also have the hypostatic property of the Father, unbegottenness, which is again absurd. For according to the common doctrine of the Fathers, as said, unbegottenness is a hypostatic property of the Father; therefore, it cannot be communicated to the Holy Spirit. And although it is true negatively that the Holy Spirit is not begotten, He cannot be called unbegotten in the sense that the Father is;

for moreover, in this sense, unbegottenness also signifies not being from another. Again, since according to the Latins, the Son is the producer of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit will have from the Son all that the Son has, except the opposed relation. Therefore, the Holy Spirit will also have the Son's filiation from the Son. For filiation and passive spiration are only relatively opposed. And thus, the Holy Spirit is simultaneously with the Son the unique Son, which is most absurd. Bellarmine is clearly wrong when he assumes: "If the Father and the Son did not have all things in common, except the opposed relation, they would be distinguished in substance." For the Father and the Holy Spirit do not have generation in common, although the Holy Spirit has nothing that relatively opposes it; yet they are not distinguished in substance on account of this. But, he says, they would be distinguished by more than an opposed relation; therefore, they would be distinguished in substance. This is again false, as is clear from the given instance. But even so, he continues, the Son would be distinguished from the Father not relatively, but as that is a certain form subsisting in the Father. Therefore, the Father and the Son would differ in substance. But it is false that what distinguishes the person of the Son from the Father not relatively would therefore be a certain form subsisting in the Father. For it could be from the proper personal attributes, which are certainly all incommunicable. For the person of the Father is distinguished from the Holy Spirit by the generation of the Son not relatively; yet generation in the Father is not a certain subsisting form, but a hypostatic property of the Father. Thus, rightly, concerning this and other collections of the Latins from the words of Christ, "All that the Father has is mine," Marcus Antonius de Dominis, himself a Latin, in Book VIII On the Republic, Chapter X, number CXXVIII, says:

> *Sacred Scripture must not be profaned for such collections and deductions; but it must be understood with simplicity and handled with great sobriety.*

Finally, we note that the most absurd among the Latins are those who, when you object that, according to their arguments, both from others and from these words of the Savior, "All that the Father has is mine," it follows that the Holy Spirit produced Himself or generated the Son, respond that such things cannot be refuted and inferred from this: for it

is agreed by all that these are impossible, that these contradict the property of the Holy Spirit. For if, by the confession of all, it is impossible for the Holy Spirit to produce Himself or to generate the Son, but if the Latins' arguments were valid, these would equally follow from them.

It is clear, therefore, that if these are impossible, while they follow according to their arguments, they have argued ludicrously. For if their syllogisms were valid, it would also be true that the Holy Spirit produces Himself or generates the Son. Since, therefore, these are impossible, and the false is only concluded from the false, it is clearly evident that the Latins have thus far argued falsely and, therefore, have concluded nothing. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear thus far: The Son having all that the Father has is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

TRACTATE XI

In which it is demonstrated that the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son

The Latins misuse the fact that the Holy Spirit is called the “Spirit of the Son” in Sacred Scripture to support the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For when the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, they say, either by the force of the term it is signified that the Holy Spirit is the breath of the Son or is breathed from the Son. It is then said that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father; but the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father for no other reason than that it proceeds from the Father as from a cause. Therefore, for the same reason, the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son; and thus, the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son. For if the Holy Spirit were called the Spirit of the Father and the Son in different senses, it would surely be said equivocally to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son, and thus the Holy Spirit would not be one Spirit, which is impossible and blasphemous.

Response I

The Arians raised the same objection against the Catholics, intending to lead them to an impossibility. As reported by Athanasius in his book *To Serapion* against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature (Works, Vol. I, p. 189), they argued: If the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, then God the Father is the grandfather of the Holy Spirit. However, the Catholic Church has always held a very different view: the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, yet it does not proceed from the Son. Indeed, Catholic Doctors and Fathers, though they confess that the Holy Spirit is equally the Spirit of the Son, deny that it is produced from the Son.

Theodoret, in refuting the ninth anathema of Cyril, says:

> *We confess the Holy Spirit to be the proper Spirit of the Son, if indeed it is said to be of the same nature as Him and proceeding from the Father, and we embrace this as a pious expression. But if it is said to exist from the Son or through the Son, we detest it as impious and blasphemous.*

Likewise, Cyril, in his response to Theodoret's refutation of his ninth anathema, when Theodoret proposed a twofold interpretation—accepting the former and condemning the latter—shows that he follows only the former sense, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son but from the Father. He says:

> *It was and is His Spirit, just as it is certainly the Father's. And this is well explained to us by the divine Paul. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, according to the voice of the Savior, but it is not alien to the Son, for He has all things in common with the Father.*

And in Book VII of *On the Trinity*, he teaches that the name "Spirit" signifies that it proceeds from the Father, yet is proper to the Son:

> *What is begotten signifies the name of the Father, and what is generated signifies the name of the Son, and that it is a Spirit from God the Father, yet proper to the Son Himself, like our human spirit, though understood to subsist hypostatically and truly, the term 'Spirit' declares.*

Similar statements are found in Simeon the Theologian, in Oration III on faith and Christian and monastic morals, as cited elsewhere:

> *When the Son is named God, it is understood that the Son is of God. When, finally, the Holy Spirit is named God, it is understood as proceeding from the Father and the proper Spirit of the Son.*

Likewise, the Eastern bishops, in a letter to John of Antioch:

> *The recently sent letters are adorned with evangelical nobility, for they proclaim our Lord Jesus Christ as perfect God and perfect man; and the Holy Spirit, not having existence from or through the Son, but proceeding from the Father, is called the proper Spirit of the Son.*

Having observed this orthodoxy in the letters, they praised the physician of stammering tongues and the transformer of discordant sounds into sweet harmony.

Response II

Furthermore, Sacred Scripture testifies that God is Spirit. Therefore, God the Father is Spirit, and the Son is also Spirit. Sacred Scripture further testifies that God is holy. Therefore, God the Father is holy, and the Son is holy. Thus, the name “Holy Spirit” is common to the Father and common to the Son. For since both the Father and the Son are spirit and holy, this common name of the Trinity is claimed as proper by the third person of the divinity. In this sense, I rightly deny that the Father or the Son is the Holy Spirit. Since we are ignorant of the mode of production of the third divine subsistence (for the supreme divinity has not revealed it, and even if it had, we would not have comprehended it), it is said to proceed or be produced at least from the Father, and thus the third subsistence is called the Holy Spirit by this common name. Meanwhile, the Son has received His proper name from the revealed mode of His production from the Father, namely, His eternal and ineffable generation. Hence, Athanasius, in Dialogue I *On the Trinity* (Works, Vol. II, p. 171):

> *Is not the Father the Holy Spirit? The Father is also a holy spirit, but He is not the Spirit of God.*

Ambrose, in *On the Symbol* (Chapter I, Works, Vol. IV, col. 88):

> *For although the Father is Spirit, and the Son is Spirit, and the Father is holy, and the Son is holy, only the third person is properly called the Holy Spirit. For since it is coeternal and common to both, it is called what both are.*

Augustine, in Book V of *On the Trinity* (Chapter XI):

> *The Holy Spirit, according to what is written, ‘for God is Spirit,’ can be said universally, because the Father is Spirit, the Son is Spirit, the Father is holy, and the Son is holy. Thus, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, since they are one God, and certainly God is holy and God is Spirit, the Trinity can be called the Holy Spirit. And further: the*

> *Holy Spirit is a certain ineffable communion of the Father and the Son; and perhaps it is so called because the same name can apply to the Father and the Son: for He is properly called what they are commonly, because the Father is Spirit, the Son is Spirit, the Father is holy, and the Son is holy.*

Similar statements are found in Book XV of *On the Trinity* (Chapter XIX) and in Epistle CLXXIV near the end. Cyril of Alexandria, in Dialogue VII *On the Trinity* (Works, Vol. V, Part I, p. 637):

> *Because of the identity of substance, the name 'Spirit' applies to God and the Father, though He is the third in the order of names only; it also applies to the Son, for Christ said when instructing the Samaritan woman: 'God is Spirit.' Likewise, Paul writes: 'The Lord is Spirit.'*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I *On the Dogmas of Faith* (Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Vol. VI, p. 696):

> *God is called Spirit, and God is called holy; both names apply to Him who is properly called the Holy Spirit. The Father, who is God and called Father, is called Spirit, namely holy and Spirit, though He is not called the whole 'Holy Spirit.'*

Finally, Isidore of Seville, in Book VII *Origins* (Chapter III):

> *Though the Father is Spirit, the Son is Spirit, the Father is holy, and the Son is holy, only He is properly called the Holy Spirit, as the essential and consubstantial holiness of both.*

Thus, it is common to both the Father and the Son to be Spirit and holy; yet this common name, as proper, is claimed by the Holy Spirit. It is therefore clearly distinct that when the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son, by no means does the term "spirit," as the Latins objected, signify the breath of the Father and the Son. For when it is said of the Father that He is Spirit, it is clear to all that the term "spirit" does not signify being breathed or produced. But this common name "spirit" applies to the entire Trinity, and it is said of the Holy Spirit just as it is of the Father.

You might say, with Albert the Great, in *Compendium of Theological Truth* (Book I, Chapter IX), that "spirit" is taken either actively, as it breathes,

according to John: “The Spirit breathes where it wills”; or passively, as it is breathed or proceeds by way of spiration. In the former sense, the term “spirit” is common to the Father and the Son, but in the latter sense, it is proper to the Holy Spirit alone. However, Albert’s comment—that “spirit” is said either actively or passively—is unknown to the cited Fathers, who affirmed that the term “spirit,” which is common to the Father and the Son, is also proper to the Holy Spirit in one sense. Thus, Albert could not establish or prove the latter sense of “spirit” by any reason, but he grossly assumes what he sets out to prove. Furthermore, how would it be known that the Holy Spirit proceeds by way of spiration, when the entire chorus of the Fathers teaches and confesses that the mode of production of the Holy Spirit is unknown? It is said in John 3:8, “The Spirit breathes where it wills,” but this must be understood as referring to the temporal breathing by which the Holy Spirit distributes His gifts to the faithful. Does this mean that the name “spirit” was eternally common to the Father and the Son? If, however, the Holy Spirit has the common name of the Trinity from eternity by breathing, what did the Holy Spirit ever breathe eternally to have the name “spirit” actively?

Response III

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father because it is His proper Spirit, consubstantial with Him and proceeding from Him; but it does not necessarily follow that if the Holy Spirit does not also proceed from the Son, it would be said equivocally to be the Spirit of the Son and the Father, and thus no longer be one Spirit. The Son is in the Father and in the Holy Spirit; He is proper to the Father and the Holy Spirit, consubstantial with both. But does it follow that, because the Son is in the Father, consubstantial with Him and proper to Him because He is begotten by Him, the Son is also begotten by the Holy Spirit, or is it said equivocally to be in the Father and the Holy Spirit, consubstantial with and proper to both? The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father as the principle without principle; does it follow that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son as a principle without principle, or, since this is impossible, is it said equivocally to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son? It is spontaneously clear that the sense of the proposition “the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of another” must be distinguished from the immediate cause

for which the sense of the proposition holds. For the Holy Spirit is said to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son in the same sense, namely, that it is consubstantial with both and the proper Spirit of both. Similarly, many other things that are referred to one another are referred only because of their closest conjunction, as the soul is said to be of the body. But when the Holy Spirit is said to be of the Father because it proceeds from the Father, the immediate cause for which the sense of that proposition holds is signified. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not immediately said equivocally to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son, even though it does not also proceed from the Son. For from the fact that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, and the Son was begotten from the same, it equally follows that the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son and consubstantial with Him, or that the Holy Spirit is His Spirit. For in the same sense and reason, the Son is in the Father and in the Holy Spirit, yet He is not begotten from the Holy Spirit as He is from the Father; but just as from His generation from the Father alone the Son has it that He is in the Father, so too from that same generation alone He has it that He is in the Holy Spirit. For this concerns the immediate cause. Thus, there is one cause why the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son, namely, its procession from the Father; yet it is not said equivocally to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son, even if it does not also proceed from the Son, as the cited examples show. It suffices that it is said in one and the same sense to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son, being proper and consubstantial to both because it proceeds from the Father.

Response IV

Nor have the Fathers recognized the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the Son and the Father in any other way than because of the unity of substance, namely, that the Spirit is proper to them and consubstantial, since it proceeds from the Father. Gregory Nazianzen, in Oration XXXVII *On the Holy Spirit* (p. 610):

> *I myself shudder at the abundance of names against which those who oppose the Spirit rub their foreheads. It is called the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the mind of Christ, the Spirit of the Lord, and the Lord Himself, the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of truth, the finger of God, fire as God, to show, I believe, that it is of the same essence.*

Ambrose, in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Ephesians* (Chapter III, Works, Vol. III, col. 501):

> *The Spirit of Christ, which is also of God the Father, is given to us. For where there is unity of one nature, they are of one another. Hence the Lord says: 'All that is the Father's is mine, and all that is mine is the Father's.'*

And in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans* (Chapter VIII, on the words: "If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His," Works, Vol. III, col. 288):

> *He now calls the Spirit of God the Spirit of Christ, because all that is the Father's is the Son's.*

Jerome, in Book II *Against the Pelagians* (Works, Vol. II, col. 442):

> *Note that the Spirit of Jesus is the Holy Spirit, which in another place, because of the unity of the substance, is called the Spirit of the Father.*

And in Book II on the *Epistle to the Galatians* (Chapter IV, Works, Vol. VI, col. 311):

> *Indifferently, the same Spirit, because of the fellowship of nature, is now said to be of the Father, now of the Son.*

The author of the *Questions of the Old and New Testament* (Question CXXV, Works of Augustine, Vol. IV):

> *The Holy Spirit knows the mysteries of God only through substance; for one substance has one sense and will. For what the Father wills, the Son wills, and what the Son wills, the Holy Spirit also wills. Therefore (because of the same substance and will), it is sometimes called the Spirit of God, sometimes the Spirit of Christ: 'Who proceeds from God,' He says, 'and will take from what is mine.'*

John Chrysostom, in his *Homily on Pentecost* (Works, Greek edition, Vol. VII, p. 584):

> *Sometimes it is called the Holy Spirit, sometimes the Spirit of the Son, sometimes the Spirit of the Father, not because it is predicated in confusion, but because it denotes the inseparability of the divine essence.*

And in his *Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit*, near the beginning (Works, Greek-Latin edition, Vol. VI, p. 205):

> *So that we never think, when we hear ‘Spirit of God,’ that it is said as a proper attribute of God, Scripture introduces the Holy Spirit and adds, ‘who is from God.’ For it is one thing to say ‘of God’ and another to say ‘from God.’ For heaven and earth are ‘of God,’ as they were made by Him; but nothing is said to be ‘from God’ unless it is from His substance. Thus, the Holy Spirit is said to be. Therefore, when we hear ‘Spirit of God,’ let no one think it signifies something proper and not common to the nature. Paul says: ‘We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God.’*

And shortly after (p. 207):

> *The Spirit is the Spirit of the Son. In another place, Paul again calls it the Spirit of Christ: ‘You, however, are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of Christ dwells in you.’ I beseech you to observe this holy connection. Paul introduces, as it were, a holy and living chain from the threefold power, joining the inseparable nature and indicating one power in different names.*

Theodulus, Presbyter of Coelesyria, in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans* (Chapter VIII, Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Vol. V, Part III, p. 579):

> *The Spirit of God is also the Spirit of Christ, for the Spirit is common to both the Father and the Son.*

Sedulius, in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans* (Chapter VIII, fol. 25, Basel edition, 1528):

> *He now calls the Spirit of God the Spirit of Christ, because all that is the Father’s is the Son’s.*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I *On the Dogmas of Faith* (Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Vol. VI, p. 696):

> *The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ, and the Spirit of Jesus, through all the hypostases, the divine word demonstrates the natural kinship of the divinity.*

And again (p. 697):

> *It was always present to the apostles by participation, but to the Savior Christ and our God, as consubstantial and the same God. For this reason, it is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ.*

Leontius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, speaking on behalf of the entire First Ecumenical Council to the Philosopher, as recorded by Gelasius of Cyzicus, in Book II of the *Acts of the First Nicene Council* (Chapter XX, Councils, Vol. II, col. 208):

> *The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is proper to the Son, as the holy Apostle Paul says: 'Whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ is not His.'*

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book II *On the Holy Spirit* (Works of Jerome, Vol. VI):

> *The Holy Spirit is uniquely joined to the Son, whence (because of that unique and closest conjunction that exists between the Holy Spirit and the Son) it is called the Spirit of the Son, making those who receive it sons by adoption.*

Basil, in Book *On the Holy Spirit* (Chapter XVIII, Works, Vol. II, p. 189):

> *It is called the Spirit of Christ as being proper to Him by nature. Hence it says: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.'*

And in his oration against the Sabellians, near the end (Works, Vol. I, p. 608):

> *I know the property of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father: because it proceeds from the Father. But its property in relation to the Son: because I hear: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.'*

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book VII *On the Trinity*, with words cited above:

> *What is begotten signifies the name of the Father, and what is generated signifies the name of the Son, and that it is a Spirit from God the Father, yet proper to the Son Himself, like our human spirit, though understood to subsist hypostatically and truly, the term 'Spirit' declares.*

Simeon the Theologian, in Oration III on faith, with words also cited above:

> *When the Son is named God, it is understood that the Son is of God; when, finally, the Holy Spirit is named God, it is understood as proceeding from the Father and the proper Spirit of the Son, in an inexplicable union and distinction.*

Cyril of Alexandria, because of that closest conjunction of the Holy Spirit with the Son, frequently teaches that the Apostle Paul called the Son the Holy Spirit. Thus, in Book IV *On John* (Chapter III, Works, Vol. IV, p. 377):

> *That the Son is often called by the name of the Holy Spirit in the divine Scriptures, we will recognize from what follows. For the blessed John writes of Him: 'This is He who came by water and the Spirit, not in water only, but in water and the Spirit. The Spirit is He who testifies, because the Spirit is truth.' Behold, He calls Him the Spirit of truth, while Christ openly declares: 'I am the truth.' Again, Paul, writing to us, says: 'Those who are in the flesh cannot please God, but you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit of God, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you; if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.' But if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. Behold, therefore, again, when he said the Spirit of God dwells in us, he said that Christ Himself is in us. For the Spirit is not separated from the Son because of the identity of nature, although it is believed to subsist substantially and truly. For this reason, He often names it indifferently, sometimes as the Spirit, sometimes as Himself.*

And in the preceding (p. 376):

> *He calls Himself the Spirit, because God is Spirit; and as Paul says: 'The Lord is Spirit.' Nor do we say this because we think the Holy Spirit does not subsist in His own subsistence; but just as, having become man, He calls Himself the Son of Man, so too He names Himself the Spirit by His proper Spirit, for His Spirit is not alien to Him.*

And in Book II *On John* (Chapter I, p. 126):

> *Those who think rightly and blamelessly, and follow the God-inspired Scripture, free from all error, say that it is not something other than*

> *Him by reason of natural identity, but distinct and separate. For this, as I believe, the holy Paul, knowing this, often joins them and brings one to the other as if they were the same, I mean the Holy Spirit and the Son. For you will find him saying: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.'*

And in the *Thesaurus*, Assertion XXXIII (Works, Vol. V, Part I, p. 334):

> *He calls Christ the Spirit again, saying: 'But if Christ is in you,' declaring that it is not alien to the nature of the Word, but so united to it, though it has its own hypostasis, that it exists in the Son, and the Son in it because of the identity of essence.*

They therefore say that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son because it is sent by the Son and manifested to us. Basil the Great, in Book V *Against Eunomius*:

> *For this reason, the Apostle openly preached that the Spirit is from God, saying: 'We have received the Spirit from God'; and he made it clear that it was poured forth through the Son, calling it the Spirit of the Son.*

Damascene, in his oration on the Sabbath:

> *We worship the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him, yet also of the Son, because it was manifested through Him and imparted to created things, though it does not have its subsistence or existence from Him.*

You might say: If the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son only because of the unity of essence, then for the same reason, the Son would be called the Spirit of the Father, and the Father the Spirit of the Son. Likewise, the Son and the Father would be the Spirit of the Holy Spirit. However, just as, though the Father is Spirit and holy, only the Holy Spirit claims the name of the Holy Spirit, so too only the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son, even though the Father (and the same applies to the Son) is no less Spirit and proper to the Son, and thus His proper Spirit; yet, as said, the Father is not called by this name, just as He is not called by the name of the Holy Spirit, since these are claimed as proper only by the Holy Spirit. Nor could the Son or the Father be

called the Son or Father of the Holy Spirit, as the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father or the Son, because then the Holy Spirit would be said to have either begotten the Son or been begotten by the Father. For the term “Father” necessarily signifies begetting, and the term “Son” signifies being begotten; but the term “Spirit” does not signify being produced, as shown before. Nor was it necessary that, just as the Holy Spirit is referred to the Father and the Son, being the Spirit of the Father and the Son, so too the Father and the Son be referred to the Holy Spirit. For in many other relative terms, it happens that there are no words by which they mutually correspond, though they are referred to one another. Nor should it trouble us, says Augustine, in Book V *On the Trinity* (Chapter XII):

> *When we say the Holy Spirit is spoken of relatively, not the Trinity itself but He who is in the Trinity, because there does not seem to be a term that corresponds to Him to whom He is referred. For just as we say the servant of the Lord and the Lord of the servant, the Son of the Father and the Father of the Son, since these are said relatively, so too here we cannot say. For we say the Holy Spirit of the Father, but we do not conversely say the Father of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Son. Likewise, we say the Holy Spirit of the Son, but we do not say the Son of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Father.*

And in Sermon XXXVIII *On the Times*:

> *Just as the Father and the Son are said relatively, so too the Holy Spirit is said relatively to the Father and the Son in a certain way, as He is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. But this relation of the Holy Spirit cannot be reciprocated in the same way as the Father and the Son. For the Father is called the Father of the Son, and the Son is called the Son of the Father; but the Holy Spirit is uniformly said in relation to the Father and the Son, because He is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. For we say the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father, but we do not conversely say the Father of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Son. Likewise, we say the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say the Son of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Father.*

And Gregory of Nyssa, in Homily III *On the Lord’s Prayer*, with words

cited elsewhere:

> *The Holy Spirit, though He is from God, is also the Spirit of Christ. But the Son, though He is from God, is neither the Spirit of the Holy Spirit nor is He called so, nor is this relative consequence reciprocated, so that, just as we call it the Spirit of Christ, we might also name Christ the Spirit of the Holy Spirit.*

The Jesuit Petavius insists: “The Son is proper to the Father because He is born from the Father. The Holy Spirit is proper to the Father because it proceeds from the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is equally proper to the Son because it proceeds from Him.” But we have already refuted this above: it is the same as if you argued: “The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father because it proceeds from Him. Therefore, it is the Spirit of the Son because it proceeds from the Son.” This is clearly false, that what is proper to another is necessarily produced by it; the cited induction is imperfect, for the Son is proper to the Holy Spirit, yet He is not begotten by the Holy Spirit. In one sense and reason, the Son and the Father, as well as the Holy Spirit, are said to be proper to one another; but the immediate cause for which the Son is proper to the Father, or the Holy Spirit to the Son, and again the Son to the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit to the Father, must be distinguished from the sense of the proposition. For from His generation from the Father alone, the Son has it that the Holy Spirit is proper to Him, and from that same cause alone, He has it that He is proper to the Father. Hence, the Son is proper to both the Holy Spirit and the Father in one sense and reason; yet He is not begotten from the Holy Spirit as He is from the Father because of His generation. This concerns the immediate cause for which the sense of these propositions holds, which they draw from the force of the terms themselves; but the entire reason for the principle in the divinity is one and is derived from the Father alone. But more on this earlier. Indeed, when Cyril of Alexandria, in Book XI *On John* (Chapter II, Works, Vol. IV, p. 934), asks: “Why is the Holy Spirit proper to the Son?” he does not respond, as the Latins do, “because it proceeds from the Son,” but “because the Son is coessential with the Father.” He says:

> *Here the Spirit is proper to the Son, for the Son is coessential with the Father.*

Likewise, Theodoret said the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son because it is coessential with Him and proceeds from the Father, not because it proceeds from the Son. Cyril approves this sense of Theodoret in his response, as noted above in the first response. Similarly, Cyril, in Dialogue VI *On the Trinity*, shortly after the beginning (Works, Vol. V, Part I, p. 592):

> *Whose Spirit do we say the Holy Spirit is, that of God and the Father alone, or also of the Son; or separately of another and of both as one from the Father through the Son, because of the identity of substance? So I say.*

Someone, like Cichovius, objects to this, saying that Cyril teaches that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of truth, as it is of the Father, from whom it proceeds. Therefore, just as it is the Father's as produced from the Father, it is also the Spirit of the Son as produced from Him, so that it is truly said to be the Son's in the same way as it is the Father's. The words of Cyril himself from Book X *On John* are these:

> *When He called it the Spirit of truth, that is, His own Paraclete, He said it proceeds from the Father. For as the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son naturally, existing in Him and proceeding through Him, so too it is of the Father.*

But in these words, Cyril says that the Holy Spirit is equally proper to the Son as to the Father; but that from which it proceeds, he by no means understands also of the Son, as if the Holy Spirit were proper to the Son in this way too; but only because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, he infers that it is proper to the Father:

> *When He called it His Spirit, he says, He said it proceeds from the Father. For as it is the proper Spirit of the Son, so too of the Father: for this is demonstrated from the fact that it is said to proceed from the Father.*

This, therefore, is Cyril's sense, not what the Jesuit tried to draw from his words.

It is not necessary to dwell on the objection of the Latins: "The Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the mouth and lips of Christ; therefore, it proceeds

from the Son." This is the same as objecting: "The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son; therefore, it proceeds from Him." For lips or mouths do not exist in God, but these are said of Him in a human manner, so that when we hear the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of the lips and mouth of Christ, the one and same nature of the Holy Spirit with Christ is expressed, just as the spirit that humans breathe is not alien to human nature.

They further object: "The Son is the arm of God, the Holy Spirit His finger, as Sacred Scripture teaches. But the arm proceeds from the body, the finger from the arm. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son." But again, the Son is called the arm of the Father, or the Holy Spirit the finger of God, for no other reason than to show the one consubstantiality of the same nature and the same power. Athanasius, in the Nicene disputation against Arius (Works, Vol. I, p. 145):

> *Consider in your mind the inquiry about the Son in Exodus, and you will find the eternal power of the Holy Spirit consubstantial with the Father, because it is called His finger. Certainly, the magicians in Egypt, beholding the unconquerable power of the Spirit, exclaimed, saying: 'This is the finger of God.' By these words, they confessed nothing other than the consubstantial power of the Holy Spirit with God the Father, through this term 'finger of God,' against which it is impossible to lift one's eyes.*

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book I *On the Holy Spirit*, near the end (Works of Jerome, Vol. VI):

> *Through another example from Scripture, the unity of the Trinity's nature and power is shown. The Son is called the hand, the right hand, and the arm of the Father. As we have often taught, through these terms, the indifference of one nature is demonstrated. For the Holy Spirit is the finger of God, according to the conjunction of the nature of the Father and the Son. If, therefore, the finger is joined to the hand, and the hand to Him whose hand it is, the finger undoubtedly refers to the substance of Him whose finger it is. But beware, lest, cast down to lowly things and forgetting the discourse we are now discussing, you depict in your mind the diversities of bodily members and begin to imagine magnitudes, inequalities, and other greater or lesser members of bodies, saying that the finger differs from the hand, and the hand from Him whose hand it is, by many inequalities; because Scripture*

now speaks of incorporeal things, wishing to show only the unity, not the measure, of substance. For just as the hand is not divided from the body, through which it accomplishes and operates all things, and is in Him whose hand it is, so too the finger is not separated from the hand whose finger it is. Therefore, reject inequalities and measures when thinking of God, and understand the unity of the finger, the hand, and the whole substance; from which finger the law was written on stone tablets.

Gregory Nazianzen, in Oration XXXVII *On the Holy Spirit*, with words cited above in Response IV:

I myself shudder at the abundance of names against which those who oppose the Spirit rub their foreheads. It is called the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the mind of Christ, the Spirit of the Lord, and the Lord Himself, the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of truth, the finger of God, fire as God, to show, I believe, that it is of the same essence.

Cyril of Alexandria, in his commentary on Luke, in the *Catena of the Greek Fathers on Luke*, edited by the Jesuit Corderius in Antwerp, on Chapter XI, verse 20 (p. 324):

Here He calls the finger of God the Holy Spirit, for He Himself is called the arm of God and the Father, because all things are worked through Him, just as the Son similarly works in the Spirit. Therefore, just as the finger adheres to the hand, not as something different from it but as naturally inherent in it, so too the Holy Spirit, though it proceeds from God the Father, is consubstantially connected to the Son, and through Him the Son works all things.

And in the *Thesaurus*, Assertion XXXIV (Works, Vol. V, Part I, p. 339):

Here He calls the finger of God the Holy Spirit, which in some way arises from the divine essence and naturally depends on it, just as the finger depends on the human hand. For the arm and right hand of God, Sacred Scripture calls the Son, according to: 'His right hand and His holy arm have saved Him.' And again: 'Lord, Your arm is exalted, and they did not know it.' For just as the arm is naturally fitted to the whole body and works all things that please the mind, and is accustomed to anoint using the finger, so too the Word of God is

> *naturally fitted, so to speak, from Him and in Him, and we consider the Spirit proceeding naturally and essentially from the Father in the Son, through whom, anointing all things, He sanctifies. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not alien or extraneous to the divine nature but is from it and in it naturally, just as the finger is in the hand and of the same nature with it, and conversely, the hand is in the body, not of a different substance from the body itself. Since this is so, the Holy Spirit is certainly God, and we must not think otherwise.*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I *On the Dogmas of Faith* (Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Vol. VI, p. 696):

> *If all things are done through the Son, that is, through the Word, which was in the beginning, that is, in the Father, and with God the Spirit, and His hand made all things, and His fingers the heavens, I think it makes no difference to call the Son or the Spirit, or to say hand and fingers, and whatever else declares consubstantiality, cooperative power, and energy through the conjunction of members, which are named symbolically. For God is incorporeal, and it is impious to think He uses members as we do. But if these declare consubstantiality, so the hand and fingers are of the same nature with each other and with the body: it is thus demonstrated everywhere that the divine nature is one and indivisible, not divided into different natures. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is called the finger of God, the Son His arm, because of the unity of nature and power.*

But what necessity is there, from the unity of nature and power that exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit, to conclude that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? The arm is indeed joined to the body, the hand to the arm, the finger to the hand; but has the finger been produced by the arm? How, then, would this analogy demonstrate the production of the Holy Spirit from the Son? To say that the hand proceeds from the arm is only to signify that the hand is joined to the arm. But Basil the Great holds that the Holy Spirit is called the finger of God because of one miraculous power. Thus, in Book V *Against Eunomius* (Works, Vol. II, p. 112):

> *The finger of God, both in what was done by Moses and in what was signified by the Lord, is called the Spirit: not because it is some small power coexisting with God, as a finger is to the body, but because*

> *one of the gifts of the Spirit, which are according to division, is the grace of miracles and healings, which is one thing and not all the gifts of the Spirit, is called the finger. For through the Spirit is given the spirit of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another the grace of healings in the same Spirit, to another prophecy, to another discernment of spirits, to another the grace of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these are worked by one and the same Spirit, dividing to each as He wills. Someone might say that all these, and whatever other gifts of the Spirit there are, are as it were the body of the Spirit, each gift being a finger.*

Hence, Augustine, in Book II of *Questions on the Gospels* (Question XVII, Works, Vol. IV):

> *The Holy Spirit is also called the finger of God because of the division of gifts that are given in Him to each, whether of men or angels. For in no part of our body does division appear more than in the fingers.*

This is repeated by Bede, in Book IV *Commentary on Luke* (Chapter XLVIII, Works, Vol. V, col. 339) and in his *Homily for the Third Sunday in Lent* (Works, Vol. VII, col. 249). Nor does this interpretation support the objection of the Latins, as is clear to all.

As for what they commonly object, that the Spirit is said to proceed from the mouth of the Father, and the Son is the mouth of the Father, we will refute this in the treatise where we address the objections drawn from the writings of the Eastern Fathers.

Someone, like Cichovius (p. 925), further objects with these words of Cyril from Book XI *On John*:

> *See how vigilant the expression is. For when He said the Paraclete would come to them, He called Him the Spirit of truth, that is, His own; for He Himself is the truth. For the Holy Spirit is not understood to be alien to the substance of the Only-Begotten, and it goes forth naturally from it.*

But Cyril does not say there that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the substance of the Son, but at least that it goes forth from it. The words are: *próeisi dè physikôs ex autês* (“it goes forth naturally from it”). But

Cyril's sense is that the Son gives us the Holy Spirit not as something extraneous or in the manner of a minister, but as consubstantial and proper to Him, as we will demonstrate more fully in the cited treatise concerning Cyril's words. Thus, in this sense, Cyril says that the Spirit of the Son is the Holy Spirit, by no means that it proceeds from Him. Likewise, we will refute in the cited treatise all the other similar statements that the Jesuit or the Latins are accustomed to cite from Cyril for the explanation of Christ's words.

The same author objects with these words from Epiphanius, in *Heresy* LXXIV:

> *The Holy Spirit alone is named by the Father and the Son: as the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of God.*

As if Epiphanius' sense were that when the Spirit is called the Spirit of truth, it is understood to proceed from the Son. But the Jesuit cites these words of Epiphanius with the worst fraud; for Epiphanius does not distinguish the words "by the Father and the Son" from what precedes, nor does he add the particle "as," nor do the cited words stand alone. For his complete words in *Ancoratus* (Number LXXII) and *Heresy* LXXIV (Number IX) are:

> *The Holy Spirit alone is called by the Father and the Son, the Spirit of truth, and the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ.*

Even if you distinguish the words "by the Father and the Son" from what follows, this still does not add any strength to the opinion of the Latins: for the sense is that it proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, as we show in the cited treatise concerning Epiphanius' words. The Jesuit is absurd, then, when he says that Epiphanius, stating that the Spirit is called by the Father and the Son the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of God, meant that the Holy Spirit is called by the Father and the Son because it is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of God. For Epiphanius does not add, as the Jesuit falsely cites his words: "as, as, I say, the Spirit of truth and of God"; but he simply says that in Sacred Scripture it is said: the Holy Spirit is called by the Father and the Son, the Spirit of truth, and the Spirit of God; intending at least to report what is said about the Holy Spirit in Sacred Scripture. And hence, after the cited words "Spirit of

truth and Spirit of God," he adds: "and Spirit of Christ." He would not have added this if, from the fact that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of God, he had wanted to demonstrate that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. For this would entirely disrupt the order of reasoning. Hence, the Jesuit omitted citing these last words of Epiphanius with the others. For those words, "Spirit of Christ," should have been joined with the preceding: "Spirit of truth."

Finally, they object, with Cichovius (p. 15), that the words of the Apostle: "Whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the Spirit of His mouth," have been corrupted by the Easterners, with the word "Jesus" removed, so that it is now commonly read: "Whom the Lord will destroy with the Spirit of His mouth"; although the word "Jesus" is found in an ancient manuscript published in Moscow. But we readily concede that the ancient reading of these words included the word "Jesus," as is especially evident from the ancient Latin Fathers. For these words are cited thus by Tertullian, in *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* (Chapter XXIV); Jerome, in his translation; Ambrose, in Book III *On the Holy Spirit* (Chapter VII); Rufinus, in his *Exposition of the Creed*; Augustine, in Book XX *On the City of God* and Epistle LXXX; Hesychius, among Augustine's epistles, Epistle LXXIX; Fulgentius, in *On Faith to Peter* (Chapter XI); Gregory the Great, in Book XIV *On Job* (Chapter XI); Bede, in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, on the cited words; Anselm, in his commentary; and Peter Damian, in Book VI of his epistles, Epistle XV, and in Work XXXVIII *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (Chapter III). Brian Walton, in the *Polyglot Bibles*, London edition of 1657 (Works, Vol. V, p. 818), also testifies that ancient Greek manuscripts of Sacred Scripture have it so. Likewise, Athanasius cites the Apostle's words in his *Epistle to Serapion* (Works, Vol. I, p. 349, Heidelberg edition, 1600), and Chrysostom, in his commentary, *Homily IV on the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians*. However, today and hitherto, the common reading of that passage in Greek manuscripts does not include the word "Jesus," which is also absent in the Arabic and Ethiopian versions, as noted by Walton in the cited place. But it is not new for a passage of Scripture to have variant readings. How many different readings of the entire Sacred Scripture are noted by Walton in his *Polyglot Bibles*? For example, in the Lord's Prayer in Luke, it was once read: "May the Holy Spirit come," where today it is read: "May Your kingdom come." Thus, Gregory of Nyssa, in Oration III

On the Lord's Prayer (Works, Vol. I, p. 737):

> *Perhaps, as Luke more clearly explains to us, does he who prays for the kingdom to come implore the help of the Holy Spirit? For twice in that Gospel, instead of 'Your kingdom come,' it says: 'May Your Holy Spirit come upon us and purify us.' Luke indeed says the Holy Spirit, while Matthew names the kingdom.*

And Maximus the Martyr, in his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, in Euthymius' *Panoplia* (Title II, Chapter VII):

> *The kingdom of God, subsisting essentially, is also the Holy Spirit: for what Matthew calls the kingdom in this place, another Evangelist there called the Holy Spirit: 'May the Holy Spirit come,' he says, 'and purify us.'*

Since, therefore, both here and elsewhere the readings of Greek manuscripts often vary, should the Easterners be condemned for falsification where, according to the common readings, the word "Jesus" is not read in those words of the Apostle? The words of Paul in the *Epistle to the Corinthians* are: "We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God." But the most ancient of the Fathers, Justin Martyr, reads them thus in his *Exposition of the Faith*: "We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God and the Father." Should the Latins, then, be said to have removed from the sacred texts those words "and the Father," as if they seemed to favor the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone? Peter Damian, who elsewhere reads: "Whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the Spirit of His mouth," in Work LIX *On the Antichrist* (Works, Vol. III, p. 387) and in Work I *Treatise on the Catholic Faith* (Chapter X), reads: "Whom the Lord Jesus Christ will destroy with the Spirit of His mouth." Should the Easterners, then, have removed the words "Jesus Christ" from those words, as if, driven by sheer madness, the Lutherans of Tübingen, in their response to the second response of Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople (p. 294), object to the Easterners? Finally, the Savior says in John: "He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak." But St. Ignatius, in his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, reads it thus: "He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears from Me, He will speak." Should the Easterners, then, have deleted those last words, as if they favored the

procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? They maliciously claimed that our people expunged the word “Jesus” from that passage of the Apostle, as if, otherwise, the Apostle’s words would oppose the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. As if it were not the same to say that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of His mouth, so that they would remove the latter while leaving the former intact. Moreover, even without the word “Jesus,” it is so clear that the Apostle is speaking there of the coming of the Savior that no one has ever doubted it. What, then, would it have profited to expunge the word “Jesus,” when it is most evident that the Apostle means there that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the mouth of Christ, with which He will destroy the Antichrist?

And this is enough for now regarding that which the Latins endeavored to infer from the fact that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ, namely, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

TRACTATE XII

In which it is demonstrated that the Savior's statement, "The Holy Spirit will take from what is mine," is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

The Latins' Objection

The Latins further object that the Savior said: "The Holy Spirit will take from what is mine." But since the Holy Spirit is God and perfect, He lacks nothing that He could receive from anyone in time. If, therefore, the Holy Spirit is said to receive something, it must be understood that He received it from the cause from which He has His existence. If, then, the Holy Spirit receives something from the Son, as the Savior Himself shows, it necessarily follows that He received it eternally from the Son by reason of causality. For the Holy Spirit cannot receive anything eternally from anyone except from a cause. Moreover, the very wisdom that is the essence of the Holy Spirit was not added to Him in time but was His from eternity. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, He also proceeds from Him. This same argument was used by the Arians, who sought to show that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Maximinus, the Arian bishop, in Augustine's *Book I Against Maximinus*, Volume VI of his works:

> *The Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to Christ's own testimony, as He says in the Gospel.*

And a few lines later:

> *I have confessed the Holy Spirit according to the teaching of the Savior, because whether He enlightens, He received from Christ, or whether He teaches, He received from Christ. All things, whatever the Holy Spirit does, He has received from the only-begotten God.*

Hence, when the Arians took these words of Christ in this sense, they endeavored to lead Catholics to an absurdity in this way: The Holy Spirit receives from the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is the Son's Son, and the Father is His grandfather. Thus, Athanasius, in his *Later Letter to Serapion*, Volume II of his works, page 16:

> *Then they add, as you write: If the Holy Spirit will receive from the Son, and if He is given by Him (for so it is written), they immediately infer: Therefore, the Father is the grandfather, and the Holy Spirit is His grandson.*

Who, hearing this, would not judge Christians to be pagans rather than Christians?

Response I

First, regarding the Savior's words, He says: "From what is mine, the Holy Spirit will take," not "from Me." Therefore, the Savior indicates that the Holy Spirit will receive from what is in Him, namely, the Father, who is in the Son. If Christ's words are taken in this sense, nothing absurd follows. For it is true that the Holy Spirit both receives from the Father and proceeds from Him. And that these words of Christ are to be understood entirely as referring to the Father is clear from the fact that, when the Savior said, "The Holy Spirit will take from what is mine," He Himself added this interpretation: "All that the Father has is mine; therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine." For the Savior argues in this way: "All that the Father has is mine; therefore, the Holy Spirit will take from what is mine." For the Savior's argument to be complete, this proposition must necessarily be added: The Holy Spirit receives from the Father. For the argument lacks the minor premise, as the schools call it, which, if formed from the middle and major terms, results only in the stated proposition: The Holy Spirit receives from the Father. Thus, the Savior's complete syllogism is this: All that the Father has is mine. The Holy Spirit receives from the Father. Therefore, the Holy Spirit takes from what is mine. Hence, it is clearly evident that the Savior's meaning is: "From what is mine," that is, from the Father, the Holy Spirit will receive. Therefore, since by the force of His words the Savior teaches here that the Holy Spirit receives from the Father, how could the Latins

infer from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? It should also be noted that the Savior, to show that the Holy Spirit receives from what is His, refers to the Father; namely, that the Holy Spirit receives from what is His because He receives from the Father. By this, He manifestly refers that reception not to Himself but to the Father, since otherwise, He would have derived the reason for it not from the Father but from Himself.

And thus, the Catholic Church similarly interprets those words as referring to the Father. Athanasius, in *Dialogue I Against Macedonius*, Volume II, page 278:

> *Just as the Son, having all things in His nature as the Son, says: "I do nothing of Myself," to refer the principle of good things to the Father, so also hear Him speaking of the Spirit: for while He has all things in His nature as the Spirit of God, He refers to the cause, saying: "He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will announce things to come." Likewise: "He will take from what is mine," namely, from the Father. For He adds: "All that the Father has is mine; therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." He said that He receives, not out of ignorance, but because the Spirit refers His energy and grace to the cause.*

Likewise, Gregory the Theologian wishes that whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit be referred to the principal cause, namely, the Father. Thus, in *Oration 37*, page 611:

> *Whatever is said more humbly about the Holy Spirit, such as being given, sent, distributed, breath, promise, intercession, and so forth, which I need not enumerate individually, must be referred to the principal cause (the Father), to show from whom the Spirit is, so that three divided principles, as if there were many gods, are not received.*

Augustine, in *Book Against the Sermon of the Arians*, Chapter 23, Volume IV of his works:

> *But what He said about the Holy Spirit: "He will take from what is mine," He Himself resolved the question, lest it be thought that the Holy Spirit is from Him in some way through degrees, as He Himself is from the Father, since both are from the Father, the one born, the other proceeding. To discern these two in the sublimity of that nature*

is altogether difficult. Therefore, lest this be thought, as I said, He immediately added: "All that the Father has is mine; therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine." Thus, without doubt, wishing it to be understood that He receives from the Father, but from Him because all that the Father has is His. This is not a diversity of nature but a commendation of one principle.

And in Chapter 24:

Nor should it trouble that the verb is in the future tense, "will take," as if He does not yet have it: for the words of time are used indifferently, although eternity is understood to remain without time. For He "took," because He proceeded from the Father, and He "takes," because He proceeds from the Father, and He "will take," because He will never cease to proceed from the Father; just as God "is," and "was," and "will be," yet has neither beginning nor end of time, nor had, nor will have.

And resolving the aforementioned argument of the Arian Maximinus, in *Book I Against Maximinus*, Volume VI of his works:

What you say, that the Lord said of the Holy Spirit: "He will take from what is mine," was said because He received from the Father, and all that is the Father's is without doubt also the Son's. For when He had said this, He added: "Therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine: because all that the Father has is mine."

And in *Tractate 107 on John*, Volume IX of his works:

That which He said, when speaking of the Holy Spirit: "All that the Father has is mine, therefore, I said, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you," He said to you about those things that pertain to the Father's divinity itself, in which He is equal to Him, having all that He has. For the Holy Spirit was not to take from a creature subject to the Father and the Son, when He said, "He will take from what is mine," but surely from the Father, from whom the Spirit proceeds, from whom also the Son is born.

Likewise, in *Tractate 100 on John*:

What He said: "He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you," perceive with Catholic minds: for not because of this, as some heretics thought, is the Holy Spirit lesser than the Son: because the Son receives from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Son through some degrees of natures. Far be it to believe this, far be it to say this, far be it to think this in Christian hearts. Finally, He Himself immediately resolved the question and explained why He said this: "All things, whatever the Father has, are mine, therefore, I said, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." What more do you want? Therefore, the Holy Spirit receives from the Father whence the Son receives. For in this Trinity, the Son is born from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. For He who is born from none, proceeds from none, is the Father alone.

And in *Book II of On the Trinity*, Chapter 3, Volume III of his works:

Of the Spirit, Christ says: "He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will announce to you the things to come, He will glorify Me, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." After these words, unless He had immediately followed, saying: "All things, whatever the Father has, are mine, therefore, I said, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you," it might perhaps have been believed that the Holy Spirit was born from Christ in the same way that He was from the Father. For of Himself, He had said: "My doctrine is not mine, but His who sent Me." But of the Holy Spirit: "For He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." But because He gave the reason why He said: "He will take from what is mine," for He says: "All things, whatever the Father has, are mine, therefore, I said, because He will take from what is mine," it remains, therefore, that it be understood that the Holy Spirit also has from the Father, just as the Son does.

In *Book II Against the Letter of Parmenianus*, Chapter 15, Volume VII of his works:

Thus, by the testimonies he brought forth, his bad cause is convicted, because even if the Son says He received from the Father, and the Holy Spirit takes from His, not as if step by step (namely, that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, the Son from the Father), but as He

Himself explained, saying: "Because all that the Father has is mine, therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine."

Finally, in *Book II of On the Trinity*, Chapter 4:

Moreover, if the Holy Spirit therefore glorifies the Son because He will take from the Son, and therefore takes from Him because all that the Father has is His: it is manifest that when the Holy Spirit glorifies the Son, the Father glorifies the Son.

John Chrysostom, *Homily 77 on John*:

All things, whatever the Father has, are mine. Since, therefore, what He has is mine, and He will speak from what is the Father's, He will speak from what is mine.

Cyril of Alexandria, *Book VI of Dialogues on the Trinity*, Part I, Volume V of his works, page 629:

"I still have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. But when He, the Spirit of truth, comes, He will guide you into all truth: for He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will announce to you the things to come; He will glorify Me, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." Does it not appear clear to you from the cited discourse, and have you not seen that He names the Paraclete the Spirit of truth, but also says that He comes forth from the Father, showing His own things, which are the Father's?

Eusebius of Emesa, *Fourth Sunday After Easter*, Volume V, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 681, explaining the Savior's cited words:

For if the Holy Spirit takes from what is the Father's, He surely takes from what is the Son's. For all that the Father has is the Son's.

Nonnus of Panopolis, in his *Paraphrase on John*, on the cited words of the Savior, in the appendix to the Library of the Greek Fathers, page 366:

The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, will exalt Me, honoring Me; because, taking from My Father, He will show to you, united and

> *joined together, oracles anticipating time, whatever will happen to you. And by an ancient decree, all that My Father has is mine, for which reason I said to you that the Comforter, taking from My divine Father, announces the end of works.*

Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, in the *Disputation of Athanasius with Sabellius, Photinus, and Arius*, among the works of George Cassander, page 498:

> *Therefore, the Holy Spirit speaks the truth, because He speaks not from His own, that is, not from Himself, but from what is the Father's and the Son's: "He will take from what is mine," He says, "and will announce it to you." And to show that this is to take from Him, which is also to have taken from the Father, He says: "Therefore, I said, He will take from what is mine, because all that the Father has is mine."*

Apollinaris, in the *Greek Fathers' Catena on John*, Chapter 16:

> *"From what is mine," He says, signifies what is from the Father: for mine are what are the Father's. But "He will take from what is mine," understand in the same way, not as if some knowledge were added to the Holy Spirit.*

What we cited from Augustine's *Tractate 107 on John*, Bede repeats in *Book IV of his Commentary on Luke*, Chapter 63, on Chapter 18, Volume V of his works, column 375. And in *Summer Homily on the Season, Sunday Cantate*, Volume VII of his works, column 21. And in *Lenten Homily, Saturday After Reminiscere*, toward the end, Volume VII, column 248. And finally, in his *Commentary on John*, Chapter 17, Volume V, column 585. But what we praised from Augustine's *Tractate 100 on John*, he repeats in his *Commentary on John*, Chapter 16, Volume V of his works, column 572. And in *Summer Homily on the Season, Sunday Cantate*, Volume VII of his works, column 21. Albinus Alcuin, in his *Commentary on John*, on the words: "He will take from what is mine":

> *Because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you, that is, from My Father, the Holy Spirit received from the Father, because He proceeds from the Father, from whom also the Son alone.*

The Gloss Ordinary on those words of the Savior: "From what is mine, that is, from the Father, from whom I am." Haymo, *Sunday Cantate*, on

the words: “He will take from what is mine, that is, from My Father.” And in *Summer Homily, Fourth Sunday After Easter*, page 127 of his summer homilies published in Cologne, 1539:

> *But what He said: “Because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you,” it must be understood, from My Father: for He who is from none, proceeds from none, is the Father alone. The Son is said not to be from Himself, because He is born from the Father; the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Father. Whence it follows, all that the Father has is mine.*

The words of Albinus Alcuin just praised are repeated by Rabanus Maurus, *Homily 105*, Volume V of his works, page 654. And Smaragdus, *Third Sunday After the Octave of Easter*, folio 97. Likewise, Smaragdus, *Sunday of Palms*, folio 69, recites those words of Augustine from *Tractate 100 on John*:

> *Therefore, the Holy Spirit receives from the Father whence the Son also receives: for in this Trinity, the Son is born from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. For He who is born from none, proceeds from none, is the Father alone.*

Finally, Hincmar of Reims, in *Book on the Non-Trine Deity*, Volume I, page 422, repeats the words of Augustine we cited above from *Tractate 107 on John*. Zacharias, Bishop of Chrysopolis, in his *Commentary on the Evangelists*, on the words of John: “He will take from what is mine,” Volume XII, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 183:

> *“From what is mine,” says the Son, “the Spirit will take: because the Holy Spirit receives from the Father whence the Son receives. The Holy Spirit receives from the Father by proceeding, the Son by being born.”*

And when Christ repeated the same words again, page 184:

> *I said, because the Spirit must proceed from the same from whom I was begotten, lest the Spirit be thought lesser than Me, or born from Me, as I am from the Father.*

It is entirely absurd, therefore, for one who writes: “Let those who explain these words: ‘He will take from what is mine,’ as referring to the

Father, see whether they do not shamelessly contradict the holy Fathers, who clearly teach that these words are to be understood of the Son." And then: "Finally, it is astonishing how their obstinacy does not yield at least to the authority of Saint Gregory? He says: 'The Holy Spirit takes from Him because He is the Son.' How, then, do these people dare to attribute these words to the Father? Unless, as the Sabellians once did, they think the Son is the Father!" With what audacity, except the most shameless, could the Jesuit accuse of shamelessness and obstinacy those who interpret Christ's words as referring to the Father? Did not the same great number of praised Fathers teach this? Or how is the same Jesuit not contradictory to himself, who in the same place interprets those words of Christ: "From what is mine," not of the Son, but of those things that the Father has? He says further: "The most learned Cardinal and Patriarch Bessarion acutely observed in a treatise written to Alexius Lascaris, that among the Greeks, these words: 'ek tou emou,' taken adjectivally, are never used without a substantive, otherwise through that phrase: 'from what is mine,' it could just as rightly signify an enemy or a servant as the Father. Therefore, the sense of Christ's reasoning is as I said; or this: He who receives from what the Father has, receives from what is mine, or from what is mine, (for all that the Father has is mine) the Holy Spirit receives from what the Father has: therefore, He receives from what is mine, or from what is mine." Indeed, the Fathers elsewhere teach that the Spirit receives from the Son; but by this, they by no means contradict those who expound the words: "He will take from what is mine," as referring to the Father. But among these several senses, there is always one primary, and which the Holy Spirit primarily intended, so that, as we saw above, according to the very force of the words, Christ's words: "From what is mine," are understood as referring to the Father.

For the same Jesuit absurdly further says: "Finally, the Lord Christ Himself all but syllogistically concludes this very thing. For He argues thus: From whom are all things that the Father has, from Him the Holy Spirit receives to speak, to know, and to be identified with Him: all that the Father has is mine, says the Son: therefore, the Holy Spirit receives from Me to know, to speak, to be." Does the Savior conclude thus, whose very words are: "All that the Father has is mine, therefore, the Holy Spirit will take from what is mine"? Where does the Son add here that the Spirit will receive to know, to speak, and thus to be? Or rather, where does the

Son wish to conclude here that the Spirit receives from Him, when at least it is His purpose to demonstrate that the Holy Spirit takes from what is His? The Jesuit then errs when he forms the major proposition of this argument thus: “From whom are all things that the Father has, from Him the Holy Spirit receives.” Christ’s words were: “The Father’s are mine; therefore, the Holy Spirit will take from what is mine”; where, as we have already seen above, the proposition “All that the Father has is mine” holds the place of the major, not the minor proposition.

The same author [the Jesuit] presses further: Finally, to these words, “He will take from what is mine,” are added these: “And he will announce it to you.” From this, it is argued thus: From whom the Holy Spirit receives wisdom and the power to enlighten the Apostles, from Him He receives His essence; (for to know and to be are the same in God) He receives wisdom and the power to enlighten from the Son, as the truth itself testifies: therefore, He receives His essence from the Son. But it is false that the truth itself testifies that the Spirit receives wisdom and the power to enlighten from Him [the Son]; since, according to the force of His words, it is at least said of the Father that the Holy Spirit will take, as shown above. And indeed, the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son: but they understand this in no other sense than that in which the Son likewise receives from the Holy Spirit what He announces, namely, because of the one and same consubstantial essence: since the Holy Spirit also announces things not contrary to those which the Son announced. But we will deal with this manner later.

Finally, the same Jesuit presses on: “They say,” he says, “it is one thing to take from what is mine, another to take from Me.” I respond: Saint Ignatius, Saint Athanasius, and others cited deny this. Then I distinguish: these are different in things in which a distinction is made: “mine” and “Me” are not so in those in which they are one and the same. But the Word, since it is a pure act, does not have these distinguished, but is perfectly one. And in a clearer manner, it is an act. But that in the Son “mine” and “Me” are not distinguished is entirely false and smacks of Sabellianism. For if the person of the Son is perfectly one and the same with all that is His and in Him (for what is in someone is also of the same), it would necessarily follow that the person of the Son is one and the same with the person of the Father: for the Father is in the Son, and all that is the Father’s is the Son’s. It would also follow that the person of the Son is

one and the same with the Holy Spirit, or the person of the Holy Spirit with the Father: for the Holy Spirit is in the Son, and the Father is in the Holy Spirit. In God, therefore, all things are indeed common, except those that pertain to the persons; in which, therefore, “mine” and “Me” are distinguished. Just as, if “mine” is understood as referring to the same person and not another, “mine” and “Me” are not distinguished. But here, “mine” is entirely understood as referring to the Father, as shown above. Therefore, it is not the same here to have said “mine” and “Me.”

Response II

The Fathers then further explained those words: “He will take from what is mine,” also in relation to the Son, so that the sense is that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. The writings of the Fathers on this are most abundant, especially those of Epiphanius; but also, Athanasius frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit receives all things from the Son, in *Book IV Against the Arians*, Volume I, page 477:

> *He gives the Spirit, and whatever the Spirit has, He has from the Word.*

And in his *Letter to Serapion*, Volume II, page 17:

> *The Spirit is the Son’s, and He receives all things from the Son, as He Himself says, and breathing upon them, He gave Him to the disciples.*

Cyril of Jerusalem, in *Catechesis XVI*, folio 187:

> *The Father gives to the Son, and the Son communicates to the Holy Spirit. For it is Jesus Himself who said: “All things have been handed over to Me by My Father.” And of the Holy Spirit: “He will glorify Me, because He will take from what is mine.”*

Never, however, did the Fathers understand this in terms of causality, in the sense that they said the Holy Spirit receives from the Father; but at least in terms of the same and consubstantial nature, since the Holy Spirit also announces things not contrary to those announced by the Savior, but entirely the same as them. Namely, that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son all things that He was to announce to us. In this

sense, surely, the Son had likewise received from the Holy Spirit what He announced to the world. Thus, Didymus of Alexandria, in *Book II on the Holy Spirit*, Volume VI of Jerome's works:

> *The Paraclete will take from what is mine. Here, "to receive" must be understood in a way fitting to the divine nature. Therefore, just as the Son, in giving, is not deprived of what He grants, nor imparts to others with loss to Himself; so too the Spirit does not receive what He did not previously have. For if He received what He did not have before, the giver, having transferred it, would become empty, ceasing to have what He gave. Therefore, as we understood above concerning incorporeal natures, so now the Holy Spirit receives from the Son what was to be known of His nature; not as giving and receiving, but signifying one substance. Indeed, the Son is said to receive from the Father the same things by which He subsists. Nor is the Son anything other than what is given to Him by the Father; nor is the substance of the Holy Spirit other than what is given to Him by the Son. Therefore, these things are said so that we may believe the same nature of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity as that of the Father and the Son.*

Ambrose, in *Book II on the Holy Spirit*, Chapter 12:

> *But if you wish to learn that the Son of God knows all things and has foreknowledge of all future things, which you think unknown to the Son, the Holy Spirit received these from the Son. But He received through the unity of substance, just as the Son received from the Father. "He," He says, "will glorify Me, because He will take from what is mine and will announce all things to you. All things that the Father has are mine, therefore I said, He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." What, therefore, is clearer than this unity? What the Father has, is the Son's: what the Son has, the Spirit received.*

Cyril, in *Dialogue VI on the Trinity*, shortly after the beginning, Volume V, Part I, page 593:

> *When He adds: "Because He will take from what is mine," He clearly shows a substantial and natural conjunction, according to which the Spirit is one with Him. For He does not say that the Spirit will be wise participatively from Him, nor that He will bring the Son's words to the*

saints as a minister; but as if a most fragrant flower were to spread its scent and, infusing itself into the senses of those around, say: "He will take from what is mine," it would signify a natural property, not something participating distinctly. So understand concerning the Son and the Spirit. For the Spirit, being wisdom and power, is wholly wisdom and power, preserving in Himself the entire efficacy of the one emitting, and as if in His own nature clearly showing Him whose He is. But after He said: "He will take from what is mine," He necessarily added: "All things, whatever the Father has, are mine, for this reason I said to you, that He will take from what is mine." For just as the Spirit is always holy according to nature, because He is the Spirit of the holy Father: so too is He wise; since the wisdom of the Spirit is. But the wisdom is the Son; nor do we say in any way that the Spirit is holy and wise by relation and participation, but rather substantially, and as if a certain natural quality of holy and wise divinity, which is understood to be in the Father and the Son and in the Spirit Himself.

And in *Book XI on John*, Chapter 2, on the words: "He will take from what is mine," Volume IV, page 931:

"All things that are mine are yours, and yours are mine," He says. For where there is no difference, but substantial equality and likeness in all things, how could they not be of the same nature? Therefore, God the Father has from Himself and in Himself His own Spirit, by whom He dwells in the saints, through whom He is wont to reveal mystery, not through a minister (for no such thing should be imagined), but as through Him who is substantially in Him and proceeds from Him inseparably and indivisibly, so that He interprets those things that are His (the Father's), in whom and from whom He is. For the Father does not dwell in creatures otherwise than through the Son in the Spirit. But this Spirit is also the proper Spirit of the Only-Begotten, for the Son is consubstantial with the Father. Therefore, since it seems proper to God and the Father to be revealed to the worthy in His own Spirit, and through Him to work whatever He wills, and this same Spirit is also naturally in Me; for this reason, I said: "Because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you." Let no one be troubled by the word "receive," but let him remember that we, as humans, speak of God, yet it is not to be understood so, but in a way exceeding our comprehension. For the Spirit to receive from the Father and the Son what is theirs does not mean that He lacked

> *knowledge and power at some time and only then has it when He is thought to have it (for the Spirit is always wise and omnipotent, indeed in reality wisdom and power itself, not by participation but naturally), but as the fragrance of spices poured into our nostrils may seem somewhat distinct from them, yet in concept and thought alone can be considered so: you should not think it proceeds otherwise than from those from which it is received by the power by which it expresses itself, since it is not other, because it exists from them and in them. You will understand something like this, indeed even beyond this, concerning God and the Holy Spirit. For as if the fragrance of God's substance is living and active, which transmits from God to creatures and brings participation in the supreme substance of all through itself. For if the fragrance of spices leaves its own power in garments and somehow transforms them into itself, in which it still remains; how will the Holy Spirit, who is naturally from God, not make those in whom He dwells participants in the divine nature? Therefore, since the Son is the fruit and character of the subsistence of the Father, He claims all things that are His according to nature. Therefore, He says: "All things, whatever the Father has, are mine, for this reason I said to you, that He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you"; namely, the Holy Spirit, who is through Him and in Him: through whom, as also the Father, He dwells in the saints. For the Spirit is nothing other than His Spirit, although He subsists in His own person, for the Holy Spirit is, and is not the Son.*

These are his words; so that it is necessary not to have weighed the entire passage, for one who, from those cited words of Cyril: "Let no one be troubled when he hears the word 'receiving,' but let him know that divine things are expressed in our manner, yet not to be understood so, but in a way exceeding our comprehension; and so we say: the Holy Spirit receives from the Father and the Son what is theirs," naturally by the quality, so to speak, of substances, in that which inseparably proceeds from them: just as, as we just said, sweetness from honey, heat from fire, cooling from water.

So too, finally, Eusebius of Emesa, *Fourth Sunday After Easter*, Volume V, Part I of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 682, who here expressly acknowledges that the Son could have said that the Holy Spirit takes from His own:

> *These things, since they are common to all three, and substantially common: the Lord could have said, if He had wished, that He will take from what is mine and His own, and will announce it to you. For also the Son, when He preached, took from His own and from those things that are the Father's and the Holy Spirit's: since there is one wisdom and truth of all three. Whence He Himself said: "My doctrine is not mine." Namely, since there is one substance, one wisdom of divinity; but all works ad extra are common to the whole Trinity: in this sense, when the Holy Spirit announces something to us, He is said to receive it from the Son; since the Spirit could not do it without the Son's consent and cooperation.*

Therefore, it is sufficiently established thus far, as the same many praised Fathers taught, that the Spirit is said to receive from the Son only because of the one, same, and consubstantial nature, wisdom, and power.

Likewise, those statements of the Fathers contribute to this, in which they say the Holy Spirit receives from the Son because He is to announce things that in no way differ from the words of Christ; but are entirely the same as them. For since there is one nature of both, and thus one wisdom, when the Holy Spirit announces something, He could not possibly announce things contrary to the wisdom and truth of the Son of God, but announced it entirely with the Son's cooperation and consent. Thus, John Chrysostom, *Homily 77 on John*, before the middle:

> *When He had said: "He will teach you all things," and "suggest," and "console you in tribulations," which He Himself did not do: and, "it is expedient that I go away," and, "you cannot bear it now, but then you will be able," and, "He will teach all truth," lest, hearing these things, they think Him greater and fall into ultimate impiety, for this reason He says He will take from Himself; that is, what I said, He will say. "He will take from what is mine," that is, what I know and understand: for my knowledge and the Spirit's are one. "He will take from what is mine," that is, He will differ from Me in nothing. And much before the end: But what He says: "He will take from what is mine," whether of the grace that came to My flesh, or of the same knowledge that I have; not as if He needs, nor that He learns from another, but that there is one and the same knowledge. And why did He not say otherwise? Because they had not yet heard of the Spirit. Therefore, He strives for one thing only, that He be believed and accepted by them, and that*

> *they not be scandalized. For when He had said: "One is your Teacher, Christ," lest they think they would offend Christ if they believed Him: "There is one," He says, "My doctrine and His, what I was to teach, He will say. Do not think His doctrine is other: for they are mine, and they increase My glory."*

With which words, surely, nothing could be clearer. Cyril of Alexandria, *Book XI on John*, Chapter 1, Volume IV of his works, page 929:

> *Nor should it in any way be suspected that the Paraclete, that is, the Spirit, is destitute of natural and inherent power, so that unless He receives, He would not be sufficient for Himself to accomplish divine works. For it is necessary that whoever thinks any of these things true be justly held guilty of extreme impiety. But because He is consubstantial with the Son, and proceeds through Him in a manner fitting to God, having His entire most perfect power and virtue in all works; for this reason, He says: "Because He will take from what is mine." For we believe the Spirit subsists through Himself, and truly is what He is and is called; yet to subsist in the substance of God, and to proceed from Him, naturally having in Himself all things that are His. Not by participation, nor by way of relation, nor as other than He, because He is His own. For just as the fragrance of odiferous flowers naturally emits its efficacy, or odiferous quality, externally, entering the parts of the body endowed with the power of smelling, and as far as can be gathered by sense, seems something distinct and other from the nature of the thing from which it is emitted; but if considered in itself, it has nothing other than the things from which and in which it exists: so you will understand concerning God and the Holy Spirit, if you take the force of the example more sublimely. Therefore, without fault and all reproach, it can be said that the Spirit of the Only-Begotten receives something from Him. For since He naturally proceeds through the Son, as He is His own, with all things that He perfectly has, He is said to receive what is His. But if expressed in cruder words, it ought not to scandalize, but rather we will blame the poverty of our tongue, which cannot express these divine things as is fitting: for what speech is not lesser than that ineffable nature and glory? "He will announce," He says, "to you, taking from what is mine," that is, He will expound nothing other than what I wish. Since He is My Spirit, He will speak entirely the same as I, and what is My will, He will announce to you.*

Therefore, since for the stated reason, because of one essence, wisdom,

and knowledge, the Fathers teach that the Spirit receives from the Son: hence, further, frequently from the fact that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, they infer that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son. Epiphanius, in *Ancoratus*, number 8, Volume II of his works, page 12:

> *The Only-Begotten Himself says: "The Spirit of the Father, who proceeds from the Father, and will take from what is mine," so that you may not think Him foreign to the Father and the Son, but of the same essence, the same divinity.*

And in *Heresy 71*, Volume I of his works, page 833:

> *The Lord speaks of the Holy Spirit, confessing Him to be genuine of His divinity, and says: "Who proceeds from the Father, and will take from what is mine."*

And in *Heresy 69*, page 774:

> *They dare to say that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, who is uncreated, proceeding from the Father, and receiving from the Son. Again: How could the Spirit have been created, of whom there is testimony that He proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son?*

Chrysostom, in *Sermon on the Trinity*, much before the end, Volume VI of his works, Greco-Latin edition, page 200:

> *Believe that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, and that the Spirit is consubstantial: for if He proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, the Spirit is not foreign to the essence of God.*

Anastasius of Sinai, *Book I on the Dogmas of the Faith*, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, page 694:

> *The Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of truth; but He proceeds from the Father. Yet He receives all things of the Son, who has all things of the Father, to demonstrate and make manifest that there is one substance of the one receiving, and of Him from whom He receives, and of Him from whom He naturally proceeds. For He did not proceed from something of a different substance, nor did He receive anything*

> *from what is not consubstantial. But if they are of the same essence with Him from whom He proceeded and from whom He received: they will necessarily be of the same essence with each other. Again: Our Savior Jesus says of His consubstantial Paraclete, that He indeed proceeds from the Father, but receives from the Son all things that are the Father's, making them His own and having them. For there is one substance, and of one substance all things are common. But also common is the substance: for there is a natural relation.*

So too others. Bellarmine, in *Book II on Christ*, Chapter 25, takes exception to those cited from Epiphanius:

> *In which place, "receiving from Him," can signify nothing other than proceeding from the Son through eternal emanation. For Epiphanius opposes this: "Receiving from the Son," to creation. For he teaches that the Spirit is not created by the Son, as the heretics said, but received His subsistence from the Son in another way than by creation.*

Epiphanius indeed opposes to creation that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. But by what necessity does it follow from this that Epiphanius' intention was that the Spirit is not created by the Son, but received His subsistence from the Son in another way? None, surely. Validly, indeed, from the fact that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, Epiphanius infers that the Spirit is not a creature, since the Holy Spirit cannot receive from the Son unless He is consubstantial with Him. How, therefore, would this consequence and demonstration not hold, unless you simultaneously posit that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son in another way than by creation? Absurd.

The same Jesuit further, regarding those words of Anastasius just cited: "To teach that there is one essence of the one who receives, as of the one from whom He receives, and also of the one from whom He proceeds," in the cited place, takes exception: "Where by the one who receives the essence, he understands the Spirit, by the one from whom He receives, the Son, by the one from whom He proceeds, the Father. But if the Spirit receives the essence from the Son, what more do we seek? For the question should not be about the word 'proceeds,' since the matter itself is clear." Anastasius indeed says that the Spirit is the one who receives, and the Son the one from whom He receives: but the Jesuit adds of his own, saying that Anastasius says the Holy Spirit receives the essence

from the Son, the essence, I say. But how the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Son, we have thus far shown.

Equally vain, finally, is he who, regarding the same cited words of Anastasius: “Where it must be noted,” he says, “most prudently, that the holy Father uses a different phrase in explaining the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son than in explaining His procession from the Father, so that he might speak in the proper words of sacred Scripture; and to signify: that the Father and the Son, having all things of the Father, are so one spirator, as they are one God, one creator; and to suggest that the spirative power in the Son is from the Father, and that the Holy Spirit cannot have the essence communicated from the Father without it being simultaneously communicated from the Son who has all things of the Father.” All these things are at least the Jesuit’s inventions, with which he grossly assumes what was in question from the beginning. He says much, but proves nothing; thus badly observing the laws of disputants.

Therefore, it is established that the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son in no other sense than that which signifies, since there is one essence, one wisdom, and one power of the Holy Spirit and the Son, and the works of God ad extra are common to the Trinity, when the Holy Spirit announces something to us, or distributes His gifts, or does anything else for the cause of our salvation, He is said to receive these things from the Son as well; since He announces and works all things in us with the Son’s cooperation and consent. How, I ask, therefore, would it follow: The Holy Spirit receives from the Son; therefore, He proceeds from the Son? At least for the sake of dispensation, the Holy Spirit receives from the Son for our sake, not by reason of His eternal production. But more on this later.

Therefore, the Latins play only with the fallacy of equivocation when they interpret the Holy Spirit’s receiving from the Son in a far different way than the sense in which the holy Fathers handed it down. Nor are those who, among the Latins, object such things to us any less absurd than one who, from the sole common divine nature, wisdom, and power, would wish to infer that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son: because He proceeds from the Father, whose essence, wisdom, and power are one and the same with the Son’s essence, wisdom, and power.

TRACTATE XIII

In which it is demonstrated that the Holy Spirit's not speaking from Himself, but speaking whatever He hears, is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son

The Latins further object: Christ Himself certainly testifies that He cannot work from Himself unless He sees the Father working, John, Chapter VI, and whatever He has heard from the Father, He has spoken in the world. But these things are understood in no other way than that the Son is produced from the Father as from a cause. Now, likewise, concerning the Holy Spirit, the Son says in John XVI: "The Spirit will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak." Therefore, since the Holy Spirit speaks nothing except what He hears from the Son, it is clear from this that the Holy Spirit likewise proceeds from the Son. For what He was saying, "whatever the Holy Spirit hears," although He does not add "from Me," must nevertheless be understood as from the Son, when He says: "He will take from what is mine, and will announce it to you." Therefore, He hears from the Son, because He receives from Him.

This argument indeed coincides entirely with the previous one, by which, from the fact that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, they inferred that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For in the Trinity, to hear is to receive what is announced. Hence, the solution to the present argument is easily apparent. But this was again the same argument of the Arians, by which they showed that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Arians, in their sermon recorded by Augustine, Volume VI of his works:

> *The Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, but in all things awaits Christ's command: 'Not from Himself,' He says, 'but whatever He hears, [He will speak]'*

Response I

First, indeed, if we consider the principal sense of this passage, which the Holy Spirit primarily intended above others, and which the very words of the Savior naturally convey of themselves: by no means is it said here that the Holy Spirit hears from the Son. For Christ does not say: “What the Holy Spirit hears from Me, He will speak”; but simply, at least: “Whatever He hears, He will speak,” and He adds: “He will take from what is mine, and will announce it to you.” Therefore, He hears from Him from whom He receives. But according to the more principal sense of these words, the Holy Spirit is said by these words to receive from the Father, as shown in the previous treatise. Likewise, therefore, thus far the sense of that passage is that the Holy Spirit will hear from the Father. Hence, Augustine himself responds to the cited argument of the Arians in Book Against the Sermon of the Arians, Chapter XXIII:

> *But that the Holy Spirit in all things awaits Christ’s command, as they have it, let them read, if they can. For what was said: ‘He will not speak from Himself,’ it was not said, ‘whatever He hears from Me,’ but ‘whatever He hears, He will speak.’ Why this was said has already been made clear a little earlier from the Lord’s own explanation, which I mentioned, where He says: ‘All things that the Father has are mine, therefore I said, He will take from what is mine.’*

And hence, further, the Holy Fathers universally interpret that phrase, “whatever He hears,” as referring to the Father. Athanasius, in Dialogue I Against Macedonius, with words already cited elsewhere:

> *Just as the Son, having all things by nature as the Son, says: ‘I do nothing from Myself,’ so as to refer the grace of good things to the Father; so also concerning the Spirit, hear Him speaking. For whatever He has in His nature as the Spirit of God, He refers to that cause itself, saying: ‘He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will announce the future to you.’ Likewise: ‘He will take from what is mine,’ namely, from the Father.*

Augustine, in Book Against the Sermon of the Arians, Chapter XXIII, as we have just seen with his words, having denied that “whatever He hears” is to be expounded as from the Son, adds:

> *According to this, the Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, because He is not from Himself, who proceeds from the Father; just as the Son cannot do anything from Himself, because He Himself is not from Himself.*

And in Tractate XCIX on John, Volume IX:

> *Just as the Father has life in Himself, and He Himself is nothing other than the life that is in Him, and He gave to the Son to have life in Himself, that is, He begot the Son, who Himself would be life; so too we must understand what was said about the Holy Spirit: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak'; so that we understand that He is not from Himself: for the Father alone is not from another. For the Son is born from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Therefore, 'He will not speak from Himself,' because He is not from Himself, but 'whatever He hears, He will speak.' He will hear from Him from whom He proceeds. For Him, to hear is to know; but to know is to be, as was discussed above. Therefore, because He is not from Himself, but from Him from whom He proceeds, from whom His essence is, from Him is His knowledge, and therefore from Him is His hearing, which is nothing other than knowledge. Nor should it disturb that the verb is placed in the future tense. For it was not said, 'whatever He heard,' or 'whatever He hears,' but 'whatever He hears,' He will speak: for that hearing is eternal, because His knowledge is eternal. But in that which is eternal, without beginning and without end, the verb of any tense, whether past, present, or future, is not placed falsely.*

Therefore, "He heard, hears, and will hear from Him from whom He is; He is from Him from whom He proceeds." And hence, the author of the sentences excerpted from Augustine, sentence CCCLXVII:

> *Therefore, while human speech varies according to the volumes of time; He who could not, cannot, or will not fail through any times, the words of any tense are truly said of Him. Therefore, the Holy Spirit always hears, who always knows, and to know for Him is what it is to always be, and to always be for Him is to proceed from the Father.*

Nor can anyone say that the Holy Spirit is not life, since the Father is life, the Son is life. These things, which we cited from Augustine's Tractate

XCIX on John, are repeated individually by Bede in his Commentary on John at Chapter XVI, Volume V of his works, column 570, and in Book of Summer Homilies on the Season, Sunday Cantate, Volume VII of his works, column 20. Albinus Alcuin, in his Commentary on John at the words: “He will not speak from Himself”:

> *For the Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, perhaps, because He is not from Himself, but from the Father. For the Son is born from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, for He does not speak from Himself, that is, without communion with the Father and the Son: for the Holy Spirit is not divided from the Father and the Son, but the work of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one. But ‘whatever He hears, He will speak.’ He hears, namely, through the unity of substance and the property of knowledge. He does not speak from Himself, because He is not from Himself. For the Father alone is not from another, the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. For the Holy Spirit will hear from Him from whom He proceeds: because He is not from Himself, but from Him from whom He proceeds. Therefore, from Him is His hearing, which is nothing other than knowledge.*

Haymo, in Summer Homily, Sunday IV After Easter, at the cited words of Christ:

> *He hears, namely, from the Father, from whom He is not temporally, but eternally, not visibly, but invisibly.*

Rabanus Maurus, Homily CV, Volume V of his works, page 653, and Smaragdus, Sunday III After the Octave of Easter, page 97, repeat the words of Albinus Alcuin, which we just cited. Therefore, since according to the sense that the Holy Spirit primarily intended, and which the words themselves naturally convey of themselves, the Holy Spirit is understood to hear from the Father through His eternal procession: it is clear, of course, that thus far nothing supports the opinion of the Latins. For what consequence would there be: “The Holy Spirit hears from the Father through His eternal procession, or, what is the same: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; therefore, the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son?”

Response II

But just as, according to another sense of those words, “He will take from what is mine,” the Holy Spirit is understood to receive from the Son, namely, because, on account of one and the same essence, what the Holy Spirit announces to us, He receives from the same knowledge of the Son, as shown in another treatise: so too, it follows from this (for from whom He receives, from Him also, according to the words of the Savior, the Holy Spirit hears), that the Holy Spirit also hears from the Son; in that sense, namely, which we mentioned, that on account of one and the same essence, He announces to us nothing other than what is the same as the knowledge, truth, and will of the Son. This sense, likewise, the Fathers universally propose. Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity, Volume II, page 179:

> *Because every created thing, if it is rational, both wills and speaks from itself, whence it also has its own will, to which it imposes silence, so that it may speak the will of God. But the Spirit is not so. But as the Spirit of God, He has the same will as God; and this is that: ‘He will not speak from Himself.’*

And page 108:

> *And all rational created things sometimes speak their own things, sometimes those of God. But the Spirit is not so: for He does not sometimes speak those of God, and sometimes His own. For there is no other will in Him, because neither in the Son; but there is one will of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and on account of this, it is said of the Spirit: ‘He will not speak from Himself’; and of the Son: ‘Because I do nothing from Myself, but as the Father has taught Me, I speak these things’: not because He does not know what to speak, but because the Father does not will one thing, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another.*

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book II on the Holy Spirit, Volume VI of Jerome’s works:

> *Of the Spirit of truth, who is sent from the Father, and is the Paraclete, the Savior, who is also the truth, says: ‘For He will not speak from Himself,’ that is, not without Me, and without My and the Father’s will, because He is inseparable from My and the Father’s will.*

And after some things inserted by the Latins:

Lest anyone should separate the Holy Spirit from the will and fellowship of the Father and the Son, it was written: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but as He hears, He will speak.' Again: 'The Holy Spirit, by no means separated from the Son, on account of the fellowship of will and nature, is not believed to speak from Himself, but according to the word and truth of God, He speaks all things.'

Ambrose, in Book II on the Holy Spirit, Chapter XII:

And therefore, what the Son speaks, the Father also speaks, and what the Father speaks, the Son also speaks, and what the Father and the Son speak, the Holy Spirit also speaks. Whence also the Son of God said of the Spirit: 'For He does not speak from Himself,' that is, not without communion with Me and the Father. For the Spirit is neither divided nor separated, but whatever He hears, He speaks: He hears, namely, through the unity of substance, and through the property of knowledge.

And in Book V on the Faith, Chapter V:

We will not, however, reduce the Son of God to such humility, as if He does not know how to act or speak unless He hears, and we suppose there is a prescribed measure of acting and speaking for Him: because it is written: 'I have not spoken from Myself'; further: 'As the Father has said to Me, so I speak'; but let these things be referred to the obedience of the flesh, or to the faith of unity. For many doctors accept that the Son hears, and that the Father says something to the Son, through the unity of nature. For what the Son knows through the unity of will that the Father wills, He seems to have heard. Whence this does not signify some bodily function, but the inseparable will of cooperation is declared. For this does not signify some hearing of words, but the unity of will and power, which is also in the Father and in the Son. Which He also recalled is in the Holy Spirit in another place, saying: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak,' so that we might notice that whatever the Spirit speaks, the Son also speaks, and whatever the Son speaks, the Father also speaks.

John Chrysostom, Homily LXXVII on John, before the middle, page 395:

> *When He says, 'He will not speak from Himself,' He signifies nothing contrary, nothing other than that He will speak Himself. For just as He said of Himself: 'I do not speak from Myself,' that is, nothing besides those things that are the Father's, nothing proper and foreign; so also of the Spirit.*

Cyril of Alexandria, Book X on John, near the end, Volume IV, page 925:

> *But when He comes, He says, He will not speak anything from Himself: instead of saying, He will dwell in you, and will reveal the mystery of truth: for He will speak nothing at all that does not please Me; nor will He deliver to you a foreign doctrine: for He will not impose His own laws on you, but since the Spirit is, as it were, My mind, He will speak those things that are in Me.*

And in Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, when a heretic had objected: "The Holy Spirit labors under imperfection, because the Savior says: 'He will not speak from Himself,'" he responds, Volume V of his works, Part I, page 344:

> *When the Savior says this about the Holy Spirit, He does not show Him to be imperfect, but so that the hearers may understand that, being of His very essence, He will speak nothing other than what He Himself wills. For the mind of the Son is the Spirit, according to Paul saying: 'But we have the mind of Christ,' he says. Therefore, the Spirit cannot speak other things than those of Him whose mind He is. Therefore, He affirmed: He will speak nothing from Himself, as if He said: 'I Myself will again speak to you,' just as if a human mind were to say of the speech proceeding from it: 'It will speak nothing from itself, but it will speak what it hears.'*

And page 350:

> *'He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak.' For because the dispensation of the flesh was almost completed, and He was about to ascend to the Father, He promised to send the Paraclete to His disciples, lest anyone should suspect that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit might perhaps be foreign to His own, so that He might clearly show that, since He was His Spirit, He would also administer words from Him. 'He will not speak,' He says, 'from Himself, but*

whatever He hears, He will speak,' because 'He will take from what is mine.'

Anonymous, in the Catena of Greek Fathers, at John XVI, page 394:

He does not say the Spirit is greater than the Son, because He will not speak nothing from Himself, but what He hears. For what I say, He will also say. He does not speak nothing due to weakness, but because of the complete harmony of the Trinity, He said this.

Eusebius of Emesa, Sunday IV After Easter, Volume V, Part I of the Bibliotheca Patrum of Cologne, page 681:

What is 'He hears'? For it is not to be understood that in that invisible Trinity some vocal and noisy conversation takes place: therefore, they hear themselves in that they know and will. Therefore, the Holy Spirit will speak whatever He knows the Father and the Son to will: for as the will is common, so also is the hearing.

Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, in the Disputation of Athanasius with Sabellius, Arius, and Photinus, among the works of Gregory Cassander, page 498:

It is much more apparent from this that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the substance of the Father and the Son, since He does not speak from Himself as if foreign and extraneous, but as a sharer of one and the same nature, He acts and speaks those things that are common to the Father and the Son. Therefore, you see that the Holy Spirit is not separated from the Father and the Son, since He speaks those things that are known to be proper to the Father and the Son.

Bede, Summer Homily on the Season, Sunday Cantate, Volume VII of his works, column 20, following Ambrose:

The Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, that is, without communion with the Father and the Son: for the Spirit is neither divided nor separated, but whatever He hears, He speaks: He hears, namely, through the unity of substance, and through the property of knowledge.

Albinus, likewise Alcuin, in the cited place, having mentioned the first sense, by which the Holy Spirit is understood to hear from the Father

through His eternal procession, also adds this other sense, by which, namely, the Holy Spirit is understood to hear from both the Father and the Son on account of the unity of knowledge; since, namely, the Holy Spirit is not divided from the Son, nor does He act anything without communion with the Son, indeed, the work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one. We cited his words just now around response I. This entire passage of Alcuin is repeated by Rabanus Maurus and Smaragdus in the cited places. Therefore, it is established that the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son in no other sense than that which signifies that, since there is one essence, knowledge, and will of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit, when He announces something, hears it from the Son, or announces it from the same knowledge and according to the will of the Son. How, therefore, would it follow: “The Holy Spirit hears from the Son; therefore, He proceeds from Him”? It would be the same as arguing: “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son because they have one wisdom, power, and will”; which is absurd.

Response III

Furthermore, if the Holy Spirit hears from the Son what He speaks, no less does the Son hear from the Holy Spirit what He speaks. For these are the very words of the Savior: “For He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak. He will take from what is mine, and will announce it to you. All things that the Father has are mine, therefore I said, because He will take from what is mine and will announce it to you.” By these words, certainly, from the fact that all things of the Father are His, the Son infers that the Holy Spirit will receive or hear from Him: for from whom He receives, from Him also the Holy Spirit hears, as shown above. Therefore, if the Holy Spirit hears from the Son because the Son has all things of the Father, it likewise follows that the Son hears from the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit has all things of the Father. Furthermore, if the Holy Spirit hears from the Son because, on account of one essence, He speaks what He announces from one and the same knowledge and will of the Son, as shown in response II, it likewise follows that the Son has heard from the Holy Spirit, where, similarly, on account of one essence, He has spoken what He announced from one and the same knowledge and will of the Holy Spirit. This is further evident from

the cited words of the Fathers, in which they explained the reason why the Holy Spirit hears from the Son. Athanasius said that the Holy Spirit hears from the Son because He has the same will as Him, not because He does not know what to speak. But the Son of God likewise has the same will as the Holy Spirit, having all power, all strength from eternity through His eternal generation from the Father. Didymus of Alexandria:

> *Because the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the will, nature, and truth of the Son.*

But the Son is likewise inseparable from the will, nature, and truth of the Holy Spirit. Ambrose:

> *The Holy Spirit hears on account of the unity of essence and will, because through the unity of will the Son knows what the Father wills, He seems to have heard; thus, an inseparable cooperation is understood.*

But what unity of nature, will, and inseparable cooperation exists between the Spirit and the Son, the same exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, no less, because through the unity of will the Son knows what the Holy Spirit wills, He seems to have heard. Chrysostom:

> *Because the Holy Spirit speaks the same things as the Son, and not contrary to Him, but neither does the Son speak contrary things, but the same as the Holy Spirit.*

Cyril of Alexandria:

> *Because the Holy Spirit speaks according to the will of Christ, He does not deliver a foreign doctrine, nor does He impose His own laws, but speaks what is in Christ; because on account of the identity of essence, He speaks nothing besides the will of Christ; because on account of the property of essence, He speaks what is in the Son.*

But likewise, the Son, speaking according to the will of the Spirit, did not deliver a foreign doctrine, nor impose His own laws, but spoke what is in the Holy Spirit; on account of the identity of essence, He spoke nothing besides the will of the Holy Spirit; on account of the property of essence that exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit, He spoke what is in the Holy Spirit. Anonymous Author:

Because on account of one essence, the Holy Spirit will say the same; but the Son, on account of one essence, also said the same as the Holy Spirit.

Eusebius of Emesa:

The Holy Spirit hears from the Son on account of the community of will and knowledge.

But what community of will and knowledge exists between the Holy Spirit and the Son, the same exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit. Vigilius of Trent:

Because the Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, as if foreign and extraneous, but as a sharer of one and the same nature, He speaks what is common to the Father and the Son.

But the Son likewise does not speak from Himself, as if foreign and extraneous, but as a sharer of one and the same nature, He spoke what is common to the Father and the Holy Spirit. Bede:

Both because the Holy Spirit does not speak without communion with the Father and the Son, and because He hears on account of the unity of substance and the property of knowledge.

But neither does the Son speak without communion with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the same unity of substance exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit, and He Himself enjoys His own property of knowledge. The same reason was assigned by Albinus Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and Smaragdus, adding at the same time that the work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one. Therefore, by the same reasoning, the Son also hears from the Holy Spirit what He speaks. As Eusebius of Emesa confesses with the words cited above:

What is 'He hears'? For it is not to be understood that in that invisible Trinity some vocal and noisy conversation takes place. Therefore, they hear themselves in that they know and will. Therefore, the Holy Spirit will speak whatever He knows the Father and the Son to will. For as the will is common, so also is the hearing.

But if, therefore, the Son also hears from the Holy Spirit, how, I ask, would it follow: “The Holy Spirit hears from the Son; therefore, He proceeds from the Son”? Surely then, would the Holy Spirit also be the principle of the Son, and just as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, so also would the Son be generated from the Holy Spirit?

Response IV

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit indeed hears from the Son, but not from eternity, but in time, as stated, on account of one essence, wisdom, truth, and will. For it is evident from the very words of the Savior that He is speaking of at least temporal hearing, when He says: “He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak.” Here, certainly, the verb is in the future tense, “He will hear”; not indicative of what was done from eternity, but of what was to be done. Likewise, that grace by which the Holy Spirit was to speak to the disciples was not yet fulfilled, but was to be fulfilled; as the Savior here suspends it until the coming of the Holy Spirit, which the future tense verb “He will speak” also indicates: therefore, the speaking had not yet occurred, and thus it was not from eternity. But likewise, the Savior says: “Whatever He hears, He will speak”: therefore, at the time He speaks, at that same time the Holy Spirit will hear. But He spoke in time, not from eternity: therefore, at least in time, He heard from the Son. Hence, Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity, Volume II, page 180:

> *On account of this, it is said of the Spirit: ‘He will not speak from Himself’; and of the Son: ‘Because I do nothing from Myself, but as the Father has taught Me, I speak these things’; not because He does not know what to speak, but because the Father does not will one thing, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another.*

But if the Son or the Holy Spirit is said to hear, not because He does not know what to speak, but on account of one will: it must already have been that the Son or the Holy Spirit knew how to speak what He heard. Therefore, this hearing is not eternal, but temporal. Ambrose also, in Book V on the Faith, Chapter V:

> *We will not, however, reduce the Son of God to such humility, as if He does not know how to act or speak unless He hears. . . . Which He also*

> *recalled is in the Holy Spirit in another place, saying: 'For He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak.'*

But if it is false that the Son or the Holy Spirit does not know how to act or speak unless He hears: it is clear, of course, that the Son or the Holy Spirit was already of perfect divine substance before He hears. Therefore, this hearing is not from eternity, but in time. Likewise, Cyril of Alexandria, in Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, Volume V, Part I, page 344, when a heretic had objected that the Holy Spirit labors under imperfection because He will not speak from Himself, responds:

> *When the Savior says this about the Holy Spirit, He does not show Him to be imperfect, but so that the hearers may understand that, being of His very essence, He will speak nothing other than what He Himself wills.*

If, therefore, no perfection is lacking to the Holy Spirit before He hears from the Son, this hearing is by no means eternal, but temporal. But if, therefore, the Holy Spirit hears from the Son not from eternity, but at least in time: how, I ask, would the Holy Spirit's receiving from the Son be an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? The procession of the Holy Spirit is certainly eternal, and not temporal. The hearing of the Holy Spirit from the Son is at least temporal, not simultaneously eternal. How, therefore, would this hearing be the same as procession? Or what consequence would there be? "The Holy Spirit hears from the Son temporally: therefore, He also hears from the same eternally through His hypostatic procession." Likewise, as shown in response III, the Son hears from the Holy Spirit, yet not for that reason is He generated from the Holy Spirit from eternity. But what could be objected against this temporal hearing, we have already resolved in the treatise in which we demonstrated that the Holy Spirit's receiving from the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, around response IV: for the reasoning is entirely the same.

Response V

Hence, the Fathers also by no means taught that those words: "He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak," are to be

interpreted as referring to the Son, if they are taken in the same sense as the principle of the Holy Spirit. One witness, as it were, for all is Augustine. For when an Arian, according to those words of Christ, had inferred that the Holy Spirit does not speak from Himself, but in all things awaits Christ's command, from which he would conclude that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit, Augustine responds to this in Book Against the Sermon of the Arians, Chapter XXIII:

> *That the Holy Spirit in all things awaits Christ's command, as they say, let them read, if they can. For what was said: 'He will not speak from Himself,' it was not said: 'Whatever He hears from Me,' but, 'whatever He hears, He will speak.'*

And thence he shows that Christ's words are to be interpreted as referring to the Father, as we have seen above with his words. Here, indeed, if Augustine had believed that from those words of Christ it follows in any way that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit, he would have entirely conceded it to the heretic, and would have shown that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son not creatively, but processively. But now he expressly denies that it is established from those words of Christ that the Holy Spirit hears Christ's command in all things, or depends on Him in all things; which would certainly be true if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son from eternity. Therefore, it is simultaneously evident from this that Augustine by no means considered those words of the Savior as an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But the Latins pressed, according to the objection placed at the forefront of this treatise, that where it is said of the Son that He hears from the Father, that He does nothing unless He sees the Father working, these things are understood of eternal production: likewise, it is understood of eternal procession from the Son, where the Holy Spirit is said to speak nothing from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak. But the Son is said to hear from the Father, and not to speak from Himself, in a twofold sense: either it is understood of His eternal production, or at least of the reason of temporal hearing. For although the Fathers universally interpret that hearing of the Son from the Father as referring to His eternal generation, yet elsewhere they again expound it as at least referring to temporal hearing. As Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity,

with words cited above:

> *On account of this, it is said of the Spirit: 'He will not speak from Himself,' and of the Son: 'Because I do nothing from Myself, but as the Father has taught Me, I speak these things'; not because He does not know what to speak, but because the Father does not will one thing, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another.*

For it was shown just now, at least in response IV, that this is likewise concerned with at least the temporal hearing of the Son. As was also shown there, these words of Ambrose from Book V on the Faith, Chapter V, are to be understood as at least referring to the temporal reception of the Son from the Father:

> *We will not, however, reduce the Son of God to such humility, as if He does not know how to act or speak unless He hears, and we suppose there is a prescribed measure of acting and speaking for Him, because it is written: 'I have not spoken from Myself'; and further: 'As the Father has said to Me, so I speak.'*

Therefore, likewise, the hearing of the Holy Spirit from the Father is taken in a twofold sense: both that He hears temporally on account of one essence, and that He hears from eternity on account of His eternal procession from the Father. But that, because both the Son and the Holy Spirit hear from the Father in this twofold sense, it necessarily follows from this that the Holy Spirit likewise hears from the Son not only in one sense, but also in this twofold sense: no reason demonstrates this. For certainly, the Son also hears from the Holy Spirit, as shown above; yet not for that reason, although the Son hears from the Father in that twofold sense, does He also hear from the Holy Spirit both from eternity, namely, on account of the reason of principle, and in time.

Furthermore, cichovius objects with those words of Ignatius from the Epistle to the Ephesians:

> *The Holy Spirit does not speak His own things, but those of Christ, nor from Himself, but from the Lord; just as the Lord announced to us what He received from the Father. The word that you have heard is not Mine, but of Him who sent Me, the Father. And of the Holy Spirit He says: He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears from*

> *Me. From Himself to the Father: I have glorified You on earth, etc. And of the Holy Spirit: He will glorify Me, because He will take from what is mine.*

Hence, therefore, the Jesuit presses, from the fifth point, he infers what we seek. For from whom the Holy Spirit so receives whatever He speaks, as the Son receives from the Father whatever He announces, from Him the Holy Spirit so proceeds as the Son is generated from the Father. But the Holy Spirit receives from the Son whatever He speaks. Therefore, He so proceeds from the Son as the Son is generated from the Father. But just as both the Son and the Holy Spirit hear in a twofold sense, namely temporally and on account of eternal production, so if the major proposition is understood of temporal hearing, it is certainly most false, as we demonstrate throughout this treatise: but if it is understood of the eternal production of the Son, it is indeed true, that from whom the Holy Spirit so receives or hears what He speaks, as the Son receives from the Father through His eternal generation from Him, from Him the Holy Spirit so proceeds as the Son is generated from the Father; but the minor proposition is entirely most false: namely, that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son whatever He speaks in the same way as the Son receives from the Father whatever He announces. For with most malicious fraud the Jesuit formed the minor under the major: “But the Holy Spirit receives from the Son whatever He speaks,” when certainly the subject of the major was: “From whom the Holy Spirit so receives whatever He speaks, as the Son receives from the Father whatever He announces.” But if this argument is reduced to these simple terms: “The Son is said to hear from the Father because He is generated from the Father; therefore, since the Holy Spirit is said to hear from the Son as the Son from the Father, the Holy Spirit is likewise to be understood to hear from the Son on account of eternal production or procession from the Son”: we would resolve this argument at least after response V. For the Son is not said to hear from the Father at least because He is generated from Him from eternity; but also because in time He speaks what He speaks according to the wisdom, truth, and will of the Father. Therefore, if you consider the latter sense, certainly as the Son hears from the Father, so the Holy Spirit hears from the Son; but by no means can it be concluded from this, as is clear to all, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. But if you consider the former sense, certainly the Son hears from the Father

through His eternal generation from Him; but it is false that in this sense the Holy Spirit hears from the Son as the Son hears from the Father.

The same author further objects with those words of Cyril of Alexandria from Dialogue VII on the Trinity, col. 658 (which we have shown elsewhere to be corrupted, as he also adds from Didymus, Augustine, and Fulgentius):

> *As the Son, being consubstantial with God and the Father and His Word, speaks what is His; so also the Holy Spirit speaks the words of Christ, since He is His Spirit.*

But with these words, Cyril, at least on account of the unity of essence and the conjunction that exists between the Holy Spirit and the Son, since namely the Holy Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Son, teaches that the Holy Spirit speaks the words of Christ; but not that He also proceeds from Him. For Cyril with these words institutes a comparison between the Son and the Holy Spirit in that the Son speaks what is the Father's, and the Holy Spirit speaks what is the Son's; but by no means does he posit the communion of both in one and the same reason, as if for one and the same reason the Son speaks what is the Father's, and the Holy Spirit speaks what is the Son's. In this sense, therefore, he says: "As the Son, because He is consubstantial with the Father and generated from Him, speaks what is the Father's; so also the Holy Spirit speaks what is the Son's, since He is the proper Spirit of the Son and consubstantial with Him."

Finally, the same author objects with those words of Cyril from Book XXXIII of the Thesaurus, col. 344:

> *Nor when the Savior says this about the Holy Spirit, does He show Him to be imperfect, but to give greater certainty to the hearers, that, since He is of His essence, He will speak nothing other than what He Himself wills.*

Again, those from the same place:

> *Since He is the mind of Christ, He speaks all things that are in Him. For He does not speak things foreign to the will from which and in which He is, and as naturally proceeding from His essence.*

But, as we have shown in the treatise in which we resolved the testimonies objected from the writings of the Eastern Fathers, Cyril does not teach that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Son in any other sense than that He is of the same essence as the Son; nor does he teach that the Holy Spirit is from the Son in any other sense than that the Holy Spirit is given to us from the Son; but to come forth naturally from the essence of the Son (for so the Greek words have it, not “proceed”), since He is given by the Son not as a minister or as if foreign, but as proper. Therefore, Cyril says that the Holy Spirit does not speak things foreign to the Son or His will, because the Holy Spirit is of the same essence as the Son; because He is given from the Son; because, finally, He is given from the Son to the faithful as a proper Spirit and not as foreign. But where with these words, because of those words of Christ: “The Holy Spirit will speak whatever He hears,” does Cyril teach that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son? And so much for that, by which from the words of Christ: “The Holy Spirit will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak,” they infer the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

TRACTATE XIV

In which the remaining arguments of the Latins for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, drawn from Sacred Scripture, are resolved.

The Latins further object with those words of the Theologian from *Revelation 22:1*: "And he showed me a river of the water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb." For by "God" and "the Lamb," the Father and the Son are signified, and by the river of the water of life, the Holy Spirit is signified, as this name is elsewhere applied to the Holy Spirit by the Savior. Therefore, they say, the Theologian clearly teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, since he shows the river of the water of life proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

And this, concerning baptism, Augustine interprets first in *Homily XVII on the Apocalypse*, Volume IX of his works:

> *He shows, he says, the fountain of baptism in the midst of the Church, coming from God and Christ: for what splendor could the city have, if a river descended through the middle of its street, hindering the inhabitants?*

And Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* at these words, near the end of Volume II of Oecumenius' works, page 831:

> *We know the twofold utility of a river, namely, the relief of thirst and the washing away of filth, and the attainment of both is life, according to the evangelical preaching established by Christ. For it quenched the thirst of the prophets who were before Christ's coming, who said:*

> *'My soul has thirsted for You,' and it purified by expiation those who are fully washed by the divine efficacy of baptism.*

And that the Evangelist's purpose was to refer the river to baptism, an apt argument is taken from this, which especially confirms the matter, because it supposes it to flow from the throne of God and of the Lamb, and to irrigate the middle of the street, that is, of evangelical preaching. For, according to the Lord's voice, it is in no way possible for anyone to enter that heavenly Jerusalem unless he has been regenerated from above through water and the Holy Spirit. But Primasius, not of baptism, but of the fruit of baptism, interprets it. Thus, in his commentary, Volume VI of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Cologne, Part II, page 195:

> *And he showed me a river of the water of life, bright as crystal, rising from the throne of God and of the Lamb, through the middle of its street. In the river of life flowing through the middle of the city, the celebration of baptism is not yet indicated, but the fruit of that sacrament will now be revealed: for now it is sown in tears, that it may be reaped in joy; and therefore, the Church now sows in the Spirit, that it may reap eternal life from the Spirit. Thus, since we have proven by experience when the fruit of the utility of the received grace of the sacrament finds us, then the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, is shown in John to be manifested to the Church, that is, the stability of life. For he who perseveres to the end will be saved.*

Bede repeats this in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Volume V of his works, column 815:

> *In the river of life flowing through the middle of the city, he says, the celebration of baptism is not yet indicated, but the fruit of that sacrament is now revealed. For now the Church sows in the Spirit, that it may then reap eternal life from the Spirit.*

Anselm of Canterbury, though a defender of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, interprets it of Christ. Thus, in his commentary, Volume II of his works, page 507:

> *He showed me a river, the abundance of the water of life for refreshment, which vivifies all the inhabitants; clear, namely Christ, who will be the complete refreshment; as crystal: because there is only purity,*

> *and nothing impure; proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb, from the greater ones, in whom God sits. For through their instruction, the lesser ones receive that beatitude.*

Again, Haymo interprets it of the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments. Thus, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, published in Cologne in 1531:

> *The river of the water of life is understood as the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments.*

But besides Andrew of Caesarea in his *Commentary*, whose words we will see shortly, Ambrose interprets it of the Holy Spirit. Thus, in *Book III on the Holy Spirit*, Chapter XXI:

> *Nor is it insignificant that we read of a river going forth from the throne of God. For thus you have it said by John the Evangelist: 'And he showed me a river of the water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the middle of its street, and on either side a tree of life bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree for the healing of all nations.' This is certainly the river proceeding from the throne of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, which he drinks who believes in Christ, as He Himself said: 'He who thirsts, let him come to Me and drink. He who believes in Me, as the Scripture says, rivers of living water will flow from his belly.' This, however, He said of the Spirit. Therefore, the river is the Spirit. This, therefore, is in the throne of God: for water does not wash the throne of God.*

But even if we follow this last sense, nothing is thereby proven for the Latins. For, first, those words of the Theologian are to be understood only of the temporal effusion or procession of the Holy Spirit. For he said, "I saw a river proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb," namely, to irrigate the holy city, the new Jerusalem. As he also adds: "I saw a river proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the middle of its street." Therefore, that river proceeded from the throne of God and of the Lamb to the holy city, and flowed through the middle of its street. As Augustine also said in *Homily XVII on the Apocalypse* with the cited words:

> *If a river descends through the middle of its street, signifying that*

> *the river descended from the throne of God through the middle of the street.*

And Andrew of Caesarea, according to the words soon to be cited:

> *By the river, the gifts of the Spirit are signified, which go forth through the throne of the Father and the Son into the streets of the city.*

If, therefore, that procession is still to come, if that river is to irrigate the holy city and the new Jerusalem, this procession is to be understood as from without, not from within. And hence, Andrew of Caesarea also explains that river as the gifts of the Holy Spirit poured out upon the multitude of the saints. Thus, with the words soon to be cited:

> *By the river, as has been said, the life-giving gifts of the Spirit are signified, which go forth through the throne of the Father and the Son into that numerous multitude of the saints.*

And when he adds, “as has been said,” he certainly signifies that this was also his sense in his preceding words, which we will also see shortly. But that the hypostatic procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son cannot be inferred from His temporal mission from the Son, we have shown elsewhere. Secondly, it is said here that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb. But what is that throne? Certainly, the throne of God is not God Himself. How, therefore, if those words of the Theologian were understood of eternal procession, would the Holy Spirit be said to proceed from the throne of God? Surely, then, would a creature also be the principle of the Holy Spirit? Andrew certainly interprets the throne of God and of the Lamb as the orders of cherubic spirits: for through these, the Holy Spirit or His gift is poured out from the Father through the Son to the rest of the faithful. Thus, Andrew of Caesarea in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, published in Heidelberg in 1596, page 106:

> *The river of God, which abundantly irrigates the heavenly Jerusalem with waters, is the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from God and the Father, and, through the Lamb, through the medium of the supreme powers, which are called the seats of divinity, flowing down, abundantly refreshes the streets of the holy city, namely, its multitude, which, according to the Psalmist, exceeds the number of the sands.*

And then, page 107:

> *By the river, as has been said, the life-giving gifts of the Spirit are signified, which, through the throne of the Father and the Son, namely, through the orders of cherubic spirits, in which God sits, go forth into the streets of the city, that is, into that numerous multitude of the saints.*

What consequence, therefore, is there: “The Holy Spirit is poured out upon the faithful through the cherubic orders: therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son?” Finally, Andrew of Caesarea, when dealing with the occasion of those words of the Theologian concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, by no means, as the Latins wished, said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and through the Son abundantly refreshes the faithful.

In the Council of Florence, John the Provincial, in *Collation XXI*, Volume XIII of the Councils, column 1106, also objected from Sacred Scripture those things in which Christ is said to work through the Holy Spirit. Thus, he says there:

> *The fifth argument from Scripture is this: We find that the Son works through the Spirit, according to that in the* Epistle to the Hebrews*: ‘Through the Spirit He offered Himself’; and so you will find in the testimonies to be adduced, that the Son works through the Spirit. Now, this argument is formed from authority: Whenever someone is said to work through another, it is necessary that the one working gives operative power to the one through whom he works: for example, a king works through a bailiff: it is clear that the king gives operative power to the bailiff; or, conversely, when it is said: the bailiff works through the king: for it is demonstrated that that through which the bailiff works gives power to the one working, namely, the bailiff. And this is a fundamental principle in natural philosophy. Now, since Scripture says that the Son works through the Spirit, because the Son performed many miracles in the power of the Spirit, it is necessary to say that either the Spirit gives operative power to the Son, or conversely: and since operative power is nothing other than the divine essence, as all doctors hold, this argument necessarily concludes that to say to give operative power is the same as to give essence. But*

> *no doctor says that the Son receives essence from the Spirit, but conversely. Thus, from this argument, insofar as Christ is a divine person, it is necessary to say that if He works through the Spirit, He gives operative power and divine essence to the Holy Spirit. But to receive essence and power is the same as to proceed.*

Indeed, Scripture frequently teaches that the Savior performed miracles in the Spirit, and so forth. But it is entirely understood that the Holy Spirit worked through Christ, or performed those miracles. For according to the human nature of Christ, those sayings of Scripture are to be taken, to which certainly the Holy Spirit had imparted the fullness of His gifts, so that from this, by the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit, the Savior performed those miracles. For although there is one person of the Savior, divine and human nature conjoined in one subsistence, and thus His flesh did not need the gift of the Holy Spirit itself, since it was sufficiently powerful, indeed most powerful, through the divinity united to it: nevertheless, just as Christ willed His flesh to be sanctified by the Holy Spirit in baptism, so also He received at the same time all gifts and the fullness of the Holy Spirit, who then worked those miracles through His flesh. Therefore, it is false what John assumed, that not the Holy Spirit gave operative power of miracles to Christ, but Christ to the Holy Spirit. The same is also evident from Sacred Scripture, as, for example, the Savior is said to have been led into the desert by the Spirit, by the Holy Spirit, I say. For here the Spirit was the one working, and He worked through Christ: for the Spirit led Christ into the desert, not Christ the Spirit. But in this sense, it is also said further in Scripture that Christ performed miracles, cast out demons in the Spirit, namely, receiving the operative power of miracles from the Holy Spirit, not that He gave it to the Holy Spirit. Hence, Athanasius, in *Oration II Against the Arians*, Volume I, page 357:

> *Just as, therefore, this very Lord, the giver of the Spirit, is not reluctant to say that He casts out demons in the Holy Spirit, as man: so also in the same way, the same Holy Spirit, the giver, is not reluctant to proclaim: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me.'*

John Chrysostom, in *Homily on the Holy and Adorable Spirit*:

> *The flesh of the Lord received the Holy Spirit, and consequently, the Savior willed the flesh, which He took, to be made proper to the Holy Spirit, so that what Christ did according to the flesh would be ascribed to the Holy Spirit who dwelt in Him, as in a holy human temple. For He was man for our sake, but God for His own sake. God for His own sake, but man for mercy. He cast out demons, and willed the expulsion of demons to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit, and says: 'But if I cast out demons in the Holy Spirit': and He did not say in the Word of God, but ascribes it to the Spirit, as a holy man who has received the Holy Spirit.*

Augustine, in *Book I on the Trinity*, Chapter XI:

> *According to the form of a servant, the Son is less than the Holy Spirit, because He Himself says: 'He who speaks blasphemy against the Son of Man, it will be forgiven him, but he who speaks against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him,' and in Him He worked virtues, saying: 'If I cast out demons in the Spirit of God, surely the kingdom of God has come upon you.'*

The writings of Cyril are most full on this, especially in his *Commentary on John*. So also others. Likewise, however, just as the external works of the Trinity are common to all persons, and the divinity of the Son of God worked miracles through the flesh united to Him, together with the Holy Spirit, conferring the operative power of those miracles to Him. Hence,

John of Damascus, in *Book III on the Orthodox Faith*, Chapter XV:

> *Thus also in our Lord Jesus Christ, the power of miracles was the action of His divinity.*

And in *Book on the Two Wills and Operations in Christ*, near the end:

> *Just as through His bodily operation His divine operation worked (for He took the hand of the girl and said: 'Girl, arise,' and through touch and word the divine operation vivified the girl): so also through His human will His divine will worked: for willing divinely, He worked a miraculous operation, and willing humanly, He extended His hand and said: 'Arise.'*

Therefore, just as through the Holy Spirit, so also through His divinity, Christ performed miracles. But, as said, it was not the divinity of Christ

that gave operative power to the Holy Spirit, but both the Word of God and the Holy Spirit conferred the power to work miracles to the flesh of Christ. But even if the divinity of Christ worked through the Holy Spirit, it is certainly false that, because the Word of God works through the Holy Spirit, either the Son gave operative power to the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit to the Son. For it is said in this sense that the Son works through the Holy Spirit: because there is one power and will of both; and the Son cannot work without the communion and cooperation of the Holy Spirit. In this sense, therefore, the Holy Spirit is also said to work through the Son. Thus, the Apostle in *Romans 8:2*:

> *The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death.*

Where “in Jesus” is the same as “through Jesus,” as is clear to all. And it is also gathered from similar sayings of Scripture, in which Christ is said to have cast out demons in the Spirit: for here He said the same, “in the Spirit,” as “through the Spirit.” Therefore, although the Son works through the Spirit, it does not yet follow from this that the Son gives the power of working to the Holy Spirit. For neither does the Holy Spirit give the same to the Son, although He works through Him. For John argued charmingly from natural principles or philosophical maxims to the ineffable works of the Trinity, whose one power, one will, one potency, does not obtain in natural things. For a king is said to work through a bailiff (we follow the example brought by John) because the bailiff works according to his command and given commission; but not because the king himself simultaneously concurs in the action, moving hand and voice in promulgating an edict or issuing a sentence. But in the Trinity, although a person is said to work through a person, no commands are given, no commissions; nor does one, while another works, subsist in that it either conferred operative power to the other or the other works; but both concur equally in working, since one cannot work anything without the communion and cooperation of the other. And hence, on account of the said identity of will and cooperation, a person is said to work through a person; although it by no means conferred the faculty of working to the other. Therefore, John judged the divine operations most absurdly from examples of natural things.

But further, the same John in the Council of Florence, in the cited place,

disputes thus:

> *The third argument from Scripture is this: We find that through the Spirit we are conformed to the Son of God. This conformation is found in the words of the Apostle, in* 2 Corinthians 1:21–22*: 'He who anointed us and sealed us, and gave the pledge of the Spirit in our hearts': that is, according to which the Spirit makes us adopted sons. Now, from this authority, such an argument is taken. That through which something is figured to another must have its being from that to which it figures another. And there is an example of this in natural things, so that you may understand better. We say thus, that the seed of an animal is that through which the generated is configured and made similar to the one generating. Now, that seed necessarily must be derived from that to which the produced thing is assimilated: and therefore, the seed of a man does not produce a lion, but only a man, from whom it is derived. These are examples, not entirely similar, but only so that we may understand that that through which it is assimilated is derived from that to which it is assimilated. Since, therefore, the Spirit has this, that through Him we are figured to the Son: it is necessary to say that the Spirit has His being from the Son. And on this argument, certain Greek doctors, namely* Basil *and* Athanasius*, greatly rely, saying: that just as the Son is the image of the Father, as existing naturally from His exemplar: so the Spirit is called the image of the Son. And this appears clearly in the* Antirrhesis *from* Basil*, and from* Athanasius *in* Epistle I to Serapion*.*

But John could not have argued more foolishly. For, first, when the Holy Spirit makes us conform to the Son of God, this is certainly common to the whole Trinity: for it is among the external works of God. Therefore, not only the Holy Spirit, but also the Father and the Son Himself make us conform to the Son of God; how, therefore, would it follow: "The Holy Spirit configures us to the Son of God; therefore, He proceeds from the Son of God?" Or how would it be true: "That through which something is figured to another must have its being from that to which it figures another?" For otherwise it would follow: the Father also was produced from the Son, since the Father likewise configures us to the Son; it would follow that the Son also produced Himself, since the Son equally makes the faithful conform to Himself. The Apostle then says: "Those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son." But of the Holy Spirit, who is the image of the Son, the Apostle said the

same. Athanasius, in *Epistle to Serapion* against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature, Volume I, page 199:

> *The Spirit is and is called the image of the Son: for those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son.*

Basil, in *Book V Against Eunomius*:

> *The image of God is Christ: 'Who is,' he says, 'the image of the invisible God.' But the image of the Son is the Spirit, and those who are partakers of Him are made conform to the Son, according to that written: 'Those whom He foreknew and predestined, He makes conform to the image of His Son, that He may be the firstborn among many brothers.'*

Cyril of Alexandria, in *Book X on John*, Volume IV, page 988:

> *The exquisite image of the Only-Begotten is the Holy Spirit, as Paul says: 'For those,' he says, 'whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son.'*

Therefore, God the Father makes us conform, or configures us, to the Holy Spirit with the Son. How, therefore, would it follow: "The Holy Spirit configures us to the Son; therefore, He proceeds from Him?" Surely, then, was the Father or the Son also produced from the Holy Spirit? Absurdly. Moreover, the external works of divinity are common to the whole Trinity; if, therefore, the Father, if the Son assimilates us to the Holy Spirit, certainly the Holy Spirit also assimilates us to Himself. How, therefore, would it follow: "The Holy Spirit assimilates us to the Son; therefore, He proceeds from Him?" Or how would it be true: "That through which something is figured to another must have its being from that to which it figures another?" Surely, then, would the Holy Spirit also have been the cause of Himself, and were the Father or the Son not sufficient for the Latins? But how would the Holy Spirit, by whom He makes us sons of God, or conformed to the Son of God, also have to proceed from the Son? Or does the Holy Spirit not sufficiently have, through His procession from the Father, whatever He could have through production from the Son, by which He configures us to the Son? For, first, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He certainly has from this

that He can assimilate us to the Father, and thus also conform us to the Son of God. For he who conforms to the Father also conforms to the Son, and vice versa. As from this we are conformed not only to the Son of God, but also to the image of the Son of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, as the Apostle says, of which we have just spoken. Secondly, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, no less from this, when He regenerates some, could He make them conform to the Son, than if He proceeded from the Son Himself. For thus the Holy Spirit is produced from the same as the Son, of one essence, one power, one will with the Son. But the Holy Spirit would not have more agreement and unity from the Son, even if He were also produced from the Son. But if, beyond this, something more were required of the Holy Spirit, by which He would conform us to the Son of God, He would certainly have to be the Son of the Son, or the Holy Spirit would have to be generated from Him, which is absurd. For otherwise it is the same: to be produced from the Father as to be produced from the Son, by which, namely, the Holy Spirit can render the faithful conform to the Son. How, therefore, would it be necessary, for the Holy Spirit to assimilate us to the Son, that the Holy Spirit proceed from the Son, when already, on account of His production from the Father, the Holy Spirit necessarily has that by which He can assimilate us to the Son? But if in natural things it holds that that through which someone is configured must have its being from that to which it figures another, by no means could this be concluded for the mysteries of divine operations, in which it is not a matter of production, but of mystical and spiritual adoption. The seed, John said, which must produce a man, must necessarily be derived from a man. Surely, then, when we are regenerated from the Holy Spirit, are we formed from Him as from a seed into sons of God? Or does the Holy Spirit, when He regenerates us, make us natural sons of God, and not at least adopted? In natural things, according to John’s sense, if something must assimilate something to another, it cannot be unless it is produced from that to which it must assimilate. But the Holy Spirit, although He is not the Son, for He proceeds from the Father, nevertheless assimilates the faithful to the Son of God. In natural things, that through which another is assimilated to the producer can never be the brother of the producer, but at least the fruit or son of the producer. But here the Holy Spirit, through whom we are assimilated to the Son, does not make us sons of the Son, but also

brothers of the Son, when He assimilates us to the Son. Thus, the Apostle: “Those whom He foreknew and predestined, He makes conform to the image of His Son, that He may be the firstborn among many brothers.” Absurdly, therefore, is an argument instituted from natural productions to mystical divine operations. For, moreover, that it does not hold even in divine productions, that that through which another is configured to another must have its being from that to which it figures, is clear from this, that the Father produced the Holy Spirit entirely conform to the Son of God, and again the Son equal in all things to the Holy Spirit; yet not for that reason was the Father produced from either the Son or the Holy Spirit. Finally, that Basil and Athanasius say that just as the Son is the image of God the Father, as existing naturally from His exemplar, so the Holy Spirit is called the image of the Son, as existing, namely, naturally from the Son, or His exemplar, is most false. We have just seen the words of these Fathers, where they by no means teach the same. But we will treat these things at length in the treatise in which we resolve the testimonies objected from the writings of the Eastern Fathers. In which treatise, moreover, what can further be adduced from the aforementioned Fathers in this matter, we will discuss. And so much for the remaining arguments that the Latins wove from Sacred Scripture for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

What, therefore, is to be held thus far concerning all the arguments of the Latins drawn from Sacred Scripture is clear to all: namely, that Sacred Scripture is twisted against the mind of the Holy Spirit, drawn to things that were never heard in the Catholic Church; but these are the delusions of the Latins, who prefer to be led by wretched little reasonings rather than to follow the simple and clear doctrine of Sacred Scripture and the Holy Fathers of the Catholic Church: this alone is their misery, that they have not even admitted into their minds that they can err, and hence, as if for an undoubted truth, they strive to devise arguments of whatever sort. How much better it would be to follow the admonition of Cyril of Jerusalem from *Catechesis XVI*, page 176:

> *We must say of the Holy Spirit what is written; if something is not written, we must not curiously inquire. The Holy Spirit Himself spoke the Scriptures, He Himself said of Himself whatever He willed, or as far as we were capable. Let, therefore, be said whatever He said; but whatever He did not say, let us not dare.*

And again from *Catechesis XVII*, page 192:

> *We also now ingenuously confess that we will not yield to human reasonings, but only recall what is in the Sacred Scriptures. For this is the safest, as the blessed Paul says: 'Not in persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the persuasions of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual.'*

And hence, he adds, page 196:

> *But we ought to hear the Savior more, speaking words about the Holy Spirit.*

And after he had recounted many words of the Savior about the Holy Spirit, page 197, he adds:

> "*Now I read to you the words of the Only Begotten Himself, lest you apply your ear to human words.*

But just as the Latins entirely disregard this warning of the Holy Father, while for them the very words of Christ were not enough, but they curiously scrutinized what those words did not contain: so it is not surprising that they weave together many absurd conclusions, and that they inflict violence upon the Catholic faith itself, as has been shown hitherto."

TRACTATE XV

In which the testimonies from the writings of the Eastern Fathers, sought to support the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, are refuted

Among the Latins, nothing is more common than to cite those testimonies of the Fathers, in which the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son (per Filium), to demonstrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son (ex Filio). They claim that saying through the Son is the same as saying from the Son. Just as when it is said that all created things are made through the Son, it is understood that they are made by the Son. Similarly, when the Son of God is said to be born through the Virgin Mary, it is understood that He is born from the Virgin Mary, and so forth.

However, it is clear from many statements of the Fathers that they are speaking only of the eternal production of the Holy Spirit when they say that He proceeds from the Father through the Son. Indeed, the Holy Fathers often teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and is sent outwardly, interpreting the phrase through the Son as referring to the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Cyril of Alexandria explicitly states multiple times that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father but is given to creatures through the Son and poured out into creation, as we have enumerated in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers Concerning the Words of Cyril of Alexandria. The same is found in Eulogius, Archbishop of Alexandria, in Oration V (as cited by Photius), Cosmas in Hymn II, the author of the Book on the Trinity attributed to Cyril (Chapters IX and X), John Damascene in On the Orthodox Faith, Book I, Chapters X and XI, Germanus in The Theory of Sacred Things (as cited in the referenced

treatise), and Hilary of Poitiers in On the Trinity, Book XII (as cited in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Western Fathers). Hence, when St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in the faith he learned from St. John, taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is manifested through the Son, he explicitly restricts this manifestation through the Son to a temporal one, adding: namely, to humans.

Nevertheless, we readily concede that elsewhere the Holy Fathers, when speaking of the very production of the Holy Spirit, teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his Exposition of Faith Against Elipandus, says that the Holy Spirit is eternally emitted or proceeds from the substance of the Father through the Son. Epiphanius, in Heresy LXXIII (against the Semi-Arians), states that the Easterners believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Maximus the Martyr, in his Commentary on Zechariah, Chapter IV, says that the Holy Spirit proceeds essentially from the Father through the Son in an ineffable manner. John Damascene, in On the Orthodox Faith, Book I, Chapter XIII, states that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit through the Son, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, though not in the manner of generation. Similar statements are found in his Letter on the Trisagion.

However, it is clear that the Fathers, when teaching that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father through the Son, did not understand the Son to be a cause or principle of the Holy Spirit. This is evident first from the words of John Damascene himself in On the Orthodox Faith, Book I, Chapter XIII, where he explicitly states:

> *The Holy Spirit is indeed of the Son, not as proceeding from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause.*

If, therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son because the Father alone is the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit, it is clear that the Son is not understood to be the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit. For the same reason, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed not from the Son but through the Son from the Father.

Gregory of Nyssa, in Against Eunomius, Book I, explicitly states:

The Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from God the Father,

> *just as the unbegotten light the Son; but shining forth through the true light the Son, He differs from the Father and the Son by no interval or diversity of nature.*

Here, he clearly distinguishes having a cause from God and shining forth through the Son. Thus, through the Son does not mean the same as from the Son. Gregory of Nyssa further says in the same work:

> *The Holy Spirit shines forth through the Son, but receives the principle of His hypostasis from the primeval light the Father.*

Here again, although he teaches that the Holy Spirit shines forth through the Son, he refers the cause to the Father. Thus, he did not teach that the Holy Spirit receives the principle of His subsistence from the Son when he said that He shines forth through the Son.

The Fathers do not teach that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father through the Son in any other sense than that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father after the Son has been generated. This is explicitly taught by Ephraem the Syrian, along with Gregory of Nyssa. Ephraem, in his Sermon on Confession and Self-Reproach, states:

> *The Father begot the Son without any disturbance, time, necessity, or change, but by a nature free from all necessity, which He established as His hypostasis. Desiring another companion, the Father did not beget but produced the Holy Spirit from His substance, not before the Son, lest we say His will was subject to necessity. When we say the Holy Spirit comes after the Son, this is not a matter of time but of person, since the Spirit and the Word share one and the same essence and substance, free from any principle. For we, in pronouncing a word, move our breath, and with the word, we produce breath. Thus, the Father needed no time in generating the Son, nor did He produce the Holy Spirit after the Word with any interval of time. Hence, the divinity is co-eternal with the Holy Trinity.*

Thus, he teaches that the Father first produced the Son from His substance, and then the Holy Spirit after the Son, but not before the Son, as if the Spirit were produced before the Son, nor with any temporal interval, but both simultaneously, before all ages, from the Father; yet the Son is produced with no intermediary, while the Holy Spirit is produced

after the Son has been generated. Similarly, Gregory of Nyssa, in That There Are Not Three Gods, teaches that the Son is produced from the Father without any intermediary, while the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son has been generated. Hence, the Son is a mediator in the production of the Holy Spirit from the Father, and the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father through the Son. He explains the phrase through the Son from the Father as meaning that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father after the Son has been generated. His words are:

> *We consider another difference in that which exists from a cause. For the one the Son is directly from the first cause, while the other the Holy Spirit is through that which is directly from the first cause, so that the property of the Only-Begotten remains unambiguously in the Son, and it is not doubted that the Spirit is from the Father, with the Son mediating, preserving the property of the Only-Begotten and not excluding the Spirit's natural relation to the Father.*

Likewise, in Against Eunomius, Book I, he says:

> *As the Son is joined to the Father and His being from Him does not make Him posterior in subsistence, so too the Holy Spirit is joined to the Only-Begotten, understood as secondary to Him only in the concept of cause (since the Son is produced before the Spirit). For temporal intervals have no place in that life which precedes all ages, so that, with the concept of cause removed, the Holy Trinity does not differ from itself.*

Similarly, John Damascene, in On the Orthodox Faith, Book I, Chapter XVIII, teaches that the Spirit is joined to the Father through the Son, meaning that the Holy Spirit is not produced immediately from the Father without any intermediary, but through the Son who has been produced. He says:

> *The Holy Spirit is between the Unbegotten and the Begotten and is joined to the Father through the Son.*

Thus, it is clear that when the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the phrase through the Son signifies at least the order of production, not the principle.

The Latins argue that through (per) is the same as from (ex). Although in the examples cited above, these may be equivalent, nothing can be inferred against the sense we have presented. For the production from the Father of the two hypostases (the Son and the Spirit) transcends all understanding, and no production could ever be equivalent to it unless another Trinity of one God is posited. For the two perfect hypostases, produced from the Father before all ages, the one (the Son) is generated before the other (the Spirit), while the Holy Spirit proceeds after the Son has been generated, but is not generated. Yet, there is still only one God—the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit. For this unique reason of the production of these two hypostases, a particular manner of speaking prevailed among the Holy Fathers, namely that the Son is produced without any intermediary, while the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son has been generated. Thus, other common expressions cannot prejudice this particular manner of speaking. Clearly, the sense of the Fathers, when teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, is that He proceeds from the Father after the Son has been generated. In this sense, if the proposition through the Son is taken to mean from the Son, they are by no means the same. St. John Damascene, in the cited words, conceded that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father but denied that He proceeds from the Son. How, then, could from and through be the same? Hence, even though the Holy Fathers often teach elsewhere that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, they never assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. On the contrary, they frequently deny that the Holy Spirit has His cause of subsistence from the Son and teach that the Father alone is the producer or cause of the Holy Spirit.

Cichovius, Question IV, Page 37.

However, the Jesuit, cited by us many times in this matter, objects above all, and it may be worth refuting his arguments here. First, he insists: The Fathers, when teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son or is produced, either understand the Holy Spirit to proceed through the Son as through a servant or as a secondary cause (which are absurd), or through the Son as through one consubstantial with the Father, which is equally false. For, first, if this were so, it would follow that the Son is also generated through the Holy Spirit, since the Holy Spirit is also consubstantial with the Son. Second, the active

influence, which the procession through the Son necessarily presupposes, cannot in any way be referred to consubstantiality, since actions belong to supposits persons; therefore, it is referred to an action common to the Father and the Son. Third, if through the Son signifies consubstantiality, the question remains: What does it mean to proceed or be produced through the Son as through one consubstantial? For this proceed either signifies to be produced through Him who has the same essence as the Father and the Spirit, or something else. If the former, then the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. If it does not signify to be produced through the Son, what, I ask, is the difference between proceed and be produced? Or finally, St. Damascene and others understood that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son as through a principle, with the phrase through the Son signifying that the Son receives from the Father the ability to be, together with the Father, the principle of the Holy Spirit. Thus he argues.

We have already seen how the Holy Spirit is said to proceed through the Son from the Father, namely that He proceeds from the Father after the Son has been generated, not before the Son. This was the doctrine of the cited Fathers. In this sense, it is not absurd to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father because He proceeds from the Father through the Son as one consubstantial, generated from the Father. As for the reasons brought by the Jesuit: How, I ask, would it follow, first, that for the same reason the Son should also be said to be generated through the Holy Spirit? For, with the Son already generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds; and in this sense, it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son as through one consubstantial, generated from the Father. But the Holy Spirit does not proceed before the Son in the same way, so that the Son could similarly be said to be generated through the Holy Spirit from the Father. It is false, then, that the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son presupposes an active influence on the part of the Son, or that this signifies that the Son of God actively influences the procession of the Holy Spirit. The procession indeed signifies production or action, but this is not referred to the Son when the Holy Spirit is said to be produced through the Son. Rather, it signifies at least that the Holy Spirit is produced after the Son has been generated. Finally, to proceed through the Son signifies to be produced through the Son, who has the same essence as the Father and the Spirit. But it is false that

it follows from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, since the sense of that proposition is at least that He proceeds through the Son, that is, after the Son has been generated. Thus, the order of production is signified, and no reason can infer that the Fathers, by the phrase through the Son, intended to signify that the Son receives from the Father the ability to produce the Holy Spirit.

Page 699.

The Jesuit adds: Damascene greatly opposes those who explain through the Son as referring to the temporal bestowal of gifts, and he greatly opposes those who explain through the Son as with the Son. As for the former, there are indeed very clear passages in which Damascene understands the term procession as referring to production, saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. As for the latter, he says that Damascene states: The Begetter of the Word is the producer of the Holy Spirit through the Word, where if through is the same as with, the sense of Damascene would be that the Father, together with the Word, is the producer of the Holy Spirit, which inevitably strikes at the heart of the Easterners' position. We do not deny that in the passages cited by the Jesuit, Damascene explicitly understands procession as production, not the temporal bestowal of the Holy Spirit's gifts. But does it follow that in other passages Damascene does not explain through the Son as referring at least to the temporal bestowal of the Holy Spirit's gifts? We have just seen Damascene's words explicitly stating this. Or does it follow that, because the Fathers do not always understand the term procession as referring to the temporal bestowal of gifts when teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, it would follow that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son? That is absurd. The Jesuit only plays with equivocation here. For when the Easterners explain through as with, they understand that the Son is not joined to the Father as the cause of the Holy Spirit, but at least as a co-effect with the Holy Spirit. They refer the connective with not to the Father but to the Holy Spirit, so that the sense is: The Holy Spirit is produced with the Son from the Father. In the same sense, then, Damascene would say that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit with the Son. How, then, would this inevitably strike at the heart of their position, which they so easily avoid?

He further submits: The Easterners can never show where the Fathers interpreted through (per) as with (cum); but the Latins have often shown from Basil, Athanasius, and Cyril that through in Sacred Scripture signifies the same as from (ex). But we have already seen above that Gregory of Nyssa interprets through the Son as meaning that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, not immediately, but after the Son has been produced. In this sense, it is rightly said that through the Son signifies with the Son produced from the Father. Indeed, Gregory of Nyssa, in Against Eunomius, Book I, states:

> *The Father lacks a principle, is unbegotten, and is always understood as the Father. From Him, in the same continuous and indivisible series, the Only-Begotten Son is understood as co-existing with the Father. But through the Son and with Him, before any thought of an intermediate void or lack of person can creep into the mind, the Holy Spirit is apprehended as joined to both, neither inferior nor posterior to the Son in existence, so that the Only-Begotten cannot be conceived without the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit has the cause of His existence from the God of the universe, just as the unbegotten light. But shining forth through the true light, He differs from the Father and the Son by no interval or diversity of nature.*

Here, Nyssa, having said through the Son and with the Son, before any thought of an intermediate void or lack of person can creep into the mind, states that the Holy Spirit is apprehended as joined to both. He expresses this by saying:

> *Shining forth through the true light, the Holy Spirit differs from the Father and the Son by no interval or diversity of nature.*

Here, what he had just said—through the Son and with the Son—he equates in the following words with the Holy Spirit shining forth through the Son. How, then, can it be said that no Father taught that when the Holy Spirit is said to proceed through the Son from the Father, it signifies at the same time that He proceeds with the Son from the Father? In Sacred Scripture, then, through signifies the same as from, but in those passages, it refers at least to the undivided operation of the Trinity, not to the very production of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son.

The Jesuit counters: The passages of Scripture cited by the Fathers indeed refer to external actions, but this is precisely because Scripture,

at least two or three times, speaks of internal actions with the particle through, and this with the utmost providence of God. For, he says, if, because Scripture attributes the particle from (ex) to the Father and through (per) to the Son in external actions, the Arians inferred that the Son is of a different substance (heteroousios) from the Father, how much more would they have dared to do so if, in explaining internal actions, the particle through had been used? Although the words with which the Apostle begins some epistles, "Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God" (where the particle through signifies the same as from, as St. Basil teaches in On the Holy Spirit, Chapter V), signify an internal action of God. Therefore, since St. Basil, in the cited book, Chapters XXV and XXVII, explained the particle with and showed precisely how it differs from in, but nowhere indicated that through (per) signifies the same as with (cum), it is clear that this is a novel invention of the Photians, contrived to evade the authority of the Eastern Holy Fathers, and has no foundation in the Holy Fathers.

But first, the Jesuit absurdly calls God’s actions internal when they relate to creatures and occur in time, just as he errs no less regarding the calling of the Apostle. For since that divine will concerns Paul, and Paul was called to the apostolate in time, how would this calling of Paul not be an external action? Therefore, when Sacred Scripture uses the particle through to signify from in external works, nothing supports the Latins’ position, as stated. But, he says, in internal actions, God did not use the phrase through the Son, and this by the highest providence, because otherwise, the Arians would have inferred, even more than when Sacred Scripture uses through the Son in external works, that the Son is of a different substance (heteroousios). But these are the vainest predictions of the vainest Jesuit. First, how could God have rarely used through the Son in internal actions, when we have just shown that this was nowhere done? Or how could it rarely occur in Sacred Scripture, when the Jesuit himself admits that it is repeated so often by the Apostle? Would this not have been sufficient for the Arians to establish their blasphemies from it? How, then, could God have refrained from using through the Son in internal actions to prevent the Arians from abusing it, when they could have abused similar statements? Moreover, heretics abuse various passages in various ways, yet the all-knowing God did not refrain from using them. How, then, do we know that God, for the sake of certain

heresies, deliberately avoided saying something? And how, I ask, for the sake of the Arians, did God refrain from using through the Son in internal actions? The Arians, after all, did not acknowledge any internal action but blasphemously claimed that the Son is a creature of God and the Holy Spirit a creature of the Son. In what action, then, does a creature concur with God that is not external? Hence, whoever admits internal actions between God and His Son thereby confesses that there is one essence, one divinity, and one power of the Father and the Son. How, then, I ask, could the Arians, if it were said through the Son in internal actions, have inferred from this that the Father and the Son are not of one nature, more than when through the Son is used in external works? Nor could the Arians, arguing ad hominem against Catholics, have inferred anything from this for their heresy. For where through the Son is understood in internal actions, it is simultaneously understood, as stated, that the Son is of one nature with the Father. How, then, could the Arians have inferred anything further against Catholics from this than from the fact that God uses through the Son in external works? These, therefore, are true Jesuit inventions, by which they prefer to follow the whims of their minds rather than be guided by the Catholic faith itself. What consequence is there: Basil explains the particle with somewhere and shows that it differs from in, but nowhere teaches that through signifies with—therefore, with could not signify through in a certain sense? Basil's concern in the cited passages dealt at least with the undivided operation of God, not with internal action. Why, then, would he have transitioned from one genre to another?

He continues: St. Cyril and Epiphanius say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through both, where it cannot be explained that the Holy Spirit proceeds with the Father and the Son. But nowhere does Cyril say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through both; rather, he says goes forth (exit). For in On the Right Faith to the Queens, he says:

> *He goes forth (proeisi) through both, the life-giving Spirit.*

But there, Cyril is not speaking of the procession of the Holy Spirit but at least of His temporal mission, in which sense through is entirely equivalent to from. But here we are dealing with the hypostatic and eternal production of the Holy Spirit. As for Epiphanius' words, they are not through both but from both (par amphoteron), and we will see below

what sense he gives to this.

Finally, he objects: The Fathers never teach that the Son is generated through the Holy Spirit, which would be true if through signified with, especially since, according to the Easterners, the Holy Spirit originates immediately from the Father alone, just as the Son does. But we have already refuted this above: the Son could not similarly be said to be generated through the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, because the Son is not generated after the Holy Spirit has been produced, as the Holy Spirit proceeds after the Son has been generated. In this sense, through signifies with. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father with the Son generated from the Father, and both the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced immediately from the Father alone. But in terms of order, with Gregory of Nyssa, we acknowledge a mediation, whereby the Son intervenes in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son has been generated. But the Son is generated immediately from the Father with no intermediary produced, and hence this order prevents the Son from being said to be produced through the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit is said to be produced through the Son. What he disputes against this elsewhere, we will see below regarding the words of St. Maximus.

Cichovius, Question VI, Page 71.

As for what we urged above, that the Fathers do not teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as they teach that He proceeds through the Son, and therefore the particle through is not the same as the particle with, the same author responds elsewhere: Many heretics abounded in Greece who defended various heresies about the Holy Trinity; therefore, the Fathers had to speak most cautiously to avoid giving occasion for scandal to heretics. Even among the orthodox, there were those who scrutinized words. For these reasons, the Fathers refrained from the most commonly used expressions. For some, even if they believed the Holy Spirit to be God, did not use that name. From the same source, it follows that as the Fathers followed different ways of defending the faith, they also employed different ways of speaking. Gregory the Theologian used the term unbegotten, while others entirely shunned it. It is not surprising, then, if in Greece, where there were many errors about the Holy Spirit, not all spoke in the same way. For, he says, to silence those

who posited three principles in the divine, they taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, thereby indicating that not only the Holy Spirit but also the Son, through whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, should be referred to the Father as the unoriginated cause (causa anarchica). Thus, to refute the Eunomians and signify that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Son but also from the Father (as St. Basil explicitly says at the end of Against Eunomius, Book II), they said that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the Father through the Son. They also used this manner of speaking against the Sabellians to signify the distinction of the spirating persons, even if with one power and spirative action. For they considered that the particle from (ex), according to usage, signifies the unoriginated and primary cause (causa anarchica et procatarchica), that is, one that does not receive the power of producing from another. They observed that this particle from fixes the mind and does not compel it to proceed further to seek a primary cause. In contrast, they saw that the particle through introduces another person and prompts the mind to consider it, and, as Basil says in On the Holy Spirit, Chapter VIII, and Chrysostom in Homily LIII on Matthew, it is a confession of order to the primary or first cause (procatarctica vel prima causa). Therefore, they preferred to use through rather than from, and to apply from to the supreme cause (as Basil says in On the Holy Spirit, folio 226). He adds that, nevertheless, the Fathers commonly teach that through is the same as from.

But first, with this general excuse he prefaces, the Jesuit accomplishes nothing; rather, by this he opens the door for all heretics to excuse their errors in the same way when it is objected that the Fathers refrained from such and such words. The Jesuit should have proved that this was the intention of the Fathers, which he attributes to them in this matter. It is absurd to say that the Fathers, to avoid giving scandal to heretics, refrained from the phrase from the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit. For this reason, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, and finally John Damascene deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son: because otherwise, the Son would be a cause of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, they did not refrain to avoid scandal to heretics but because they truly condemned that doctrine as introducing two principles. But, he says, the Fathers also refrained from even the most commonly used words because of Catholics who scrutinized the words of others. But what

would follow from this for the present matter? Some, at least, refrained from those expressions that others explicitly affirmed, as is clear from the examples cited by the Jesuit. But here, the Fathers nowhere teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Further, how, I ask, if the Fathers had wished to use from the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit, would they have given occasion for scandal to heretics or Catholics, when whatever scandal could arise from this could also arise from the fact that they taught and proclaimed everywhere that the world was created from the Father and the Son or that all things are believed to be from the Father and from the Son? For just as here, so too there, two persons are posited as having produced. If, then, from and through are the same, as the Latins claim and the Jesuit pretends in what follows, how, I ask, would the Fathers have preferred to refrain from from when through equally signifies from? Again, if the Fathers, to avoid giving occasion for scandal to Catholics or heretics, preferred to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son rather than from the Father and the Son, why, then, do the Latins reject this intention of the Fathers, not only teaching but defending with all their strength that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well? The scandal they have thereby given and continue to give to the Easterners speaks for itself. Moreover, to demonstrate the vanity of this exception at a glance, what passages from the Fathers do not abound in which it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the substance of the Son, is from the Son, or comes forth from the Son, which, according to the sense of the words as they stand, they add is equivalent to proceeding from the Son? These passages are so numerous that they far outweigh in number the passages in which the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, as will become clear from this treatise. Again, in countless passages, the Fathers affirm that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, is from the Son, or comes forth from the Son, and the Latins again claim that this, according to the sense of the words, signifies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. How, then, could the Fathers be said to have preferred to say through the Son rather than from the Son to avoid heretics, when, according to the opinion of all the Latins, as shown, they teach in far more passages that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son than through the Son?

The Jesuit adds his conjectures: why, namely, the Fathers preferred to teach against heretics that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father

through the Son. But how does he prove that this was the sense of the Fathers? Is it sufficient to assert when it concerns the sense of others? Against those who posited an unoriginated principle (anarchicos), he says, the Fathers taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. On the contrary, to avoid agreeing with those heretics, as is clear from the example of the Fathers named above, they denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, since they believed there is only one cause of the Holy Spirit. Again, to refute the Eunomians and signify that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Father and not from the Son alone, the Fathers preferred to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Yet here, too, they would have preferred to affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and from the Father if they had believed such a thing, as the Jesuit also claimed that Basil taught against those same heretics. For by this, they would have directly contradicted the heretics. Similarly, against the Sabellians, to establish the distinction of persons, they would have said from the Father and the Son rather than from the Father through the Son if they had believed such a thing, because that explicitly argues for two persons, the Father and the Son. The Jesuit, with the other Latins, foolishly appealed to Basil against the Eunomians, for one must be very blind not to have better examined that passage, as we will see below regarding Basil's words. Moreover, the particle from (ex) does not signify the principal cause, as has been sufficiently shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers Concerning the Words of St. Damascene.

In so many passages, the Latins claim that the Fathers taught that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit—for example, Nyssa, Basil, Athanasius, and Damascene, as we saw in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers and will become clearer below. Yet the Latins also claim that cause signifies the principal cause. If, therefore, the Fathers in many passages affirmed that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, even though the word cause signifies the principal cause, how, I ask, even if from signified the unoriginated cause, would the Fathers have refrained from using from the Son in the production of the Holy Spirit? Again, if from signifies the principal cause, and therefore the Fathers preferred to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son rather than from the Son, why, then, in countless passages do they teach that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, receives from the Son, or comes forth from the Son, which

the Latins say, according to the force of the words, means to proceed from the Son? If this is the reason why the Fathers refrained from from the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit, why, I ask, did the Jesuit earlier claim that the Fathers did so to avoid scandal to heretics or Catholics? The particle through, then, is indeed significant of order in the procession of the Holy Spirit, as we saw above. But it is false that the Fathers therefore preferred to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son rather than from the Father and from the Son, and that Basil wished to apply from to the supreme cause in this matter. Basil, in the cited passage, deals with external works, not internal works. Why, then, could his authority be urged here? What the Jesuit infers elsewhere from this, we will refute below. The Jesuit adds: The Fathers nevertheless teach that from and through are the same. But there, they deal only with the undivided operations of God, as we refuted this exception above. And if from and through are the same, how could the preposition from signify the unoriginated cause, while through does not?

The remaining Latinizing interpretations of the Greeks, why namely the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, which the Jesuit adds there, we do not dwell on. For they assume what is at issue and bring no argument from the Holy Fathers for their interpretation.

Page 89.

What the same Jesuit disputes further in this matter is as follows: As for what the same Moldavian writes in his solutions, that the preposition through in Scripture does not always denote a cause, he speaks truly; but it does not follow from this that the particle through in no way signifies an internal action. Let him show even one example where, in discourse about internal procession, the particle through signifies something other than an active co-principle. Among the many ways of speaking by which Scripture signifies the consubstantiality of the persons, the Greeks have not yet been able to find one passage where through signifies consubstantiality. But although it does not follow that, because the preposition through does not always denote a cause, it therefore does not signify an internal action, it does follow from this that there is no necessity to interpret through, where the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, as a co-principle, as the Latins wish. Indeed, in this very proposition through the Son, it signifies an internal

action, but in relation to the Father, who, after generating the Son, produced the Holy Spirit. Moreover, no example can be shown from Sacred Scripture where the preposition through in the procession of the Holy Spirit signifies not a co-principle but consubstantiality; but neither does Sacred Scripture teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, but we have received this proposition (as far as the words themselves are concerned) from the Fathers. How, then, could the sense of that proposition be derived from Sacred Scripture? But if we consult the Fathers, it has been clearly shown above that they do not denote an active co-principle by the phrase through the Son, but at least the order of consubstantial production.

We have already seen above that Basil, whom the Jesuit objects to here, does not support the Latins' opinion; and we further refuted above what he adds, that it cannot be proven by any testimony that through and with are the same.

He adds: If it is permitted to say that through (dia) or per is the same as with (cum), then the Arians, imitating the Greeks, will explain the words "All things were made through Him" as "All things were made with Him." But we say that through signifies with according to what was said above in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son. How, then, could it be assumed: Therefore, where it is said that all things were made through the Son, it is equally understood that all things were made with the Son? Is it because through does not signify a cause in the production of the Holy Spirit but with, that through would signify the same everywhere? That is absurd. The Jesuit himself just admitted that through does not signify a cause everywhere in Scripture. The reason for the difference is clear: there it concerns an internal action, here an external action. But internal actions are entirely distinct, while external actions are undivided and common to the whole Trinity equally.

He continues, teaching that Basil says that from (ex) is attributed to the Father in Scripture, through (per) to the Son, to preserve the unconfused notion of the Father and the Son and to signify the confession of the primary cause (procatarctica causa). Therefore, he says, since in both internal and external actions the unconfused notion of the Father and the Son must be preserved and the confession of the primary cause explained, it is not surprising if the Greek Fathers, writing against the

Eunomians and Pneumatomachians, claiming that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Son alone, preferred to attribute the particle through to the Son not only in internal actions but also in external actions, lest, if they had attributed from (ex) to the Son, heretics would infer that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as from a primary cause, and therefore does not proceed from the Father. After the Eunomians were extinguished, even the Greek Fathers, in explaining divine processions, used both the particle from and through indiscriminately for the Son, and even attributed through to the Father.

But what necessity is there in this consequence: Sacred Scripture attributes from to the Father and through to the Son in external actions to preserve at least the unconfused notion of the Father and the Son and to explain the confession of the primary cause; therefore, since the unconfused notion of the Father and the Son and the confession of the primary cause must also be explained in internal actions, the Fathers similarly attributed from to the Father and through to the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit, since otherwise they believed that from would also apply to the Son in both external and internal actions? We saw above that the intention of the Fathers, when teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, was different. Hence, it is clear that they deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, but through the Son from the Father, because the Son is not the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit, and not to preserve the unconfused notion of the Father and the Son or to explain the confession of the primary cause, since they also taught that from applies to the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit. Hence, the difference between these is also clear: although the Fathers teach, for the stated reason, that from is attributed to the Father and through to the Son in external actions, elsewhere they explicitly confess that all things are produced from both the Father and the Son. But here, they nowhere teach that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son; rather, they expressly deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, affirming instead that He proceeds through the Son, as we showed in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers with the examples of Cyril of Alexandria, the author of the Book on the Trinity, John Damascene, and others. How, then, would the Fathers have said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and heretics, who blasphemously claimed that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Son alone, would have

inferred from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as from an unproduced cause or from the Son alone? The Eunomians claimed that the Son is a creature of the Father; how, then, would they have inferred from the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Son that the Son is an unproduced cause of the Holy Spirit? They would no more have inferred this than they inferred that the Son is the unoriginated or unproduced cause of all things from the fact that all things are said to be from the Son. Indeed, the Jesuit claimed above that Basil, at the end of Against Eunomius, Book II, said that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son alone but also from the Father. How, then, did Basil not fear to say this against the Eunomians, lest they infer from this that the Son is an unproduced cause of the Holy Spirit? As for the other heretics who conceded that the Son is generated from the Father and is true God, how could they, from the fact that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Son, infer that the Son is an unoriginated cause of the Holy Spirit to prove that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Son alone? It is impossible for the Son to be generated and to be an unoriginated cause.

The Jesuit continued: After the Eunomians were extinguished, even the Greek Fathers, in explaining divine processions, attributed both from and through to the Son. Why, then, does the subsequent cohort of Fathers unanimously deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, the Eastern bishops, the author of the Book on the Trinity, Damascene, and others, as shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. And if, after the Eunomians were extinguished, they used from and through indiscriminately for the Son, since there was no longer fear that heretics would say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and infer that the Son is the unoriginated cause of the Holy Spirit, why, then, did Damascene deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? The Latins claim this because the particle from signifies an unoriginated cause. What, then, did the Fathers teach in this matter after the Eunomians were extinguished? That the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, is from the Son, comes forth from the substance of the Son, but never proceeds from the Son. But the Fathers taught the same both before and during the time of the Eunomians. How, then, did the Jesuit not fear to assert that the Fathers taught anything beyond this after the Eunomians were extinguished? Hence, it is clear that these are merely Jesuit inventions, supported by no foundation or reason.

Cichovius, in the disputation held on the second day of October at the Tribunal, Page 322.

When it was objected to him that Basil indeed teaches that from and through are the same, but in those passages, he deals with the undivided operations of God, he responded elsewhere: Basil speaks most universally against the Arians; therefore, he most universally denied the distinction between through and from. But if Basil most universally denied the distinction between through and from, he did so most universally in the context of God’s external works. How, then, would he not have validly pressed the Arians, who distinguished between through and from when it is said that all things are created through the Son to depreciate the Son of God? And this is enough for now regarding what the Latins object, that the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father.

Page 61, Question VI.

The Jesuit further objects: The Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son. He argues first: If the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Son but from the Father alone, it would be impossible for the Holy Spirit to remain in the Son and be at rest; therefore, He also proceeds from the Son. I prove the consequence of the major premise: If the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone, He could not remain in the Son unless He passed from the Father into the Son; but the Holy Spirit cannot pass from the Father into the Son; therefore, if the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone, He could not remain in the Son. The major premise seems clear, nor is it otherwise conceivable how the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, could be in the Son unless He passes into Him from the Father. For the sake of clarity, I add a proof. Either the being of the Holy Spirit is communicated to the Son through generation along with the essence, or it is not. If it is, then it is supposed that the Holy Spirit is spirated before the Son is generated, which is impossible; if not, then the Holy Spirit cannot be conceived to be in the Son in any other way than by passing from the spirating Father into the Son. It is confirmed: That which passes from a starting point (terminus a quo) to an endpoint (terminus ad quem) cannot be in the endpoint unless it passes to it from the starting point. The Holy Spirit, spirated from the Father alone (according to the Photians), is as

something that passes from a starting point, namely the principle or cause, which is the Father, to an endpoint, which is the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit cannot be in the Son unless He passes into Him from the Father. Now, I prove that the Holy Spirit cannot pass from the Father into the Son: The Holy Spirit cannot pass from the Father into the Son unless He deserts the Father (because it is impossible for something to pass from a starting point to an endpoint without deserting the starting point). But it is impossible for the Holy Spirit to desert the Father. Therefore, it is impossible for the Holy Spirit to pass from the Father into the Son.

Is it thus that we should so basely subject the supreme mysteries of the Trinity to rational inquiry and the principles of worldly philosophy? Rather, we object to the Jesuits with the words of Augustine, On the Trinity, Book I, Chapter I:

> *Whoever intends to read what we have written concerning the Trinity must first know that our style is vigilant against the slanders of those who, despising the beginning of faith, are deceived by an immature and perverse love of reason. Some of them attempt to transfer what they have learned about corporeal things—either through bodily senses or through the natural sharpness of human ingenuity, diligence, or the aid of art—to incorporeal and spiritual realities, so that they wish to measure and judge those realities by these.*

And what, I ask, is the argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son based on the claim that the Holy Spirit remains in the Son? Certainly, Gregentius, Archbishop of Taphar, in his disputation with Herban the Jew (Library of the Greek Fathers, Volume I, p. 196), says:

> *We call the Holy Spirit one who proceeds from the mind, yet rests in the Word, granting life to all.*

Using this clearly distinctive particle, he distinguishes thus:

> *He proceeds from the Father, but rests in the Son.*

Therefore, the latter words do not equally signify that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. And how, I ask, could Gregentius have provided testimony for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son with these very words, when, according to the editors of the Library of the Greek

Fathers and the Library of the Fathers published in Cologne, Part I, Volume V, they note in the margin:

> *Beware the error of the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

Even the author of the Book on the Trinity, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, and John Damascene teach that the Holy Spirit remains in the Son. Did they, then, consider the Holy Spirit's remaining in the Son as an argument for His procession from the Son? On the contrary, John Damascene explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as we have seen in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. Moreover, the Father remains in the Son and the Spirit, and the Son in the Spirit. Fulgentius, in On Faith to Peter, Chapter I, states:

> *The whole Father is in the Son and the Holy Spirit, the whole Son is in the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the whole Holy Spirit is in the Father and the Son.*

If, therefore, the Holy Spirit could not remain in the Son unless He proceeds from Him, it would follow that the Son could not rest or remain in the Holy Spirit unless He were similarly produced by Him—a notion that is absurd.

To make clear how the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, remains in the Son, it is not necessary to invent some sort of transition, as the Jesuit's argument supposed. The Holy Spirit remains, is, and rests in the Son because the Father produced the Holy Spirit, who is God and consubstantial with Him, from and in the proper and unique essence of the Son as the subject through which (not that which) He is produced. Hence, the Holy Spirit could not but dwell, remain, and be in the Son, since He is produced from and in the essence proper to the Son, being one with the Father and the Son in essence, though distinct in person. Therefore, the Son has from the Father that He is the Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit remains in Him, since, as stated, the Holy Spirit, produced from and in His essence by the Father, is consubstantial with Him. The Jesuit, who denied this, thereby defends a most pernicious heresy, namely that the Son has something that He does not have from the Father. For if the being of the Holy Spirit were not communicated to the Son through

generation along with the essence, the Son would have something from Himself, not from the Father from whom He is generated—a notion that is utterly absurd to all. All Christians believe, and have always believed, that whatever the Son has, He has from the Father through His eternal generation from Him. Whoever denies this is unworthy to be called by the name of Christian, since this introduces two principles, two gods, and other monstrous errors. For if the Son has anything not from the Father, according to this, He is not produced from the Father. In divinity, to have something from the Father, or to have it communicated by the Father, is to be produced from the Father. Therefore, if the Son has some things from the Father and some things not from the Father, He would be partly produced and partly unproduced—an impossible and blasphemous notion. Moreover, whatever the Son has from Himself, not from the Father, in respect to these things, the Son is the principal, unoriginated, or unproduced cause. Thus, there would be two principles, two causes, and ultimately two gods. Yet the Catholic Church has always condemned with every anathema those who introduce two principles.

It is false, then, if it is claimed that if the Son has the Holy Spirit from the Father through generation, it follows that the Holy Spirit is spirated before the Son. For certainly, the Son, through His generation, has the property of being consubstantial with the Holy Spirit, so that the Holy Spirit is properly His Spirit. Would it then follow that the Holy Spirit is prior to the Son? Similarly, the Son, through His generation, as the Latins wish, has the property of being the producer of the Holy Spirit. Would it then follow that the Holy Spirit is produced before the Son? In the same way, therefore, it does not follow that because the Son has, through His generation, the property of being the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is produced prior to the Son. The reasoning is the same. It was sufficient, therefore, that the Holy Spirit could be called the Spirit of the Son, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father simultaneously with the Son before all ages, though in the concept of cause, the Son is understood to precede the Holy Spirit in the mind’s conception, not in duration, as Gregory of Nyssa speaks. In confirming his major premise, the Jesuit grossly assumes what is in question. For he needed to prove that the Holy Spirit cannot be in the Son unless He passes from the Father into the Son. Yet in his minor premise, he assumes:

> *The Holy Spirit, spirated from the Father alone, is as something that passes from a starting point, namely the Father, to an endpoint, namely the Son,*

while the very matter in dispute is whether the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, behaves as something that passes from the Father into the Son, from a starting point to an endpoint.

As for the proof of the principal minor premise, although we entirely deny that there is any transition in divinity, this syllogism of the Jesuit would prove nothing against one who claims that the Son passes from the Father into the Holy Spirit. For although in natural things it holds that nothing can pass from a starting point to an endpoint without deserting the starting point, could the principles of natural things be applied to the ineffable production of the Trinity? Since the essence of the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son is one, how could the Son pass from the Father into the Holy Spirit within that one essence, such that the Father would thereby be deserted by the Son?

The Jesuit argues secondly:

> *It is impossible for the endpoint of an immanent action to be received in anything other than that from which it is produced (since this is the definition of an immanent action and its distinction from a transient action). Spiration is an immanent action; therefore, its endpoint, which is the Holy Spirit, cannot be in anything from which it is not produced.*

Hence, and elsewhere in the same work, the same Jesuit argues:

> *Just as the Holy Spirit could not rest and remain in the Father unless He proceeded from Him (since it is impossible for the endpoint of a vital immanent action to be received in another vital subject unless it is elicited from it, as is clear from the induction of human intellect and volition), so too He could not rest in the Son unless He proceeded from Him.*

But the Jesuit makes a most erroneous transition from one genus to another, absurdly comparing the internal actions of God, which transcend all human understanding and the universality of philosophical axioms, with natural actions, such as human actions. Indeed, it is manifestly

foolish for the Jesuit to conclude thus, for by the same reasoning, it would necessarily follow otherwise:

> *It is impossible for the endpoint of an immanent action to be received in anything other than that from which it is produced; generation is an immanent action; therefore, its endpoint, the Son, is not in anything from which it is not produced.*

Thus, the Son is not in the Holy Spirit, or if He is, He is produced by the Holy Spirit—an impossible notion. Although, therefore, spiration or generation is an immanent action, since that action is perfected in the divine essence as the subject through which it occurs, which essence is proper to the Son, the endpoint of spiration, the Holy Spirit, could not but be in the Son. Hence, it is by no means necessary to attribute the production of the Holy Spirit to the Son for the endpoint of spiration to be in the Son.

Refutation of the Jesuit's Third Argument

The Jesuit argues thirdly: "The Holy Spirit is said to remain in the Son (according to the words of the disciples of the Apostle Andrew) to show that the same Spirit is in the Father and the Son, and that the Only-Begotten Son is the same as the generating Father. But neither of these would be evident unless the Holy Spirit remained in the Son as He remains in the Father, namely, as proceeding from both and remaining in both as the endpoint of a single immanent action. Therefore, to show what is stated, it must be supposed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both and remains in both. For thus, He is truly the one Spirit of both, since He is spirated by both, and thus the Only-Begotten is the same as the generator, because just as the generator is a spirator, so too is the Only-Begotten."

But it is false that the Spirit would not be the same Spirit of both the Father and the Son, or that the Son would not be what the Father is, unless the Holy Spirit proceeded from both. Concerning the former, we have discussed at length in this Treatise where we showed that the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for His procession from the Son. As for the latter, how, I ask, would the Son not be the same

as the Father, even if the Son were not equally, like the Father, the producer of the Holy Spirit? For by reason of the one and same essence, He would still be the same as the Father, even if the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Son. Who would say that the Son must be the same as the Father in respect to subsistential properties? Yet from the person of the Father, as a person, the Holy Spirit proceeds.

But, he says, the Holy Spirit would not remain in the Son as He remains in the Father, for He would remain in the Father as in His author, but not in the Son by the same reasoning. But it was entirely sufficient that the Holy Spirit, produced by the Father, truly remains in both, for thus He still remains in both for the same reason, namely, because of His procession from the Father. That He should remain in the Son as in an author, just as in the Father, if He had to remain in the Son as He does in the Father, was not necessary. For the Son remains in the Father as in His producer, yet He does not remain in the Holy Spirit by that reasoning, though He truly remains in the Holy Spirit as in the Father. Likewise, the Holy Spirit remains in the Father as in a principle without principle, and in the Son as in a principle of all things from a principle. Would you then infer that the Holy Spirit does not truly remain in the Son as in the Father? By no means does it follow: “The Holy Spirit remains in the Father as His author; the Holy Spirit does not remain in the Son in this way; therefore, He does not remain in the Son as in the Father,” unless, as I said, you restrict that statement to the specific respect mentioned. Indeed, the Spirit of two is truly He who is spirated by two. But it is false that the Holy Spirit would not be the Spirit of the Father and the Son if He were spirated by the Father alone. This needed to be proven, not assumed as something outside the matter. Similarly, the Son would be the same as the Father in this respect if He were also a spirator of the Holy Spirit. But again, it is false that outside of this, the Son would not be what the Father is—but more on this later.

Lest this seem to be the Jesuit’s own invention, he now appeals to others who taught the same thing many years ago. But who, I ask, are these? Namely, Paschasius Radbertus, Peregrinus, Bishop of Lauriacum, and Guitmundus, Bishop of Aversa. But what authority do they have? In what time did they live? Paschasius lived before the year 906 AD. Peregrinus around the year 910 AD, and Guitmundus in the mid-11th century. But what, I ask, sound doctrine could be hoped for from those who were

already imbued with the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Or what authority could they have in this matter? The Jesuit should have brought forward Basil, Athanasius, Gregory the Theologian, or other Fathers approved by the entire Catholic Church, not some Latins who lived when the Latins had already followed new doctrines, departing from the pristine tradition of faith and its true sense. And what, I ask, would be the method of disputation if we sought to establish our arguments from the words of Photius, Sisinnius, Michael, Germanus, and others, while the Latins sought to do so from the dogmas of Sergius, Nicholas, Leo IX, and other popes of old Rome?

The Jesuit continues: “Unless they hold the Photian sense of that expression, ‘the Holy Spirit remains or rests in the Son,’ they will never be able to reconcile the Holy Spirit’s remaining in the Son with His inseparability and non-transferability from the Father.” But we have resolved this in the manner stated. He adds: “Likewise, they will never be able to explain by what reason the Holy Spirit does not come to the Son from without (exothen) or is not foreign (xenos) to Him, according to the frequent phrase of St. Cyril of Alexandria, if He is not from the Son inwardly (ab intra), but comes to Him spirated by the Father?” But how, when the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, would He come to the Son from without or be foreign to the Son? The Father produces the Holy Spirit from and in His own essence, which is equally proper to the Son. How, then, could the Holy Spirit, produced by the Father alone, come to the Son from without? Again, the Jesuit submits: “Likewise, they will never show that the Holy Spirit is wholly the Son’s as He is the Father’s, if He is not of both in the same manner; or if He is in the Father as spirated by Him, but in the Son as coming from without from another?” Concerning the former, we have discussed at length in the Treatise where we demonstrated that the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for His procession from the Son. But, he says, the Son has the Holy Spirit from another. Certainly, He has Him from another in respect to person, for the Father is one person, the Son another; but not from another in respect to essence, for in respect to essence, the Son is the same as the Father. When the Fathers deny that the Son has the Holy Spirit from elsewhere or externally, or that the Holy Spirit is a foreign Spirit to the Son, they understand this not in a prior sense, but in a subsequent sense, namely, that in respect to essence, the Holy Spirit

does not come to the Son externally or is not a foreign Spirit to Him, according to the manner we have just stated.

But, the Jesuit insists, in the sense brought forward by the cited Fathers (he means Paschasius, Peregrinus, and Guitmundus), we easily explain by what reason the Holy Spirit remains in the Son without passing from the Father into the Son. For when we say that the Holy Spirit is spirated by both as by one spirator, it is easily understood that the Holy Spirit remains in the Father and the Son, just as it is understood that some intellection remains in the intellect from which it is produced, or some volition remains in the will, or rather the soul, from which it is elicited. Likewise, we easily explain how He is the one Spirit of both when we say that the one and same Spirit is spirated by both as by one spirator, and that the Son is the same as the Father, since by that very cause we acknowledge the Son to be the same spirator as the Father, because all things that the Father has belong to the Son, or because the Son is one with the Father. But first, since the Jesuit can cite no others but these three from among his predecessors who explained the Holy Spirit's remaining in the Son in this way, it is clear that this very explanation is nothing but an invention of the defenders of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The deduction of this explanation that the Jesuit adds, being derived from false suppositions, we rightly reject as absurd and full of falsehood. How the Holy Spirit is truly called the Spirit of the Father and the Son, and how the Son has all things that the Father has, yet without it following that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, we have shown in the two preceding Treatises. It is absurd to infer the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son from the fact that the Son is one with the Father, as we will see elsewhere.

Finally, he continues there: "In this sense, those words, when explained, effectively confirm the dogma of the Catholic Church. Hence, those who use them (such as, among many others, St. Germanus, Bishop of Cyzicus and Patriarch of Constantinople, in The Theory of Ecclesiastical Things, and Andronicus Comnenus, from the family of Eastern emperors, in Book Against the Jews, included in Volume XIV of the Library, Chapter X) should be counted among the witnesses of Catholic truth." But, as we have shown, the claim that the Holy Spirit remains in the Son does not help the Latins. Likewise, the Jesuit absurdly appeals to Catholic Fathers who teach that the Holy Spirit rests or remains in the Son to confirm his

opinion (which he falsely designates as Catholic truth). As for Andronicus Comnenus, who lived only a few centuries ago, it is remarkable that the Jesuit brought him forward from this era to confirm his opinion because he said that the Holy Spirit rests in the Son. Why, then, did he not also appeal to many other, more ancient Fathers who taught the same, but who equally condemned the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? For example, Michael Psellus, who lived at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century, in Chapter I of Theological Chapters, published in Augsburg in 1611, says:

> *And in the Holy Spirit, not begotten from the Father, but proceeding from His essence and resting in the Son.*

But in Chapter X, he states:

> *The holy and Catholic Church teaches: the Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not also from the Son. . . . For although the Holy Spirit proceeds from His Father alone, it is not by generation, but by procession. . . . The Holy Spirit Himself proceeds from the Father alone, not by generation, but by procession, while the Son's generation from the Father and the Holy Spirit's procession occur simultaneously. . . . We say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is given from the Son.*

Thus, it is clear at a glance that the Jesuit absurdly appeals to those who taught that the Holy Spirit rests in the Son, especially if they lived at a time when the Latins were already divided from the Eastern Church by schism.

No less foolishly does the same Jesuit elsewhere appeal to Elias of Crete as a witness to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son for similar words. He says: "I consider Nicetas, Metropolitan of Heraclea, and Elias, Metropolitan of Crete, two most distinguished interpreters of St. Gregory the Theologian, to have been of the same faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Elias, both because of what he teaches in citing St. Gregory Nazianzen and especially in Oration XXIII to Jerome, number 28, where he says:

> *The Holy Spirit, remaining in His proper hypostasis, is never separated from Him from whom He proceeds.*

Here, the Gordian knot (which I repeatedly emphasize) is clearly presented to adversaries. For either the Holy Spirit is eternally in the Son, or He is not. The latter cannot be said without error; if they truly say the former, it will be asked of them: How is the Holy Spirit in the Son? Either He is through a transition from the Father into the Son, which is not so, because the Holy Spirit is inseparable from Him from whom He proceeds. How, then, could He pass to one from whom He does not proceed? Or He would be in the Son through generation, and thus He would proceed from the Father but be generated in the Son, which is blasphemous. Or He would be in the Son as in the Father, through a single spiration from both." Once again, it is clear how wretched these arguments of the Jesuit are, that he similarly appeals to Elias of Crete. For Elias is explicitly recorded, among other things, in his scholia to Gregory the Theologian's oration on the Holy Spirit, to have refuted the Latins for asserting that the Holy Spirit not only is sent but also proceeds from the Son, as shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers up to the 10th Century. As for Nicetas' words, since they do not pertain here, we will see them below. At the same time, it is clear what should be thought of the Gordian knot that the Jesuit also weaves here with Elias' assent. I believe this knot, which the opponent of the Latins is thought to have tied for the Latins, is very easily untied. The Holy Spirit is in the Son because of His procession from the Father, for He cannot but be in the Son, since He is produced from and in the essence of the Father as the subject through which He is produced, and the essence of the Father is simultaneously the essence of the Son. Therefore, since the Jesuit omits this reasoning, who does not see that he thereby falls into an insufficient enumeration of parts or reasons?

And this is enough for now concerning that the Holy Spirit is said to remain in the Son.

The Holy Spirit and the Mouth of God

The Latins further object: "The Holy Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God. Since the Fathers equally teach that the Son is the mouth of God, how could the Easterners deny that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son?" Indeed, the Fathers frequently teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God, as do St. Dionysius

the Areopagite, Basil, Athanasius, and Philotheus, whose words we will see below. But Hilary of Poitiers, in his commentary on Psalm 118, states:

> *The mouth of God is He who is the power and wisdom, and the arm of God, who is also the image of God, namely, God and our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Philo of Carpathia, at the beginning of On the Song of Songs:

> *The mouth of God the Father is the Son.*

Cyril of Alexandria, in Against Nestorius, Book IV (Works, Volume VI, p. 100):

> *He calls the Word from Him the mouth of God the Father, by whose Spirit all things made through Him are contained and subsist.*

And Anastasius of Nicaea, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith:

> *The Spirit of His mouth, that is, of God, is called the Holy Spirit, and the mouth is the Only-Begotten.*

These are their words. But it is by no means clear that the Fathers considered the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the mouth of God as an argument for His procession from the Son, as is evident from these words of John Damascene in his Letter on the Trisagion near the end:

> *The Spirit is a subsistent progression and production, indeed from the Father of the Son, but not from the Son, as the Spirit of the mouth of God pronounced.*

However you explain these last words—whether the sense is that the Holy Spirit is not from the Son as the Spirit of His mouth pronounced, or that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is of the Son as the Spirit of His mouth pronounced—it is clear that it does not follow from the fact that the Son is the mouth of the Father, or that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of the Father, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For those Fathers who taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God thereby understand the very person of the Father, so that the sense is: “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the person of the Father.” Thus, Basil, in his commentary on Psalm 32 (Works, Volume II, p. 203):

> *As the creating Word established the heavens, so too the Holy Spirit from God, who proceeds from the Father, that is, who is from His mouth, so that you do not think Him to be something external or from creatures, but glorify Him as subsisting from God, encompassing all virtues in Himself.*

And then:

> *This Spirit is written as the Spirit of His mouth; but elsewhere we find the Word also called the mouth of God, so that it is understood that our Savior and the Holy Spirit are from the Father.*

Likewise, Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity (Works, Volume II, p. 176):

> *Anomoean: Do you also say that the Spirit is from the hypostasis [of the Father]?*
>
> *Orthodox: From where else?*
>
> *And then: We too are born from God, but as we are born from God, we are not born from His subsistent womb [as the Son of God is generated]. Similarly, the Spirits proceeding from God are not from the mouth of His subsistence. But the Holy Spirit is the Spirit from the mouth of subsistence.*
>
> *Anomoean: If the Son is from subsistence and the Spirit is from subsistence, are they brothers?*
>
> *Orthodox: For this reason, the Son is not only from subsistence but is also said to be from the womb; and the Spirit is not only from subsistence but is also called the Spirit of the mouth, so that the difference is not according to the concept of subsistence, but according to the concept of womb and mouth.*

With these words, Athanasius, when he says that the Son is generated from the womb of the Father's subsistence, understands the person of the Father. Similarly, he says that the Son is from the womb and the Spirit from the mouth of the subsistence of God the Father. He also taught that the difference is not according to the concept of subsistence, but according to the concept of womb and mouth. Therefore, he teaches that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the very subsistence of the

Father, saying that the Son is from the womb and the Holy Spirit from the mouth of the Father.

Likewise, Dionysius the Areopagite, in his Letter to Titus:

> *In the generation of God, which surpasses all essence, we imagine the womb as the body of God generating, and the Word poured into the air from the heart of the man who utters it, and the Spirit proceeding from the mouth.*

With these words, he acknowledged the mouth as that from which the Spirit proceeds, whose womb it was from which the Son was generated. Without doubt, by the womb of the Father, he understands the very person of the Father; therefore, he also understands the same by the mouth of God the Father. Moreover, the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the mouth of Christ. If, when the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the mouth of God, another person is necessarily understood by the mouth of God, it would follow here that a fourth person must be posited, which is the mouth of Christ—an absurd notion. Therefore, since we have these propositions handed down by the Fathers—"The Son is the mouth of God" and "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of the Father"—with some Fathers understanding the person of the Father by the mouth of God, and others the Son, it is clear that the Latins can infer nothing solid from this. For if you argue: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God the Father; the Son is the mouth of God," if in the major premise the mouth of God is understood as the person of the Father, as St. Dionysius, Athanasius, and Basil understand it, the minor premise is false, for the Son is not the person of the Father. But if in the major premise the mouth of God is understood as the Son, with the minor premise conceded according to Hilary, Philo, Cyril, and Anastasius, the major premise is false. For the Fathers who said that the mouth of God is the Son never say in that sense that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God; and those who said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God, that is, from the very subsistence of the Father, never said in this sense that the Son is the mouth of God.

But the oft-mentioned Jesuit objects: "St. Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the vesperal Euchologion for the feast of Pentecost in the Slavic books, speaks thus:

> *Spirit of truth, principal Spirit, because you are spirated co-hypostatically from the paternal hypostasis and from His divine mouth.*

Here, it is manifest that by the mouth of God, as with St. Anastasius and other Fathers cited above, the Son is understood." But some Fathers understood the mouth of God to be the Son, while others, as we have just seen with Dionysius, Athanasius, and Basil, understood the very person of the Father by the mouth of God. Therefore, there is no necessity for the Jesuit to assume that Philotheus said that the Holy Spirit is spirated from the mouth of the Father in the former sense. Indeed, since those Fathers who say that the mouth of God is the Son nowhere, as stated, taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God, while those Fathers who taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God understood the person of the Father by the mouth of God, and since Philotheus here agrees with the latter in saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of the Father, it is clear that his words should rather be interpreted in the sense of the latter Fathers, as referring to the very person of the Father.

The Holy Spirit's Consubstantiality with the Son

We proceed. Just as it was customary for the Latins to bring forward everything that could, under any pretext, be used to demonstrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, so too they absurdly object to the Easterners that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial (homoousios) with the Son, as if this were an argument for His procession from the Son. And how, I ask, when the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, would their sense be that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, when they frequently, after saying that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, refer His procession to the Father, not to the Son? Thus, Cyril, in his commentary on Luke:

> *Just as a finger depends on the hand, though it is not foreign to it and is naturally in it, so too the Holy Spirit, by reason of consubstantiality (homoousiotes), is joined and united to the Son, though He proceeds from God and the Father.*

And in his exposition of the Nicene Creed near the end:

> *The Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and He is poured forth, that is, proceeds as from a source from God and the Father, but is granted to creatures through the Son.*

Likewise, in On the Right Faith to the Queens:

> *We similarly believe in the Holy Spirit, not considering Him as other than the divine nature, for He is naturally from the Father, emanating through the Son into creatures.*

Thus, He is understood as one, consubstantial (homoousios), and in the identity of doctrine, the holy and adorable Trinity. Likewise, the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, in Book II of the Acts of the Council of Nicaea, by Gelasius of Cyzicus, Chapter 22:

> *And that we all the faithful receive the Holy Spirit from Him, who is of the same substance as the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father, but proper to the Son, as we have shown above.*

To be consubstantial (homoousios) signifies nothing other than to be of the same essence or to have the same substance, as we may cite from numerous Fathers. Hilary of Poitiers, in On the Synods Against the Arians, translates the words of the Nicene Creed, homoousios to patri, as:

> *Of one substance with the Father.*

Likewise, Athanasius says that the Son is consubstantial with the Father because He has all things that the Father has, namely, all things proper to the divine essence, adding that the Nicene Fathers confessed the Son to be consubstantial with the Father in this sense. Thus, in his Letter to Serapion against those who say the Son is a creature (Works, Volume I, p. 169):

> *All things of the Father pertain to the Son, for He is consubstantial with the Father. For if He had any kinship with created things, He would be consubstantial with them; but being foreign to creatures in substance, He remains the proper Word of the Father, distinct and different from them. But because all things proper to the Father are His, He is rightly considered consubstantial with the Father. Thus, the Fathers, understanding the matter, confessed in the Nicene Council*

that the Son is coessential and from the substance of the Father. For they clearly saw that a created substance could never claim for itself the statement: 'All things that the Father has are mine.' For how could things that have received a beginning of existence have in themselves that which is and was in eternity? Therefore, since the Son has all these things and what belongs to the Father, it is necessary that the Son's nature is not created but consubstantial with the Father. Especially since that created nature could by no means be capable of those things that are proper to God. But the things proper to God are those by which God is known, such as omnipotence, the essence itself, immutability, and other things mentioned above.

Didymus of Alexandria, in Book I on the Holy Spirit:

In all things, it is approved that the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is the same. Those whose operation is one have one substance, because those that are consubstantial (homoousia) have the same operations.

Therefore, homoousios signifies having one substance. Augustine, in On Faith and the Creed, Chapter IX:

The Holy Spirit is not of a lesser nature than the Father and the Son, but, so to speak, consubstantial and coeternal, because this Trinity is one God.

In Letter 178, near the middle:

Why did it seem to you that the word homoousion excites envy against the Catholic faith, which, simply believing in the one substance of God, received this word from the Greek Fathers in defending the assertion of faith? . . .Behold what homoousion is, which is unjustly reproached. For not only the word, but the reality in the word, not only the sound ringing in the ears, but the one substance of God is to be believed in the mind. Therefore, the Greek term homoousion shows this equality of substance. The word homoousion, meaning of one and the same substance in Greek, does not weaken anyone, but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

And Eulogius of Alexandria, in the collections of an anonymous author against the Severians (Ancient Readings of Canisius, Volume IV, Part I, p. 240):

We say that each hypostasis has characteristic notions of divinity without any deficiency, such as goodness, the power of creating, and whatever pertains to the uncreated nature. Thus, we say that the Trinity is consubstantial (homoousios), that is, consubstantial, because the same substance is wholly recognized in three persons. For the Father has the perfect substance of divinity, likewise the Son, likewise the Holy Spirit.

Sulpitius Severus, in Book II of Sacred History:

Where homoousion was written, which is of one substance, they said that homoiousion, which is of similar substance, was written.

Gennadius of Massilia, in Book on Ecclesiastical Dogmas, Chapter V:

Homoousion, therefore, that is, coessential in divinity with the Father.

Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, in his confession of faith in Victor of Utica's Book II on the Vandal Persecution:

First, therefore, we recognize that we must expound concerning the unity of the substance of the Father and the Son, which the Greeks call homoousion. . . .To refute and utterly abolish this profession of impiety that had arisen against the faith, the Greek term homoousion was established, which is interpreted as of one substance or essence. . . .But if He is not from nothing, He is without doubt from the Father, and rightly the Son is homoousios, that is, of one substance with the Father.

Again:

But if He is not from nothing, He is without doubt from the Father, and rightly the Son is homoousios, that is, of one substance with the Father.

John Damascene, in On the Orthodox Faith, Book I, Chapter X:

Through the three hypostases, [the Trinity is] uncompounded and unconfused; through the consubstantial and mutual indwelling of the hypostases, and the identity of will, operation, power, and motion (so to speak), and inseparability, we understand one God.

Therefore, since homoousion signifies being of one substance or essence, or having one substance, how would it follow: “The Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son; therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son”? Would the argument hold: “The Holy Spirit has one essence with the Son; therefore, He proceeds from the Son”? Or is it necessary that among those things that are coessential, one produces the other? Humans and angels are of one essence; did an angel produce an angel, or, for example, did Peter produce Paul? Likewise, the explicit words of John Damascene in On the Orthodox Faith, Book III, Chapter III:

> *Christ, according to His divinity, is consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit; according to His humanity, with His mother and all humans.*

Christ, according to His humanity, by no means produced all humans; yet He is called consubstantial with all humans according to His humanity, and with the Father and the Holy Spirit according to His divinity. Therefore, Christ is said to be consubstantial with the Holy Spirit according to divinity in the same sense that He is consubstantial with all humans according to humanity. How, then, I ask, when the Holy Spirit is said to be consubstantial with the Son, is it understood that the relation of cause and caused intervenes between them? By no means does the same relation intervene between Christ’s humanity and all humans, so that even from this one passage of Damascene, the error of the Latins’ assertion is manifestly convicted.

But the Fathers also teach that the deity is consubstantial with itself. Augustine, in On the Trinity, Book I, Chapter VIII:

> *The deity is not a creature, but is the unity of the Trinity, incorporeal and unchangeable, and consubstantial and coeternal with itself.*

Josaphat, in his prayer to God after the departure of Barlaam, in John Damascene’s History of Barlaam and Josaphat:

> *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, consubstantial and undivided deity! I invoke You and glorify You.*

Likewise, John Damascene, in On the Orthodox Faith, Book III, Chapter VI:

> *It cannot be that a particular and proper nature or substance is found, for it would be necessary to call the same hypostases both consubstantial and of different substances, and to call the holy Trinity both consubstantial and of different substances according to deity.*

But how, I ask, could the deity be called consubstantial with itself if at least among consubstantial things, the relation of cause and caused intervenes? For the deity, insofar as it neither generates nor is generated, neither produces nor proceeds.

But a certain Jesuit insists (Cichovius, Question VIII): “Commonly, the Holy Fathers, especially St. Athanasius, St. Cyril, and St. Augustine, prove that the Son is consubstantial with the Father because He is naturally produced by the Father, and they suppose that in divine things, only that is consubstantial which has the same essence as the person producing it or produced by it. Secondly, this seems to be the explicit doctrine of St. Basil the Great, in Letter 300 to the Canonesses (folio 292):

> *Those that have a fraternal relationship are not said to be consubstantial with each other, as some have thought, but when the cause and that which is from the cause have the same existence in every respect, they are called consubstantial.*

And in his Homily Against the Sabellians, Arians, and Eunomians (Works, Volume I, folio 521):

> *When I say one substance, do not think of two divided from one, but the Son subsisting from the Father as the principle, not the Father and the Son descending from one superior essence. For we do not call them brothers, but we confess the Father and the Son.*

Concerning the first point, the Fathers indeed draw an excellent consequence: “The Son is produced by the Father; therefore, He is consubstantial with the Father.” But by this, they at least suppose that everything produced by something is consubstantial with its producer, not that at least only that is consubstantial which has the same essence as the producing person or the person produced by it. For otherwise, under this supposition, the Fathers would have had to assume: “But the Son is consubstantial with the Father,” whereas this was the conclusion of the Fathers, as it was what they wished to demonstrate, not the minor

premise, which even the Jesuit himself cannot deny. But even if the Fathers suppose that in divine things, only that is consubstantial which has the same essence as the producing or produced person, the sense of this would be: that which must be consubstantial with another must have the same essence as the producing or produced person, as, for example, the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, since He has the same essence as the producing person, namely the Father. By no means did that supposition mean: that in divine things, at least, that is consubstantial with another which has the same essence as that person either as producing or as produced by it, but rather: that in divine things, that is consubstantial which has the same essence as the producing or produced person. These are entirely different. Nor do the Fathers, when arguing, “The Son is generated from the Father; therefore, He is consubstantial with Him,” suppose beforehand that by this they mean only that everything that has the same essence as its producer is consubstantial with it, not that everything consubstantial with another has the same essence as that person either as producing or as produced by it. Likewise, Basil, in Letter 300, said:

> *When the cause and the caused have the same existence in every respect, they are called consubstantial.*

That is, whenever the cause and the caused have the same nature, they are consubstantial with each other, not: whatever are consubstantial with each other, one of them is as a cause and the other as caused, having the same existence in every respect. But if that proposition is understood simply: nothing in divine things can be consubstantial unless the cause and the caused have the same existence in every respect, it would follow at least that if the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, the Holy Spirit must have the same nature as His cause, the Father. Finally, Basil said:

> *The Father and the Son, if they descended from one superior essence, would be brothers,*

but his sense was: if they descended from one superior essence by one mode of production, namely generation, they would be brothers. For the Catholic Church has always acknowledged, as we will see below, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced from the Father, yet they are not

brothers because they are not produced by one mode. For the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds. From this, it is clear that the mind of the Fathers is: those are brothers who descend from one by one mode of production.

Therefore, the arguments that the same Jesuit weaves from the words of those Fathers collapse of their own accord. He argues first: “According to St. Basil, only then in divine things are some things consubstantial when one is the cause and the other is from the cause. But if the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, He will neither be the cause nor from the cause with respect to the Son. Therefore, according to St. Basil, if the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, He will not be consubstantial with the Son.” Secondly: “Those persons that are of the same nature, if they do not have the relation of cause and caused to each other, are, according to Basil, brothers. The Son and the Holy Spirit are of the same nature, and between them (with the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son removed), there is no relation of cause and caused; therefore, according to the same Basil, they must either be called brothers, or the relation of cause and caused must be admitted between them.” Thirdly: “Those who think of two divine persons descending from one superior essence are compelled to admit two brothers in the Trinity and two divided from one, which St. Basil disapproves. Those who think that the Son and the Holy Spirit descend immediately from the essence of the Father alone think of two divided persons descending from one superior essence. Therefore, they are compelled to admit two brothers in the Trinity and two divided from one, and consequently to deny the consubstantiality of the Son and the Holy Spirit.” Concerning the first argument, it is false that Basil teaches that only then in divine things are some things consubstantial when one is the cause and the other the caused, since his words are at least: whenever the cause and the caused have the same existence in every respect, they are consubstantial, as we have just noted. In the second argument, he similarly falsely assumes that Basil teaches that those persons that are of the same nature, if they do not have the relation of cause and caused to each other, are brothers. For this is neither derived from the first cited words of Basil nor from the later ones. In the former, he posited at least that whenever the cause and the caused have the same nature, they are consubstantial; in the latter, that those that descend from one superior essence by one mode are

brothers. But nowhere did he say that those who, being of one essence, do not have the relation of cause and caused to each other, are brothers. Concerning the third argument, the same thing was once objected by heretics to Catholics, so that it is clear that when the Latins now object the same to us, the Easterners defend the Catholic position against the Latins. Thus, among others, Maximinus, the Arian bishop, in Augustine's Against Maximinus, Book I (Works, Volume VI):

> *I am amazed, most dear friend, for since you say that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father, if the Son is from the substance of God the Father, and the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father, why is one the Son and the other not the Son? What has He done wrong, since He is from the same substance and, as you say, equal to the Son? Why, then, is He not also constituted heir of all things? Why is He not also the Son? . . . Perhaps if you apply a brother to Him [the Son], because you assert that the Holy Spirit is equal and equivalent, and you profess that He is from the substance of the Father. If this is so, then the Son is no longer the Only-Begotten, since another is from the same substance.*

Here, it is clear that the Arian's argument, reduced to form, is this: "Those who are produced from one substance are brothers; the Son and the Holy Spirit are produced from one substance of the Father; therefore, the Son and the Holy Spirit are brothers." But this was precisely the Jesuit's argument, as is clear to anyone. Likewise, the Arians argue in Anastasius of Sinai's Guide, Chapter 22:

> *If the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, it is clear that both have the same Father, and thus the Holy Spirit is generated. But if you do not admit this, tell us who came first and who came later from the Father: the Son or the Holy Spirit? But if they proceed simultaneously, it is clear from this that the Father has begotten twins, and the Son and the Holy Spirit are as twins in divinity.*

But the Fathers resolve this heretical argument in no other way than by showing that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not produced from the Father by one mode, since the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Athanasius, in Dialogue III Against Macedonius (Works, Volume II, p. 213):

Macedonian: Is the Holy Spirit not from the substance of God [the Father]?

Orthodox: Absolutely.

Macedonian: Is He, then, the same as the Son?

Orthodox: But the Son is generated from the essence, and for this reason, He is the Only-Begotten Son, while the Spirit proceeds from the essence.

Likewise, he resolves the same argument in Dialogue I on the Trinity (Works, Volume II, p. 176):

Anomoean: If, therefore, the Son is from subsistence and the Spirit is from subsistence, are they brothers?

Orthodox: For this reason, the Son is not only from subsistence but is also said to be from the womb; and the Spirit is not only from subsistence but is also called the Spirit of the mouth, so that the difference is not according to the concept of subsistence, but according to the concept of womb and mouth.

Likewise, Augustine, in Against Maximinus, Book III, Chapter XIV:

The Son is from the Father, the Holy Spirit is from the Father, but the former is generated, the latter proceeds.

And in Chapter XV:

How the Holy Spirit is also from God and yet is not the Son, since He is said to be from God by proceeding, not by being born, I have already discussed above as seemed sufficient.

And in the same sense, in On the Trinity, Book IV, Chapter XIV:

In relation to each other in the Trinity, if the generator is the principle to that which is generated, the Father is the principle to the Son, because He generates Him. But whether the Father is also the principle to the Holy Spirit, since it is said, 'He proceeds from the Father,' is no small question. If this is so, He will be the principle not only to that which He generates or makes, but also to that which He gives.

Here, it is also clear, as it often troubles many, why the Holy Spirit is not also the Son, since He also comes forth from the Father, as it is read in the Gospel: for He comes forth not as born, but as given; and therefore, He is not called the Son, because He is neither born, as the Only-Begotten, nor made, as we are born into adoption by God's grace. Finally, in On the Trinity, Book XV, Chapter XXVII:

> *Lift your eyes to the light itself and fix them on it, if you can. For thus you will see how the birth of the Word of God differs from the procession of the gift of God, because of which the Only-Begotten Son said that the Holy Spirit proceeds, not that He is begotten from the Father, otherwise He would be His brother.*

And lest you have the Holy Spirit and the Son as brothers flowing from one source, Paulinus of Nola, in Letter V to Amandus:

> *The Spirit of God, like the Word of God, both are God, remaining in one head and flowing from one Father as a source, but the Son by being born, the Spirit by proceeding.*

Likewise, Arnobius, in Book I on the Triune and One God against Serapion (Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Volume V, Part III, p. 202):

> *Arnobius: When the Word was born from the mouth of the Father, who created all things visible and invisible by His power, the Word could never proceed without the breath of the Holy Spirit.*
>
> *Serapion: Therefore, there are two Sons who came forth from the mouth of the Father, namely the Word and the Spirit.*
>
> *Arnobius: When the Word of the commanding one came forth from the mouth, did it do what was not commanded? Could the breath, which proceeded from Him who uttered the Word, be shown by any reasoning to be born rather than proceeding? If this cannot be done in a commanding human, how much more in God? The Word cannot fall from the generating mouth so that the breath itself, full of the Holy Spirit, is called a Son. But there is the Father who uttered the Word, and the Holy Spirit who does not cease to proceed from the Father.*

Finally, Paschasius, Deacon of Rome, in Book I on the Holy Spirit, Chapter VIII (Library of the Fathers of Cologne, Volume V, p. 736):

> *He did not say 'begotten,' lest you believe Him to be a Son; He did not say 'unbegotten,' lest you think Him the Father; but He testified that He proceeds for the distinction of essence.*

Therefore, the Fathers explicitly testify that although both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from one and the same Father, they are not brothers because they are not produced from the Father in the same way, since the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds. They then show that the divine subsistences would be brothers if they descended from one by one mode, not if they are produced from one by different modes. This, therefore, is the sense of the Fathers; this is the sense of Basil to whom the Jesuit appealed.

Now, as the same Fathers added, the Son and the Holy Spirit indeed descend from the essence of one and only Father, but by no means by one mode, but the one by the mode of proceeding, the other by the mode of being born. Therefore, it is clear to anyone that the Jesuit accomplishes nothing. And see, I ask, how different the Latins are from these very Fathers. These say: "The Holy Spirit and the Son are not brothers, though both are from the Father, because the Son is generated from one Father, while the Holy Spirit descends from the Father and the Son" (this is also the sense of our Jesuit). But the Fathers, resolving the same argument, respond that the Holy Spirit and the Son are not brothers, though both are produced from the Father, because the Son is generated from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the same.

The other part of the same Jesuit's argument was this: "Those who think of two persons descending from one superior essence are compelled to admit two divided from one, which St. Basil disapproves. But those who think that the Son and the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father alone, etc." But Basil did not simply disapprove if someone posited two divided from one, or two different persons produced from one, but at least in respect to the Father and the Son, he said:

> *When I say one substance, namely of the Father and the Son, do not think of two divided from one, as if the Father and the Son were produced from one.*

He adds:

> *But the Son is from the Father.*

Therefore, speaking of the Father and the Son, he taught this, not simply denying that it is impossible for two to be produced from one. When he denies that the Father and the Son are divided from one, his sense is not that the Father and the Son are not divided in nature, but at least that they do not have existence from one, being different in persons. For what he had just said—"The Father and the Son are not divided from one"—he repeats, adding:

The Father and the Son do not descend from one superior essence.

Therefore, by no means does Basil consider it simply absurd to assert that two different from each other are produced from one, as the Jesuit assumed. But further, even if Basil considered this simply absurd, it would have to be understood in the stated sense, namely, that in divine things, there cannot be two produced from one in the same mode. But thus, the major premise would be utterly false, namely that whoever posits two persons descending from one essence posits two produced from one in one mode. Finally, in respect to the Father and the Son, Basil understands that their one substance should not be understood as if they were equally produced from one. By no means does he simply deny that where two are produced from one, they are consubstantial with each other, so that the Jesuit adds no reason to his conclusion: "Therefore, they are compelled to admit two divided from one, and consequently to deny the consubstantiality of the Son and the Holy Spirit." For, as it is by no means impossible, as the Jesuit would persuade us that Basil considers impossible, as we have just shown, and thus this entire argument of the Jesuit in this part is conceded, namely that those who believe the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father alone must admit two divided from one, or two different persons from one, so too it is false that whoever admits two divided from one necessarily also denies the consubstantiality of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For we have just seen what Basil's mind was when he denies that the substance of the Father and the Son should not be understood as if they were divided from one. Finally, the Jesuit denies that the Holy Spirit and the Son descend from one essence, though the writings of the Fathers are full of this, as shown in the Treatises on the Testimonies of the Eastern and Western Fathers.

The Son Alone from the Father Alone

The Latins also object that the Fathers teach that the Son is from the Father alone. But if the Son alone is from the Father alone, the Holy Spirit surely could not equally be from the Father alone, for otherwise, the Son would not be the only one from the Father alone. Thus, as the aforementioned Jesuit objected (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 56), citing the confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus:

> *There is one God, the Father of the living Word, the Father of the Only-Begotten Son, one Lord alone from the alone, God from God,*

he adds: “From the same [Fathers], they learned that the Word alone is from the alone.” This phrase, as we have seen, is used by many, to whom I add St. Basil, in Book IV Against Eunomius, folio 776:

> *The Only-Begotten is the Son, because He alone is generated from the alone.*

And Epiphanius, in Heresy XXXVI, folio 228:

> *The Father, in generating, is not deprived of His essence, nor is He who is generated alone from the alone, and His Holy Spirit.*

Here, it is not said that the Holy Spirit is alone from the alone. On the contrary, in Heresy LXIX, folio 380, it is said:

> *The Holy Spirit alone is He who proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.*

I also add St. Maximus, in his dialogue with the Anomoean, cited by Patriarch Gennadius in his response to the Encyclical of Ephesus:

> *Since, he says, the Son alone is from the alone,*

etc.

However, the Fathers do not proclaim the Son as alone from the Father alone in any other sense than that He alone is generated from the Father alone. They say this to distinguish the Son’s generation from all other

natural generations, so that it may be clear that the Son's generation surpasses every other mode of generation. For among humans, no one is ever generated from a father alone, but this prerogative belongs solely to the Son of God. This is what John Damascene signifies in Book on the Two Wills and Operations in Christ, Chapter XII, near the middle:

> *The one Only-Begotten Son, he says, alone from the Father alone, and alone from the mother alone, the Son of God and Son of Man, God and man, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. For Christ alone is said to be from the mother alone in opposition to other humans, none of whom are from a mother alone.*

In the same sense, therefore, he also states that the Son is alone from the Father alone. Thus, when the Fathers teach that the Son is alone from the Father alone, they mean that He alone is generated from the Father alone, as the very words of Basil cited in the objection show:

> *Because He alone is generated from the alone.*

Likewise, the words of Epiphanius cited in the objection state:

> *He who is generated is alone from the alone, and His Holy Spirit.*

But if, because Epiphanius does not equally add that the Holy Spirit is alone from the alone, it were to follow that he did not believe this, it would equally follow that Epiphanius did not believe that the Holy Spirit is produced or proceeds at all. For he states of the Son that He is generated, but does not add of the Holy Spirit that He proceeds:

> *He who is generated, he says, is alone from the alone, and His Holy Spirit.*

Yet Epiphanius not only elsewhere says that the Holy Spirit alone proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, but he also simply teaches that the Father alone produced the Holy Spirit, just as He produced the Son—likewise, the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. That there is one principle and that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit, we have seen in his clear words in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. What, then, I ask, is the consequence: "The Son

alone is generated from the Father alone; therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father alone?”

But the Jesuit adds: “I have recounted these things at length, first to refute the words of Ephesus, who, when he wished to infer from the words ‘who proceeds from the Father’ that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, used this argument: when it is said that the Son is born from the Father before all ages, does anyone add ‘from the alone’? Yet we understand this, and if necessary, we express it. Would that he had preferred to learn the dogmas of faith from the cited Holy Fathers rather than from Palamas or Cabasilas, for he would easily have found even more testimonies than I have cited, in which the Holy Fathers say ‘alone from the alone,’ while nowhere is it read that the Holy Spirit is from the alone.” And by what reasoning does he not hesitate to blame the argument of Ephesus? Is it not true that where, in the Holy Creed or Sacred Scripture, the Son is said to be begotten from the Father, even though ‘from the alone’ is not added, this is nevertheless signified: that the Son is begotten from the Father alone? Is it not true that, although ‘from the alone’ is not added in Sacred Scripture or the Holy Creed with respect to the Son’s generation from the Father, no one would dare to add that little word ‘from the alone’ to the Creed or Sacred Scripture? This is the sense of Ephesus’ argument, who, moreover, clearly did not deny that the Fathers elsewhere explicitly teach that the Son is begotten from the Father alone; indeed, he himself added:

And yet we understand this, and if necessary, we express it.

Nor does the Eastern Church derive its faith or its demonstration from Palamas, Cabasilas, Photius, or other doctors of a later age; rather, it draws it from Sacred Scripture in the sense handed down by the Holy Fathers of the earliest centuries, as we have shown at length elsewhere. Finally, it is false that the Fathers nowhere taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. For, to pass over the Eastern doctors who flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries, whom we cited in great number in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers, Basil the Great teaches this when, in Book V Against Eunomius, he states that the Holy Spirit is produced not from anywhere else than from the Father, or not from anyone other than the Father. Epiphanius teaches this when, in Heresy LXXVI Against the Eleventh Chapter of Aetius, he shows that

the Father alone produced the Holy Spirit, and when, at the beginning of the Ancoratus, he declares that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father alone. Gregory of Nyssa teaches this in Book on Common Notions (ad graecos), when he writes that the Holy Spirit proceeds and the Son is generated from the one and same person of the Father. Anastasius of Sinai teaches this when, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith, he teaches that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the one and same. Pope Damasus of Rome teaches this when, in his Creed, he confesses that the Trinity is from the one Father. Ambrose teaches this when, in Book on the Dignity of the Human Condition, he declares that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the one. The author of the books On the Unity of the Deity attributed to Athanasius teaches this when, in Book I, he states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the one and only Father. Prosper of Aquitaine teaches this when, in his final epigram, he sings that the Trinity is from the one. Etherius, Bishop of Osma, and Beatus, Presbyter, teach this when, in Book Against Elipandus, they assert that the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the one. The same is taught by all those who deny that the Holy Spirit is from or proceeds or is produced from the Son. Among these are Cyril of Alexandria in his Confession of the Trinity, Theodoret in his Refutation of Cyril’s Ninth Anathema, the Eastern Bishops in their Letter to John of Antioch, Anastasius of Sinai in Guide, Chapter XVII, the author of Book on the Trinity, Chapter XI, John Damascene in his Letter on the Trisagion, Oration on Holy Saturday, Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapters XI and XIII, the clergy of Constantinople, Maximus in his Letter to Marinus, Augustine in Book Against the Sermon of the Arians, Chapter XXIII, and many older Fathers cited by Rusticus, Deacon and Cardinal of the Roman Church, in his Disputation Against the Acephali, about which he himself writes that he was not satisfied, as we have brought forth all these testimonies in the Treatises on the Testimonies of the Eastern and Western Fathers. The day would fail if we were to further cite from these same sources the Fathers who acknowledged the Father as the one cause of divinity, the one principle of the Holy Spirit. For this is the same as saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. At least we add that a great number of Latin bishops defended this in the Council of Aachen in 809 against other innovators regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, and that those among the Latins against whom

Theodulph of Orléans wrote in favor of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son also defended the same. Anastasius the Librarian also defended the same, who, in his Letter to John the Deacon, explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, if this is understood with respect to the principle. Finally, Pope John VIII of Rome defended the same when, in his Letter to Photius, he condemns the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as blasphemy and a dogma contrary to Christian theology. How, therefore, could the Jesuit deny that the Fathers nowhere taught that the Holy Spirit is from or proceeds from the Father alone? He continues there:

> *Secondly, so that minds zealous for the truth may consider and inquire why the Holy Spirit is nowhere said to be from the alone, even though there was great and frequent occasion to express this proposition somewhere. For no one ever doubted that the Son is from the Father alone. But the Eunomians and Ariomanites said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son alone. If, therefore, it were true that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as it is true that the Son proceeds from the Father alone, the Fathers would not have neglected to say somewhere that not only the Son but also the Holy Spirit is from the alone. Since they did not do this, but rather openly taught that the Son alone is from the Father alone, it is defended with the utmost obstinacy and blindness that the Holy Spirit is from the Father alone.*

We have just seen the testimonies of the Fathers who taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and how these same Fathers teach that the Son alone is from the Father alone. Thus, we rightly turn the Jesuit's argument against the Latins: if the faith of the Fathers was that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son by one spiration, why, when they teach in countless places that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, do they nowhere teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? Again, the heretics who taught that the Holy Spirit is from the Son alone wanted Him to be created by the Son, not to proceed. Why, then, did the Fathers not assert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son against them, if they believed such a thing? Why, against the Macedonians, who equally denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, did the Constantinopolitan Fathers in the Creed at least state that He proceeds from the Father, but not that He also proceeds from the Son, even though those heretics denied no less that the Holy Spirit proceeds

from the Father than from the Son? From this, therefore, it is clear that the Fathers by no means believed in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But the Latins insist:

> *The Fathers teach that the Son is from the Father monogenos (Only-Begotten) in no other sense than that the Son alone is produced from the alone.*

They say that Gregory of Nyssa teaches this in Book I Against Eunomius, when he says that the Holy Spirit is distinguished from the Son in that He is not monogenos, that is, not monos ek monou (alone from the alone), and that He is manifested through the Son. But how, I ask, if the Fathers, when they teach that the Son is from the Father monogenos, thereby denied that the Holy Spirit is equally from the Father alone, would Epiphanius have called the Son of God the Only-Begotten, yet at the same time added that the Father alone produced the Holy Spirit? For thus, in Heresy LXXVI Against the Anomoeans, Against the Eleventh Chapter of Aetius:

> *The Father is unbegotten and eternally begot the Only-Begotten, existing by nature as teaching Himself; because He alone begot the one Only-Begotten and produced the Holy Spirit. The sole generator on account of the sole Only-Begotten, who, with the Son, coexists without a principle.*

And at the beginning of the Ancoratus, Number II:

> *There is, therefore, one God the Father, and the sole true God, and not according to the fabricated gods, whom some Greeks thought to be gods, though they are not gods; but the sole true God (namely, the Father), because the Only-Begotten is alone from the alone, and the Holy Spirit is alone.*

It is false, namely, that the word monogenos signifies “alone from the alone”; rather, it at least signifies “only begotten.” For monogenos in Greek is unigenitus in Latin, a word that teaches not only being from the alone but being uniquely and solely begotten: for unigenitus is composed of the word unus (one) and genitus (begotten). Hence, Athanasius, in Dialogue III Against Macedonius, Volume II, p. 213:

The Son is generated from the essence, and for this reason, He is the Only-Begotten Son.

Basil, in Book IV Against Eunomius:

The Only-Begotten is the Son, because He alone is generated from the alone.

Epiphanius, in Heresy LXXVI, which is of the Anomoeans:

So also concerning the Holy Spirit, because He proceeds from the Father, even if He is not begotten, because the Son is the Only-Begotten.

And against the Twenty-Second Chapter of Aetius:

For He who begot the begotten from Himself and sent forth from Himself His Holy Spirit, the Spirit of both [Father and Son], a participant, did not beget all, but one. Therefore, He is also the Only-Begotten; and He sent forth one Spirit from Himself.

And in Heresy LXVII:

Even if we do not say that the Spirit is begotten, since the Son is the Only-Begotten, nevertheless, the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from Me, says Christ.

Gennadius of Massilia, in Book I on Ecclesiastical Dogmas, Chapter II:

Therefore, we do not confess two Christs or two Sons, but one Son, God and man, whom we also call the Only-Begotten.

Fulgentius, in Book on Faith to Peter, Chapter X:

Showing that He, the Son of God, is alone begotten from the Father, He says: 'For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son.' And a little later: 'But he who does not believe is already judged, because he does not believe in the name of the Only-Begotten Son of God.'

John Damascene, in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX:

> *The Son of God is also called the Only-Begotten, because He alone is singularly begotten from the Father alone: for no other generation is likened to the generation of the Son of God, since there is no other Son of God.*

And in Book IV, Chapter VIII:

> *He Himself is from the substance of God and the Father, alone begotten timelessly: and therefore, not without reason, the Only-Begotten. Firstborn, not first-created.*

So also others. The matter here is so clear, the words of the Fathers so evident, that anyone who calls this into question must be a person of the most perverse obstinacy (I will not say a Christian). What, therefore, is the consequence? “The Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father alone, while the Son is generated from the Father alone?” Nor do the cited words of Gregory of Nyssa stand in the way:

> *The Holy Spirit is distinguished from the Son by His property, that He is not monogenos produced from the Father, and that the Son is manifested through Him.*

For it is equally false that monogenos signifies “alone from the alone produced”; rather, the sense of the words is that the Holy Spirit is not produced from the Father in an only-begotten manner, that is, not uniquely generated from the Father, as the Son is. For while the Son is alone begotten from the Father, the Holy Spirit is by no means alone begotten from the Father; it is necessary, therefore, that the Son is distinguished from the Holy Spirit by this very fact.

Finally, the oft-mentioned Jesuit insists on this (Cichovius, Question VIII, p. 91):

> *Whatever person is immediately from the Father alone is the Son. The Holy Spirit, according to the Photians, is immediately from the Father alone; therefore, the Holy Spirit, according to them, is the Son.*

And for this reason, the Holy Fathers—St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Epiphanius—assign this cause, that the Holy Spirit is not the Son, because He is not produced monogenos, that is, from the Father alone,

nor immediately from the first, but through Him who is from the first, or, as St. Epiphanius says, from both. The argument itself is clear: either when it is said to be immediately from the Father alone, it is understood simply as being from the Father alone, and no other person is produced; or it is understood as being from the Father alone, and no other person is produced through another. If it is taken in the former sense, the major premise is certainly false; if in the latter, the minor premise is false. For with the Son generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. But where the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit differs from the Son in that He is not monogenos from the Father, they thereby deny that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father in an only-begotten manner, as the Son alone is begotten from the Father; they do not simply signify by this that the Holy Spirit is not produced from the Father alone. And Gregory of Nyssa indeed teaches that the Holy Spirit is mediately from the Father through the Son, but he does not teach this in any other sense than that we have just denied that the Holy Spirit is immediately from the Father, namely, because, with the Son generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. But we have discussed this at length in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. As for the words of Epiphanius, we will address them below.

The Latins further object:

> *The Fathers teach with constant consensus that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. But the Holy Spirit would not be the image of the Son unless He proceeded from Him: for the Son is the image of the Father because He is generated from Him.*

Indeed, the Fathers frequently teach that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his confession cited by Gregory of Nyssa in his Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Volume II, p. 978:

> *The perfect image of the perfect Son, namely, the Holy Spirit.*

Athanasius, in his Letter to Serapion against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature, Volume I, p. 199:

> *The Spirit is and is called the image of the Son: 'For whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son.'*

Basil the Great teaches this frequently in Book V Against Eunomius, among other places shortly after the beginning, Volume II, p. 110:

> *Christ is the image of God: 'Who is the image,' he says, 'of the invisible God'; but the image of the Son is the Spirit, by which those who participate are made conformed to the Son, according to the Scripture: 'Whom He foreknew and predestined, He makes conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren.'*

Cyril of Alexandria, in Book XI on John, Volume IV, p. 988:

> *The exquisite image of the Only-Begotten is the Spirit, as Paul says: 'For whom,' he says, 'He foreknew, these He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son.'*

He makes similar statements in Assertion XXXIII of the Thesaurus, Volume V, p. 336. Likewise, in Book IX on John, he teaches that the Holy Spirit is the face of the Son, Volume IV, p. 787:

> *If the face of the Son (that is, the Spirit), for the face of the Son is the Spirit, He fills all things.*

Finally, John Damascene, in Oration III on Images, p. 770:

> *The Holy Spirit is the image of the Son.*

He says the same in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter XVIII.

This was also an argument of the heretics, by which they argued against the Catholics that the Holy Spirit is the Son of the Son. Thus, Basil, in Book V Against Eunomius, Chapter XII, Volume II, p. 120:

> *But you say: if the Son is the image of God, and the Spirit is the image of the Son, why is the Spirit not called the Son of the Son?*

From this, it is simultaneously clear that Basil the Great by no means thought that, because the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For he does not resolve that argument but at least rejects it as absurd; since, if he had believed that argument to be valid, where it is inferred that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son,

he would have satisfied that objection with two words without any effort or difficulty, showing that there are two modes of proceeding in the Trinity: either generatively or processively produced. Therefore, the major premise is wrongly formed: “Whoever is the image of another is also his son.” Namely, when the Fathers say that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, they understand this in no other sense than that, by knowing the Holy Spirit or His essence, the Son or His essence is also known, since the Holy Spirit differs from the Son in nothing else except that the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. For this is clearly the sense of the Fathers, as is evident from the words of John Damascene in the cited Oration III on Images:

> *The Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. For no one can say ‘Lord Jesus’ except in the Holy Spirit. Through the Spirit, therefore, we know Christ, the Son of God, and God. And in the Son, we behold the Father. The word is the messenger of thought, but the spirit is the indicator of the word. The Holy Spirit is a true and most certain image of the Son, differing from Him only in that He proceeds. For the Son is begotten, not proceeding.*

Here, he explicitly teaches that the Holy Spirit is the perfect image of the Son, except that the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds, namely from the Father. For when he had taught that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son because He is equal to the Son in all things, he excepts the difference of procession. But to show how the Holy Spirit differs from the Son in terms of procession, since otherwise the Holy Spirit is the most exact image of the Son, he adds: “Because the Son is begotten, not proceeding.” Here, it is understood that the Son is begotten from the Father, not proceeding from the Father. Therefore, he had similarly understood the Father when he says that the Holy Spirit differs from the Son by procession. For he denies of the Son what he had affirmed of the Holy Spirit. But he denies that the Son proceeds from the Father; therefore, he affirms that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Furthermore, if he had understood procession from the Son when he says, “The Holy Spirit proceeds,” or at least if he had simply believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, it would have been fitting to give this reason for why the Holy Spirit differs from the Son by procession, namely, that the Son is the producer of the Holy Spirit. It would have been fitting, I say, to give the difference also by reason of the

cause, not merely by reason of the caused, as Damascene does here. For this is what the Latins also wish and urge. Therefore, since, to show that the Holy Spirit differs from the Son by procession, he does not adduce production from the Son but the generation of the Son from the Father, or shows how they differ at least by reason of the caused, not also by reason of the cause, it is utterly clear from this that Damascene by no means thought that the Holy Spirit being the image of the Son is an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But further, if the Holy Spirit were also the image of the Son because He proceeds from the Son, it would follow that the Son resembles the Father in all things, even in the reason of cause, that is, in the production of the Holy Spirit, except only that the Father generates and the Son is generated. But thus, the Holy Spirit, even if it were posited that He proceeds from the Son, would by no means be as perfect an image of the Son as the Son is a perfect image of the Father. For not only would the passive generation of the Son be excepted, but also the active production of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Son would be a more perfect and exact image of the Father than the Holy Spirit is of the Son, which is absurd. For as the Son is the perfect image of the Father, so the Holy Spirit is the perfect image of the Son. But if we follow the doctrine of John Damascene, as only the cause is excepted from the Son to be a perfect image of the Father, so too at least one different reason, namely that of the caused, is excepted from the Holy Spirit to be a perfect image of the Son. And hence, if you consider the cause, namely that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son because He is produced by Him, Augustine, in Book XV of On the Trinity, Chapter XXXII, explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. For when he explains the Trinity there with some similar example, signifying the Father by the voice of knowledge, the Son by thought, and the Holy Spirit by will, he says, among other things:

> *This will proceeds from knowledge, for no one wills what he does not know at all what or of what kind it is; yet it is not the image of thought.*

But in Book on Genesis Literally, Incomplete, Chapter XVI:

> *Every image is similar to that of which it is an image; yet not everything that is similar to something is also its image. As in a mirror or a painting, because they are also images and similar; yet if one is not*

> *born from the other, neither of them can be called the image of the other. For an image is so when it is expressed from something.*

In the former place, Augustine denies that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son: because, as he says in the latter place, an image is so when it is expressed from something. Therefore, according to Augustine, the Holy Spirit is not produced from the Son: because the Holy Spirit is not the image of the Son. For when something is expressed from another, it is the image of that other. Therefore, Augustine does not acknowledge the Holy Spirit as the image of the Son, if you understand the cause by which the Holy Spirit has from the Son to be His image. Nor does Athanasius in the cited place mention the Holy Spirit as the image of the Son for any other purpose than to show that they have one substance; and he adds the reason:

> *Such as the image is, such must be He whose image it is.*

Thus, he continues:

> *Therefore, since according to their confession the Son is not a created thing, neither will His image be a created thing. For such as the image is, such must He be whose image it is. Therefore, it is rightly and fittingly confessed that the Son is not a creature, since He is the image of the Father. Those, therefore, who number the Holy Spirit among creatures altogether number the Son in the same class; and for this reason, it is also more insulting to the Father, because of the blasphemy they inflict on His image.*

But the Latins insisted:

> *The Son is the image of the Father because He is produced from the Father; therefore, by the same reason, the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, because, namely, He proceeds from the Son.*

For concerning the Son, that He is the image of the Father because He is produced from the Father, thus Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XXXVI, which is the Second on the Son, far before the end:

> *An image as of the same essence with the Father, and because He is from the Father, and not the Father from Him. For this is the nature*

> *of an image, that it be an imitation of the principal exemplar, and of that whose image it is said to be.*

But what, I ask, is the consequence: “The Son, through His generation from the Father, has that He is the image of the Father; or the Son is the image of the Father, because He is from the Father, and not the Father from Him; therefore, the Holy Spirit is equally the image of the Son, because He proceeds from the Son; or the Holy Spirit, through His procession from the Son, has that He is the image of the Son?” Does it not follow, when the Son is the image of the Father because He is from the Father, that universally in divine things one cannot be the image of another unless it is produced from the same? Absurd. Surely, the Holy Spirit would still be the image of the Son because the Father, wishing to produce another consubstantial with the Son, produced the Holy Spirit from and in the one divine essence, equal and like the Son in all things; so that, just as the Son differs from the Father only in the reason of cause, the Holy Spirit differs from the Son only in the reason of the caused. This, moreover, was the very doctrine of John Damascene, as we have seen. But in Ephrem the Syrian’s Sermon on Confession and His Own Reproof, the words are:

> *The Father, wishing another consubstantial, not whom He begot, but produced the Holy Spirit from His substance, not before the Son, lest we say that His will is subject to necessity. But that we say the Holy Spirit is after the Son, this is not indicative of time, but of person.*

So too, Adam is called the image of God, Eve the image of Adam: for Adam was produced to the image of God, Eve to the image of Adam; yet, although Adam was created by God, Adam did not produce Eve, but God created her equally. But here, you say, in a different reason and sense, indeed equivocally, the Son will be the image of the Father, and the Holy Spirit the image of the Son: which is absurd. But how would the Son not be the image of the Father, and the Holy Spirit the image of the Son, in the same way, but equivocally, even if the Holy Spirit were not also produced from the Son? Does not the Son, therefore, as the image of the Father, have all things proper to the Father, except at least the cause, or except the hypostatic property; so too the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, because He has all things of the Son, except at least a different reason of the caused, or hypostatic property? By no means does the

difference, which is in the reason of cause, introduce some equivocation of images in divine things. Otherwise, even according to the Latins, the Son would be said to be the image of the Father equivocally, and the Holy Spirit the image of the Son: for the Son is the image of the Father because He is generated from the Father; as the Holy Spirit, according to the Latins, is the image of the Son because He proceeds from the Son.

But the Jesuit insists (Cichovius, Question IV, p. 40):

> *In divine things, one person is said to be the image of another from the very fact that it is from that one whose image it is said to be, as St. Gregory the Theologian teaches.*

Indeed, with respect to the Son, Gregory affirms that the Son is the image of the Father because He is from the Father; but he by no means simply teaches that a person who in divine things is the image of another is produced from that one whose image it is. Rather, he simply adds that it is the nature of an image to be an imitation of the prototype; which he asserts, not to show simply that one cannot be the image of another unless it is produced from the same, but to show that the Father cannot be from the Son, but the Son from the Father; since it is clear that one must necessarily be from the other. For if an image is an imitation of the prototype, it is necessarily understood that the prototype precedes the image. Therefore, the prototype is not produced from the image, but, if things are such that one produces the other, it is necessary that the image be produced from the prototype. And so, when the Son is equally the prototype of the Holy Spirit, the Son is also understood to precede the Holy Spirit, namely in the reason of cause from the Father, not in the reason of time. And Augustine, in the cited words, denied that there is an image unless one is expressed from another; but from this, he also simultaneously denied that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son.

They also object:

> *The Son is the prototype of the Holy Spirit, as we have just asserted, and Gregory Thaumaturgus also has in his exposition of faith against Elipandus: 'The Father is the principle of the Lord, who begot Him from eternity; and the Lord is the prototype of the Holy Spirit.' For these things are mutually related to each other: for an image is the image of a prototype, and a prototype is the prototype of an image.*

Indeed, by the same reason that the Holy Spirit is said to be the image of the Son, the Son is also called the prototype of the Holy Spirit: for those things that are said relatively have one reason, one nature; namely, because God the Father, having produced the Son, wishing another consubstantial, produced the Holy Spirit, equal and like the Son in all things. In the same way, by this reason, Adam is the prototype of Eve (for Eve is the image of Adam), since God created Eve to the image of Adam.

But the Latins further object:

> *If the Holy Spirit is called the image of the Son on account of the one and same essence, then the Father will also be the image of the Son, and the Son the image of the Holy Spirit.*

But not at all does the one and same essence alone suffice for one to be the image of another, but further, an image must be an imitation of that whose image it is, as St. Gregory the Theologian spoke; and thus, the prototype must necessarily precede the image in the reason of cause. Thus, the Son is the image of the Father, but the Father is prior to the Son in the reason of cause, since He generated Him; the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son, but the Son is prior to the Holy Spirit in the reason of cause. For the Son is produced with no one produced, but the Holy Spirit is produced with the Son generated. Therefore, since the Father does not precede the Son, nor the Holy Spirit the Son, in the reason of cause, the Father could by no means be the image of the Son, nor the Son the image of the Holy Spirit.

John, the Provincial, also objects in the Council of Florence, Session XXII:

> *From this, it is held that just as the Son is called the image of the Father, so the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. But an image, according to the doctrine of all the Holy Fathers, implies procession in the likeness of another. And this is clear from the text of divine Scripture, where, speaking of divine wisdom, it says: 'It is a certain emanation of the brightness of the almighty God; and the image of His goodness.' Emanation implies procession; therefore, it is impossible for something to be in the image of another unless it proceeds to its likeness. That from which the image proceeds is called the exemplar. There cannot be an image of the Son in divine things unless it is natural. Therefore, it receives its nature from the Father through this. Therefore, because it receives its nature, it is called His image.*

> *Therefore, since the Holy Spirit also proceeds naturally, because the divine nature is communicated and given to Him, and He is called the image of the Son, it is necessary that He receives His nature and being from the Son.*

And first, it is entirely false that an image implies procession in the likeness of another, in the sense that John understands it; namely, that an image is necessarily produced from the exemplar. Which of the Fathers ever taught this, whom he boasts all taught? The cited words of Scripture, Wisdom, Chapter VII, are these:

> *For it is a vapor of the power of God, and a certain sincere emanation of the brightness of the almighty God. Therefore, nothing defiled enters into it. For it is the brightness of eternal light, and a spotless mirror of the majesty of God, and the image of His goodness.*

But where here, I ask, when wisdom is said to be an emanation of the brightness of God and the image of His goodness, is it taught by this that emanation implies procession? Does it not, because wisdom is an emanation and image of God, mean that nothing is the image of another unless it is an emanation of another? Further, Scripture does not assert those words, “Because it is also the image of His goodness,” to prove that wisdom is an emanation of the brightness of God; but to prove that nothing defiled enters into wisdom. For the words of Scripture were: “Therefore, nothing defiled enters into it. For it is the brightness of eternal light, and a spotless mirror of the majesty of God, and the image of His goodness.” For these latter words necessarily pertain to those: “Nothing defiled enters into wisdom”; and the words that follow also argue this: “Because it is a spotless mirror of the majesty of God.” As for the rest of John’s words, we will address them below concerning Bellarmine’s similar objection.

Thus, Bellarmine, in Book II on Christ, Chapter XXV:

> *It must be noted that it is the image of the Son. For although the Holy Spirit is not as properly the image of the Son as the Son is the image of the Father, because He does not proceed by way of likeness; yet He could not be called any image of the Son unless He proceeded from Him and were similar to Him in essence. For an image implies a relation of the produced to the producer: and without this relation,*

> *any likeness does not suffice. Hence, a brother is not called the image of a brother, even if he is most similar to him; nor is one egg the image of another egg, although because of the likeness one can scarcely be distinguished from the other. For likeness does not suffice, but it is required that one proceeds from the other, which is not found in eggs or brothers. Therefore, when St. Gregory called the Holy Spirit the image of the Son, he undoubtedly believed that He truly proceeds from the Son. You will say: it is not required that the exemplar be the active cause of the image, but it is enough if it is the exemplar, as is clear in statues. I respond: in artificial things, the exemplar is not the active cause, but in natural productions, it is. For it necessarily coincides with the active principle, as is clear in all things. For all things that act naturally produce their effects in the likeness of their own form. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit is produced not freely but naturally, the same is the active principle and exemplar with respect to Him.*

And first, it is false that an image necessarily has a relation of the produced to the producer. The Jesuit's reasons clearly do not support this. For the inference from natural things to divine things is entirely invalid: for these cannot be compared with those, as they surpass all understanding and all the course of nature. It would have been better to follow the explanation of the Holy Fathers in these matters than to be led by natural reasons. But St. John Damascene explicitly taught that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son because He is the same as the Son in all things, except their mode of production, not that the Son is the producer of the Holy Spirit. But the Jesuit says:

> *The exemplar is the active cause in natural productions; therefore, since the Holy Spirit is produced naturally, His exemplar must have been the active cause.*

Indeed, the active cause in natural production is the exemplar; but it is false that where something is produced naturally, the exemplar is also necessarily the active cause. For an active cause could also produce its own image to another exemplar, as God produced Eve to His image, namely Adam. The proof that the Jesuit adds is nothing:

> *All things, he says, that act naturally produce their effects in the likeness of their own form.*

From this, nothing else follows but that the producer is the exemplar of the produced; since he ought to have proved that the exemplar is necessarily the producer where something is produced, so that it could be inferred that the Holy Spirit is produced: therefore, His exemplar must necessarily coincide with the active principle. By this reasoning, therefore, it at least follows that the Father, as the active principle of the Holy Spirit, is His exemplar; by no means that the Son is equally the exemplar of the Holy Spirit because He is His active cause.

Someone adds (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 46) that St. Basil, in Book II Against Eunomius, clearly demonstrates that a true and physical image, even in creatures, cannot be given unless it is produced from that whose image it is. But what of it? In natural things, an image is not given unless it is produced from that whose image it is. Does it therefore follow that the same holds in divine things? Absurd. But he ought to have cited the words of Basil by which he explicitly denies that in divine things an image is not given unless it is produced from that whose image it is.

Finally, the same author objects (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 65) that Nicetas, in his commentary on Oration XLII of Gregory the Theologian, confesses that an image in divine things supposes procession from the prototype, when he says:

> *The Son is called the image of the Father because He is from the Father, not the Father from Him.*

But with these very words, it has already been shown above concerning the words of Gregory the Theologian that it is not signified that an image in divine things necessarily supposes procession from the prototype. For those are his words, and Nicetas follows them in citing them. And this is enough for now concerning those things that they commonly object from several Fathers together. Now let us descend to those things that they adduce from individual Fathers.

First of all, they object that St. Mark the Evangelist himself, in his Liturgy, in so many words asserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. But it has been shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated by the Latins in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers that the words of St. Mark the Evangelist were most shamefully corrupted.

What they add from Athenagoras the Philosopher's Apology for the Christians, we have refuted in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers.

Certain words of Dionysius of Alexandria, which are found in Athanasius' Book on the Opinion of Dionysius, folio 56, someone objects (Cichovius, Question III, p. 29); namely:

> *The Holy Spirit is in their (the Father's and the Son's) hands, neither able to be separated from the sender nor from the bringer.*

And he adds:

> *He seems to allude to this, that the Holy Spirit is called the finger of God in sacred letters, which signifies that He is not only from the Father but also from the Son, since He is not in the hands of the Father alone, but in the hands of both.*

But that the Holy Spirit is the finger of God is by no means an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as has been shown in the Treatise That the Holy Spirit Being the Spirit of the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

What they object from Gregory Thaumaturgus on the grounds that in his confession he teaches that the Holy Spirit is manifested through the Son, we have already refuted in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers.

But someone also objects (Cichovius, Question I, p. 15) those things from a certain homily of Gregory Thaumaturgus, in Volume VII of the works of St. Chrysostom, Savile's edition, in the appendix:

> *This is (the Son) who with Me sent forth the Holy Spirit, receiving Him into Himself.*

But by no means does St. Gregory speak there of the production of the Holy Spirit when he says: "Who with Me sent forth the Holy Spirit," but at least of the sending of the Holy Spirit upon Christ in His baptism. Hence, he introduces the person of the Father speaking:

> *This is My Son, who with Me sent forth the Holy Spirit, receiving Him into Himself.*

For although the Son, baptized according to the flesh, received the Holy Spirit into Himself, yet by reason of divinity, He equally with the Father sent Him forth to sanctify His flesh. But in Christ's baptism, the voice of the Father was: "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Therefore, since this is the sense of St. Gregory's words, clearly no support comes to the Latins from this.

From the Synod of Beccus in his collection of testimonies on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and from the universal Nicene Synod, Manuel Calecas, in Book II, objects these things from the Nicene Synod:

> *The Spirit is found proceeding from the Father, but proper to the Son, and flowing forth from Him.*

But again, it has been shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers that these words were corruptly cited by Beccus, and that they do not help the Latins in any way.

What they object from St. Athanasius' Book IV Against the Arians:

> *We say the one Sun, and His splendor, and the one light from both*

and likewise from his booklet On the Passion of the Image of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and from his Creed, have been shown again in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers to be corrupted with the worst faith.

Thomas, in his booklet Against the Greeks, and from him Bellarmine, in Book II on Christ, Chapter XXVIII, object these things from the Letter to Serapion:

> *Unless they confess the Holy Spirit to be God essentially existing from the God Son, just as we confess the Son naturally begotten God essentially existing from the God Father, do not receive them.*

But in Athanasius' letters to Serapion, neither a trace nor a vestige of these words is found.

They further object from Oration IV Against the Arians, Volume I of his works, p. 477:

> *Because the Word is in the Father, but the Spirit is given from the Word, therefore He wills that we receive the Spirit.*

And from the Letter to Serapion on the Holy Spirit, Volume II, p. 11:

> *From Him (Christ) it is given to all.*

But in these, St. Athanasius speaks only of the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit: for the Son gives His Holy Spirit to us: from Himself and His substance He grants Him to us, as He was in Him and in His substance.

They further object from the Dialogue Held in the Nicene Synod Against Arius, Volume I of his works, p. 141:

> *If He is not from the substance of the Father and the Son, for what reason does the Son of God number Him in the symbol of sanctification? For the Lord says to the disciples: 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.'*

Indeed, the Greek does not have ek tes ousias tou patros kai tou huiou ("from the essence of the Father and the Son"), but at least ei ou esti tes tou patros kai tou huiou ousias ("if He is not of the essence of the Father and the Son"). But we willingly concede that the sense of these latter words is that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father and the Son. Therefore, St. Athanasius by no means signifies by these that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but only that the Holy Spirit has the one and same essence with the Father and the Son; or that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son. For he disputes there against Arius, who denied that the Holy Spirit is coessential with the Father and the Son, blaspheming that He is a creature. Thus, he introduces Arius speaking:

> *It remains that we inquire about the Holy Spirit, since in the beginning you established that He is consubstantial with the Father and the Son. But I contradict this, since I have proofs from the sacred Scriptures that He is created.*

From which it is clear that he is of a created nature, and by no means of the uncreated, blessed essence of the Father and the Son, which contains all things and is present everywhere by essence. Therefore, the opinion of the heretic, which Athanasius opposes there, was this: "The Holy Spirit is of a created nature, and not of the uncreated substance of the Father and the Son." From this, it is clear to anyone that the sense of the heretic

was at least that the Holy Spirit does not enjoy the same essence as the Father and the Son. Now, Athanasius, about to refute that opinion and proposition of the heretic, responds:

> *If, therefore, the Holy Spirit is not of the substance of the Father and the Son, why does the Son of God number Him in the symbol of sanctification?*

Therefore, Athanasius, repeating the assertion of the heretic, says: "If the Holy Spirit," he says, "is not of the substance of the Father and the Son." In the same sense, therefore, Athanasius adduces these words as the heretic had asserted them. Equally, therefore, Athanasius understands that the Holy Spirit enjoys the same essence as the Father and the Son. And Athanasius continues:

> *If, therefore, all nations that receive the faith and sanctification are sanctified by that most blessed threefold nomenclature, it is also certain that the Holy Spirit is of the deity of the Father and the Son for this reason: because He is holy according to essence and makes holy all those who approach His communion, as the Apostle says: 'But you were washed, but you were sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in His Spirit, who is holy.' If He is not of the subsistence of the deity of the Father and the Son, I say again, why is He numbered with the Father and the Son? As if the divinity of the Father and the Son were not sufficient for the sanctification of the faithful, He assumed the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, for the completion of sanctification, if He is not from the same essence of both.*

From which it is again clear that Athanasius' purpose is to assert at least against the heretic that the Holy Spirit has one essence with the Father and the Son. But in those last words, ton ouk ek tes ousias autou onta ("if He is not from His essence"), he says: it is clear, as we just conceded, that the sense of the cited words was no less: "If He is not from the substance of the Father and the Son." But Athanasius' mind is none other than that the Holy Spirit enjoys the same substance as the Father and the Son. In the same sense, other Fathers frequently teach that the Holy Spirit is from the substance, essence, or deity of the Father and the Son, by no means signifying by this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But more on this below.

They further object from Athanasius' Letter to the Antiochenes, Volume I of his works, p. 575:

> *Demand nothing more from them than that they anathematize the heresy of the Arians, but confess the faith of the Holy Fathers in Nicaea, and also anathematize those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and divided from the substance of Christ.*

But what of it? The Holy Spirit is by no means divided from the substance of the Son: does it, therefore, proceed from the Son? What is this necessity of inference? Would the one and same deity of the Son and the Holy Spirit be an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Absurd.

Nor is the Holy Spirit foreign, but proper and indivisible from the substance of the Father and the Son. But who has ever denied that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son? Would the Holy Spirit truly be foreign or alien to the Son if He did not proceed from Him, when He is produced in the one and same deity from the same substance as the Son? But we have already discussed this above.

They also object to those things from Book IV Against the Arians, Volume I of Athanasius' works, p. 477:

> *He Himself gives the Spirit, and whatever the Spirit has, He has from the Word.*

And those from the Letter to Serapion, Volume II of his works, p. 17:

> *The Spirit is of the Son, and He receives all things from the Son, as He Himself says: And breathing on them, He gave Him to the disciples.*

Again, those from Oration IV Against the Arians:

> *If I grant that the Holy Spirit knows [the day of judgment], much more does the Word know it, inasmuch as the Word is He from whom the Spirit also receives.*

But all these have already been addressed in the Treatise Demonstrating That the Holy Spirit Receiving from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, where we refuted these and

other similar arguments of the Latins. Now we add that it is absurd for John the Provincial to have pressed those words from the Letter to Serapion just cited in the Council of Florence, Session XXII (according to the acts of that same Council edited by Horatio Justiniano), thus:

> *He says first: that He is the Spirit of the Son, and from that relationship, he says that He receives all things from the Son through eternal procession, because He cannot receive in any other way. Secondly, he says: that He temporally gives Him to the disciples; therefore, every temporal procession presupposes an eternal procession.*

But where did Athanasius, in those words claiming that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, say that the Holy Spirit receives all things from the Son through eternal procession? That the Holy Spirit cannot receive in any other way is entirely false, as shown in the treatise just mentioned; and it is equally false that every temporal procession presupposes an eternal procession, as shown in the Treatise Demonstrating That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

They then object from the first Letter to Serapion on the Holy Spirit, Volume II of his works, p. 10:

> *What kind of property we have known the Son to have with the Father, we have found the Holy Spirit to have with the Son.*

But Athanasius does not understand this in terms of cause, but at least in terms of the property of the same essence. For he adds:

> *Therefore, just as the Son, because He has a property with the Father and is a proper offspring from His substance, is not a creature but consubstantial with the Father, so too the Holy Spirit cannot be a creature; rather, he is impious who says this, because He has a property with the Son, and because He is given to all from Him; finally, because what He has are of the Son.*

Here, if he had understood “property” as the property of cause, just as he says, “The Son, because He has a property with the Father and is a proper offspring from His substance,” he would have equally said of the Holy Spirit: “Thus the Holy Spirit is not a creature, because He has a

property with the Son, and because He proceeds from Him," etc. But now, since he mentions cause in relation to the Son but does not add that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son in relation to the Holy Spirit, it is clear from this that Athanasius did not believe in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, nor did he understand the property of cause in this passage. Moreover, when he separately says here: "The Son has a property with the Father and is His offspring," does it not again become clear from this that he did not understand the term "property" as the property of cause? Otherwise, he would not have added again that the Son depends on the Father as an offspring.

Thus, Cichovius (Question III, p. 32) accomplishes nothing by pressing this passage for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Now, in Volume II, in the Letter to Serapion, folio 10, to prove that the Holy Spirit is not a creature, he frequently assumes as a primary principle that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For example, he argues thus:

> *What kind of property we know the Son to have with the Father, such we find the Holy Spirit to have with the Son. But the Son, because of the property He has with the Father, is not a creature. Therefore, the Holy Spirit, because of the property He has with the Son, is not a creature.*

Here, for the major premise to be effective, it presupposes that the Holy Spirit's receiving from the Son is through a relative property of the spirator and the spirated, just as the Son's receiving from the Father is through the property of the generator and the generated. But it is false that the major premise, to be effective, presupposes such a thing. Would you not validly argue: "What kind of property of the same nature we know the Son to have with the Father, such the Holy Spirit has with the Son. But the Son, because of the property of the same nature He has with the Father, is not a creature. Therefore, neither is the Holy Spirit, because of the property of the same nature He has with the Son, a creature"? How, then, for this inference to be effective, would it further need to be supposed that the Holy Spirit's receiving from the Son is as the Son receives from the Father? Bellarmine further insists (Book II on Christ, Chapter XXV):

> *The fourth passage is in that very long Letter to Serapion, where he proves against the Macedonians that it cannot in any way be defended*

> *that the Holy Spirit is a creature if the Son is not a creature, and this is the argument of the entire letter. He proves this by this reason, which he proposes in various ways throughout almost the entire letter: Such is the order and union between the Holy Spirit and the Son as between the Son and the Father. But the Son, because He is from God the Father, is God like the Father. Therefore, similarly, the Holy Spirit, because He is from God the Son, will be God like the Son; or if He Himself is not God, neither will the Son be God, nor even the Father.*

Indeed, that entire letter of Athanasius deals with convincing those who, while affirming Christ to be God, denied that the Holy Spirit is God. The most powerful reason Athanasius uses throughout this letter is this:

> *If the Holy Spirit is not God, neither is the Son God.*

But it is false that Athanasius would make this inference thus:

> *Such is the order and union between the Holy Spirit and the Son as between the Son and the Father. But the Son, because He is from God the Father, is God. Therefore...*

For, at least because of the unity of nature, which is the same between the Son and the Father as between the Holy Spirit and the Son, it follows that the Son would also be a creature if the Holy Spirit is a creature. Thus, near the beginning of that letter, Volume I of his works, p. 174:

> *You would immediately marvel at the madness of those who, while unwilling to say that the Son of God is a creature, can nevertheless tolerate the Spirit of the Son being called a creature. For because of the unity of the Word with the Father, they do not wish the Son to be counted among creatures, and they understand Him (which is also true) to be the creator and maker of creatures. Why, then, do they call the Holy Spirit, who has the same unity with the Son as the Son has with the Father, a creature?*

He shows this unity especially from the fact that the Holy Spirit is in the Son and is His Spirit, not that He also proceeds from the Son. He says:

> *The holy and blessed Trinity is indivisible in itself, and wherever the Father is mentioned, His Word is one with Him, and the Spirit is in the*

> *Son. But if the Son is named, the Father is in the Son, nor is the Holy Spirit outside the Word; for one grace is perfected from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, and there is one deity, and one God who is above all, through all, and in all.*

Thus, Paul, saying: “I testify before God and Jesus Christ,” clearly had not learned to separate the Spirit from the Son, who was in Christ as the Son was in the Father. He further demonstrates this natural unity of the Son with the Holy Spirit, which the Father equally has with the Son, thus, p. 193:

> *Do not, therefore, question, but learn only from the sacred Scriptures. For the teachings found in them suffice. The Father, therefore, is called the source and light. The Son is also called, with respect to that source, a river—for the river of God is full of waters—and with respect to light, a splendor, as Paul says: ‘Because He is the splendor of His glory and the form of His substance.’ Therefore, since the Father is light, the Son is His splendor, we ought not hesitate to speak of these things in the same way; for it is lawful to see that the Spirit is in the Son, through whom He illuminates, and while the Spirit illuminates us, Christ is He who illuminates through Him. Again: When the Father is the source, and the Son is called a river, we are said to drink the Spirit. For it is written that we have all drunk of one Spirit, but in drinking the Spirit, we drink Christ. Conversely, since Christ is the true Son, we, receiving the Holy Spirit, become sons. For it is written: ‘You have not received a spirit of slavery to fear, but you have received a Spirit of adoption.’ Therefore, since we become sons through the Spirit, it is certain that in Christ we obtain the name of God’s children. For to those who received Him, He gave the power to become sons of God. Then: When the Father (as Paul says) alone is the wise God, the Son is His wisdom; for Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God. And because the Son is wisdom, we, receiving the Spirit of wisdom, have the Son and are made wise in Him.*

Thus, it is written in Psalm 45: “The Lord sets free the prisoners, the Lord enlightens the blind.” And when the Spirit is given to us: “Receive,” says the Savior, “the Holy Spirit,” God is in us, and with God in us, the Son is also in us. Further, since the Son is life, we are said to be made alive in the Spirit. And being made alive in the Spirit, Christ is said to live in us. Again:

> *Just as the Son said that the works He did were done by the Father, so the works Paul performed in the power of the Spirit, he said were Christ's works: 'For I will not dare to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished through me for the obedience of the Gentiles, in word and deed, in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Spirit.'*

Therefore, since there is such a conjunction and unity in the Trinity, who will separate either the Son from the Father, or the Spirit from the Son or His Father? Or who will be so rash as to say that the Trinity is unequal in itself and of diverse nature, or that the Father is of a different essence from the Son, or that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Son? But if someone further asks:

> *How, when the Spirit is in us, is the Son said to be in us? And when the Son is in us, is the Father said to be in us? Or how, when the Trinity is one, is the Trinity signified in one? Or how, when one is in us, is the Trinity said to be in us?*

Let them first separate light from splendor, or wisdom from the wise, or say how these things are. But if they cannot even do this, it is far more foolish temerity to inquire into such things about God. Thus, Athanasius here and in what follows does not argue against those who denied that the Holy Spirit is God from the reason of principle, but only presses the unity of nature of the Spirit with the Son, as he explains.

But Bellarmine adds:

> *Since, therefore, beyond the middle of that letter, the Spirit has such an order and nature with the Son as the Son has with the Father, how can it be that he who calls the Spirit a creature does not necessarily think the same of the Son?*

But if we continue to examine Athanasius' letter, it will be clear that he does not express these words in any other sense than that the Holy Spirit has a unity of nature and operation with the Son, as the Son has with the Father. Thus, the entire passage reads, p. 195:

> *And in this way, because of the incredulity of rash men, it must be said simply, and if you speak or think thus, it will be permitted with*

> *indulgence: namely, that there is one sanctification, which is through the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit. For just as the Son is the Only-Begotten offspring, so too the Spirit, who is given and sent from the Son, is one and Himself, and not many, nor one of many, but He alone is the Spirit. For since the Son is one, the living Word, there must be one perfect and complete sanctifying and illuminating life, namely, His power and faculty and gift, which is said to proceed from the Father; because it shines forth from the Word, whom we confess to be from the Father, and is sent and given, especially because the Son is sent from the Father, as He says: 'For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son.' Further, the Son sends the Spirit, as He speaks thus: 'But when I have departed, I will send the Paraclete.' And the Son glorifies the Father: 'Father,' He says, 'I have glorified You,' but the Spirit glorifies the Son: for, as He says, 'He will glorify Me.' And the Son's words are: 'What I have heard from the Father, I speak to the world.' But the Spirit receives from the Son: 'He will take from what is Mine,' He says, 'and announce it to you.' And the Son came in the name of the Father: 'The Holy Spirit,' He says, 'whom the Father will send in My name.' Therefore, since the Spirit has such an order and nature with the Son as the Son has with the Father, how can it be that he who calls the Spirit a creature does not necessarily think the same of the Son? For if the Spirit of the Son is a creature, it follows that they say the Word of the Father is a creature. For just as the Son, who is in the Father, and the Father, who is conversely in Him, is not a creature but proper to the Father's substance (for this you also pretend to say), so too it is impious to join the Spirit, who is in the Son, and conversely the Son in Him, to creatures, or to separate Him from the Word, and to construct an imperfect Trinity.*

Thus, it is spontaneously clear in what sense Athanasius says: "The Spirit has such an order and nature with the Son as the Father has with the Son." Namely: The Son is one, of the Father; the Holy Spirit is also one power and faculty of the Son. The Son is the Only-Begotten offspring of the Father; the Holy Spirit is also sent from the Son. The Son glorifies the Father; the Holy Spirit also glorifies the Son. The Son speaks what He hears from the Father; the Holy Spirit also receives from the Son. Therefore, in this sense, he adds:

> *Since, therefore, the Holy Spirit has such an order and nature with the Son as the Son has with the Father, how will the Holy Spirit be a*

creature, while Christ is God?

Here, he by no means mentions the principle, that just as the Son is generated from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; which, above all other reasons, he would have added, indeed should have added, and Athanasius would have said by reason of principle that the Spirit has such an order with the Son as the Son has with the Father. Hence, he adds:

For just as the Son, who is in the Father, and the Father, who is conversely in Him, is not a creature but proper to the Father's substance, so too it is impious to join the Spirit, who is in the Son, and conversely the Son in Him, to creatures.

From which it is again clear that Athanasius draws arguments there only from the unity of nature, that just as the Son is in the Father, so the Holy Spirit is in the Son. And hence, near the end of that letter, p. 208, he says:

True worshipers indeed worship the Father, but in spirit and truth, confessing the Son, and in the Son the Spirit, since the Spirit is inseparable from the Son, as the Son is inseparable from the Father. This the truth itself proves by its testimony when it says: 'I will send you the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father,' whom the world cannot receive, that is, those who deny Him from the Father in Christ.

Thus, Bellarmine is mistaken when he adds:

Where Athanasius believed it so certain that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son that from this, as from a most firm principle, he concludes what was in doubt, namely, that the Holy Spirit is God.

But Bellarmine anticipates and addresses a response:

They can respond that the order of the Spirit to the Son and of the Son to the Father consists only in this, that just as the Father sends the Son to creatures, so the Son sends the Spirit. But this cannot be said unless, with the mission to creatures, we understand a true procession as to being. For otherwise, Athanasius' argument would be worthless, just as the argument is worthless: 'God sends angels;

> *therefore, angels are not creatures, or God is a creature.' For this is worthless because angels are sent by God to creatures, and that mission does not include an eternal mission of angels from God's substance. Therefore, if the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son to creatures and does not proceed substantially from the Son as from the Father, surely He is sent no differently than angels are sent, and therefore it cannot be inferred from this that He is God, or that the Son is not God, which Athanasius nevertheless infers.*

But if Athanasius were speaking of mission to creatures, he would not say: "For if the Spirit of the Son is a creature," etc. For these words signify production, not mission; and Athanasius contends that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son, but not created. But first, did not Athanasius also mention mission, from which he inferred that the Holy Spirit has such an order with the Son as the Son has with the Father? We have just seen his words. But Athanasius does not place that order solely in mission; yet he never lists among the rest the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as we have just seen. Further, Athanasius does not simply argue from mission: "If the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, the Holy Spirit is not a creature, or if He is a creature, the Son will likewise be a creature;" but among other examples, he also adduces the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son, from which he shows that the Holy Spirit has such an order with the Son as the Son has with the Father. And from this, I say, from this unity of nature and operation, he infers: "If the Holy Spirit is a creature, the Son will also be a creature;" and thus, he presses not only the same order between the Son and the Holy Spirit but also nature: "What order and nature," he says, "the Son has with the Father, the Holy Spirit also has with the Son;" so that from the unity of nature and order, he necessarily concluded that if the Holy Spirit is a creature, the Son will also be a creature. Therefore, Athanasius rightly and solidly adduces the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son; although it by no means includes eternal procession.

But it is false, then, that Athanasius could not have argued from mission alone unless he also included eternal procession. For the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son not as some foreign spirit, divided from His substance; but as His proper Spirit, existing indivisibly in Him; and thus, from the one and proper essence of the Son, He is given to the faithful. But if this is so, how would it not necessarily follow: "The Holy Spirit is sent from

the Son from His essence; therefore, if the Holy Spirit is a creature, the Son will also be a creature”? Where here, I ask, for this argument to be valid, was it still necessary to suppose the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Angels are indeed sent by God, but as foreign and divided from God’s substance; nor are they from God’s substance. Therefore, since there is the greatest difference between the mission of the Holy Spirit and that of angels, the Jesuit most absurdly added:

> *If the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son to creatures and does not proceed substantially from the Son as from the Father, surely He is sent no differently than angels are sent.*

Where, even with a single word, does Athanasius mention that the Holy Spirit is indeed produced from the Son but not created; which he would necessarily have had to do if he had intended to assert this, as Bellarmine vainly boasts? But when Athanasius says: “If the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Son,” he signifies production; therefore, when he mentions mission, he presupposes eternal production. But what, I ask, is the consequence: “The Holy Spirit is not a creature of the Son according to Athanasius; therefore, the Holy Spirit is produced from the Son in another way”? Surely, it would no less follow: “The Son is not a creature of the Holy Spirit; therefore, He is produced from the Holy Spirit in another way.” Or what is the consequence: “Creation signifies production; Athanasius mentions mission to show that the Son is not created; therefore, through mission, he presupposes eternal procession”? Creation indeed signifies production, namely, from nothing. But here, against the heretics, he denies that the Holy Spirit is created by the Son; therefore, he denies that the Holy Spirit is produced in such a way by the Son. Did he, therefore, to demonstrate this through mission, necessarily have to presuppose the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit through mission? But more on this below. Bellarmine continues:

> *After one page, Athanasius says: ‘The Holy Spirit is also His image and is called so.’*

But we have discussed this above.

The same Jesuit insists again:

> *And below: ‘If the Son, because He is from God and the Father, is*

> *proper to His substance, it is necessary that the Spirit, because He is said to be from God, is proper to the Son according to substance.'*

Surely, when Athanasius says the Spirit is from God, he means from God the Son, otherwise he would not conclude well that He is therefore proper to the Son, just as the Son is therefore proper to the Father because He is from the Father. There are also two shorter letters to the same Serapion, where he says the same in other words. But how, I ask, would you not validly argue: "The Holy Spirit is from God the Father, therefore proper to the Son"? For if He proceeds from the Father, surely in the essence and from the essence that is proper to the Son, He is produced inseparably; therefore, the Holy Spirit must be proper to the Son. But thus, the Holy Spirit would not equally be proper to the Son because He is not from the Son, just as the Son is proper to the Father because He is from the Father; which, however, Athanasius signifies here. But, I ask, where does Athanasius signify this very thing? His purpose was surely to show that the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son, and hence, he says, it is necessary that the Spirit, because He is said to be from God, is proper to the Son according to substance. Nowhere does he say that just as the Son is proper to the Father because He is from the Father, so the Holy Spirit cannot be proper to the Son unless He is equally from the Son. That the Holy Spirit is as proper to the Son as the Son is proper to the Father could surely necessarily be inferred, as shown, from the fact that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. As for the two remaining letters to Serapion that he sees, which could be objected from there, we have partly discussed them already, and partly we will refute them now.

For in the second Letter to Serapion, where Athanasius proves with various arguments that the Holy Spirit is not a creature, another Jesuit, Cichovius (Question III, p. 33), objects thus:

> *Again, he argues thus: 'The breath of the Son is not a creature. The Holy Spirit is the breath of the Son. Therefore, He is not a creature.' Here, the minor premise presupposes that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as breath proceeds from the mouth. Further, he argues thus: 'The form of the Son is not a creature (because the Son, being in the form of the Father, is not a creature). The Holy Spirit is the form of the Son (in the same sense, surely, as the Son is in the form of the Father). Therefore, He is not a creature.'*

The Holy Spirit is called the breath of the Son because He was breathed into the mouths of the Apostles. But that this breathing is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has been shown above in a special treatise. Therefore, breath indeed proceeds from the mouth, and thus the Holy Spirit, whom the Savior gave to the disciples under breathing, proceeded from the Lord through breath, but to the disciples. Whatever, therefore, is inferred from this is: The Holy Spirit is sent externally by the Lord, breathed, proceeds, about which we discuss elsewhere. Further, the Holy Spirit is called the form of the Son because He exactly represents the Son, except at least for the different reason of the caused; in the same sense, the Son, the form of the Father, exactly represents the Father, except for the reason of cause. How, therefore, would it follow from this: "The Holy Spirit is the form of the Son; therefore, He proceeds from the Son"? But we discussed this at length above, where we dealt with why the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son; the matter falls back to the same.

The same Jesuit continues:

> *The same, in the same place, folio 14B, says: 'The Holy Spirit is not outside the Word, but existing in the Word, through Him He is in God.' But how could the Holy Spirit be in God through the Word unless through an active spiration common to Him with the Father?*

The same, in the same place, responding to heretics who, from the words "He will take from what is Mine," inferred that the Holy Spirit is the son of the Son and the grandson of the Father, uses only a retortion, saying: "It is not safe to respond directly to them;" when, however, it would have been safest to say that the Holy Spirit is not the son of the Son if He did not proceed from Him. How, indeed, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, or to be in God through the Word, has been shown at the beginning of this treatise; namely, that with the Son generated, He proceeds from the Father. How, therefore, could the Holy Spirit not be in God through the Word unless through an active spiration common to the Word with the Father? As for the other point he sees, why, by the same reason, if Athanasius had believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, did he not respond that the Holy Spirit is not the son of the Son because He proceeds from Him, not is generated? Would not this also have been safest to say if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the

Son? So that it is clear from this that the Jesuit has no necessity to object these things to us; nor did Athanasius ever doubt whether the Holy Spirit is the son of the Son, and thus considered it unsafe to respond to the heretics here; for the entire Catholic Church has always denied that the Holy Spirit is the son of the Son. But rather, he could not easily satisfy that cunning argument of the heretics: “The Holy Spirit receives from the Son of God; therefore, He is the son of the Son.” But we discussed this at length concerning similar words of Basil the Great in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers.

The same author further objects those things of Athanasius from the same Letter, folio 10 (Question I, p. 16):

> *Just as the Father shows the Son, saying: ‘This is My beloved Son,’ so the Spirit is of the Son. For the Apostle, writing to the Romans, says: ‘He sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts.’ And as it is said of the Son: ‘What is Mine is the Father’s,’ so the Holy Spirit is of the Father, just as He is said to be of the Son; for the Son Himself says: ‘When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send,’ etc.*

And he adds:

> *Here it is clear that the Holy Spirit is called of the Son because He is sent by the Son, and therefore called of the Son as He is of the Father, and thus not because of a temporal mission, but an eternal one.*

But it is false that Athanasius, in those words, proves that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son because He is sent by the Son. To show that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, he adduces those words of sacred Scripture: “He sent the Spirit of His Son;” and: “When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth.” Did Athanasius, from these words of Scripture, intend to indicate those by which the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Son, or from this show that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son; and not rather those explicit remaining words by which the Holy Spirit is said in so many words to be the Spirit of the Son? But suppose Athanasius also inferred from the mission itself that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, as also of the Father; does it not still follow that from a temporal mission, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son? But we discussed this at length below concerning a similar objection of Bellarmine.

Again, the same Jesuit, from the Letter to Serapion, Volume I of his works, folio 189 (Question III, p. 29), objects:

> *The Trinity is indivisible, and wherever the Father is mentioned, His Word is one with Him, and the Spirit is in the Son. But if the Son is named, the Father is in the Son, nor is the Spirit outside the Word. For one grace is perfected from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit.*

And he adds:

> *Here it can be seen that the same conjunction with the Son is attributed to the Holy Spirit as that of the Father with the Son. Therefore, just as the conjunction of the Son with the Father, beyond the identity of substance, includes origin, so too the conjunction of the Holy Spirit with the Son.*

Indeed, Athanasius' intention is to show that the same conjunction exists between the Holy Spirit and the Son as between the Son and the Father; but he understands this close conjunction only in terms of nature, not also in terms of origin. For his purpose is to show that the Trinity is indivisible and united in itself (which last words the Jesuit maliciously omits), so that just as the Son is in the Father and the Holy Spirit is in the Son, so conversely the Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Holy Spirit. This unity and inseparability surely signifies a conjunction at least in terms of the identity of substance, just as Athanasius immediately adds in the objected words, which the Jesuit equally maliciously omitted: "And there is one deity, and one God who is above all, through all, and in all." The same is also clear from what Athanasius further adds: "Thus Paul, saying: 'I testify before God and Jesus Christ,' clearly had not learned to separate the Spirit from the Son, who was in Christ as the Son was in the Father." Therefore, Athanasius by no means refers that conjunction of persons, which he discusses here, to the reason of principle.

Again, he objects from the same Letter, folio 193:

> *When the Father is the source, and the Son is accordingly called a river, we who drink from it are said to drink the Holy Spirit, but in drinking the Spirit, we drink Christ.*

And he adds:

> *Behold, with respect to that same Spirit, the Son is called a river, with respect to which the Father is called a source. Therefore, just as the Father is called a source because of origin, so too the Son, emanating from the source, is called the river of the Holy Spirit because of the same origin; since it is necessary that water flows from the river as the river flows from the source.*

But in the objected passage, as we saw the whole of it above, Athanasius' purpose is to show the unity of essence of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence, whatever is attributed to the Son, he shows is also attributed to the Holy Spirit. And among these, he also places being a river, that just as the Son is a river, so too the Holy Spirit is a river. For when we drink the Holy Spirit, we drink Christ; but Christ is a river; therefore, it is necessary that the river, which is Christ, is also the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Athanasius does not call the Son a river here in relation to the Holy Spirit; and thus, whatever the Jesuit inferred from this is beside the point.

Finally, he objects from the same Letter, p. 194:

> *With such unity existing in the Trinity, who will separate either the Son from the Father, or the Holy Spirit from the Son or His Father? Or who will say that the Father is of a different essence from the Son, or that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Son?*

And he adds:

> *Again, note that the Son is said to be inseparable from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, although the Son is equally inseparable from the Holy Spirit as from the Father. Why, therefore, is it said thus? No other reason occurs to me than that this discourse is about inseparability flowing from origin. Therefore, because the Son draws His origin from the Father alone, He is said to be inseparable from the Father, with no mention made of the Holy Spirit. But because the Holy Spirit draws His origin from the Father and the Son, or through the Son, He is said to be inseparable from the Son and His Father.*

But now, how is the Holy Spirit not foreign to the Son or a stranger to the Son (for this is what *xenos* properly signifies) if He comes to the Son from elsewhere and is not spirated by the Son Himself? But the Jesuit

accomplishes nothing again. Athanasius could surely have said that the Son is not separated from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Son and the Father, in terms of order: because the Son is second from the Father, but the Holy Spirit is numbered after the Father and the Son. For he did not intend to signify origin by this, but at least to show that the essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one according to the order of substances, as is clear from his saying: “Or who will say that the Father is of a different essence from the Son, or that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Son?” For here, he does not add again that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Father and the Son. But if he had intended to indicate the principle by this, he would have mentioned either the Father alone or the Father and the Son according to the Latins. How, then, if the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, would the Holy Spirit be foreign or a stranger to the Son? But we discussed this above. Nor does Athanasius use the term “foreign” (*alienigena*) in any other sense in the same place than to signify someone being of a different and other essence. For his very words are: “Or who will say that the Father is of a different essence from the Son, or that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Son?” He surely wanted to show the same unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or one nature. Therefore, when he had said of the Father and the Son that they are of one and not a different essence, in the same sense he now adds of the Son and the Holy Spirit that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son, or not of a different essence; just as he prefaces: “Or who is so rash as to say that the Trinity is unequal in itself and of diverse nature?” And hence he adds: “Or that the Father is of a different essence from the Son, or that the Holy Spirit is foreign to the Son.” From which it is again clear that Athanasius uses the term “foreign” in no other sense there than to signify a different and not the same nature.

They further object from the Book on the Human Nature Assumed, Volume I of his works, p. 600:

> *He [Christ] breathed [the Holy Spirit] on the face of the Apostles, saying: ‘Receive the Holy Spirit,’ so that we might understand that the Holy Spirit given to the Apostles is from the fullness of deity. For in Christ, he says, all the fullness of deity dwells bodily, that is, in His flesh.*

As John the Evangelist also says: “We have all received from His fullness;”

for in bodily form, that is, under the appearance of a dove, the Holy Spirit was seen to descend and remain upon Him. For in us, only the firstfruits and pledge of divinity dwell, but in Christ, all the fullness of deity. But lest anyone think that He received the Spirit because He did not have Him, He Himself sent the Spirit from heaven as God, and He received the same Spirit as man; therefore, from Himself, He descended into Himself, namely, from His deity into His humanity. Athanasius says:

> *The Savior breathed the Holy Spirit on the Apostles to show that the Holy Spirit given to the Apostles is distributed from the fullness of deity, namely, from the fullness of deity of the Holy Spirit who dwelt bodily in Christ and who descended upon the Son under the appearance of a dove; while we have received not the fullness, but at least the firstfruits and pledge of divinity of the Holy Spirit.*

What, then, do these things have to do with the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Perhaps you will take those words thus: "The Savior breathed the Holy Spirit to show that the Spirit given to the Apostles exists from the fullness of His deity;" just as the Latin translator, entirely departing from Athanasius' words, renders them thus: "From the fullness of His [Christ's] deity, the Spirit Himself exists, who is given to the disciples." But according to the Greek words, at least, they are thus: "From the fullness of deity, the Holy Spirit is given to the disciples." Athanasius himself interprets the fullness of deity, from which the Holy Spirit is given to us, as the fullness of deity of the Holy Spirit. For he adds:

> *For we have received at least the firstfruits of deity, namely, the Holy Spirit (as is clear to anyone); but Christ [received] the fullness of deity, when the Holy Spirit descended upon Him under the appearance of a dove and remained upon Him.*

Therefore, he understands the fullness of deity as that of the Holy Spirit. And from this fullness of deity of the Holy Spirit, which dwelt in Christ, he teaches that the Savior gave the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, and to show this, He breathed on the face of the Apostles.

You will say that in the cited words, Athanasius says: "From Himself, the Holy Spirit descended into Himself." But Athanasius' meaning is that, since the Son as God has the Holy Spirit in Himself, He nevertheless received the Holy Spirit in His humanity; and thus, the Holy Spirit

descended from His divinity into His humanity. Therefore, these things do not help the Latins.

The Latins further press that Athanasius calls the Holy Spirit the operation of the Son. Thus, in the Letter to Serapion against those who say the Holy Spirit is a creature, Volume I of his works, p. 195:

> *Since the Son is one, the living Word, there must be one perfect and complete sanctifying and illuminating life, namely, His operation and gift, which is said to proceed from the Father.*

The same is taught by Cyril of Alexandria, in Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus, Volume V of his works, Part I, p. 343:

> *If, therefore, when the Spirit called him to the apostolate, he says he was called by Christ Jesus, he clearly shows that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the substance of the Son, but in the Son and from Him, as a certain natural operation in His own hypostasis.*

Again, in the same place, p. 355:

> *The Holy Spirit is a certain natural operation, living, so to speak, a quality of the deity of the Son.*

Hence, the Jesuit Petavius insists (Book VII on the Trinity, Chapter V, Number 12):

> *Such an operation must be thought of as not passing in the manner of an accident, but as solid and subsisting. From which it is clear that origin and substantial production are signified by that word; for this is known from the fact that the Son is called the power and energy of the eternal Father, which undoubtedly expresses His natural origin.*

This is testified by Cyril in the sixth of the Dialogues on the Trinity:

> *And so, the divine David, recognizing the Son as the living and subsisting operation and power of the Father, prayed, saying: 'Command, O God, Your strength; confirm, O God, what You have wrought in us.' But the most wise Paul openly proclaims Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God.*

And in the first of the Thesaurus:

> *The Son is the living and substantial operation, and power, and wisdom of the Father.*

Therefore, just as the Son is called the energy of the Father for no other reason than because He proceeds from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit, because He is accordingly called the energy of the Son, draws His origin from the same, which Cyril clearly explains when he says *ex autou*, that is, to be from the Son, is the same as to be His energy. So says he.

But it is false, first, that Cyril says the Son is the operation of the Father because He proceeds from the Father; but he signifies by that word only that the Father operates all things through the Son, so that the Son is the substantial operation of the Father in terms of what is done by God, not in terms of His production from the Father. This is clear if we examine even the other passage of Cyril, in the sixth Dialogue on the Trinity. For thus, there, Volume V, p. 615:

> *Just as He is the image of the Father, and wisdom, and glory, and splendor, and character, so too He will be considered power, through which He was, is, and will be the maker of all creatures. For all things were made through Him, and without Him nothing was made. For just as certain skilled craftsmen, such as goldsmiths or expert stonecutters, do not produce the works of their art except by their own hand, fabrication, and industry, in the same way, I think, God the Father, whatever He has proposed to make by His creative power, does through the power of the Son as through His own.*

Therefore, the divine David, recognizing the Son as the living and subsisting operation, prayed, saying, etc. Therefore, by the same reason, the Fathers also call the Holy Spirit the operation of the Son, namely, that the Son operates all things in the Spirit or through the Spirit, not that He proceeds from Him. That this is indeed Cyril's meaning is again clear if we consider the passage cited from Assertion XXXIV of the Thesaurus. For he argues thus against those who said the Holy Spirit is a creature:

> *Paul, boasting of those things done through himself for the benefit of the Gentiles by the Savior, says thus: 'I have reason to glory in Christ Jesus toward God, nor do I dare to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished through me for the obedience of the Gentiles, in word and deed, in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of*

> *the Holy Spirit.' If, therefore, Christ works signs through Paul in the power of the Holy Spirit, therefore the Holy Spirit is a certain natural and living power, and, so to speak, a quality of the deity of the Son. But if this is so, how can that which is in God and from God naturally be a creature? Or how can all the power of the Son be in a creature? This is impious even to think.*

Therefore, similarly, since the Son operates all things in the Holy Spirit, Cyril calls the Holy Spirit the operation of the Son. The same is clear from the other cited passage of Cyril; for he says:

> *If the Son called Paul to the apostolate; again, if the Holy Spirit called the Apostle, it clearly shows that the operation of the Son is the Holy Spirit, or that the Son operates through or in the Holy Spirit; and thus, the Holy Spirit is the substantial operation of the Son.*

Petavius, however, insisted, interpreting Cyril's energy:

> *Cyril, he says, when what the Son operates, the Holy Spirit also operates, clearly shows that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son, but a certain natural operation in Him and from Him.*

But these very words by no means necessarily admit the sense that Petavius imposes; for, as we will show below concerning Cyril's words, his sense here is that when what the Son operates, the Holy Spirit also operates, it shows that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son, but is in the substance of the Son, given to us from the Son; and thus, when the Son operates, the Holy Spirit also operates, as the natural operation of the Son.

They further object that Athanasius teaches that the Son is the source of the Holy Spirit. Thus, in the Book on the Human Nature Assumed, Volume I of his works, p. 600:

> *David, singing to God, says: 'For with You is the fountain of life, and in Your light we shall see light'; for he knew that with the Father, the Son is the fountain of the Holy Spirit.*

Just as Epiphanius also, in Heresy LXIX, which is of the Arians, Number LIV, speaking of the mission of the hypostases:

This is He who sent and who is sent, to show that the Father is the one source of all good things. Then, however, not by another name but according to the name of the Son, and likewise of the Word, the Son, one existing source from the source, progressed, always existing, begotten with the Father. 'For with You is the fountain of life.'

Likewise, Ambrose, in Book I on the Holy Spirit, Chapter XIX:

Receive now that just as the Father is the fountain of life, so too many call the Son the fountain of life, signified by the fact that, it says, 'With You,' Almighty God, 'Your Son is the fountain of life,' that is, the fountain of the Holy Spirit, because the Spirit is life, as the Lord says: 'The words that I have spoken to you are Spirit and life,' because where the Spirit is, there is life, and also the Holy Spirit. Yet many in this passage wish only the Father to be signified as the fountain, although they see what Scripture has mentioned: 'With You,' it says, 'is the fountain of life,' that is, with the Father, the Son. For the Word was with God, which was in the beginning and was with God. But whether someone understands the Father or the Son as the fountain in this passage, we surely understand not that water which is a creature, but that divine grace, that is, the Holy Spirit. For He is the living water, which is why the Lord says: 'If you knew the gift of God, and who it is who says to you, "Give Me a drink," you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water.' This is the water David's soul thirsted for.

Finally, John Chrysostom, in the Oration on the Mystery of Baptism, Volume V of his works, Greek edition, p. 684:

For this reason, the Savior also showed Himself to be the fountain of life and living water.

Indeed, when the production of the hypostases is discussed, the term "fountain" signifies nothing other than the principle and production; in this sense, the Fathers so often teach that the Father alone is the fountain of the Son and the Holy Spirit. However, by analogy, when the Holy Spirit is poured out or diffused into the hearts of the faithful, in this sense, the Son is also called the fountain of the Holy Spirit. And in this sense, the cited Fathers also call the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit, but not in the prior sense, in which "fountain" signifies the producer.

Clearly, Basil, in his Letter to Amphilochius, Chapter VIII, at least shows that the Son is called a fountain externally:

> *On account of His manifold munificence toward us, he says, which, due to the riches of His goodness, He bestows on those in need according to His varied wisdom, He designates Him with countless other names, sometimes calling Him shepherd, king, sometimes physician, and finally bridegroom, way, door, fountain, bread, axe, and rock. But these do not declare His nature, but, as I was saying, the truth of grace operating in us in every way, which He imparts out of His love for His creation, according to each one's need.*

And hence, Ambrose, in the following Chapter XX, clearly calls the Holy Spirit a fountain, no less than he had called the Son a fountain:

> *In this too, he says, Scripture has provided for us: for it says of the Son of God: 'Whoever drinks of the water that I will give him, it will become in him a fountain of water springing up to eternal life.' This fountain is surely the grace of the Spirit. A river proceeding from a living fountain. The Holy Spirit is also the fountain of life.*

You notice also that in these very words, the unity of divine magnitude is signified, and that even the faithless cannot deny that Christ is a fountain, since the Spirit is also called a fountain. "The unity of divine magnitude is signified," he says, "when both the Son and the Holy Spirit are called a fountain." Therefore, for the same reason that the Son is a fountain, the Holy Spirit is also called a fountain. But by reason of production, the Holy Spirit could not be called the fountain of Himself. Therefore, it must be understood solely in terms of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit when the Son is called the fountain of the Holy Spirit. The same is clear from the words that John Chrysostom, in the cited oration, immediately adds:

> *You see, he says, how He testifies to the indivisible essence. The Savior says: 'If anyone thirsts, let him come to Me and drink; he who believes in Me, as the Scripture says, rivers of living water will flow from his womb.' And immediately John the Evangelist infers, saying what the living water is: 'This He said about the Holy Spirit, which those who believed in Him were to receive.' Pay close attention. Therefore, if the living water is the Holy Spirit and believers receive it, why did He say: 'If anyone thirsts, let him come to Me,' and not say: 'If anyone thirsts,*

> *let him come to the Holy Spirit'? But although He said, 'to Me,' He spoke the truth. For there is one fountain of both. 'For with You is the fountain of life, in Your light we shall see light.'*

Chrysostom asks why, since the Holy Spirit is the living water, Christ did not say: "Come to the Holy Spirit," but "Come to Me." And he answers: "Because there is one fountain of both." That is, just as the Son is a fountain, so too is the Holy Spirit. And hence, in the preceding, he had said: "From this, the indivisible essence is shown." Therefore, only insofar as the Holy Spirit is poured out into us by the Son does Chrysostom call the Son His fountain. And hence, when in the following he wishes to show who is the fountain of the Holy Spirit by reason of eternal production, he names only the Father, as we have seen his words in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. Likewise, Epiphanius, where he had called the Son a fountain, adds that the Holy Spirit is a fountain. For he continues:

> *And to show also concerning the Holy Spirit: 'In Your light we shall see light,' by which he shows the Father as light, and the Son as the light of the Father, and the Holy Spirit as light, and a fountain from a fountain, the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Only-Begotten. For rivers of water springing up to eternal life will flow from His womb. For this, the Gospel says, is about the Holy Spirit.*

When he had said that the Son is a fountain, he adds to show the same about the Holy Spirit, namely, that He is equally a fountain as the Son is; and he clearly adds that the Holy Spirit is a fountain from a fountain. Therefore, he had called the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit for no other reason than that He pours the Holy Spirit into the hearts of the faithful. In the same sense, he says that the Holy Spirit is a fountain from a fountain, from the Father and the Only-Begotten. For the Son, equally with the Father, pours out the Holy Spirit into the faithful. For in this entire passage, Epiphanius deals only with the mission of the hypostases. Hence, the Fathers everywhere call the Holy Spirit the fountain of His gifts. Basil the Great, in Book V Against Eunomius, near the end, Volume II of his works, p. 141:

> *He (the Holy Spirit) is also the fountain of the aforementioned goods.*

And in Letter CCCI:

> *The Holy Spirit, having His existence from God, is the fountain of holiness.*

John of Damascus, in Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter X:

> *He who is God, the Holy Spirit, is the principal fountain of wisdom, life, and holiness, who with the Father and the Son is God.*

Clearly, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is an external work. Therefore, the Holy Spirit also pours Himself out into the hearts of the faithful, as has been extensively shown in the Treatise Demonstrating That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Thus, in this sense, the Holy Spirit can rightly be called the fountain of Himself. Nor, finally, did Athanasius, in the objected words, say otherwise that the Son is the fountain of the Holy Spirit. He had thus far taught how Christ promised to give water to those walking in thirst, when speaking to the Samaritan woman:

> *If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that says to you, ‘Give Me a drink,’ you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water,*

namely, the Holy Spirit. For this reason, he adds that David calls the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit. For thus are the words of Athanasius:

> *In the Gospels, the Son promises to give water to those walking in thirst, when He speaks thus to the Samaritan woman: ‘If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that says to you, "Give Me a drink," you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water.’ And a little later, He addresses her thus: ‘For whoever drinks of this water will thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I will give him will never thirst; but the water that I will give him will become in him a fountain of water springing up to eternal life.’ And for this reason, David says: ‘For with You,’ etc.*

And Athanasius had taught before that the Holy Spirit did not descend upon the baptized Christ because He did not have Him before He was baptized. And he proves this further from the fact that Christ Himself gives the Holy Spirit to us, and therefore is called the fountain of the Holy

Spirit. Thus, he calls the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit only by reason of external outpouring.

But some of the Jesuits insist:

> *Lest anyone say that the Son is here called the fountain of the Holy Spirit externally and not internally, it must be noted whose Holy Spirit Athanasius says the Son is the fountain of; namely, as is clear from the following words, the One whom the Seraphim and Cherubim venerate with those words: 'Holy, Holy, Holy'; in whose name, equally as in the name of the Father and the Son, we are baptized and become sons of God; who with the Father and the Son is the Lord of Hosts. But it is manifest that this is the third Person of the Most Holy Trinity, whose fountain some of the Holy Fathers say is the Father.*

As if the Holy Spirit Himself were not also poured out into us, when sacred Scripture so often clearly affirms the same, where, for example, it teaches that the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, is sent to us or poured out upon us by the Son. Therefore, how, when Athanasius here similarly teaches that the Holy Spirit Himself, whom the angels adore, who with the Father and the Son is the Lord of Hosts, is poured out by the Son, or that the Son is His fountain, must this necessarily be understood internally and not externally? And surely the Son of God, sent into the world, whom the Seraphim and Cherubim venerate with those words: "Holy, Holy, Holy;" in whose name, equally as in the name of the Father and the Holy Spirit, we are baptized and become sons of God; who with the Father and the Holy Spirit is the Lord of Hosts. But it is manifest that this is the second Person of the Most Holy Trinity. But would it therefore follow that the mission of the Son of God into the world should be understood not externally but internally? Absurd. For that mission was made only in time, when the Son of God was born of the Most Holy Virgin, or when the Word was made flesh, as discussed above in the Treatise That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Finally, the Fathers call the Father the fountain of the Holy Spirit, but, as has been shown, since the term "fountain" has a twofold sense, according to what is clear from the sense of the words, they now take that term in relation to the Father either by reason of temporal outpouring or of eternal production. The Fathers, however, call the Son the fountain of the

Holy Spirit only in the latter sense, by reason of temporal outpouring, as has been shown.

But the same author insists:

> *It must be asked of our adversaries, why, when the Father is called the fountain of the Holy Spirit, it is understood both internally and externally; but when the Son is called the fountain of the same, it is understood only externally? Likewise, why must the Father, to be the bestower of the Holy Spirit, be presupposed to be His fountain internally, while the Son is not? Finally, why, when the Holy Spirit is said to be poured out by the Father, or when the Father is said to pour out or give the Holy Spirit from Himself, is it understood both internally and externally, but when the same is said of the Son, why does it not signify the same? How can the Son give the Holy Spirit from Himself, as Athanasius sometimes says, unless by His substantial and natural origin?*

As to the first, we do not say everywhere that it is understood both internally and externally when the Fathers teach that the Father is the fountain of the Holy Spirit, but according to the sense of the words, they are expounded either as a fountain internally or externally. But in relation to the Son, the term “fountain” is taken at least externally because the very words of the Fathers show that they speak of the external outpouring of the Holy Spirit. As to the second, the Father, to be the bestower of the Holy Spirit, is presupposed to be His fountain internally; but it does not necessarily follow from this that, similarly, for the Son to be the bestower of the Holy Spirit, it must be presupposed that the Son is also the fountain of the Holy Spirit internally. For just as the Father, to send the Son into the world, must be supposed to be the fountain of the Son internally, it by no means follows that, for the Holy Spirit to send the Son, it must be supposed that the Holy Spirit is also the fountain of the Son internally. But this has been discussed at length in the Treatise That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. As to the third, neither is it the case that whenever the Holy Spirit is said to be poured out by the Father, it is understood both internally and externally; but according to the sense of the Fathers’ words, it is either internally or externally. For the same reason, when the Holy Spirit is said to be poured out by the Father, it is understood that the Holy Spirit is poured out by the Father

both internally and externally. But when the Holy Spirit is said to be poured out by the Son, it is understood at least that He is poured out externally by the Son. For the same reason, when the Son is said to be sent by the Father, it is understood that the Son is sent by the Father both internally and externally (as discussed toward the end of the Treatise That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son); but when the Son is said to be sent by the Holy Spirit, it is understood at least that He is sent externally by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, when the Father is said to give the Holy Spirit from Himself, the Jesuit falsely claims that the Orientals expound this proposition as meaning that the Holy Spirit is given by the Father both internally and externally. For the matter itself speaks that this can only be expounded as the temporal giving of the Holy Spirit. How, finally, the Son can give the Holy Spirit from Himself, though not by origin, has already been shown above.

Finally, they object those things from Athanasius' Oration II Against Arius, Volume I, p. 357:

> *These things He said to the Jews as man, but to the disciples, showing His divinity and majesty, signifying that He is not less than the Spirit, but greater and equal, He gave the Spirit, and said: 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' And: 'I Myself send Him.' And: 'He will glorify Me.'*

"You see," they say, "Athanasius said the Son of God is greater than the Holy Spirit; but the Father is greater than the Son because He is the cause of the Son. Therefore, the Son will be greater than the Holy Spirit by the same denomination, because He is the producer of the Holy Spirit." Indeed, that the Father is said to be greater than the Son because He is the cause of the Son is also taught everywhere by the Fathers. Basil the Great, in Book I Against Eunomius, Volume II, p. 35 (we refrain from quoting the words themselves due to their length). Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XXXVI and Oration XL. The 250 bishops of the Council of Sardica, in their synodal letters to the bishops of the whole world, near the end, in Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, Book II, Chapter VI. Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith, p. 697, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers. The author of the Book on the Trinity, commonly attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, Chapters VIII and XVIII. John of Damascus, in Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX;

Book IV, Chapter XIX; Book on the Two Wills and Operations in Christ, Chapter VII. Theophylact, in his commentary on John, Chapter XIV. Finally, Nicetas, in Thesaurus of the Orthodox Faith, Book II, Chapter XXXIV, Volume XII of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part I, p. 519; Book V, Chapter XLVII, cited place, p. 600. Although Augustine, meanwhile, by no means admits that the Father is said to be greater than the Son by reason of cause; for thus, in Book II on the Trinity, Chapter I:

> *Certain things are so stated in the Scriptures about the Father and the Son as to show the Son as less, on account of the form of a servant, that is, on account of the assumed creature of mutable human substance, as it is said: 'For the Father is greater.' But some things are so stated as to show neither less nor equal, but only that He is from the Father, as it is said: 'As the Father has life in Himself, so He has given to the Son to have life in Himself.' And after some things: 'From this rule, therefore, by which the Scriptures so speak as not to show one as less than the other, but only to show who is from whom, some have conceived the sense that the Son is said to be less.'*

Likewise, he notes among the Donatists as inconsistent that, although they otherwise believed the Son to be of one substance with the Father, some of them said the Father is greater than the Son; for thus are his words in Letter L:

> *The Donatists do not say this, but confess one substance of the Trinity, and if some of them said the Son is less than the Father, they did not deny His same substance.*

But whatever must be held in this matter—for this question does not pertain here—however rightly we follow our Eastern Fathers in this regard, it is certain, meanwhile, that nowhere is it ever taught that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit by reason of cause. Indeed, when Novatian taught that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit, these words were condemned as heresy by Jerome, as shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Western Fathers Concerning the Words of Jerome. Nor is it proved by any argument from this that the sense of Athanasius in the objected passage is that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit by reason of cause. For does it not follow, because the Son is less than the Father by reason of cause, that in divine matters, one person can be greater than

another only by reason of cause? Surely, the Son is also less than the Father by reason of His humanity, not only by reason of eternal generation. But how Athanasius says the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit is clear from his very words. He teaches, namely, that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son of God when, according to His humanity, He received the power of the Holy Spirit. But the Son of God is again greater than the Holy Spirit when He, in turn, distributes Him to the Apostles and other faithful. Thus, he shows both that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit and that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son. Therefore, just as it is not Athanasius' intention that the Holy Spirit is simply greater than the Son of God, but at least that He is greater than the Son of God according to His humanity, so too it is not his sense that the Son is simply greater than the Holy Spirit, but at least according to this, that He is sent by the Son, namely, according to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as discussed at length in the Treatise That the Mission of the Holy Spirit Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. And hence, as has been said, he clearly adds that the Holy Spirit is less than the Son only by reason of the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, not by reason of His eternal production (which, however, it would have been fitting to add if his sense had been that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit by reason of cause):

> *To the disciples, he says, showing His divinity and majesty, signifying that He is not less than the Spirit, but greater and equal, He gave the Spirit, and said: 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' and, 'I Myself send Him,' and, 'He will glorify Me.'*

And he continues:

> *Therefore, just as this same Lord, the bestower of the Spirit, does not hesitate to say that He casts out demons in the Holy Spirit, as man; so too, in the same way, the same bestower of the Holy Spirit does not hesitate to proclaim of Himself: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me.'*

Note those words: "This same Lord, the bestower of the Spirit, does not hesitate to say," etc. And: "So too, the same bestower of the Holy Spirit," etc. By these, he clearly indicates that, because the Lord is the bestower of the Holy Spirit, he understood in the preceding that the Son is greater

than the Holy Spirit; and hence, since He is the bestower of the Spirit, it is clear that it must be taken only according to His humanity when the Savior says He is anointed by the Holy Spirit.

But someone objects to this:

> *The usual refuge of external operation is here precluded, since, without manifest Arianism, in external operations, one divine person cannot be said to be greater than another.*

But however true it is that, by reason of external operation itself, one person is not greater than another person—for the operation of the three hypostases is one and equal—nevertheless, in external missions, one is rightly said to be greater than another according to that by reason of which one is sent by the other. Thus, the Father is said to be greater than the Son because He sent Him according to His humanity. The Holy Spirit is greater than the Son because He anointed the Son according to His humanity, as Athanasius' words had it. But the mission of the Son of God and His anointing are surely external works. Therefore, similarly, although the Son is not greater than the Holy Spirit according to divinity by reason of any external work, He is greater than Him according to that by reason of which the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son. For who would ever deny that the Son of God is greater than the gifts of the Holy Spirit? And hence, Athanasius' very words are clear, by which he teaches that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit by reason of temporal mission, as has been shown. Finally, it would be manifest Arianism if, because the Holy Spirit is sent by the Son, you infer that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit according to divinity, as is clear to anyone. And thus far concerning those things that the Latins commonly heap up from Athanasius to demonstrate their opinion.

From Didymus the Blind, they first object those things from Book II on the Holy Spirit:

> *Because He is not from Himself, but is from the Father and Me; what subsists and speaks is from the Father and Me.*

Again, those things:

> *He is proceeding from the Truth, the Comforter flowing from the Comforter, God from God, the Spirit of Truth proceeding.*

But that these were inserted by the Latins in bad faith has been shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers.

They also object, however, from Book II *Against Eunomius*, near the end, which Beccus placed as the chief of all testimonies at the very forefront in his collection of the Fathers' opinions on the procession of the Holy Spirit, as if by it, like a thunderbolt, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone is struck down. Thus, Basil says there, Volume II of his works, p. 77:

> *"But is it not manifest to all that no operation of the Son is divided from the Father, nor is there anything in reality that is in the Son that is foreign to the Father? 'All that is Mine is Yours, and Yours is Mine.' How, therefore, does he attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Only-Begotten alone and take the creation of that same nature as an accusation? Therefore, if he says these things, introducing two contrary principles, let him be crushed with Manichaeus and Marcion. But if he refers what is to one cause, what is said to be made by the Son is referred to the first cause; just as we believe all things produced into being by the Word of God, yet we do not deny that the cause of all is the God of the universe."*

Therefore, the Latins insist: "The express words here are Basil's, how he attributes the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Only-Begotten alone. Therefore, not the Son alone, but also the Father; and thus, not the Father alone, but also the Son produced the Holy Spirit." Bellarmine adds in the cited place: "Certainly, Basil, proving that not only the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, but also the Father, because all that the Son has, the Father has, simultaneously teaches, indeed takes for granted, that the cause of the Holy Spirit, as the Greeks say, is the Son."

But Beccus, Gregory the Protosyncellus, Bellarmine, and the whole cohort of Latins and Latinizing Greeks must have been exceedingly blind to dare to object these very words of Basil as contrary to us and to persist in doing so. For suppose, first, that the sense of those words: "How does he attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Son alone?" is this, as they wished: "How does he attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit, namely God, to the Son of God alone?" Therefore, Basil, refuting Eunomius, who wanted the Holy Spirit to be produced by the Son alone, first shows that

what the Son operates, the Father also operates; and thus, if the Son produced the Holy Spirit, the Father also produced the same. Therefore, Basil, signifying this, says: “How, therefore, does he attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Son alone?” Namely, when, according to Eunomius’ dogma, it followed that the Father also, not only the Son, produced the Holy Spirit. But Basil continues: “But if he says these things, introducing two contrary principles, let him be crushed with Marcion.” But Basil had shown that, from Eunomius’ opinion, it follows that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Father and the Son. Therefore, he clearly teaches by these words that he who teaches that the Holy Spirit is produced by both the Father and the Son introduces two principles of the Holy Spirit; and thus, he is condemned with Marcion and the Manichaeans. Therefore, Basil indeed said: “How do you attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Son alone?” But he was leading the heretic to an impossibility, showing from his opinion that it follows that not only the Son, but also the Father, is the cause of the Holy Spirit. But if he says this, he adds, if, namely, he says that the Father is also the cause of the Holy Spirit with the Son, he thus introduces two principles and is condemned with Marcion. How, therefore, do the Latins dare to object these words to the Orientals, which, if they have the sense that the Latins boast they have, already condemn their entire opinion; namely, Basil clearly teaching that if both the Father and the Son produced the Holy Spirit, two principles, two causes of the Holy Spirit are introduced; and such a one teaching this is condemned with Marcion and the Manichaeans? But we freely confess that this sense of the Latins by no means obtains there; yet, if it did, as has been said, far from harming our opinion, it would rather destroy the entire opinion of the Latins. For Basil had cited these words of Eunomius: “He will understand the Son as a creature of the Unbegotten, but the Paraclete as a creature of the Only-Begotten.” Therefore, to refute this heretic’s opinion, who blasphemously taught that the Son was created by the Father, but the Holy Spirit, as a creature, was created by the Son, a creature, he argued: “Since no operation is diverse from the Father, necessarily all that the Son created, the Father also created. Therefore, if the Son created the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is surely a creature of the Father also; and thus, from Eunomius’ opinion, it necessarily follows that not only the Son is a creature, but also the Father, God, produced the Holy Spirit.” How,

therefore, as Basil adds, “do you attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Only-Begotten alone?” Namely, when, from your opinion, it necessarily follows that, besides the Son, a creature, the Father also produced the Holy Spirit. Hence, Basil continues: “But if Eunomius says these things; if, I say, he says that the Holy Spirit is produced not only by the Only-Begotten, a creature, but also by God the Father, as followed from his opinion, he now posits two contrary principles of the Holy Spirit, namely God and the Son, a creature; and thus, he is crushed with Marcion and Manichaeus.” This, therefore, is the true sense of those words of Basil. Hence, he continues: “But if Eunomius thinks that all things proceed from one cause, surely what he said was created by the Son, a creature, namely the Holy Spirit, he will refer to this first cause; and thus, he will not be created by the Son of God, a creature, but produced by God Himself. And hence, although we Catholics believe that all things were created by the Son of God, we simultaneously believe that all things were created by God also; and thus, when we say that one God, the Father and the Son, created all things, we do not posit two diverse principles, but at least one.” This is what Basil says there. How, therefore, do the Latins object those words of Basil: “How does he attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Only-Begotten alone?” when he thus leads the heretic to an impossibility; when the sense is: “How do you attribute the cause of the Holy Spirit to the Son, a creature, alone?”

How, moreover, did Bellarmine take it that Basil proved that the Father and the Son are the cause of the Holy Spirit from the fact that the Father has all that the Son has, when he at least argues thus against him who blasphemously taught that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son alone? Let the same judgment be of those things that the Jesuit, so often mentioned by us, taking the sense that the Latins commonly assign to those words of Basil, infers from this. But he adds further: “Finally, if this holy hierarch had thought that the Holy Spirit is produced by the Father alone, he would have entirely revealed his sense here. For indeed, the controversy greatly demanded it; for thus, with one word, he would have silenced the heretic, if, from those words: ‘He proceeds from the Father,’ he had concluded that, far from the Holy Spirit being produced by the Son alone (as Eunomius claimed), it must rather be said that the Holy Spirit proceeds neither from the Son nor through the Son, but from the Father alone immediately.” But since the Holy Father did not do this here

or anywhere else, it is manifest that he differs from the Photians as much as “proceeding from the Father alone” differs from “proceeding from the Father also.” But was it disputed between Basil and Eunomius whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, or whether the Holy Spirit, God, was produced by the Son, God, so that Basil should have shown that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son alone, but from the Father? Surely, Eunomius taught that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, a creature. Against this, therefore, who does not see that Basil argues most clearly and expediently thus: “If the Holy Spirit was created by both God the Father and the Son, a creature, there would be two contrary principles of the Holy Spirit.” What, therefore, is this manner of arguing: “Basil could have refuted this opinion of Eunomius if he had taught that the Holy Spirit was not created by the Son but proceeds from the Father alone; and thus, since he did not deny this, he did not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone”? Rightly, therefore, we turn this same argument against the Jesuit thus: “Why, I ask, when Basil, refuting the heretic who blasphemously taught that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, if he believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, did he not respond that the Holy Spirit is not created by the Son but proceeds from Him?” Surely, with two words, he would have extricated himself from that heretic’s opinion. Who does not see, therefore, that this exception of the Jesuit is vain?

They then object from Book V *Against Eunomius*, Chapter XI, Volume II of his works, p. 120:

> *“The Word of God is the Son, but the word of the Son is the Holy Spirit. But the Son is the logos of the Father because He is begotten by Him. Therefore, the word of the Son is the Holy Spirit by the same denomination, because He proceeds from the Son.”*

Indeed, that the Son of God is called *logos* because He is begotten from the Father, Basil himself teaches in his Homily on John’s ‘In the beginning was the Word’, Volume I of his works, p. 506:

> *“Why is the Son called logos? To show that He proceeds from the mind.”*

Augustine also, in Sermon CXC on the Time, Volume X of his works:

> *"The Son of God is called the Word because He is always in the Father and from the Father, and the Father commanded or did nothing without Him."*

And Cyril of Alexandria, in Book I on John, Chapter V, Volume IV of his works, p. 46:

> *"Logos and Wisdom (the Son is called) because He is from the mind and in the mind proximately and indivisibly."*

The Son is, namely, the Word not of the mouth but of the mind; just as we, by thinking or understanding, form for ourselves a concept of the thing thought or understood, which is called the word of the mind. Thus, the eternal Father, by understanding and comprehending His essence, produced the eternal Word. But Basil did not call the Holy Spirit the *logos* or word of the Son, but *rhema*, at least a word, which are surely different. The Latin Fathers, indeed, did not distinguish between *logos* and *rhema*; but when they wish to express the Son as *logos*, they use only the term "Word." But from this, they never called the Holy Spirit the word of the Son; so that the authority of the Latin Fathers in this matter does not harm us. For it often happens that the Latins translated or understood Greek words less correctly, as is clear from the word *hypostasis*: for when they thought it signified substance, but shuddered at admitting three substances or *ousiai* in God, they were unwilling to concede three *hypostases* or subsistences in God. But the Holy Spirit is called the word of the Son by reason of what Christ says: "The words that I speak are Spirit and life." Where, surely, the Son of God is understood to speak externally, namely to men. Therefore, by reason of at least what the Son speaks to us, the Holy Spirit is called the word of the Son, but not also of eternal production.

He further objects those things from Book on the Holy Spirit to Amphilochius, Chapter XVIII, fol. 331:

> *"As the Son is related to the Father, so is the Holy Spirit to the Son, according to the order handed down in baptism by the Word of God."*

But these very words betray that Basil's sense is: "As the Son is joined to the Father in one and the same divine essence, equal in all things and consubstantial with the Father, so too is the Holy Spirit joined to the Son

in one and the same divine essence, equal in all things and consubstantial with the Son." And this is surely clear, that to prove his words: "As the Son is related to the Father, so is the Holy Spirit to the Son," he appeals to the order handed down in baptism by the Son. But these are the words of the Son: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit"; by which, surely, their one and undivided divinity is expressed; not that, as the Son is generated from the Father, so too the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as if through certain degrees.

The same author, Cichovius, adds those things from Homily XVII *Against Sabellius*, Volume I, fol. 523:

> *"The Father glorifies the Son, so too the Son assumes the Holy Spirit into the communion of Himself and the Father."*

And he adds: "These words most clearly attribute to the Son the productive power of the Holy Spirit; for how else could the Holy Spirit be assumed by the Son into the communion of the Father and the Son, except by origin?" But this is by no means Basil's sense, that the Son gave to the Holy Spirit that by which He is in the communion of the Father and the Son; for rather, the Son has from the Father that He is in the communion of the Father and the Holy Spirit, than that the Father has from the Son that by which the Holy Spirit is in His communion. But Basil the Great's sense is that just as the Father glorifies the Son, so too the Son glorified the Holy Spirit when He teaches that He is in the communion of the Father and Himself; for this is, for Basil, the Son assuming the Holy Spirit into the communion of Himself and the Father, that the Son teaches that the Holy Spirit is in the communion of both, when, namely, He joins in the tradition of baptism: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Therefore, these words of St. Basil are to be understood not by reason of origin, but at least by reason of doctrine.

But from Book I on the Holy Spirit, Chapter XVII, they object, Volume II, p. 190:

> *"The Holy Spirit, as the Comforter, in Himself expresses the goodness of the Comforter from whom He is sent; and in His own dignity, the dignity of Him from whom He proceeds."*

But where does it say here that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? For is it not necessarily to be understood as the Son when he says: "From

whom the Holy Spirit proceeds”? Conveniently, these latter words are expounded as referring to the Father, so that the sense of Basil’s words is: “The Holy Spirit expresses the goodness of the Son, from whom He is sent, and the dignity of the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.” What of the fact that the Greek words, as we said, have: “From whom the Holy Spirit proceeds,” which, surely, are by no means necessarily taken as referring to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit?

Someone adds those things from Book on the Holy Spirit, Chapter XVIII, fol. 334:

> *“Physical goodness, and holiness according to nature, and divine dignity flow from the Father through the Only-Begotten into the Holy Spirit.”*

And he adds: “Behold, how clearly he professes that the Son is also a fountain of the Holy Spirit internally, when he says: ‘Physical goodness and natural holiness flow into the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Only-Begotten.”’ But he said this because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son; which, as we have seen at the very beginning of this treatise, by no means follows that the Son is a fountain of the Holy Spirit internally; namely, that with the Son generated, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Therefore, indicating the reason for the order of the production of the Holy Spirit, Basil says here that goodness, holiness, and natural dignity flow from the Father through the Son into the Holy Spirit.

Finally, they object from Homily XVII on Holy Baptism, Volume I of his works, p. 511:

> *“We must confess one Father, one Son, and one Holy Spirit, according to the divine tradition. Nor must we say two Fathers or two Sons; for the Holy Spirit neither is nor is called a Son; for we do not receive anything from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son, but with Him coming to us and sanctifying, we receive the communion of divinity, the shared possession of sonship, the pledge of eternal inheritance, and the firstfruits of eternal goods.”*

Therefore, they insist: “Basil here denies that we receive from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son. But from the Holy Spirit, we

receive created things. Therefore, the Holy Spirit does not receive something created from the Son, but something divine; for whatever is, is either divine or created. But if the Holy Spirit receives something divine from the Son, He receives the essence also; and thus, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son." And this, as a certain chief testimony for the confirmation of the Latins' opinion, was brought forward at Florence by John the Provincial, in Session XXI of the Council of Florence; and hence, much was further disputed about these words of Basil.

But first, even if it is conceded that Basil's sense is: "We do not receive anything from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son," yet nothing contrary to the Catholic truth is proved from this. For how the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Son has been shown in a special treatise. Namely, by reason of the unity of essence, the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Son what He reveals or gives to us; therefore, the Holy Spirit does not receive a substantial divine thing, or essence, from the Son, but surely the gifts of knowledge, goodness, wisdom, and other things, which are surely created, not uncreated. You will say: "But we receive created things from the Holy Spirit." To this, St. Basil the Great denies that we receive anything as the Holy Spirit does from the Son. But he is not to be said to place the disparity in what or what kind we receive; but in how we receive the same, or in the manner in which we receive the same from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son. For the Holy Spirit is said to receive by reason of the unity of essence and doctrine, as shown in the cited treatise; but we by no means receive the same from the Holy Spirit by reason of the unity of essence and doctrine, as is clear to anyone. But second, it is entirely false that Basil's words are to be interpreted: "We do not receive anything from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son"; but since the Greek words have: *hosper apo tou Huiou to Pneuma*, that *to Pneuma* must be taken not in the nominative case but in the accusative. So that Basil's sense is: "For we do not receive anything from the Holy Spirit as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son"; as Mark, the Archbishop of Ephesus, most solidly responded to this in Session XXII of the Council of Florence. For the matter is so manifest, if we consider that very passage of Basil, that the Latin translator himself, Volume I of Basil's works, p. 511, reads it thus:

"We must not confess two Sons, since the Holy Spirit is not a Son, nor is He called a Son. For we do not receive anyone from the Holy Spirit

> *as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son, but we receive Him coming to us and sanctifying, and with Him the communion of divinity, the participation in the adoption of the sons of God, the pledge of eternal inheritance, and the firstfruits of future goods.”*

Moreover, the Greek has: *alla to prosion hemin kai hagion hypodechometha*, “but we receive Him coming to us and sanctifying”; and not, as John the Provincial corruptly had in place of these: “But with Him coming to us and sanctifying, we receive,” etc. Therefore, when Basil says: “For we do not receive anyone from the Holy Spirit, as *apo tou Huiou to Pneuma*,” and adds: “but we receive Him coming to us and sanctifying,” he surely opposes these latter to what he had premised, namely those: “We do not receive anyone from the Son, as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son.” Therefore, it is necessary that, when he says: “But we receive the Holy Spirit coming to us,” he by this enunciates something contrary and adverse to the preceding. But if the sense of those preceding words of Basil were: “We do not receive something divine from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit does from the Son,” how, when he adds: “But we receive Him coming to us,” would he express something contrary to what he had just denied? For he would say: “We do not receive something divine from the Holy Spirit, as the Holy Spirit does from the Son, when we receive only created things; but we receive only the Holy Spirit coming.” But that these plainly do not cohere is clear to anyone. Moreover, Basil’s purpose was to demonstrate that the Holy Spirit is not and is not called a Son. For thus he prefaces: “Since the Holy Spirit neither is nor is called a Son.” This, I say, he demonstrates, saying: “For we do not receive,” etc. And after the cited words above, he immediately adds: “Therefore, let no one curiously introduce anything beyond these sacred names, nor twist the appellation of Son to the Holy Spirit, but be content with the appellation and likeness of the Holy Spirit.” Therefore, demonstrating that the Holy Spirit is not a Son, he gives this reason, that we do not receive anyone from the Holy Spirit as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son; for sacred Scripture so often teaches that we receive from the Son another, namely the Holy Spirit from the Son Himself. But we know one Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not and is not called a Son. Hence, when he had said: “For we do not receive another from the Holy Spirit, as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son,” he adds: “But we receive Him coming to us.”

But since the Greek acts of the Council of Florence claim that Mark, the Archbishop of Ephesus, hesitated concerning this passage; and hence, the Latins loudly proclaim that Mark of Ephesus, and with him the truth of the Catholic Eastern Church, was defeated in that Synod, let us examine the rest of John the Provincial's arguments; and let us see whether the truth of the Catholic faith triumphed there, or whether Mark himself was reduced to straits concerning these words of Basil. For at the end of the Council of Florence, when Mark refused to subscribe to its definition, it was objected by Pope Eugene himself that Mark had hesitated, that is, was convicted of error. Thus, Para says:

> *"Second, concerning the Ephesian: for he must give a reason why he separates himself from our Synod; for he is not wiser than all of us, since we know that he hesitated in the disputations and was unable to respond to what Brother John asked of him."*

Therefore, in Session XXII, Mark responds to that passage of Basil, showing that *to Pneuma* is to be taken in an oblique case, not the nominative, for the clear reason we gave last. To this, John, in his first response, does nothing but assert that *to Pneuma* is to be taken in the nominative, without giving any reason for the assertion. But it was necessary for him to have satisfied Mark's argument, by which he had attacked it, so that Mark might rightly deny that John's exposition of Basil's words was correctly asserted with the same ease with which John had affirmed it. And John continues:

> *"And, for example, no one of a lower order receives from the Most Serene Lord Emperor as some noble receives from the Supreme Pontiff; and it is impossible, according to this manner of comparison, that 'some noble' be in the accusative case; therefore, 'the Holy Spirit' in the saying: 'As the Holy Spirit from the Son,' must necessarily be in the nominative."*

But to these, Mark quite clearly satisfies, showing that Basil's words are not: "We do not receive from the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit receives from the Son." But at least: "We do not receive anything from the Holy Spirit as we do the Holy Spirit from the Son." Therefore, John's example does not apply here. From this, John turns to other things. For when Mark had excellently shown that the sense praised by John does not

cohere with what Basil wished to infer from those words, John, not lingering on this demonstration, passes to other things, by which he tries to demonstrate the sense he praised. He asks, namely:

> *"Do you say we receive something that is other from the Holy Spirit itself?"*

But we do not receive other things from the Holy Spirit, and again other things. For when we receive the Holy Spirit Himself, we do not receive another from the Holy Spirit; but when the Holy Spirit, given to us, operates His gifts in us, we receive other things from the Holy Spirit. And this was also the sense of the Ephesian; when he said, "We do not receive something other from the Holy Spirit." Hence, he responds to these:

> *"I say other, as the Holy Spirit is other from the Son."*

For this, St. Basil himself added: "But Him," saying, not some other from Him, "we receive the Holy Spirit coming to us." Absurdly, therefore, John says to these:

> *"I wish to say against this. For it is impossible and contrary to all sacred Scripture."*

But let anyone who reads these judge whether it is impossible that we do not receive another subsisting by Himself, but the Holy Spirit Himself from the Holy Spirit, just as we do not receive the same Son from the Son, but another subsisting by Himself from the Son, namely the Holy Spirit? Therefore, the Ephesian rightly responds to John:

> *"How is it impossible, when the Doctor himself asserts this?"*

For Basil had surely affirmed this, as we have seen.

Thus, John [the Provincial] presses:

> *"I ask you: Are the gifts of the Holy Spirit different from those that the Holy Spirit gives us?"*

I respond: Insofar as we receive the Holy Spirit, we do not receive someone other than the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit Himself. However,

insofar as, together with the Holy Spirit, His gifts are imparted to us, these gifts are distinct from the Holy Spirit and differ from Him as much as the created differs from the Creator, or as that which does not subsist by itself differs from that which subsists by itself. For the gifts of the Holy Spirit do not subsist by themselves, as the Holy Spirit and at least His energies do. Hence, Mark [of Ephesus] similarly responds:

> *"They are not distinct in the way that the Son and the Spirit are distinct as subsistences, as the Holy Spirit subsists by His own subsistence."*

The Latin acts of the Council of Florence, edited by Horatius Justiniani, in place of these words have:

> *"They are not distinct in this way, as the Spirit is distinct from the Son, namely, that they are not other gifts that subsist by themselves."*

To this, John says:

> *"I am not asking whether the gifts of the Holy Spirit are distinct in this way."*

The Latin acts:

> *"I am not asking this, but I say: Are the gifts of the Holy Spirit that are given to us the same as the Holy Spirit? Answer this directly and no more."*

But, as we have just said, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are not the same as the Holy Spirit Himself but are entirely distinct according to the reasoning stated. Hence, Mark repeats:

> *"They are distinct, but not subsistences by themselves."*

The Latin acts:

> *"I say the gifts are distinct from the Holy Spirit, but not that they subsist by themselves."*

But John insists:

"You previously said they are distinct from the Holy Spirit in the way that the Spirit is distinct from the Son."

The Latin acts:

"They are distinct from the Holy Spirit, and at first you said the contrary, saying that nothing is received from the Spirit except the Spirit Himself."

But we, with Mark, do not assert contradictory things when we say both that they are distinct from the Holy Spirit and again that they are not distinct, or that we do not receive someone other than the Holy Spirit. For when we say that we receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, the sense is, of course, that we receive gifts, which are distinct from the Holy Spirit, from the Holy Spirit; but when we again say that we do not receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, we mean that we do not receive someone other than the Holy Spirit subsisting by Himself. For we also receive the Holy Spirit Himself. But the gifts do not subsist by themselves. Thus, the Ephesian [Mark] responds:

"We can prove this same thing from another passage of Basil."

The Latin acts:

"In this way, we receive from the Spirit; although we receive, the gifts are not subsistences by themselves, but they are distinct from the Spirit."

To this, John rises:

"I ask you, most reverend Father: Is this Spirit, who is given by the Son, Creator or creature? For there are two things in the universe: Creator and creature. And the Holy Spirit is Creator, but His operations are creatures. Is this Holy Spirit, whom God has poured out abundantly upon us through Jesus Christ, a creature?"

The Latin acts, in place of these, have:

"I ask: Are the gifts given by the Holy Spirit given with the Holy Spirit? Now I conclude: We receive both the Holy Spirit and His gifts. The

> *Holy Spirit Himself, who is given to us, is Creator, not creature; but the gifts are creatures. Moreover, from the Holy Spirit, we receive both the Holy Spirit Himself and His gifts."*

The Greek acts state that Mark was silent in response to these questions. Whatever must be held concerning this: for the cited Latin acts by no means add this; even if it were true that Mark was silent in response to these, you would gather nothing from this other than that Mark either refused to respond to questions he judged to be outside the purpose or did not have ready answers to those questions. But does it follow from this that the truth of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone was triumphed over, or that the sense John contended Basil's words have was thereby demonstrated? We have certainly seen what those questions contain; we shall further see what John infers from them, so that a complete judgment may be made. Thus, John presses further, according to the Greek acts:

> *"Secondly, I ask you: Are the gifts of the Holy Spirit given with the Holy Spirit Himself, and with His person and hypostasis, or not? Thirdly: Are the gifts that are received from the Holy Spirit the same?"*

Here, John again piles up various questions, which, however, do not so much pertain to the purpose; for after these questions, he only infers that the gifts are given to us with the Holy Spirit. But to address each one: Certainly, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are given with the Holy Spirit Himself, and with His person and hypostasis, as has been extensively discussed in the Treatise *That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son*. Again, the gifts are neither the same as those that the Holy Spirit works in us nor the same as the Holy Spirit, as has already been said above. The Greek acts state that Mark was silent again in response to these questions:

> *"The Ephesian, however, having nothing to respond, was silent for a long time."*

But the Latin acts, as mentioned, do not mention this repeated and indeed prolonged silence. Although, for the rest, even if the Greek acts reported truly, judgment would need to be made according to what has

been said. Thus, the Greek Emperor, seeing that John's questions did not so much pertain to the matter, according to both the Greek and Latin acts, wished those disputations to be discontinued. For the Greek acts state:

> *"And the Emperor, fearing lest the discussion slip into another dogma, and not wishing the disputation to veer into a question about the created and uncreated, ordered this disputation to be discontinued."*

Meanwhile, the Latins pressed for a response. The Greek acts:

> *"But the Latins insisted, seeking a response."*

In place of these, the Latin acts have more:

> *"The Provincial: 'Indeed, they are relevant, as I will immediately show.' The Emperor: 'We say they are outside the proposed authority.' The Provincial: 'We must give the sense to the same authority.' The Cardinal: 'From what has been said, the Provincial wishes to show that to Pneuma is in the nominative case, and thus they are necessary to the purpose.' The Provincial: 'These gifts, which we receive from the Spirit, are not the Spirit, and they are created in us."'*

Some of John's questions did pertain to the purpose: for he wished to challenge the sense of Basil's words praised by Mark; but it was neither necessary to pile up so many questions, nor does John infer anything solid from them. Thus, with the Latins pressing further, as both the Greek and Latin acts report, the Ephesian responded:

> *"That passage of Basil, as being of doubtful interpretation, cannot by any necessity be adduced for the Latins' opinion, especially since the sense praised by John plainly does not cohere with the text. Therefore, we must move on to other matters."*

Truly, this is what the Ephesian said, as we showed above. To this, John, although he ought to have addressed the Ephesian's argument, by which he had demonstrated that the sense praised by John could not hold, at least gathers various things from his proposed questions. Let us, therefore, see what John gathers from them:

> *"In the same way," he says, "that we receive something from the Spirit, we also receive from the Son: for in receiving the Spirit from the Son,*

> *we also receive the gifts of the Spirit, and in receiving the gifts (from the Spirit, namely), we receive the Spirit with the gifts. If, therefore, we receive the same things and not distinct things from the Son and from the Holy Spirit, how would Basil teach that we do not receive distinct things from the Spirit, in the way that we receive distinct things, namely the Spirit, from the Son?"*

This, therefore, is John's argument. But it is clear at a glance that John achieves nothing here. We say, with Mark, that the sense of Basil's words is this: We do not receive from the Holy Spirit someone other than the Son subsisting by Himself, as we receive from the Son someone other than the Son subsisting by Himself, namely the Holy Spirit. How, therefore, would it oppose this that we receive the same things from the Holy Spirit and the Son? Certainly, we receive the same things from the Son and the Holy Spirit: yet from the Son, we receive the Holy Spirit as someone other than the Son, subsisting by Himself; but from the Holy Spirit, we receive the Holy Spirit Himself, not as someone other than the Holy Spirit subsisting by Himself, but the same Holy Spirit, as is clear to anyone. Thus, the difference is not in the things we receive from the Son and the Holy Spirit, but in the manner in which the Son and the Holy Spirit give the same things to us. For the Son gives the Holy Spirit as someone other than Himself subsisting by Himself; but the Holy Spirit gives Himself, not as someone other than Himself subsisting by Himself. Since, therefore, Basil teaches this very thing according to the sense of his words defended by us, how, I ask, would it follow that this sense cannot hold, since we receive the same things from the Son and the Holy Spirit? And if John's reasoning had any force, it would also follow that it is simply false that the Son gives the Holy Spirit as someone other subsisting by Himself, while the Holy Spirit gives Himself not as someone other than Himself subsisting by Himself; which is absurd. For what Christian has ever called this into doubt? Thus, it is clear that John achieves nothing with his argument against the sense of Basil's words praised by us. The Ephesian responds to this:

> *"That passage is ambiguous and can be expounded in both ways; but he again presses the following words, which entirely show that the latter sense, namely the one praised by him, holds,"*

as we similarly showed above in the first place. He adds:

> *“That the Holy Spirit receives His being from the Son, while we receive creatures from the Spirit, cannot by any necessity be gathered from that passage.”*

Therefore, it falls to John to prove this. Again, this is truly what the Ephesian says. For we showed above that even if Basil’s words were: “We do not receive something from the Holy Spirit as the Spirit does from the Son,” it would by no means follow that the Holy Spirit receives existence from the Son. Again, we showed that if the text itself is considered, and the following words are weighed, our interpretation entirely holds. It remained, therefore, for John to refute the Ephesian’s arguments for the sense of Basil praised, and again to show from Basil’s words that the Holy Spirit receives being from the Son. But he did neither of these again; but at least from here, he repeats and expounds his argument, which we have just cited. But that it is entirely frivolous has just been shown. The Greek acts add from here that Mark was silent again in response to these. But, they say,

> *“The Ephesian was silent and did not respond to these.”*

But the Latin acts again do not mention this silence. But judgment concerning this silence of the Ephesian should again be made according to what has been said. For the Latin acts also soon add that the Emperor refused this disputation. Nor, therefore, did John offer anything further for his sense; but as if his reasoning had most manifestly demonstrated the matter, he boasts that the passage only supports the Latins.

This, therefore, is that Florentine disputation, in which the Latins claim that Mark, and with him the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, was convicted of error. But we have seen this entire disputation, we have seen John’s arguments; but it is simultaneously clear at a glance that the Latins find no support in the objected words of Basil. How, therefore, was the Catholic truth convicted of falsehood from that passage? But the Ephesian hesitated, was silent, or at the very least, the Greeks refused to respond to John’s argument and questions. Concerning the Ephesian’s silence, we have already spoken. The Orientals refused to respond to this, not because they would never respond to it; but because they could not, from the temple, unravel John’s sophisms and subtleties. Hence, after the cited words of the acts, they continue:

> *“Immediately, therefore, the Emperor said: ‘It is necessary to doubt the proposed matter. This, however, will perhaps be discussed at an opportune time.”’*

And the Latin acts:

> *“Our purpose,” says the Emperor, “and that of our people is not to engage in contentions, but that the truth be seen with diligent inquiry; and therefore, they do not wish to permit responses at present. But because this authority seems ambiguous, it does not seem that it should be pressed.”*

If, therefore, the Orientals refused to enter this disputation with John, John sinned worse in this regard. For it is objected against the Orientals that they deferred the solution of John’s argument to another time. But John did not even with a single word address the Ephesian’s arguments for the sense of Basil praised; indeed, he never even resolved to respond. And see the fraud of the Latins. They wished and pressed for their arguments to be resolved by the Orientals; but they passed over the Ephesian’s arguments with dry feet: although the Ephesian had proposed them first, thus leaving all the difficulty to the Orientals. Therefore, the Latins could achieve nothing from this disputation, if we consider the matter itself: for if we finally, as is fitting, examine John’s argument itself, it is clear that it availed nothing, as shown above.

Someone presses:

> *“We receive the Holy Spirit working charisms from the Holy Spirit just as we receive Him from the Father and the Son. Therefore, either we will say, in some new way, that we receive the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son in a way that we do not receive Him from the Holy Spirit Himself, namely as originated inwardly from the Father and the Son—for He is not originated from Himself; and thus, the common version, so explained, will indeed be true, but from it will be inferred that we receive the Holy Spirit as originated from the Father and the Son; or we will retain the version cited in the Florentine Synod, and from it more strongly conclude that we receive something distinct from the Son than we do from the Spirit Herself; and we receive created gifts from the Spirit, but the Holy Spirit receives uncreated divine being from the Son.”*

But we have already refuted the latter sense above. If, however, *to Pneuma* is taken in an oblique case, we have similarly shown above that the sense of the words is that we receive from the Son someone other than Himself subsisting by Himself, namely the Holy Spirit; but from the Holy Spirit, we do not receive someone other than Himself subsisting by Himself. How, therefore, if *to Pneuma* is taken in the accusative case, could the Jesuit take it to mean only the sense he assigns to that passage: namely, that we do not receive from the Holy Spirit someone produced by Him, as we receive from the Son someone produced by Him?

The same Jesuit adds:

> *"The sense of the reasoning brought by the Holy Father [Basil] falls back on the sense of the reasoning brought in the books Against Eunomius in the cited place: for this seems to be said here. If the Spirit were the son of the Son, we would receive some person proceeding from Him, as we receive one produced from the Son: (for this is what it means for us to receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, in the way that the Spirit receives from the Son); but we do not receive another person produced from the Holy Spirit, as we receive one produced from the Son: therefore, the Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Son."*

This is the tenor of the argument, and it is most clear, and it falls back on that reasoning, that in divine matters, we should not admit sons from sons to infinity. But Basil's purpose here is not to demonstrate that the Holy Spirit is not the son of the Son, but only that the Holy Spirit is not a son, lest we admit two Sons, since we must confess only one Son:

> *"We must confess," he says, "one Father, one Son, and one Holy Spirit according to the divine tradition, not two Fathers, not two Sons, since the Spirit is not a son, nor is He called a son."*

Nor is our receiving something not distinct from the Holy Spirit, in the way that we receive the Holy Spirit from the Son, the same as our receiving from the Holy Spirit someone not proceeding from Him, in the way that we receive from the Son someone produced by Him, as has just been shown. Thirdly, since that entire argument claims to be based on the reading in which *to Pneuma* is taken in the nominative case, it similarly assumes what is at the beginning. Fourthly, where *to Pneuma* is taken in the nominative case, he says the sense is:

> *"We do not receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, or a person produced by Him, as we receive something distinct from the Son, or a person produced by Him."*

But in the aforementioned objection, he had said that the sense of Basil's words, if *to Pneuma* is taken in the nominative case, is this:

> *"We do not receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit does from the Son, since we receive created gifts from the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit receives divine being from the Son."*

These senses are utterly different and plainly do not correspond to each other. For how could the same word *alia*, meaning "distinct" or "someone," now refer to created gifts, now to a person distinct from the Holy Spirit not produced? Fifthly, if Basil argued according to the Jesuit's guidance, his argument would necessarily be this:

> *"If the Holy Spirit were the son of the Son, we would receive from the Spirit someone generated by Him, as we receive from the Son someone generated by Him."*

For that the major premise must be formed thus is clear from the fact that the Holy Fathers never demonstrate that the Holy Spirit is not the son of the Son because otherwise another would proceed from the Holy Spirit; but because then the Son would again be generated from the Holy Spirit, and thus sons from sons would be admitted to infinity: as the same Jesuit suggested that Basil's argument falls back on this reasoning. How, moreover, would this major premise cohere:

> *"If the Holy Spirit were the son of the Son, another person proceeds from the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit proceeds from the Son"?*

For even if it were true that the Holy Spirit is the son of the Son, could it also be true that another person proceeds from the Holy Spirit, as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? For the procession of the Holy Spirit is not to be generated, just as to be generated is not to proceed. That procession excludes all notion of generation. If, therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, He is not the son of the Son. How, therefore, if in the antecedent it is posited that the Holy Spirit is the son of the Son, in

the consequent it is simultaneously posited that the Holy Spirit is not the son of the Son, but at least proceeds from Him? If, therefore, Basil argues according to the Jesuit's guidance, the major premise would certainly be:

> *"If the Holy Spirit were the son of the Son, we would receive someone generated by Him, as we receive someone generated by Him from the Son, namely the Holy Spirit";*

and thus, St. Basil would assert that the Holy Spirit is generated from the Son. Would this, therefore, be the most clear tenor of the argument, which attributes such a blasphemous dogma to so great a Father? Sixthly, what, I ask, would be the consequence of such a major premise:

> *"If the Holy Spirit were the son of the Son, another would again proceed from the Holy Spirit"?*

It would indeed follow from this that another would again be generated from the Holy Spirit; but where a person proceeds from a person, is one the Son of the other, so that if the Holy Spirit were the son of the Son, it would follow that persons would proceed from persons to infinity? Since, therefore, there is no such consequence of the major premise, how, I ask, would the tenor of that argument be most clear? Lastly, the words:

> *"We do not receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, in the way that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son,"*

teach that the sense is this:

> *"We do not receive some other person proceeding from the Holy Spirit, in the way that we receive one produced from the Son."*

But if the sense of the words: "We do not receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit," is: "We do not receive from the Holy Spirit some person produced by Him," it is necessary that the sense of the following words: "In the way that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son," be: "In the way that the Holy Spirit receives another person produced from the Son." For what he had previously denied, he then affirms concerning the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son. "We do not," he says, "receive something distinct from the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit receives from the Son." Now,

according to the Jesuit, Basil had previously denied that we receive from the Holy Spirit another person produced by Him: therefore, he affirms concerning the Holy Spirit that He receives from the Son another person produced; which is impossible and blasphemous. For then there would be four persons in the divinity: for besides the other three, there would also be a person whom the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. With what audacity, therefore, does the Jesuit dare to affirm that the tenor of this argument is most clear?

But the same author continues:

> *"The sense brought by Mark, however, seems quite inept: 'Through the Son giving us the Spirit of adoption,' he says, 'we are adopted as sons to the Father; but from the Spirit, we receive nothing else besides the Spirit Himself, as we receive the Spirit from the Son, who is distinct from the Son Himself: therefore, the Spirit is not, nor is He called, a son.' Here, both the consequence is entirely null, and the antecedent is false: for does the Holy Spirit, when He gives us His gifts, not also give Himself? Does Mark not contradict himself in this? Then, our adoption as sons is an external act. How, therefore, can it not be common to all persons? Certainly, our sonship is sanctification. Are we not, therefore, equally sanctified by the Holy Spirit as by the Son? What is heresy, if this is not?"*

But first, does it not necessarily follow: "We receive from the Son the Spirit, another person subsisting by Himself, but from the Holy Spirit, we do not receive another person subsisting by Himself: therefore, the Holy Spirit is not a Son?" That this is the sense of the Ephesian is clear, besides other things, also from what he adds immediately after the objected words in Session XXII of the Council of Florence:

> *"In this sense," he says, "St. Basil said what is read here, that the Holy Spirit neither is nor is called a Son: because we do not receive from the Spirit something else, namely from the Spirit, that subsists by itself, as we receive from the Son the Holy Spirit, who is distinct from Him, according to His own hypostasis; but we receive the Spirit Himself coming to us and sanctifying."*

Therefore, the same sense of the Ephesian, according to the objected words, is that the Son gives us the Spirit of adoption, namely someone

distinct from Himself; but from the Spirit, we receive nothing else besides the Spirit Himself, as we receive the Spirit from the Son, who is distinct from the Son Himself: therefore, the Spirit is not, nor is He called, a Son. These were indeed the very words of the Ephesian. Where, therefore, is the consequence entirely null here? But he says: “Does the Holy Spirit, when He gives us His gifts, not also give Himself?” But did Mark ever deny this? Or does it follow from this that the consequence of the Ephesian’s argument is null? When Mark denies that the Holy Spirit gives something else besides Himself, he means, of course, something else subsisting by itself, as a person subsists. Then, where, I ask, did the Ephesian deny that our adoption is also effected through the Holy Spirit? “Through the Son,” he says, “giving us the Spirit of adoption, we are adopted as sons.” Does he, therefore, deny that we are also adopted as sons of God through the Holy Spirit? Certainly, even from the fact that he calls the Holy Spirit the Spirit of adoption, it is clear that by this very fact, the Ephesian affirms that we are adopted as sons of God through the Holy Spirit: for this reason, He is called the Spirit of adoption. Likewise, if the Son gives us the Spirit of adoption, that we may be adopted as sons, it is clear that the Holy Spirit makes us adoptive sons of God. And what more? Mark indeed prefaces with the objected words:

> *“And it is clear that we receive the Spirit from the Son, though the Spirit of adoption: for it is proper to the natural Son to adopt us through the Spirit.”*

Wishing to signify this, the blessed Apostle Paul writes to the Galatians thus:

> *“But because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying: ‘Abba, Father.”’*

And thus far concerning those words and others of Basil the Great.

From Gregory the Theologian

They first object those things from Oration XXXVII, p. 597:

> *“What, therefore,” they say, “is lacking to the Spirit that He should be a Son? For unless something were lacking, He would be a Son.*

> *We say that nothing is lacking, for nothing is lacking to God: but the difference, so to speak, of manifestation and relation to one another has also produced different names for them.”*

Hence, among others, Bellarmine, in Book II on Christ, Chapter XXV:

> *“In this place, Gregory gives this reason why the Spirit is not called a Son: because they have different, indeed opposite and mutual relations. And certainly, there cannot be mutual relations between the Son and the Holy Spirit unless one spirates and the other is spirated: for the Son, as Son, is not relative to the Holy Spirit, but the Son, as Spirator, is related to the Holy Spirit. Nor can it be responded that the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished by different relations with respect to the Father, not with respect to each other: for Gregory clearly said that the Holy Spirit is not a Son, that is, distinct from the Son, because of the mutual relation they have with each other; that is, because of the mutual relation. Moreover, he writes below at the same time that in the same way, nothing is lacking to the Son that He should be a Father, and yet He is not a Father: because, of course, they have opposite relations.”*

But the Jesuit [Bellarmine] argues without foundation. Gregory the Theologian demonstrates from this that the Son is not the Holy Spirit, nor the Holy Spirit the Son: because their different relation to one another, that is, because the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds, not because there is a mutual relation of cause and caused between them. And this sense of Gregory the Theologian is clear at a glance from the very passage objected. For he was saying: “The different relation to one another has also produced different names for them (namely the Son and the Holy Spirit); namely, that one is called Son, the other Holy Spirit.” For he had prefaced:

> *“What, therefore, is lacking to the Spirit that He should be a Son? For unless something were lacking, He would be a Son.”*

And, intending to show from what relations to one another the Holy Spirit and the Son have received their names, he adds:

> *“From these words, that He is not generated, and that He is generated, and that He proceeds, one is called Father, another Son, another Holy Spirit.”*

Such, therefore, are the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit that St. Gregory acknowledges in that place, from which the Son has it that He is called Son, and the Holy Spirit has it that He is called Holy Spirit. Therefore, he does not understand by the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit the production and procession of the Holy Spirit: for from the production of the Holy Spirit, the Son does not have it that He is called Son. The same is clear from these words that St. Gregory the Theologian adds here:

> *"For neither is anything lacking to the Son that He should be a Father (for sonship is not a defect), yet He is not for that reason a Father. Otherwise, by the same reasoning, something would be lacking to the Father that He should be a Son: for the Father is not a Son. But these do not undoubtedly argue a defect, nor does the essence imply submission; rather, from these words, that He is not generated, and that He is generated, and that He proceeds, this has been effected, that one is called Father, another Son, another Holy Spirit; and thus, the unconfused distinction of the three persons is preserved in one nature and dignity of divinity."*

By which, St. Gregory the Theologian clearly interprets the relations by which the Son and the Spirit rejoice in divinity, and from which the Son has it that He is Son, and the Holy Spirit has it that He is Holy Spirit, as that it pertains to the Son to be generated, and to the Holy Spirit to proceed, namely from the Father. For from this, the Son is generated; as he had taught earlier. Therefore, he by no means understands by the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit the production and procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Gregory the Theologian says: "The difference of relation to one another also effects a difference of names," not strictly taking the phrase "difference of relation to one another" as a relation opposed to a relation, as active spiration is opposed to passive spiration; but broadly, so that even the different modes of subsisting, though not relatively, as active spiration is opposed to passive spiration, are said to imply a certain relation or respect between the subsistences. For in what follows, explaining the relation by which the Father is related to the Son and the Holy Spirit, and from which He has it that He is Father, he praises the property of being unbegotten; to which, strictly speaking, nothing is relatively opposed in the Son and the Holy Spirit, for the generated is relatively opposed to the generator, not to the unbegotten.

The Jesuit, however, pressed:

> *"He writes below that in the same way, nothing is lacking to the Son that He should be a Father, and yet He is not a Father: because, of course, they have opposite relations."*

But neither does Gregory the Theologian praise opposite relations in the case of the Father and the Son: for he mentions only the unbegotten and the generated, as we have seen his words; nor, if he had understood opposite relations in the case of the Father and the Son, would this provide any support to Bellarmine. For he speaks of those relations from which the Father is Father, the Son is Son, and the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit. But the Father is called Father because of the generation of the Son. The Son, however, is by no means called Son because of the production of the Holy Spirit, as we have just noted. The cause of the difference, therefore, is evident.

Bellarmine continues:

> *"And a little below, he gives the example of Adam, Eve, and Seth, of whom Adam is from no man, Eve from the man alone, Seth from both. 'What,' he says, 'was Adam? The creation of God. What was Eve? A segment of the creation. What was Seth? The offspring of both.' Therefore, if Gregory compared these three humans to the three divine persons, who does not see that, according to Gregory's opinion, the Son is from the Father, but the Spirit is from the Father and the Son?"*

Again, these are absurd from the Jesuit. The ancient Fathers, comparing Adam, Eve, and Seth to the Trinity, take Seth as an example of the Son of God, but compare the Holy Spirit to Eve: for Seth was born from Adam, but Eve was not; yet both Seth and Eve were from the same Adam. Thus, Nazianzen proposes in that place to show that some can be from the same in a different way, so that one is generated, another is not; but he by no means adds that Seth is to be compared to the Holy Spirit. Indeed, he says there:

> *"Are not Eve and Seth from the same Adam? But are both generated from him? But one is a segment, the other a son."*

Where it is spontaneously clear that Gregory compares Seth to the Son of

God, not to the Holy Spirit. That this was the opinion of the Fathers is further clear from Augustine, in Book XIII on the Trinity, Chapter I:

> *"That the man himself, as it were, intimates the person of the Father, but the Son, that He so proceeded from Him as to be born, and thus they say the third person, as it were, the Spirit, is the woman, who so proceeded from the man as not to be herself a son or daughter, although through her conceiving, the offspring was born. For the Lord said of the Holy Spirit that He proceeds from the Father, and yet He is not a son."*

And in Chapter VI:

> *"We do not reject this opinion because we fear to think of the holy, inviolable, and immutable charity (the Holy Spirit) as the spouse of God the Father existing from Him, but not as an offspring for generating the Word, through which all things were made."*

Likewise, the author of the Book on the Trinity, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, in Chapter VIII, having taught that the Son and the Holy Spirit were produced from the Father, adds:

> *"Just as Adam is unbegotten: for he is the creation of God; and Seth is begotten: for he is the son of Adam; and Eve, proceeding from the rib of Adam: for she is not begotten, they differ among themselves not in nature, since they are humans, but in the mode of existence."*

Where it is clear to anyone that Adam is compared to the Father, because of the reason of being unbegotten; Seth is compared to the Son, because Seth is begotten; the Holy Spirit is compared to Eve, because she proceeded from the rib of Adam, not begotten. The same is held by this author and John of Damascus, in Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX.

They further object those things from Oration XLIX on the Faith:

> *"The Savior sent us the Holy Spirit from His own and one substance, the protector, sealer, and guide to eternal life, as it is written from the voice of God: 'I will pour out of My Spirit upon My servants and handmaids.' And again: 'The Spirit will proceed from Me.' And the Lord our Savior Himself: 'From Me,' He says, 'He will receive.' From that, of course, which is the Son: because the Son also is from that which is the Father."*

But we have already resolved these in the Treatise *That the Receiving of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son*.

Someone presses:

> *"St. Gregory Nazianzen, in Oration XXXVII, which is the fifth on Theology, in the Billian edition, Antwerp, fol. 230, toward the end, expounding those words: 'I will send Him,' and: 'When He comes,' etc., says that the former show the proper authority of the Son, but the latter the freedom of the Spirit. And in Oration XXIII to Heron, not far from the end, he says that to be sent forth is a property of the Holy Spirit; so that from the comparison of both places, it is clear that by 'proper authority,' he understood that very thing by which he also teaches, according to St. Basil, in Book III Against Eunomius, in the cited edition, fol. 751, that the Son is from the Father, namely that He is the principle and cause of being. This is confirmed by the words of the same St. Theologian from Oration XLIX on the Faith: 'The Son sent us the Holy Spirit from His own and one and the same substance.' For how could the Son send something from His own and undivided substance, unless by its originative communication?"*

These are his words. Concerning the first passage, St. Gregory the Theologian indeed acknowledges the proper dignity of the Son in that He sends the Holy Spirit. But does it follow from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? Certainly, when the Son sends the Holy Spirit, in this also the proper dignity of the Son appears: because from this, it necessarily follows that the Son is true God and consubstantial with the Father, as He who sends the Spirit of the Father as His own. Indeed, in what Nazianzen acknowledges the proper dignity of the Son to be shown, he similarly acknowledged the freedom of the Holy Spirit, as the Jesuit's own words had it. But the freedom of the Holy Spirit in His mission is not to be understood otherwise than that, although He is sent by another, He comes of His own accord, or even pours Himself out or gives Himself to the faithful of His own accord: as the same Fathers similarly acknowledged in the Treatise *That the Mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son*, at Response V. But by reason of His eternal production, the Holy Spirit by no means proceeds of His own accord, or sends or produces Himself of His own accord. Therefore, Gregory the Theologian deals at

least with the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, not also with His eternal procession, where he acknowledges the proper dignity of the Son because of the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son. In Oration XXIII to Heron, he calls emission a property of the Holy Spirit, but in the aforementioned Oration XXXVII, he had taught that the Holy Spirit is not emitted but at least sent by the Son, signifying by the word mission at least the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, as we have seen. Nazianzen attributes the proper dignity to the Son because of the mission of the Holy Spirit in a far different sense than that in which Basil attributes dignity to the Father because of the Son in Book III *Against Eunomius*. The same is further clear from the fact that Basil teaches that the Son is second in dignity from the Father, which Gregory the Theologian by no means affirms here of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son; namely, that the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son, since he says that the proper dignity of the Son is acknowledged because He sends the Holy Spirit. But it plainly does not follow: "The proper dignity of the Son appears from the mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son; therefore, the Holy Spirit is second in dignity from the Son." For the proper dignity of the Son appears from the mission of the Holy Spirit also because from this, the consubstantial nature of the Son with the Father is clear, as shown. Finally, concerning the words of Nazianzen from Oration XLIX, we have already dealt with in the Treatise *That the Receiving of the Holy Spirit from the Son Is Not an Argument for the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son*. But in those same words, he says that the Son sent the Holy Spirit, not emitted Him, dealing with the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, not His eternal production: in what sense the Son is said to send the Holy Spirit from His substance, though not by eternal production, we have already seen elsewhere. The same author further objects: "He suggests this secondly in those places where he calls the Son a principle from a principle, which he does in Oration XXXVIII on the Nativity of Christ, fol. 234. Where he also calls Him the term and reason (logos) of the Father, which titles he also attributes to the Son in Oration XLII, fol. 257. Explaining these words, Nicetas, Metropolitan of Heraclea, fol. 549, says: 'The Father is the principle of all things that are, the cause. The Son is also a principle, as a sharer in the cause: for David, addressing the Father, says: 'With You is the principle,' etc. Therefore, the Son is a principle from a principle, that is, from the Father.' That the Son is called

a principle from a principle by the Fathers in relation to created things has already been shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers toward the end; and the words of Nicetas are to be taken in the same way: for just as the Father is the cause of all, so Scripture teaches that all things were made through the Son; which words of Scripture no Christian would say are also to be taken of the Holy Spirit."

Again, he objects those things from Oration XXXII, fol. 196: "The name 'without principle' is the Father, 'principle' is the Son, 'that which is with the principle' is the Spirit; but one nature is in these three." And he adds: "Here, the Son seems entirely to be called a principle with respect to that which has one nature with Him and the Father. But the Holy Theologian names the Holy Spirit synarchon, or 'with the principle,' lest, if he said He is from the principle, which he said the Son is, he might seem to teach with the Eunomians that the Holy Spirit is from the Son alone; or certainly (as Nicetas interprets, fol. 445), the Holy Spirit is said to be with the principle because neither was the Son ever lacking to the Father, nor the Holy Spirit to the Son." But whence does the Jesuit prove that here the Son is called a principle with respect to that which has one nature with Him and the Father? Would it suffice to affirm or to interpret anything at his pleasure? But that the Son is called a principle in relation to creatures has been shown in the cited place, as mentioned. The former interpretation of the Jesuit, why the Holy Spirit is called that which is with the principle or the Son, we pass over as a conjecture of Jesuitical divination. For why could it not similarly be objected in turn: that the Holy Theologian did not wish to call the Holy Spirit from the principle, but at least said 'with the principle,' lest anyone believe the Holy Spirit was produced from the Son, whom he had called a principle; or because the Holy Theologian by no means believed the Son to be a principle of the Holy Spirit? Concerning the latter interpretation, namely that of Nicetas, you would absurdly gather: "The Holy Spirit was never lacking to the Son: therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son." For since the Holy Spirit was produced from eternity before all ages together with the Son from the Father, how, I ask, could the Holy Spirit be lacking to the Son, unless He proceeded from Him?

Finally, the same author: "He seems to teach the same in Oration XLIV on Pentecost, fol. 269: 'The Holy Spirit appeared in tongues of fire because of the kinship He has with the Word.' He suggests the same in Oration L

on the Nicene Faith: ‘We believe,’ he says, ‘in the Holy Spirit, not unbegotten, nor begotten, not created, nor made, but of the Father and the Son, always coeternal with the Father, we venerate.’ But in the phrase of the saints, the Holy Spirit is said to be of the Father and the Son because He is from the Father and the Son, as was clear in the testimonies of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and will be further proved below.”

Concerning the former, what, I ask, is the consequence: “The Theologian acknowledges a kinship between the Son and the Holy Spirit; therefore, he suggests the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son?” For since the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, should He not also be said to have a kinship with the Son? Concerning the latter, we have already shown in a special treatise that the Holy Spirit is not said to be of the Father and the Son because He is produced from the Father and the Son; where it was demonstrated that the Holy Spirit’s being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. And so much concerning the words of Gregory Nazianzen.

From Epiphanius

They first object that he so often teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the substance or essence and the same deity of the Father and the Son. But if the Holy Spirit is from the essence and deity of the Son, He also proceeds from Him.

Indeed, Epiphanius frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the substance and deity of the Father and the Son. In Heresy LXII, which is of the Sabellians, Volume I, p. 515:

> *The Holy Spirit is not alien from the Father and the Son, but from the same essence, from the same deity.*

And after the middle, p. 518:

> *The Father truly begot the Son, and the Son is truly begotten from the Father in substance without beginning and without time, and the Holy Spirit is truly from the Father and the Son, from the same deity, proceeding from the Father, and receiving from the Son.*

In Heresy LXXIV, which is of the Pneumatomachians, p. 902:

> *The Holy Spirit is always not begotten, not created, not a co-brother, not a co-father, not a grandson, but from the same essence of the Father and the Son.*

In Heresy LXXVI, which is of the Anomoeans, against Chapter XIX of Aetius, p. 961:

> *If indeed you number Him (God the Father) with all those who are not from His essence, but from nothing by Him through Him who is from Him according to essence, made, except for this Holy Spirit alone, who is from the incomparable essence of the Father and of His Only-Begotten Son, your confession would be most absurd.*

In his translation, Petavius has: "With the Holy Spirit, who proceeded from the substance of the incomparable Father and His Only-Begotten Son." But Epiphanius by no means mentions procession in the Greek, but at least has *ontos*, or: "Who is from the substance," namely of the Father and the Son. In the *Ancoratus*, much from the beginning, p. 12, he repeats what we just cited from Heresy LXXIV. But these by no necessity are taken to refer to the procession of the Holy Spirit; since Epiphanius' sense is at least that the Holy Spirit has the one and same essence of the Father and the Son. And as we have already shown above, when Athanasius says that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father and the Son, he means at least that the one and same essence is of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For it is familiar to the Greek Fathers to use such words to express the one divinity of the persons. There were, namely, heretics who blasphemed that the Holy Spirit is alien from the essence and deity of the Father and the Son; against these, therefore, the Fathers so often say that the Holy Spirit is not alien from the essence of the Father and the Son, but is from the one and same essence of the Father and the Son; or that the Holy Spirit rejoices in the one and same essence that the Father and the Son rejoice in. This was the mind of Athanasius, as we saw above. The same is the mind of Epiphanius. Hence, he was saying in Heresy LXII:

> *The Holy Spirit is not alien from the Father and the Son, but from the same essence, from the same deity.*

But the Jesuit Petavius insists, in Book VII on the Trinity: "When I say: 'The Son is from the substance of the Father,' it is signified that the Father

is the cause of the Son; when I say: ‘The Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father,’ I signify that the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit. Similarly, therefore, when I say: ‘The Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Son,’ I signify that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit.” But this is entirely false, where the Greek Fathers say (for we are now dealing with the Greek manner of speaking) that the Son or the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father; this by no means signifies at least that the Father is the cause of the Son or the Holy Spirit: since they also teach that the Son or the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father because the Son or the Holy Spirit has the same substance as the Father. This was clearly evident above from the parallel words of Athanasius.

But someone presses: “Since, therefore, the holy Nicene Synod decreed that to be from the essence of the Father signifies the same as to be or to be produced from the Father, to be from the essence of the Father and the Son must necessarily signify the same as to be or to be produced from the Father and the Son.” The Nicene Synod indeed said that the Son is from the essence of the Father in the sense that it signifies that the Son is produced from the Father; but it is false that the Nicene Synod thereby defined that to be from the essence of the Father signifies at least the same as to be produced from the Son. There are various acceptations of some proposition: but if sacred Scripture or some universal Synod takes a proposition in one of the remaining senses, would sacred Scripture or a universal Synod be said to have decreed that the proposition signifies at least the same, but does not also admit another sense? But now the question is not whether in the Creed the Fathers meant the same by “to be from the essence of the Father” and “to be produced from the Father”; but whether “to be from the essence of the Father” does not also signify to rejoice in the essence of the Father. And from this, this assertion of the Jesuit is clearly convicted of falsehood by the single testimony cited of Athanasius, who, where he teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father and the Son, in that same place means only that the Holy Spirit has the same essence as the Father and the Son.

You will say: “If the Holy Spirit is said to be from the substance of the Father and the Son because He has the same substance as both, similarly the Father or the Son should be said to be from the substance of the Holy Spirit: because the Father and the Son also have the same substance as the Holy Spirit.” Yet the Fathers never said this. But this was done

because of the order of the persons: for no heretic ever doubted that the Father is God; some doubted about the Son; some also denied about the Holy Spirit. Therefore, that the Fathers might assert the same essence of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, since it was undoubted that the Father is God, and after the Father, the second divine subsistence is the Son, hence they said that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father and the Son, but not conversely that the Father or the Son is from the substance of the Holy Spirit: for the Father and the Son are not numbered after the Holy Spirit, but entirely before Him, according to those words of the Savior: “Baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.” They further object, citing Epiphanius, who states that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son. If, therefore, the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, it follows that He proceeds from the Father and the Son. The words of Epiphanius are found in Haeresis LXII (against the Sabellians), Tom. I, p. 515:

> *The Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Father and the Son, but is of the same essence, of the same deity, from the Father and the Son, with the Father and the Son, always existing in substance as the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of glory, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of the Father.*

And later, on p. 518:

> *The Father truly begot the Son, and the Son was truly begotten of the Father in substance, without beginning and without time; and the Holy Spirit is truly from the Father and the Son, of the same deity, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.*

In the *Ancoratus*, near the beginning, p. 13:

> *The Holy Spirit is in the midst of the Father and the Son, from the Father and the Son, the third in nomenclature.*

Petavius translates this as: “Between the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father and the Son, and third in appellation.” However, according to the Greek, it says at least “from the Father and the Son” (ek Patros kai Huiou), without adding *ekporeuomenon* (proceeding). On p. 14 of the same work:

> *The Holy Spirit is God from the Father and the Son, against whom he lied who withheld something from the price.*

Here, Petavius translates: “Therefore, He is God proceeding from the Father and the Son.” Yet, in the Greek, the word “proceeding” is absent. Further, in the *Ancoratus*, p. 77, also in Haeresis LXXIV, num. 9:

> *The Spirit alone is called by the Father and the Son, the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ.*

And in the middle of the *Ancoratus*, also in Haeresis LXXIV, num. 7:

> *The Spirit is from both, the Spirit from the Spirit.*

Petavius translates: “He arises from both, the Spirit from the Spirit,” but in the Greek, the word “arises” or its equivalent is not present. In Haeresis LXXIV, according to the Greek Basel edition of 1544, p. 379:

> *I believe, however, that both dwell in the just man, Christ and His Spirit. If Christ is believed to be God from God through the Spirit, and His Spirit is from Christ or from both, as Christ says: ‘Who proceeds from the Father,’ and ‘He will receive from Me,’ while Christ is from the Holy Spirit, as the angel’s voice says: ‘For that which is in her is of the Holy Spirit,’ I understand the mystery that has delivered us.*

The same is found in the *Ancoratus*, p. 70, in Petavius’ Latin-Greek edition, except that instead of “If Christ is believed to be from the Spirit,” it reads: “If Christ is believed to be from the Father.” Petavius translates “And the Spirit of God from Christ, or from both” as: “And the Spirit of God from Christ, as proceeding from both.” Yet, the Greek words differ significantly: they say “or from both,” not “as proceeding from both.”

In the *Ancoratus*, num. 73, p. 78, also in Haeresis LXXIV, much before the end, Tom. I, p. 828:

> *No one knows the Spirit except the Father and the Son, from whom He proceeds and from whom He receives; nor the Son and the Father, except the Holy Spirit, truly glorifying, teaching, and testifying all things concerning the Son, who is from the Father and from the Son, the sole guide of truth.*

However, in the cited Haeresis, instead of the above, it reads distinctly:

> *No one knows the Spirit except the Son, from whom He receives, and the Father, from whom He proceeds.*

Petavius translates: “Who testifies concerning the Son, who proceeds from the Father and from the Son.” Yet, in the Greek, the word “proceeds” is not present. In the *Ancoratus*, num. 71, Tom. II, p. 75, and Haeresis LXXIV, num. 8, Tom. I, p. 896:

> *If you call the Son Him who is from Him, and the Holy Spirit Him who is from both, things which are understood only by faith by the saints, giving clear light, they have a clear operation and through faith in the light become consonant with the Father Himself.*

And after some words:

> *The Holy Spirit of truth is the third light from the Father and the Son.*

Someone adds from the *Ancoratus*, num. 71, Latin edition, p. 280:

> *The whole God is life; therefore, the Son is life from life, but the Holy Spirit is from both.*

Response to the Objections

However, whenever Epiphanius says, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son,” his meaning is by no means that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the Father and the Son; rather, it is at least that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son. For indeed, he only says, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son,” but never: “The Holy Spirit is or arises or proceeds from the Father and the Son.”

This meaning of Epiphanius is clearly evident, first from his words cited from Haeresis LXXIV: “The Spirit is from both,” he says, “as Christ says: ‘Who proceeds from the Father,’ and ‘He will receive from Me.’” Here, it is clear that Epiphanius interprets “from the Father and the Son” according to the words of Scripture: to proceed from the Father and to receive from the Son. And he shows that this was his intended meaning when he said, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son,” or “from both.” Likewise, when he said in the same Haeresis, much before the end,

as cited: “No one knows the Spirit except the Son, from whom He receives, and the Father, from whom He proceeds; nor the Son and the Father, except the Holy Spirit, who is from the Father, who is from the Son.” In these words, the latter phrase, “who is from the Father, who is from the Son,” refers to the preceding: “except the Son, from whom He receives, and the Father, from whom He proceeds.” Therefore, just as he previously said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, so now he says, “who is from the Father, who is from the Son.” Thus, by these words, he means: “who proceeds from the Father, who receives from the Son.” Hence, he does not say, as he usually does, “who is from the Father and the Son,” but “who is from the Father, who is from the Son,” as he had previously said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son. Likewise, in Haeresis LXII, with the cited words, when he had said, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son,” he adds: “proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.” And thus, he explains how he said, “from the Father and the Son,” by saying, “proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.” Finally, when he repeatedly says, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son,” in Haeresis LXXVI (against the Anomoeans), against Chapter I of Aetius, he expresses it thus: “From the Father and from the things that are the Son’s.” Here, it is abundantly clear that Epiphanius only means the words of Scripture: “The Spirit proceeds from the Father; the Spirit will receive from Me, or from the things that are the Son’s.” Therefore, this is at least his meaning when he says elsewhere, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son.” The words of Epiphanius are in Tom. I of his works, p. 939:

> *In perfect caution, it is established that the Word of the Father exists in substance without beginning and without time, and the Holy Spirit exists in substance from the Father and from the things that are the Son’s.*

And hence, Epiphanius teaches many times in great number that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father but receives from the Son, as we have enumerated these testimonies in the Treatise on the Eastern Fathers; but he never teaches that the Holy Spirit also proceeds or arises from the Son. Indeed, when he explicitly deals with the production and origin of the Holy Spirit, he clearly teaches that only the Father produced the Holy

Spirit, that the Holy Spirit is from the Father alone, and that only the Father is the origin of the Holy Spirit, as we have shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. As for the sense in which the Fathers taught that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, this has been shown in a special treatise: namely, not that they understood this in terms of origin or cause, but at least in terms of the same essence, will, and knowledge of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Epiphanius loved to say repeatedly that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, or, equivalently, that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, in order to assert the one divinity of the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit and to teach that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the communion and essence of the Son and the Father. Hence, in Haeresis LXXII, he said:

> *The Holy Spirit is truly from the Father and the Son, of the same deity, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.*

For there were heretics who denied the one divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but it does not necessarily follow that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son because He proceeds from Him, as has been shown elsewhere.

Cichovius' Response (Question V, p. 42)

Someone insists that Epiphanius excludes these passages, where it is said that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, because the Greek does not include the word "is" (estin); and through this, he betrays either malice or remarkable ignorance: malice, if he knowingly conceals the truth and attempts to impose this kind of deceptive argumentation; ignorance, if he truly did not know that it is a peculiarity of Greek elegance to imply the word "is." Clear testimonies are found in Scripture and the Holy Fathers. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter 2, where it is said: "We have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit who is from God." In Greek, it reads: *alla to pneuma to ek tou Theou* (but the Spirit who is from God), without adding "is" (estin). To dismiss the slanders of the Jesuit's slanderous mind, Epiphanius was by no means responding to the cited passages of Epiphanius by saying that the word "is" is absent or that Epiphanius intended nothing to be understood by it when he said, "from the Father and the Son"; but he entirely showed that Epiphanius' meaning is "from the Son," that is,

"receiving," so that the word "receiving" is understood where the Holy Spirit is simply said to be "from the Son." Hence, Ephesius was saying that when Epiphanius implies this word, he does not add "is from the Son" or "is from the Father"; but at least: "The Spirit is from the Son." Therefore, it is a peculiarity of Greek elegance to imply the word "is," as it is also implied in the cited words of the Apostle; but does it follow that the word "is" is always implied? By no means. Indeed, we have clearly shown that Epiphanius understands the word "proceed" in relation to the Father and the word "receive" in relation to the Son when he says, "The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son"; thus, it is not necessary to add anything further to these. As for what the same author presses regarding the cited words of Epiphanius from Haeresis LXXIV (Question I, p. 3):

> *The Holy Spirit alone is called by the Father and the Son, the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ.*

We have already refuted in the Treatise that the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. They further press regarding those from the same Haeresis:

> *The Holy Spirit is from both, the Spirit from the Spirit.*

The Jesuit Petavius, in Book VII of On the Trinity, Chapter III, num. 2, claims that *par' amphoteron* (from both) is equivalent to *ex amphoteron* (out of both), *exousiodi* (substantive), that is, it expresses substantive production, sufficiently indicated because he adds for explanation: *pneuma ek pneumatos* (Spirit from Spirit). For he says the Spirit arises from the Spirit because God is Spirit, as Christ says. But the Holy Spirit is from God: because He is from the Father and the Son. Therefore, these propositions, *para* and *ek*, manifestly signify procession and origin. Indeed, since these words of Epiphanius are also found in the *Ancoratus*, in the Greek it does not say: "The Holy Spirit is from both, the Spirit from the Spirit"; but: "The Holy Spirit is from both, the Spirit from the Father," Tom. II, p. 75, although Petavius, while citing the Greek words in his edition, in his translation has not "Spirit from the Father" but "Spirit from Spirit." But let this pass: it is therefore false that here the particle *ab* (from) or *ex* (out of) signifies substantive production. From the words Epiphanius adds, "Spirit from Spirit," no support comes to the Jesuit: for

his words are not, as the Jesuit wants, “The Spirit arises from the Spirit,” but simply at least: “Spirit from Spirit.” Likewise, he understands these very words as he had previously said: “The Holy Spirit is from both.” Namely, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, as Spirit from Spirit; but receives from the Son, as Spirit from Spirit. Therefore, these do not help the Jesuit at all.

Further, regarding those from the same Haeresis: “I believe that both dwell in the just man, etc.” The same Jesuit objects in the cited place: Nothing can be brought forth more expressly in this passage: for he says the Holy Spirit proceeds from Christ in the same way that Christ proceeds from the Father, that is, God from God; likewise, he says He proceeds from both. And he supports this with the same words from the Gospel that the Latins use against the Greeks: “He will receive from Me.” Indeed, although the *Ancoratus* has the words of Epiphanius: “If Christ is believed to be from the Father, God from God”; in Haeresis LXXIV, as we have already noted, it reads: “If Christ is believed to be from the Spirit, God from God”; although the Jesuit Petavius, even in the cited Haeresis, in his edition has: “If Christ is believed to be from the Father.” But it is entirely clear that it should rather be read: “If Christ is believed to be from the Spirit,” as is evident from the words that follow: “And the Spirit from Christ, or from both.” For how else would Epiphanius have said, “The Holy Spirit is from Christ, or from both”? Should it be doubted that Epiphanius believed whether the Holy Spirit is from Christ or from the Father and Christ together? According to this reading of Epiphanius’ words, which the Greek text of the cited Basel edition of Haeresis LXXIV has, these are conveniently explained thus: having just said that the Son is from the Holy Spirit, he correspondingly adds in opposition: “And the Holy Spirit is from the Son”; and he adds: “Or from both”: because, according to Scripture, the Holy Spirit does not at least receive from the Son alone, but also from the Father, namely, He proceeds. And hence, just as he had said, “The Spirit is from both,” he proves this because the Holy Spirit receives from Christ; so too, what he had just said, “Christ is from the Spirit,” he then proves with the words of the angel. Therefore, the Jesuit could not thus far take Epiphanius to teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Christ in the way that Christ proceeds from the Father. Suppose Epiphanius’ words were: “If Christ is believed to be from the Father, God from God; and the Spirit from Christ, or from both”: again,

there is no necessity for the Jesuit to take Epiphanius as saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Christ in the way that Christ proceeds from the Father, that is, God from God. For Epiphanius likewise adds: “But Christ is from the Holy Spirit.” Therefore, just as after the words, “If Christ is from the Father, God from God,” he adds: “And the Spirit from Christ, or from both”; so too he adds: “But Christ is from the Holy Spirit.” Now, if it necessarily followed that by the former words Epiphanius was saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Christ in the way that Christ proceeds from the Father, that is, God from God; likewise, it would necessarily follow that when Epiphanius adds, “But Christ is from the Holy Spirit,” he teaches that Christ proceeds from the Holy Spirit in the way that Christ proceeds from the Father, that is, God from God; which is impossible: for Christ does not have the cause of His existence from the Holy Spirit as God from God. But further, how Epiphanius said the Holy Spirit is from the Son, he himself adds, interpreting this very thing as the receiving of the Holy Spirit from the Son; as his words above had it. Moreover, nowhere did Epiphanius say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, as the Jesuit wanted: for his words are at least: “The Holy Spirit is from both,” namely, as he himself adds: “He proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son.” Then, indeed, Epiphanius would align with the Latins if he had brought forth these words of Christ, “He will receive from Me,” to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds or is produced from the Son.

Then another Jesuit presses further regarding these (Question I, p. 11): It must be noted that St. Epiphanius assumes as a primary principle that to receive from someone and to proceed are the same; and that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son. For he proves this conclusion: “Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, that is, from the Father and the Son,” thus: From whom the Holy Spirit is said in sacred Scripture to proceed or receive, from Him He proceeds. But He is said to proceed from the Father, to receive from the Son. Therefore, He proceeds from the Father and the Son. But it is false that Epiphanius assumes there as a principle that to receive from someone and to proceed are the same; or that this is Epiphanius’ conclusion: “Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from both”; since indeed Epiphanius’ purpose is at least to show in what sense he said: “The Holy Spirit is from both.” But more on this presently.

Further, regarding those we cited from Haeresis LXXIV: “No one knows the Spirit except the Son, from whom He receives, and the Father, from

whom He proceeds; nor the Son and the Father, except the Holy Spirit, who is from the Father, who is from the Son." The Jesuit Petavius objects in the cited place: Here, *para*, as the Greeks themselves admit, declares substantive production: since He exists from the Father in no other way. Therefore, in other places where he places *para tou Huiou* (from the Son) or *par' amphoteron* (from both), a substantive origin is shown there, which the other particle *ex* attributed to the Son signifies. But there is no such consequence at all. The reason for the difference is clear from this, that here when he says, "from the Father," his meaning is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; but elsewhere when he says, "from the Son," he understands the receiving of the Holy Spirit from the Son; as also when he says elsewhere, "from both," he signifies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, as shown above. It is finally false that the origin is also signified when Epiphanius says: "Who is from the Son"; since indeed here he at least understands, "who receives from the Son," as we have just shown. Finally, regarding those from Haeresis LXXIV: "If you call the Son Him who is from Him, and the Holy Spirit Him who is from both." The Jesuit Petavius presses further there: Here, it is about the production of the substance and person of the Holy Spirit, not about the outpouring of gifts and charisms, which are sometimes considered under the name of the Spirit: so that there is no room for the Greeks' evasions; more on this later. For when he says the Son is from Him, he understands no other origin and procession than *ousiodi* (substantive). Therefore, neither when he speaks of the Holy Spirit and says He is *par' amphoteron* (from both) can it be interpreted otherwise. But we have already denied this consequence. For why could the meaning not be: if you say the Son is generated from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son? For from this, it is necessarily inferred that there is one and the same essence of the three subsistences, as has been shown elsewhere. Therefore, another Jesuit accomplishes nothing when, with these cited words from the *Ancoratus* (Question V, p. 42): "The whole God is life; therefore, the Son is life from life, but the Holy Spirit is from both." He adds: Here, he clearly teaches that the Holy Spirit is from both in the same way that the Son is life from God. For just as there is no such consequence; so too it is clearly established that Epiphanius argues validly thus: If the whole God is life; it is necessary that the Son, when

generated from the Father as life, and thus is God, be life; it is necessary that the Holy Spirit, when He proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son, and thus is God, be life: for from the fact that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son, and thus also life, as has been shown elsewhere. They further object from Epiphanius those from Haeresis LXIX (against the Arians), num. 54, Tom. I, p. 776:

> *This is He who sent and who is sent, to show that the one source of all good things is the Father. Then, from the source, not by another name, but according to the name of the Son, likewise of the Word, one existing source, the Son progressed from the source, always existing begotten with the Father: 'For with You is the fountain of life.' And to show concerning the Holy Spirit: 'In Your light we shall see light'; by which he shows that the light of the Father is the Son, and the light is the Holy Spirit, and the fountain from the fountain, from the Father and the Only-Begotten, the Holy Spirit: 'For rivers of living water shall flow from His womb,' says the Gospel concerning the Holy Spirit.*

But that the Son is called here the fountain of the Holy Spirit externally, since he also shows here that the Holy Spirit is a fountain just as the Son, we have already seen concerning the words of Athanasius above. Therefore, when he says: "The fountain from the fountain, from the Father and the Only-Begotten, the Holy Spirit," Epiphanius calls the Father and the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit only in terms of the external outpouring of the Holy Spirit. They finally object those from the *Ancoratus*, num. 75, p. 80:

> *The Father always was, and the Spirit breathes from the Father and the Son; and neither is the Son created, nor the Spirit.*

But how conveniently these are understood of the temporal outpouring of the Holy Spirit! For when the Holy Spirit is poured out from the Father and the Son, or from the substance of the Father and the Son, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit is not created, but of one essence with the Father; this has been discussed elsewhere. For sacred Scripture also says: "The Spirit breathes where He wills"; which the Fathers interpret as the Holy Spirit distributing His gifts to us, as we have seen in the Treatise that the sending of the Holy Spirit by the Son is not an

argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Moreover, if the matter concerns the origin, the Holy Spirit is not said to breathe from the Father or the Son, but to be breathed: for to breathe is active. Therefore, if these words of Epiphanius were to be understood of the eternal breathing of the Holy Spirit, it would follow that the Holy Spirit breathes another; which is impossible.

Finally, someone argues (Cichovius, Question V, p. 44): And since Cichovius so carefully pursued all heresies against the Holy Spirit and against the multiplicity of principles, nowhere did he indicate that it is a heresy or error to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. But what follows from this? Does it therefore follow that Epiphanius proved the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Indeed, he never mentions it: because not even in a dream did it occur to any of the Fathers, or to Epiphanius, that the procession of the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son; as is clear even from the example of Theodoret, discussed in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. And if Epiphanius nowhere taught that it is a heresy or error to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; likewise, nowhere did he teach that it is an error or heresy to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone; although he so carefully treats the production of the Holy Spirit many times. Indeed, Epiphanius teaches many times that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, when he says that only the Father produced the Holy Spirit; or that the Holy Spirit is from the Father alone; or teaches that only the Father is the origin of the Son and the Holy Spirit; as shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers. And thus far concerning Epiphanius.

From Philo Carpathius

Philo Carpathius, in *On the Song of Songs*, at the beginning, Tom. IV, Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis, p. 560:

> *The mouth of God the Father is the Son, therefore, since He Himself is God and equal in nature to the Father, He is called the Word: because whatever the Father wills, He speaks through the Son, creates, establishes, and preserves together with that divine Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But since this treatise of Philo exists only in Latin, it is not surprising if it has undergone the alterations commonly experienced in this regard by the writings of the Latin Fathers, as discussed in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers: unless perhaps in the Greek, another word appears in place of “proceeds.” Bellarmine also, in his Book on Ecclesiastical Writers, concerning that commentary of Philo, says: “Many things seem to have been inserted from Gregory’s commentary on the Song of Songs, which do not cohere well with the rest of the explanation.” Therefore, there was no necessity to object to these, since they could likewise have been added by the Latins along with the others.

From Gregory of Nyssa

They object from Gregory of Nyssa’s Book *That There Are Not Three Gods*:

> *We believe that one thing is the cause, another is from the cause, and from that which is from the cause.*

Further, from Homily III on the Lord’s Prayer:

> *The Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father, and He is testified to be from the Son.*

But it has been shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Eastern Fathers that these have been corrupted with the worst fidelity.

They further object those from Book I Against Eunomius:

> *The same must be said of the Holy Spirit, whose difference is established only in order: for as the Son is joined to the Father, and His being from Him does not make Him posterior in existence; so too the Holy Spirit is joined to the Only-Begotten, etc.*

But these very words we have already vindicated from the malicious interpretation of the Latins in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning Gregory of Nyssa.

From John Chrysostom

They object first from John Chrysostom's Homily I on the Exposition of the Creed, Tom. V, Latin edition, Paris, 1588, col. 615, and Tom. II, Latin edition, Paris, 1530, p. 543:

> *He is the proceeding Spirit from the Father and the Son, who distributes His own gifts to each as He wills.*

These are also cited by Lombard in Book I of the Sentences, distinction XI. And from Homily II on the Apostles' Creed, Tom. V, Latin edition, Paris, 1588, p. 618, and 1530, Tom. II, p. 545:

> *Behold, we also believe in the Holy Spirit, who, the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, is joined by charity.*

And before these, in the 1588 edition, p. 617, and in the 1530 edition, p. 541:

> *We say that Holy Spirit is coequal with the Father and the Son, and proceeding from the Father and the Son. Believe this, lest evil conversations corrupt good morals.*

But these two homilies, whoever their author may be, exist only in Latin. But it has been shown in the Treatise on the Corruptions Perpetrated in the Writings of the Latin Fathers that no trust can be placed in these writings. They further object from the Homily on the Nativity of Christ, Tom. V, Greek edition, p. 134:

> *Christ came to us, gave us the Spirit from Himself (to ex autou pneuma), and took our body.*

Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, in his *Bibliotheca*, Codex 277, col. 1549, reads these thus:

> *Christ came to us, gave us His Spirit (to autou pneuma), and indeed takes our body.*

As also John Chrysostom, in the Homily on the Nativity of Christ, Tom. VI, Greek-Latin edition, says:

> *Taking my flesh, He bestows His Spirit on me (to heautou pneuma), so that by giving and receiving, He prepares a treasure of life for me; He takes my flesh to sanctify me; He bestows His Spirit on me (to pneuma autou) to save me.*

But whatever Chrysostom's words may be: "He gave us the Spirit from Himself"; these must certainly be understood in the sense that we will show St. Cyril of Alexandria teaches in similar passages. They further object, Beccus, from the Second Preservative Oration, which begins: "Since we approach the good":

> *May He preserve us, the Spirit who is from Christ, unto the day of future redemption.*

Similar are those someone objects from the Commentary on Chapter III of the Epistle to the Ephesians (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 59):

> *God gave His Son as a pledge of peace and truce, and the Holy Spirit who is from Him.*

But how the Fathers sometimes say that the Spirit is from the Son, we will see presently concerning the similar words of Cyril; although in the latter testimony, there is no necessity that "who is from Him" refers to the Son and not to the Father: since indeed Chrysostom had just mentioned both the Son and the Father. Further, Beccus objects from the Oration on the Two Testaments, which begins: "They signified the one and same God from the beginning, etc.":

> *Because the body of the Lord was made a temple of divine power, you too become a temple in His likeness: since you receive the Spirit sent from Him. Therefore, just as by acknowledging Christ, you have acknowledged God; so too by receiving the Spirit of Christ, you have received God.*

But there is no necessity that these are understood of the procession of the Holy Spirit itself; since indeed they can no less be understood of the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit: for although *ekpempsis* (sending) sometimes signifies the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, it does not always retain this sole signification. They further object from the Oration on the Mystery of Baptism, Tom. V, Greek edition, p. 684:

> *For this reason, the Savior also showed Himself to be the fountain of life; and the living water is the Holy Spirit.*

But these we have already refuted above, concerning the similar words of Athanasius. Further, they object from Homily 76 on John, p. 390:

> *And speaking of the truth, He says: 'Whom I will send.' Behold, not the Father alone, but also the Son sends the Spirit.*

But who has ever denied that the Spirit is sent by the Son? Or does it follow that because He sends, therefore the Son also produces the Holy Spirit?

But Bellarmine presses in Book II on Christ, Chapter 25, Homily 76 on John:

> *Behold, he says, not the Father alone, but also the Son sends the Spirit.*

And lest the Greeks say that Chrysostom is speaking of the temporal sending of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the same Chrysostom, in Homily 77 on John, explaining why the Spirit is said to be sent by the Son:

> *Furthermore, He shows the difference of persons, when He posits two, etc.*

Therefore, if the sending is expressed to signify the distinction of persons, the person Himself is truly sent, not only His gifts; and since the distinction of persons is eternal, this sending must necessarily include an eternal emanation. We indeed entirely concede that the very person of the Holy Spirit is also sent, not only His gifts, as shown in a special treatise: but it by no means follows from this that the Holy Spirit is sent according to His divinity, or that Chrysostom in the cited passage is not speaking of at least the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit. For if we examine the cited Homily 77, it will be clear that Chrysostom there explicitly denies that the Holy Spirit is sent according to His divinity, and speaks at least of the temporal sending. For his words are these:

> *But why does He say: 'I will send Him'? This is to prepare you for His reception. For how can He who is everywhere be sent? Furthermore, He shows the difference of persons, when He posits two.*

Therefore, since he explains the sending of the Holy Spirit as at least our preparation for the reception of the Holy Spirit, and denies that the Holy Spirit can simply be said to be sent anywhere (for to prove the preceding proposition, he adds: “For how can He who is everywhere be sent?”), it is clear that he is likewise speaking at least of the temporal sending, not also of the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, where he soon adds: “Furthermore, He shows the difference of persons.” For by reason of His eternal sending, the Holy Spirit is most truly also said to be sent or emitted. Further, when Chrysostom says: “Furthermore, He shows the difference of persons, when He posits two persons by saying: ‘Whom I will send to you’”; his meaning is certainly: when he mentions the sender and the sent with these words, it is clear that the Son and the Holy Spirit are two persons: for if one is sent by another, the sent must necessarily be distinct from the sender. But Bellarmine objects: “And since the distinction of persons is eternal, this sending must necessarily include an eternal emanation.” But it is one thing to explain the property of the distinction of persons, another to show from certain words of Scripture that the Son and the Holy Spirit are two persons. Thus, when the Father is said to have sent the Son into the world, two persons are thereby posited; and thus, the difference of persons is demonstrated; but does it follow that because the distinction of persons is eternal, that sending of the Son, or incarnation, also includes an eternal emanation? Likewise, it would otherwise follow that the Holy Spirit is the origin of the Son; since indeed in Scripture the Holy Spirit is likewise said to have sent the Son: whereby two persons are likewise posited, and thus the difference of persons is demonstrated. But in the same way, Chrysostom argues: When the Son is said to send the Holy Spirit, two persons are thereby posited; and thus, the difference of persons is shown. The very property of the difference of persons is eternal, as is the difference of persons; and thus, what pertains to this is likewise eternal. But it was not Chrysostom’s purpose here to explain the very property of the difference of subsistences, as shown.

They further object that the Latins say that Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, calls the Holy Spirit the center of the Father and the Son. Thus, in Hymn IV, after the beginning, p. 334, he speaks to the Son:

> *You, blessed, I sing with the great Father, and Him whom the Father brought forth for Your sake, the fruitful counsel, the mediating prin-*

ciple, the Holy Spirit, the center of the Father, the center of the Son. Hail, pure flame, center of the Son, center of the Father.

And in Hymn V, p. 342. Someone adds, from the same Synesius, Hymn III, num. 228 (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 64):

The Holy Spirit is called the term of the natures of the generating and the generated.

Hence, the same author presses: The Holy Spirit cannot be understood as the center of the Father and the Son unless the spirative power inherent in both tends toward Him as one and the same term. But when the Holy Spirit is called the term of the natures of the generating and the generated, it is implied that the Holy Spirit rests in the Son in such a way that the spirative power inherent in the generating and generated nature does not extend further to another term. But if Synesius in the cited places calls the Holy Spirit the center of the Father and the Son; again elsewhere, he calls the Father the center of the Son and the Holy Spirit, indeed of all things. Thus, in Hymn I, p. 314:

Whence, flowing forth through the primordial form, the Unity, diffused in an ineffable manner, obtained a threefold power. But the super-substantial fountain is crowned with the beauty of its offspring, who flowed from the center, and revolve around the center.

And in Hymn III, p. 321, speaking to the Father:

Seed of beings, center of all things.

Finally, in Hymn II, p. 317, speaking to God:

Hail, eternal root of the world, hail, eternal center of things.

Therefore, if according to Synesius, the Holy Spirit proceeded also from the Son because he calls the Holy Spirit the center of the Father and the Son; it would follow that the Father is produced by the Son and the Spirit, indeed by creatures. Which is absurd. For he likewise called the Father the center of the Son and the Spirit, indeed of all things. Therefore, it is clear from this that Synesius called the Holy Spirit the center of the Father and the Son in a far different sense than the Jesuit explained

Synesius' meaning. For if he understood these in terms of origin, he would have said that the Father and the Son are the center of the Holy Spirit, just as in terms of origin he called the Father the center of the Son and the Holy Spirit, indeed of all things: since, just as all lines flow from the center, drawn from the center to the circumference, so too all things flow from the Father, and revolve around Him; as he explicitly said concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit in Hymn I with the words just cited. It is false, moreover, that it cannot be explained otherwise how the Holy Spirit is the center of the Father and the Son, except according to the sense cited by the Jesuit. Certainly, for various reasons, the Holy Spirit could be called the center of the Father and the Son by the wandering mind of the poet; especially since in later words, with a certain poetic license, he calls the generating and generated nature, which theology otherwise does not admit. For example, the Holy Spirit could be called the center of the Father and the Son because, just as several circumferences drawn from the same point have at least one center; so too the Father and the Son are in and with the Holy Spirit, as in one and the same unity; but not so that this communion and identity extends to others as well. Therefore, in this sense, the Holy Spirit could likewise rightly be called the term of the Father and the Son, or of the generating and generated nature, as Synesius speaks: because, namely, the nature of the Father and the Son terminates in the Holy Spirit, and does not extend to others as well. Thus, again, there is no necessity that the Jesuit's explanation prevails here.

From Cyril of Alexandria

Indeed, they object various things from Cyril of Alexandria, for example, that the Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son; that He is from the substance of the Son; that He is the Son's. But it is clear that these, whatever they may be, do not stand in the way of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, as is evident even from the Epistle of Maximus to Marinus. For he expressly shows, and indeed from the very mind of the Roman Pope's orators, that it by no means follows from Cyril's similar words that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit; but at least that He is sent by the Son, so that the one essence of the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit is shown; by which testimony no more

illustrious could be given. The words of the Epistle are, as also cited by Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, in the Council of Florence, Session 23, Tom. XIII, Concilia, col. 376:

> *The most holy Pope, who now is, noted not as many points of the synodal letters as you wrote, inhabitants of the royal city, but only two, one of which pertains to divine matters, that he said, they say, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son; the other pertains to the incarnation, that he said the Lord as man is without original sin. And regarding the first, they brought forth consonant statements of the Roman Fathers, as well as of Cyril of Alexandria from his sacred commentaries on John, through which they demonstrated that they by no means assert that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit: for they know one cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Father; of the former indeed according to generation, of the latter according to procession, but they signify that He comes forth through Him, and for this reason show the communion of the same essence without any variation.*

But more on this Epistle in the Treatise on the Disputes Among the Latins Themselves Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son Asserted by Some. But not content with this general response, let us examine Cyril's very words. They object, therefore, first: Cyril teaches throughout that the Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son. Thus, Cyril, in Book II on John, Chapter I, Tom. IV, p. 127, immediately adds:

> *If Christ is in you, establishing an equal likeness in all things of the Son with the Spirit, who is His own, and flows forth from Him according to nature.*

And in Epistle X, Tom. V, Part II, p. 74, which the ecumenical Synod of Ephesus also confirmed:

> *Although the Spirit is in His own subsistence, and is understood according to Himself, insofar as He is the Spirit and not the Son; nevertheless, He is not foreign to Him: for He is called the Spirit of truth; but Christ is the truth; and He flows forth from Him just as from God and the Father.*

He says, "The Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son and from the Father," not *ekporeuetai* (proceeds), as the Latins commonly translated Cyril's

words. Further, in Book on the Right Faith to Theodosius, much before the end, Tom. VI, p. 34:

> *The divine Peter, addressing the Jews, said: 'Repent, and let each of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins, and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' For, absolving from sins as dedicated to Himself, He immediately anoints with His Spirit; which the Word indeed sends from God the Father, and from His own nature restores and renews for us. But placing a common matter in a way in the dispensation of the flesh because of the union, even as man He breathed bodily: for He breathed on the holy Apostles, saying: 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' And: 'He does not give the Spirit by measure,' according to the voice of John; but He sends from Himself, just as the Father does.*

And in Book on the Right Faith to the Queens, cited place, p. 156:

> *Therefore, as man He receives, not so much obtaining it for Himself, as for the whole human race through Himself and in Himself first, but He gives divinely from His own nature to those worthy to receive.*

In Dialogue III on the Trinity, Tom. V, Part I, p. 482:

> *Therefore, He who adorns us on earth with the glory of sons, as it were, gilding us, is the Holy Spirit, who, since He is the Son's, in others indeed effects adoption; but in Him He will effect nothing, whose He is not adventitious, nor coming forth externally, but existing substantially of Him, and through Him poured forth on those worthy to receive, with the Father's good pleasure.*

Therefore, the Latins infer: Cyril teaches so often that the Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son as from the Father. But in the exposition of the Nicene Creed, he explicitly says:

> *He flows forth, that is, goes forth from the fountain, God the Father, the Holy Spirit.*

Likewise, in Book II on John, he said that the Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son according to nature; which implies nothing but an eternal and hypostatic procession. But Cyril's words, by which he teaches that the

Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son, must be understood at least of the temporal outpouring of the Holy Spirit; this is clear from the words cited from Dialogue III on the Trinity. For he was saying: “He Himself is poured forth through the Son on those worthy to receive,” which is certainly understood of at least the temporal outpouring of the Holy Spirit made upon us. Likewise, in the cited words from Book on the Right Faith to the Queens, he was saying: “He gives from His own nature to those worthy to receive”; which again is certainly understood of at least the temporal giving of the Holy Spirit made to us. Further, in Book on the Right Faith to Theodosius, he was saying: “He does not give the Spirit by measure (to the faithful, namely), but just as the Father sends the Holy Spirit from Himself, so He sends the Holy Spirit to the faithful.” These words are entirely similar to those he had in Epistle X. For in the former place, he says: “But He Himself sends the Holy Spirit from Himself, just as the Father does.” But in the latter: “And He flows forth from Him just as from God and the Father.” Therefore, at least in the latter place, he is dealing with another temporal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, elsewhere Cyril says: “He flows forth, that is, proceeds from the Father”; but does the same meaning always apply? Certainly, when the Holy Spirit is said to flow forth from the Father, it is understood either of the temporal or of the eternal hypostatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit. And hence, when Cyril had said in the exposition of the Nicene Creed: “Who flows forth from the Father”; lest he leave it in doubt in what sense he said this, whether of the temporal or eternal outpouring of the Holy Spirit, he adds: “That is, proceeds.” Therefore, the Latins could not necessarily infer anything from this in their sense. Finally, that in Book II on John he taught that the Holy Spirit flows forth from the Son according to nature, we will discuss below, where we will show how Cyril said that the Holy Spirit goes forth from the Son according to nature. These are the same. They further object that Cyril teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Son. In Book X on John, Tom. IV, p. 926:

> *Let it be the same sign to you that the Spirit is from My substance, and His mind is as it were Mine, because He will proclaim to you the things to come, as I do.*

In the *Thesaurus*, Assertion 33, Tom. V, Part I, p. 334:

> *Hence you can draw correct opinions about the Holy Spirit, and learn*

that He is from the substance of the Savior, and not foreign to the essence of the one deity.

Again, p. 336:

Because He is from the substance of Christ, bestowing Him on men.

And in Assertion 34, p. 344:

Nor when the Savior says these things about the Holy Spirit does He show Him to be imperfect; but to make a more certain faith for the hearers, when He says that He exists from His essence (or of His essence), He will speak nothing other than what He Himself wills.

Again, he forms the title of Assertion 34 thus: “That the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father and the Son.” Again, on the same p. 344:

The Spirit is from the substance of the Son, and, as it were (so to speak), a quality existing of the God who rules over all.

And p. 347:

The blessed John, demonstrating the Holy Spirit from the substance of the Father and the Son, says in the Gospels: ‘The Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father.’ But in the Epistle: ‘The Spirit is the truth.’

These he repeats also in the Book of Arguments That the Holy Spirit Is God, Tom. V, Part I, p. 672. In the *Thesaurus*, Assertion 33, Tom. V, Part I, p. 338:

Since the Son is life according to nature, and the Holy Spirit who is given by Him vivifies; it remains that we confess that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Son and God, and has all His power and operation.

And in Assertion 34, p. 347:

Since the Word is the true light, but the Holy Spirit illuminates, it is necessary that the Holy Spirit be of the essence (or from the essence) of the Word, through whom He illuminates every man; as emitting a certain proper ray of His nature, the illumination of the Spirit.

Finally, with the words cited above from Book X on John, he soon adds:

> *But He would not proclaim the things to come as I do, unless He entirely existed in Me, and went forth through Me, and existed of the same substance with Me (or from the same substance).*

But Cyril does not say that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Son in any other sense than that in which we heard Athanasius teach the same above; namely, that He is of the same essence, or enjoys the same essence with the Father and the Son. Hence, in Assertion 33 of the *Thesaurus*, he added: “He is from the essence of the Son, and not foreign to the essence of the deity.” For it is customary for the Greek Fathers, when they wish to express what the Latins call being of one essence with another, to say that one is from the essence of the other. Hence, the Greeks themselves, intending to signify the same, partly say that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Son, partly that He is of the essence of the Son, as Cyril had in Assertion 34 and Book X on John. Nor do these contradict those in Assertion 34: “John, demonstrating from the substance of the Father and the Son,” he says: “The Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father.” For indeed, because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it follows that the Holy Spirit is of the same deity with the Father and the Son. And he adds in this sense: “But in the Epistle: ‘The Spirit is the truth.’” For from this reason, it follows at least: since the Son of God is likewise the truth; but the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of truth; the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son; but not that He also proceeds from the Son, as is clear to anyone.

They further object that Cyril of Alexandria frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the Son. In Book IX on John, Tome IV, p. 810:

> *Therefore, Christ breathed bodily, showing that just as the Spirit proceeds bodily from a human mouth, so too from the divine substance, in a manner befitting God, the Spirit who is from Him is poured forth.*

In Book X on John, Tome IV, p. 837:

> *And so, as one knowing all things that are in the will of the Only-Begotten, He announces everything to us: not possessing knowledge from instruction, lest He seem to perform the role of a servant and convey the words of another, but as the very Spirit of Him, as we*

were just saying; and, without being taught, knowing all things that are His, from whom and in whom He is, He reveals the divine and holy mysteries. Indeed, just as the human mind, knowing all things that are in a person, through the spoken word provides the service of outwardly expressing its will to the soul, whose mind it is—although it seems to be and is named as something distinct in its concepts—it is not another nature, but rather, as it were, a part completing the whole, existing in the soul and, as is believed, proceeding from it.

In the Commentary on Joel, Tome III of his works, p. 228:

For the Son is God from God according to nature (for He is born from God and the Father), but His own Spirit is proper to Him, and in Him, and from Him, just as the same Spirit is understood to be in God and the Father Himself; but insofar as He became like us for our good, He is said to have the Spirit imparted.

In Dialogue VII to Hermias, Tome V, Part I, p. 641:

And so, our Lord Jesus Christ, I believe, will come to every faithful and good person, saying, 'I and the Father will come and make our dwelling with him.' And, 'In this we know that He is in us, because of the Spirit whom He has given us.' For indeed, someone is enriched by the domestic and indwelling Spirit, who is truly God by nature, to the extent that he receives His Spirit—not as something foreign or substantially separated, but as something that is from Him and in Him, proper to Him, and exercising dominion equal to Him.

Again, before the end, p. 657:

However, they say that Christ said of Himself: 'He will take from what is Mine and announce it to you,' and therefore they say the Spirit is a participant in the Son. By no means, far from it. For how could that which is from Him, in Him, and proper to Him ever be a participant in Him, or be sanctified with equal status alongside foreigners, or be foreign in nature to Him whose proper Spirit it is said to be?

In Book on the Right Faith to Theodosius, well before the end, Tome VI, p. 33:

He does not send the Holy Spirit to those who are baptized in a servile manner, as a minister, but as God by nature with supreme power, who is from Him and proper to Him, through whom also the divine character is imprinted in us.

In *Thesaurus*, Assertion XXXIV:

Since there is one Lord Jesus Christ, according to the words of Paul, and He calls the Spirit Lord, He recognizes no difference in nature between the Son and the Holy Spirit, but calls Him Lord as naturally existing from Him and in Him.

Again, p. 343:

If, therefore, the Spirit called Him to the apostolate, He says He was called by Jesus Christ: He clearly shows that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the substance of the Son, but is in Him and from Him, and as a certain natural operation that can accomplish all things it wills.

Again, p. 344:

Since He is the mind of Christ, He speaks to the disciples all things that are in Him, not from His own will, nor approaching in the will of another in whom and from whom He is, but as naturally proceeding from His substance, possessing His entire will and operation.

And p. 350:

The Son, clearly showing that the Spirit, existing from Him, would also administer words from Him, says, 'He will not speak from Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, because He will take from what is Mine.' It is as if honey, speaking of its natural quality innate to it, were to say: 'It imparts nothing from itself to the sense of those tasting it, but takes from what is mine,' since the quality of substances naturally passes into those things that inseparably proceed from them.

And p. 354:

When Christ makes and establishes laws, the Holy Spirit, who is in Him and from Him naturally, also enacts those same laws.

In Book I on Worship, p. 9:

> *However, the Spirit is not changeable, or if He suffers from this defect, the reproach would fall upon the divine nature itself: for the Spirit is of God the Father, and so too of the Son, substantially proceeding from both, that is, from the Father through the Son.*

In Book of Declarations of the Twelve Anathemas, on the Ninth Anathema, Tome VI, p. 154:

> *When the Only-Begotten Word of God became man, He remained God even so, being all that the Father is, except only this, that He is not the Father, and having His own Holy Spirit, who is from Him and essentially inhering in Him, He performed those signs of divine power.*

Saint Cyril of Alexandria, in *Against Nestorius*, Book IV, Greek-Latin edition, Paris, page 98:

> *Therefore, the Spirit is intrinsic to the Son and from Him, of which there is clear evidence, because He can also give Him to others.*

Saint Cyril of Alexandria, in *Against Nestorius*, Book IV, Greek-Latin edition, Paris, page 106:

> *Those who make the Holy Spirit a servant commit impiety; they also dishonor the Word consubstantial with Him, when they surround Him—who is from Him and in Him by nature, and proper to Him—with a servile measure.*

Response to the Objections

However, it is by no means Cyril's intention, when he says that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as is clearly evident from the fact that, when in the explanation of the Ninth Anathema he had said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, Theodoret, in refuting this Ninth Anathema, objected:

> *If he says the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son as proceeding from the Father and consubstantial with the Son, he speaks well; but if he means that the Spirit has existence from or through the Son, he thinks impiously.*

To this, Cyril responds:

> *I have indeed said that the Holy Spirit is proper to the Son, as proceeding from the Father according to the Lord's words; yet the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son but is proper to Him according to nature.*

Here, since Theodoret had taken the opportunity to raise doubt because Cyril had said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, and had proposed a twofold sense in which the Spirit could be called proper to the Son, if Cyril's intention had been that the Spirit is from the Son because He proceeds from Him, he would surely have affirmed this in his response to Theodoret's objection. But now, since he still maintains that he follows at least the first sense proposed by Theodoret, namely that the Holy Spirit is called proper to the Son, or is from the Son, because He proceeds from the Father and is not foreign to the Son according to nature, it is clear from this that Cyril's intention, when he said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, was by no means that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.

Cyril teaches that the Holy Spirit is from the Son in no other sense than that He is given to us from the Son. This is evident from his words in Book V on John, Chapter II, p. 472. When he had spoken of Christ receiving the Spirit at His baptism, he said:

> *But how did He receive Him? For it is necessary to explain what we have said. Was it as if He did not have Him? Far from it. For the Spirit is proper to the Son, and is not sent from outside as it is supplied to us from God, but is naturally in Him, just as in the Father, and through Him proceeds to the saints, as distributed by the Father according to what is fitting for each.*

Then he adds:

> *Therefore, the Only-Begotten receives the Holy Spirit not for Himself: for He is His, and in Him, and through Him is the Spirit, as we have already said; but because He became man, He had the whole nature in Himself, so that He might renew it entirely and restore it completely.*

Here, what he first said—that the Holy Spirit is in the Son and is given to the saints through Him—he later expresses thus:

> *The Holy Spirit is in the Son and through the Son,*

as we were just saying. And so, when he says later that the Holy Spirit is through the Son, he means nothing other than that the Spirit is given through the Son. But to say that the Spirit is given through the Son, or from the Son, or out of the Son, is the same thing. Therefore, according to Cyril, it is rightly said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son in the sense that the Holy Spirit is given to us from the Son.

In this sense, he also frequently said that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, as is further clear from the words cited from Book I on Worship:

> *Naturally, the Holy Spirit is from both, that is, poured forth through the Son from the Father,*

namely upon creatures. Therefore, he says the Holy Spirit is from the Son because He is poured forth from Him upon creatures. And indeed, that it is fitting to say the Holy Spirit is from the Son in this sense is clear from the very words of the Evangelist John, who says:

> *The Holy Spirit was not yet, because Christ had not yet been glorified.*

Here, it is not understood that the Holy Spirit did not yet exist in substance, as is clear to anyone; but at least that He had not yet been given until Christ was glorified. By the same reasoning, it is fittingly added that the Holy Spirit is from Christ: for truly, the Spirit is given from Christ. But here, “to be” signified “to be given.”

And from this, Anastasius of Sinai also says in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith:

> *For the Lord, showing that the Holy Spirit exists from Himself, by breathing gave the Holy Spirit to the disciples.*

Here, in no other sense does he say that the Holy Spirit exists from the Son than that the Holy Spirit is given to us from the Son. For he adds:

> *Our Savior provided the Spirit from Himself, as from a certain treasury, to those who were worthy.*

But Petavius, the Jesuit, presses further on the words cited from Cyril in Dialogue VII to Hermias in Book VII on the Trinity, Chapter III:

> *It is necessary that this procession be understood as essential (ousiodes), that is, of such a kind as constitutes Him conjoined and consubstantial with the substance of the Son, which a temporal mission does not accomplish.*

This is utterly false, that the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son does not show that the Holy Spirit is conjoined and consubstantial with the substance of the Son. For if the Holy Spirit is given from the Son, or from the Son's substance, it is necessary that the Holy Spirit be in the substance of the Son and of the same substance as the Son.

Again, Petavius presses on those words from Book on the Right Faith to Theodosius in the same place:

> *We wish it to be noted that what is said there, that the Holy Spirit is from Him and through Him, cannot be understood as a temporal mission and outpouring of gifts, but must necessarily be taken as His eternal and substantial production. For unless we interpret it thus, there will be a tautology, and the argumentation will be utterly frivolous, indeed nonexistent: for in that place, Cyril is striving to prove that Christ, even having assumed flesh, is the unique and natural Son of God, because He possesses what is proper to God, such as giving the Holy Spirit not as a minister or servant of something foreign, but as God, as something proper to Himself, as being from Him and through Him. Here, if the preposition 'from' signifies the temporal communication of the Holy Spirit and His gifts, Cyril accomplishes nothing; indeed, he ridiculously brings what is in dispute to the proof of this very thing. For he will conclude that the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, which occurs in baptism, is administered by Christ with full authority, not in a servile condition, from the fact that the Spirit proceeds from Him and through Him in a temporal mission; which is frivolous and absurd. Therefore, it is necessary that he employs substantial production; from which alone it follows that Christ does not give the Holy Spirit as something foreign, but as proper to Himself, as being from Him and through Him. For from the fact that the Holy Spirit naturally and substantially arises from Christ, so as to be said to be 'from Him,' it follows that He is sent by Him as proper to Him by His own right and authority; but this does not follow from the fact that He is given in a temporal mission.*

But first, the very words in the cited place were not: "From the Son and

through the Son," but at least: "From the Son and proper to Him," as we saw from his very words. But this in passing. Then, it is false that Cyril's words are, or that he argued: "The Holy Spirit is sent by the Son; therefore, He is not sent by the Son in a servile manner," since his words were: "Who is from Him and proper to Him." And so, according to the given sense of Cyril's words, this is his argumentation: "The Holy Spirit is from the Son, from the Son, I say, that is, given to us from the substance of the Son; therefore, He is not given in a servile manner, as something foreign to the Son of God." Would arguing thus truly be frivolous, absurd, or ridiculous? So much so that the Jesuit insists that only his sense can absurdly hold here.

But further, on the words of Cyril from Book X on John, the same Jesuit presses:

> *'He exists from the Son' (ek tou Huiou esti). But that whole discussion proves that this must be interpreted as essential (ousiodes); also because he joined 'in whom' (en ho) with 'from whom' (ex hou). But 'in whom' indicates the substantial existence of the Spirit in the Son. Therefore, 'from whom' will also express a substantial procession from the same.*

But when Cyril says there that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, could this not be understood only in the sense of a principle? The purpose of that entire discussion is to show that the Holy Spirit is not foreign to the Son, but consubstantial with Him; but how would this not follow from the fact that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, from the Son, I say, that is, given to us from the substance of the Son? Further, just as 'in whom' signifies the substantial existence of the Holy Spirit in the Son, that is, that the Holy Spirit is in the substance of the Son, so too 'from whom' likewise signifies that the Holy Spirit is sent substantially and naturally, that is, given to us from the substance of the Son. But it is false that 'from whom' signifies, as the Jesuit's mind holds, an eternal substantial procession. There is no reason for such a consequence. Nor is there any necessity for the Jesuit to conjoin these, as is clear from the words of Cyril just cited from Book V on John, Chapter II. For what he had said thus far—that the Spirit is in the Son and given to creatures through the Son—he then inferred thus:

> *The Spirit is in the Son and through the Son.*

Does this then also signify a substantial procession because ‘in the Son’ signifies the substantial existence of the Holy Spirit in the Son? Cyril himself admitted that the sense of these words is: “Who is in Him and given through the Son.”

Cichovius (Response)

Someone, having cited passages from Book IV against Nestorius together with these from the same place (Question II, p. 21):

> *The Lord Jesus Christ pours forth the Holy Spirit from His fullness, as does the Father,*

adds:

> *Note that the passages first cited sufficiently imply that the Holy Spirit could not be given to us by the Son if He did not proceed from Him, or if He were not proper to Him as He is to the Father.*

But how would the Son not give the Holy Spirit to us equally as the Father, since He has the same Spirit proper to His substance, unless the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son? The Holy Spirit is proper to both the Son and the Father; but it does not follow from this that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son, as has been shown in a special treatise.

The same author, further, having cited the words from Thesaurus, Assertion XXXIV, p. 350, adds:

> *From which a clear argument is drawn. In the sense in which the Son said of the Holy Spirit, ‘He will take from what is Mine,’ in the same sense honey would say these words about the sweetness inseparably proceeding from it. But honey would say these words about sweetness as naturally and essentially proceeding from it (both propositions are Cyril’s, as is clear to the reader). Therefore, according to Cyril, it is as certain that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as it is certain that sweetness proceeds from honey.*

But first, Cyril’s words are indeed that Christ says of the Holy Spirit, “He will take from what is Mine,” as honey would say about its natural quality. But it is not therefore Cyril’s intention that the Son and the Spirit

universally agree with honey and its natural quality, but at least in one respect. Otherwise, if this were understood universally, many absurdities would follow. Nor are Cyril's words: "As honey would say about its natural quality, or sweetness, proceeding from it," but only: "As if honey were to say about its natural quality innate to it." And so, just as sweetness is innate to honey, it would at least follow from this that the Holy Spirit is in the substance of the Son, not that He also proceeds from the Son. Further, it cannot be said by any reason that a natural quality is produced by its subject: for example, the sweetness that is in this or that honey is not produced by that honey; but rather, the subject and its natural quality are produced by that which produces the subject. Thus, visibility is naturally in a human, but Peter or Paul did not produce visibility; rather, it was produced by that which produced them. And Cyril indeed adds:

> *With the quality of substances passing into those things that inseparably proceed from them,*

(for they "proceed," he says, as the Greek words have it, not "are produced")

> *as sweetness from honey, heat from fire, coolness from water,*

that is, with the quality of honey, for example, passing into the sweetness that inseparably proceeds from it. But the word "proceed" does not signify "to be produced," as if his sense were that sweetness is produced by honey, but at least that sweetness manifests itself from honey, just as heat manifests itself from fire and coolness from water.

They further object that Cyril teaches that the Holy Spirit naturally and in a manner befitting God proceeds from the Son. In Book X on John, near the end, Tome IV, p. 925:

> *The Holy Spirit is not understood as foreign to the substance of the Only-Begotten but naturally proceeds from it, being nothing other than what He is, as pertains to the identity of nature, although He is understood to subsist in His own subsistence.*

In Book XI, Chapter I, p. 929:

> *Since the Spirit is consubstantial with the Son and proceeds through Him in a manner befitting God, possessing all His most perfect power*

and efficacy in all things, He therefore says: 'Because He will take from what is Mine.'

In Thesaurus, Assertion XXXIV, p. 345, Tome V, Part I:

When, therefore, the Holy Spirit, existing in us, makes us conform to God, and proceeds from both the Father and the Son, it is perfectly clear that He is of the divine nature, substantially in it and proceeding from it, just as, indeed, the breath proceeds from a human mouth, though this is a small and not entirely apt example.

And p. 344:

The Holy Spirit does not speak from His own will, nor from a will foreign to Him from whom and in whom He is; but as naturally proceeding from His substance, He possesses His entire will and operation.

Response

However, there were heretics who blasphemed that the Holy Spirit was supplied to us by the Savior as a minister or instrument. Therefore, targeting these, Cyril frequently says that the Holy Spirit proceeds substantially, naturally, and in a manner befitting God from the Son. He mentions these, among other places, in Book IX on John, Tome IV, p. 810, saying:

However, to those who think the Son is foreign to the substance of God and the Father, someone may rightly say: 'How, I ask, does the Father give the Spirit of truth, that is, of the Son, not as something foreign or alien, but as His proper Spirit, when, according to you, the Word has a substance distinct from Him, and no one doubts that the Spirit is of the Son?' Again: 'How, if the Son is of another substance, does the Father give His Spirit as His own?' For it is written that He breathed on His disciples, saying: 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' Will anyone not rightly think, indeed firmly believe, that since the Son is substantially a participant in the natural goods of God and the Father, He has the Spirit in the same way as the Father is thought to have Him, not as something adventitious or from outside—for it is madness to think so—but just as each of us contains our own spirit within ourselves and pours it forth from our innermost being to the outside?

> *Therefore, Christ breathed bodily: showing by this sign that just as the Spirit proceeds bodily from a human mouth, so too from the divine substance, in a manner congruent with deity, the Spirit, who is from Him, is poured forth.*

Cyril also targets these heretics elsewhere. Thus, in Book on the Right Faith to Theodosius with the words cited above:

> *He does not send the Holy Spirit to those who are baptized in a servile manner, as a minister, but as God by nature with supreme power: because He is from Him and proper to Him, through whom also the divine character is imprinted.*

And so too elsewhere frequently. Therefore, asserting the Catholic truth against these heretics, Cyril frequently says: naturally, substantially, not in the manner of a minister, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, not as something foreign to the Son is given, that is, the Spirit is given to us by the Son from His nature and substance, not as something foreign. Thus, the Jesuit Petavius accomplishes nothing when, in Book VII on the Trinity, Chapter III, number 9, pressing on the words first cited from Thesaurus, Assertion XXXIV, he says:

> *This procession of the Holy Spirit cannot be imagined as anything other than substantial, by which He is said to proceed from the Father and the Son (ek Patros kai Huiou), as he then interprets, saying 'substantially proceeding from Him' (ousiodes ex autes proion); so that to proceed from the Father and the Son is the same as to proceed from the substance of the Father and the Son. Therefore, since He proceeds substantially (ousiodes), that is, substantially from the substance of both, it will follow that He proceeds substantially from the Father and the Son.*

For, as has been shown, when Cyril says, "proceeding substantially from it," he speaks only of the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, by which He is poured forth upon us from the divine substance.

Cichovius (Further Response)

Another presses these same words of Cyril thus (Question I, p. 34):

> *Here, I ask, let the Greeks note that not only is it expressly said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but it is also proven. For it is proven that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father and the Son by this, that He proceeds substantially from the Father and the Son; therefore, he presupposes as a more certain principle that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; otherwise, he would prove the unknown by the unknown, and what is certain (even among the Photians) by what is uncertain to them, indeed, according to them, false and heretical.*

But first, nowhere in that place does Cyril say: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son." For his very words were at least: "He proceeds from the Father and the Son," by which he speaks at least of the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit. Further, he proves that the Holy Spirit is from the divine essence, or enjoys the divine essence (for these are Cyril's words):

> *Because He proceeds substantially from the divine essence;*

not:

> *Because He proceeds substantially from the Father and the Son,*

proceeds, I say. How, therefore, does he here presuppose as a more certain and better-known principle that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son? It is false, then, that Cyril proves the unknown by the unknown and the certain by the uncertain. For if the Holy Spirit proceeds naturally or substantially from the divine essence when He is sent to us, it is necessary that the Holy Spirit be of the divine essence. Where, I ask, is the certain proven by the uncertain, or the unknown by the unknown?

And the same author continues:

> *Let them also note that this argument would be weak unless it resolves into this principle: 'From whomever the Holy Spirit proceeds, He is consubstantial with Him.' For this reason, He is said to be from the essence of the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son. If, therefore, He does not proceed from the Son, He is not from the essence of the Son, and consequently, He is not consubstantial with the Son.*

But it is false that otherwise Cyril's argument would be weak unless it resolves into this principle, as has just been shown. Likewise, it is false that the Holy Spirit is said to be from the essence of the Father and the Son, or of the same essence as the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from the Father and the Son. For Cyril demonstrates this in the cited place because He proceeds from the Father and the Son: for He could not proceed or be sent from the divine essence unless He enjoyed the same divine essence as the Father and the Son. Thus, by the same reasoning, at least through the mission made to us, Cyril frequently teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son.

In Book II on John, Chapter I, p. 125:

> *How, therefore, shall we separate the Spirit from the Son, who is so innate to Him, so substantially conjoined, and proceeds through Him, and is so naturally in Him that, because of the identity of nature, nothing other than Him can be understood?*

In Book X, p. 910:

> *When He had called the Spirit of truth, that is, His own, He said that He proceeds from the Father: for as He is His proper Spirit naturally, existing in Him and proceeding through Him, so too He is of the Father.*

And p. 926:

> *But He would not predict future things unless He were entirely in Me and proceeded through Me and were of the same substance as Me.*

In Book XI, p. 987:

> *In Your Word and through whom also the sanctifying Spirit proceeds.*

And p. 993:

> *The Spirit is not something other than the Son in terms of substance, who is in Him and proceeds through Him.*

The title of Chapter I, Book XI, p. 928, also has:

> *That the Holy Spirit is naturally from God and in the Son, and through Him, and in His substance.*

Similar things are found in Book V on John, Chapter II; Book XI, Chapters I and II; Book XII, p. 1095, with words cited elsewhere. Finally, in Book on the Right Faith to the Queens, Part I of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, Tome III of the Councils, column 302:

> *Vivification must be attributed, and indeed by the most deserved right, not to the nature of the body itself, although it was proper to the Word born from God; but rather to the supreme power and nature surpassing all created things, as from the person of God and the Father, from whom the Son, equal and like Him in all things, shone forth, and the vivifying Spirit proceeds through both.*

But concerning these last, the Jesuit Petavius presses in the cited place:

> *Just as the procession of the Son, about which Cyril speaks here, is entirely understood as His natural production from the Father, so too the procession of the Holy Spirit from both, which he adds, must be seen as natural.*

But by what argument, I ask, does the Jesuit prove this consequence? By none, indeed. Can Cyril's words not truly and fittingly be explained thus:

> *The Savior vivified His flesh, as He is true God, so that vivification is also fitting to the Father, from whom, namely, the Son was begotten; but the Holy Spirit also vivifies, since He is sent to us through both, namely the Father and the Son, or from the essence of both?*

Further, the Jesuit Petavius objects from Book VI of the Dialogues on the Trinity:

> *Then, how does the Son dwell in us through the Holy Spirit? Or how does what is better by nature bring about participation in what is lesser through itself? For if we are made participants in the divine nature when we receive the Spirit, how does the Holy Spirit have a secondary status from the Son? Or how is He better than Him, and not rather, as Himself and from Him, possessing all His efficacy and generating participation in Him?*

And Petavius adds:

> *Here he says the Holy Spirit exists from the Son (par' autou), namely, and has His efficacy from Him, which can only happen by natural production.*

But Cyril's very words, according to the Greek text, Tome V, Part I, p. 598, do not have: "Having all His efficacy from Him," but:

> *The Spirit, His Spirit, having all His operation from Him.*

Therefore, the Jesuit could not take it that Cyril teaches that all that the Holy Spirit has, or all His energy, the Holy Spirit has from the Son. For these: "The Spirit from the Son," Cyril distinguishes from the following: "Having all the Son's efficacy." Further, when Cyril says that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, his sense, according to what we have discussed above, is that the Holy Spirit is not better than the Son, but is given from Him, and has all His efficacy.

Further, Beccus objects from Book II of the Thesaurus:

> *The Spirit is entirely proper to the substance of the Son and does not subsist from outside.*

Does it therefore follow that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son because He is proper to the substance of the Son and does not subsist from outside? Indeed, since the Holy Spirit dwells or rests and remains in the substance of the Son, one God with the Father and the Son, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit does not subsist from outside the Son. But this has already been discussed elsewhere. They finally object from Book XI on John:

> *The Holy Spirit, indeed proceeding from the very substance of God and the Father, but poured forth upon those worthy of receiving Him through the consubstantial Word, and shining forth from Him by reason of expression, namely, which subsists through Himself and remains in Him, and is always conjointly and simultaneously, and, so to speak, distinctly.*

From this, Bellarmine, in Book II on Christ, Chapter XXV, says:

> *Could Saint Cyril have said more clearly that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? For we understand by procession from the Son that the*

Holy Spirit has His being and subsistence from the Son, which Cyril expressly affirms.

But if we look at the Greek text, Cyril's words are thus:

The Holy Spirit, indeed proceeding from the very substance of God the Father, but poured forth upon those worthy of receiving through the consubstantial Word, and shining forth from Him by reason of expression, namely, with respect to being according to Himself, and remaining in Him, and always existing conjointly and simultaneously, and, so to speak, distinctly.

And so too the Latin translation of this place is thus, Tome IV of the Greek-Latin edition of his works, p. 987. For when Cyril says in the Greek text:

And shining forth from Him (kai ex autou pephenotos), and remaining, and existing in Him (kai menontos, kai ontos en auto),

he does not understand this of the Holy Spirit, but of the Son. For he says in the genitive case:

And shining forth (kai pephenotos), and remaining (kai menontos), and existing (kai ontos).

But he had said before:

The Spirit proceeding from the Father (pneuma prokupton ek Patros), poured forth through the Son consubstantial (cheomenon de Huiou homoousion).

And he adds:

And shining forth from Him (kai pephenotos ex autou), etc.

How, therefore, could those words in the genitive case be construed and conjoined with the words "proceeding" (prokupton) and "poured forth" (cheomenon), which are in the nominative or accusative case? He says, namely: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is poured forth by the consubstantial Son with the Father, and shining forth from Him and

remaining and existing in Him." How, therefore, would these last words pertain to the Holy Spirit and not rather to the Son? Further, that this is Cyril's sense is clear from the preceding and following words of Cyril. For his purpose in that place is to show that the Holy Spirit is not given by the Son only as a minister, but as the proper Spirit of the Son; because, since the Holy Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Father, and the Son is born from the Father and always exists in the Father, it is necessary that the same Spirit of the Father is also the proper Spirit of the Son. And from this he says:

> *Therefore, that Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, but is poured forth upon men through the Son consubstantial with the Father, and shining forth from Him and always existing in Him;*

thus again taking up the reason why the Son sends the Spirit as proper, not as a minister. For his complete words are thus:

> *The Spirit is proper to God the Father; nevertheless, He is no less proper to the Son, not as if He were different and another from another, or understood and inherent separately in each, but because the Son is from the Father and in the Father according to nature, since He is the true fruit of His Father's substance, He claims the Spirit as proper to Himself according to nature, proceeding indeed from the Father, but delivered to the creature through the Son Himself, not as through a minister or servant, but, as I just said, proceeding indeed from the very substance of God and the Father, but poured forth upon those worthy of receiving Him through the consubstantial Word (namely with the Father) and shining forth from Him by reason of expression, namely, because He subsists through Himself, and remaining in Him and always existing, conjointly and simultaneously, and, so to speak, distinctly.*

And immediately he adds:

> *For we say that the Son exists hypostatically and in turn is in His generator, and has His generator in Himself. Because the Spirit of the Father is the Spirit of the Son and of the Father who sends, or who promises to give Him to the saints. Again, the Son gives Him as proper because of the identity of substance that He has with the Father, and in all things He openly signified that He works with the Father through Him.*

Saying, therefore:

> *We say hypostatically that the Son exists and in turn is in His generator, and has His generator in Himself,*

he explains with these what he had just said; namely, that the Son is in the Father and subsists through Himself, and he shows by this reasoning that he had just affirmed the same about the Son. Therefore, those last words from the objections must be understood only of the Son. And from this, he further pursues the argument in what follows, by which he had proven that the Son gives the Holy Spirit as His proper Spirit; namely, because the Holy Spirit is the proper Spirit of the Father, and because the substance of the Father and the Son is the same. So far, therefore, the Latin interpreters in the Parisian edition of Cyril of 1575 err completely with Bellarmine, when they interpret what was said of the Son in relation to the Father as being about the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son. So much for Cyril.

From Anastasius of Sinai

They object first from Anastasius of Sinai in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith:

> *For Christ, showing that the Holy Spirit exists from Himself, breathing on the disciples, said: 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'*

But the sense of Anastasius is clear from the entire passage, if it is read, as found in Tome VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, Part I, p. 697:

> *Neither is the Son understood without the Father, nor does the Father come without the Son, nor does the Holy Spirit exist without the Father and the Son together, as with mind and word. For the Lord, showing that the Holy Spirit exists from Himself, breathing on the disciples, said: 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' which the disciples themselves, with prayer and the laying on of hands, gave to believers, from which one can understand the difference between servitude and equality. For the apostles, praying and as if supplicating the Lord, gave the Holy Spirit to those who were worthy of His coming. But our Savior provided Him from Himself, as from a certain treasury, to those who had become worthy through the purity of life to receive His energy.*

Thus, when he had said that the Savior, showing that the Holy Spirit exists from Himself, breathed on the disciples, and that the disciples gave the Spirit with prayer, he adds:

> *From these, namely from what I just said, the difference between equality and servitude is shown;*

namely, while the apostles gave the Holy Spirit by praying, the Son provided Him from Himself as from a treasury. Therefore, since Anastasius draws this difference according to what was said before, it is necessary that he had premised the same; and so, when he said that the Holy Spirit exists from Christ, his sense, as he adds, is that the Holy Spirit is given from Christ; or that the Son gives the Holy Spirit to the worthy from Himself as from a certain treasury.

Further, Beccus objects from the cited Book I of Anastasius on the Dogmas of Faith:

> *For by this comparison, the Spirit of His mouth, namely of God, is called the Holy Spirit, while the mouth is the Only-Begotten; and again, the Holy Spirit proceeding from Him and sent not only by the Father but also by the Son.*

And Bellarmine cites these thus:

> *Again, the Spirit Himself proceeds from Him and is sent not only by the Father but also by the Son,*

so that the sense is:

> *The Holy Spirit proceeds and is sent not only by the Father but also by the Son.*

But in Tome VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers, p. 696, the words are thus:

> *The Spirit of His mouth, that is, of God, is called the Holy Spirit, but the mouth is the Only-Begotten. And again, the Spirit proceeding from Him and sent not only by the Father but by the Son.*

By which, indeed, the Son is joined to the Father in the mission of the Holy Spirit, but by no means in what he says: “Proceeding from Him.” For it is false to interpret “proceeding from Him” as referring to the Son, since this must be referred to God, as he had premised:

> *The Spirit of His mouth, that is, of God, or the Spirit of God’s mouth is called the Holy Spirit; but the mouth, namely of God, is the Only-Begotten.*

The same author further contends that the word “mission” here signifies the eternal procession; although Anastasius himself, to prove that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Father and the Son, adds:

> *As the Lord says: ‘The Paraclete whom the Father will send to you,’ and again: ‘If I go, I will send Him to you.’*

These, indeed, speak of the temporal mission. Therefore, what he had just said, that the Holy Spirit is sent by the Father and the Son, must at least be understood as referring to the same.

Further, when Anastasius says here that the Holy Spirit is of the mouth of God, but the Son is the mouth, Bellarmine objects:

> *He indicates clearly enough, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, who is called the mouth of God; just as the spirit of our mouth is breathed from our mouth.*

That is, if the Son is the mouth of God, and the Spirit is breathed from our mouth, the Holy Spirit is breathed from the Son. But the Spirit indeed proceeds from our mouth, but is not produced by it, as is clear to anyone. You will say, if the Son is the mouth of God, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. But this very argument we have already refuted after the beginning of this treatise.

Finally, Bellarmine objects those words of Anastasius:

> *To teach that there is one essence both of Him who receives and of Him from whom He receives, and also of Him from whom He proceeds.*

And he adds:

> *Where by Him who receives the essence, he understands the Spirit; by Him from whom He receives, the Son; by Him from whom He proceeds, the Father. But if the Spirit receives the essence from the Son, what more do we require? For the question should not be about the word 'proceeds,' since the matter itself is clear.*

But Anastasius indeed said that the Holy Spirit receives from the Son; nowhere, however, that He also receives the essence from the Son. The reason why the Holy Spirit is said to receive from the Son has been shown in a special treatise.

From Severus of Alexandria

In the Ritual of the Syrians, the Creed of Severus of Alexandria is read with the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But it has been shown in the treatise on corruptions in the writings of the Eastern Fathers that these words are corrupted.

From the Second Council of Nicaea

They further object that in the Seventh Ecumenical Council, the Creed was read with the addition. But it has been shown in the treatise cited that this was read corruptly in Latin.

From John of Damascus

They object from John of Damascus' History of Barlaam and Josaphat:

> *Know that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

But again, it has been shown in the cited treatise that these are corrupted. They further object from Book I of the Orthodox Faith, Chapter XVIII:

> *The Holy Spirit is the mediator between the unbegotten and the begotten, and conjoined to the Father through the Son.*

But the reason why the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son is the same as why He is said to be conjoined to the

Father through the Son; namely, that He does not proceed before the Son, but proceeds from the Father after the Son is begotten, as discussed at length above. For according to the teaching of Saint John of Damascus, the Holy Spirit accompanies the Son. Thus, in Book I of the Orthodox Faith:

> *It is not possible for the Holy Spirit to be separated either from God in whom He is or from the Word whom He accompanies.*

Thus, again, because of this order by which the Holy Spirit accompanies the Son and does not precede Him, the Holy Spirit could be said to be conjoined to the Father through the Son, so that it was by no means necessary for this to hold because of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Cichovius (Further Objection)

Someone objects (Question IV, p. 40):

> *He suggests the same when, in Book I of the Faith, Chapter XI, he teaches that the divine persons are distinguished according to the concept of cause and caused (tes aitias kai tou aitiatou). And when in his Oration against the Manichees and Oration III on Images, fol. 770, he likens the divine persons to the rose plant, the flower, and the sweetness of the fragrance of both. And when in Book I of the Faith, Chapter VII, he says that it is abhorrent to piety to say that the Holy Spirit comes to the Word from outside (as He would come if He did not proceed from Him). And when in the same place he says that the Word has never lacked the Spirit, nor the Father the Word. And when in the same book, Chapter XVIII, he says that the Holy Spirit is conjoined with the Father through the Son. And when in Book I of the Faith, Chapter IX, and in the Oration on the Nativity of the Most Blessed Virgin, and in the Hymn on Pentecost, he calls the Son the only one from the only one. In the Hymn, he sings thus: 'King of kings, the only one from the only one, the only Word proceeding from the uncaused Father' (anax anaktōn, hoios ex hoiou, monos logos proelthōn patros ex anaitiou). Here the Son is called the king of kings, the only one from the only one; which would be false if the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the only Father. For the Son cannot be called the only king of*

> *kings when the Holy Spirit is also a king of kings, as equal in power and dominion to the Father and the Son. Therefore, no other sense of these words can be assigned except that the Son is the king of kings, the only one produced from the only Father.*

But first, regarding those from Book I of the Faith, Chapter XI, where he teaches that the persons are distinguished according to the concept of cause and caused, we have already discussed this in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning the words of Gregory of Nyssa; where it was shown from the very words of John of Damascus that the sense of this proposition is that the Father is the cause, the Son is the caused begotten, and the Holy Spirit is the caused proceeding. Then, when Damascus likens the divine persons to the rose plant, the flower, and the sweetness of the fragrance of both, nothing else is gathered from this than that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both, namely the Father and the Son; not that He proceeds from the Son or from both. Further, it is false that the Holy Spirit comes to the Son from outside unless He proceeds from Him, as has been shown above concerning similar words of Athanasius and Cyril. Again, how would the fact that the Holy Spirit has never lacked the Son be an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son? Indeed, since God the Father produced the Son and the Holy Spirit together before all ages, how could the Holy Spirit not have lacked the Son unless He also proceeded from the Son? Also, in the objected place, Damascus did not say this for that reason, but to show that the Holy Spirit does not have a principle, saying:

> *The Holy Spirit is according to hypostasis, having neither principle nor end: for the Word has never lacked the Father, etc.*

Regarding the words of Damascus where he says that the Holy Spirit is conjoined with the Father through the Son, this has just been discussed. Then, in Book I of the Faith, Chapter IX, he does not simply say: “The Son is the only one from the only one,” but:

> *The Son is singularly begotten from the only Father; and hence He is called the Only-Begotten.*

Does the Jesuit not absurdly object to us: “The Son is singularly begotten from the only Father; therefore, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from

the only Father”? By the same sense, therefore, in the Oration on the Nativity of the Most Blessed Virgin and in the Hymn on Pentecost, he calls the Son the only one from the only one; namely, that He alone is begotten from the only Father, since all others who are called sons are never begotten from the only Father. How, therefore, would it be false to say in this sense that the Son is the only one from the only one, if the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the only Father? For the Holy Spirit is not begotten from the only Father, but proceeds.

But the Jesuit presses:

> *For the Son cannot be called the only king of kings, since the Holy Spirit is also a king of kings.*

True; but what follows from this?

> *Therefore, no other sense can be assigned except that He is the king of kings, the only one produced from the only Father.*

But what is the consequence of this? Can the Son not still rightly be called the king of kings, even though the Holy Spirit is also a king of kings, as the only one from the only one, in the sense that the Son of God, and no other, is the king of kings begotten from the only Father? Therefore, it is false that no other sense of those words can be assigned except the one the Jesuit praised.

Cichovius (Further Objection) (Question II, p. 24)

The same author further objects:

> *Similarly, in the Eighth Synod, which restored Ignatius to the throne of Constantinople after deposing Photius, the Creed was read with these words: ‘I believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son’; which, however, even Photius, an enemy of the Roman Church, did not reprove, as was shown in the Council of Florence, as published in the Tomes of the Councils.*

All this is utterly false. For if the acts of this Eighth Synod are examined, it will not even appear that the Constantinopolitan Creed was read there, let alone that it was read with the common addition: “and the Son”

(Filioque). Similarly, if the acts of the Council of Florence, published in both Greek and Latin, are examined, not a trace or vestige will be found of it having been shown there that the Creed was read with the addition in the Eighth Synod in which Photius was deposed.

Finally, from the tenth century, they object from Simeon Metaphrastes, whose words are these:

> *My Christ ascended into heaven and returns to the paternal throne, and sends the Spirit proceeding from Him to the sons, that they might be leaders of the unbelieving nations.*

These are indeed taken from Metaphrastes' Life of Dionysius the Areopagite, among the works of the same Dionysius, p. 323. But in the Greek, it does not say:

The Spirit proceeding from Him (to ekporeuomenon ex autou pneuma),

but at least:

The Spirit proceeding, His Spirit (to ekporeuomenon autou pneuma).

Here, there is no necessity that the word "His" (autou) be construed with "proceeding" (ekporeuomenon); but it could equally be construed with "Spirit" (pneuma). So that the sense is: "The Spirit proceeding, His Spirit." Thus far, therefore, the Latins accomplish nothing when they object that among the Greeks, "proceeding, His" (ekporeuomenon autou) is the same as "proceeding from Him" (ekporeuomenon ex autou). But even if the word "His" (autou) is construed with "proceeding" (ekporeuomenon), it is still not necessarily understood of the Son; rather, it can entirely be taken of the paternal throne, which Metaphrastes had just mentioned, so that the sense of those words is: "The Son returns to the paternal throne and sends the Spirit proceeding from it, the paternal throne, to the sons." Likewise, at the end of the ninth century and thereafter, the Easterners always believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone; indeed, they censured the Latins for the contrary opinion, as shown in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers up to the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus, there is no doubt that in the time of Metaphrastes, the Eastern Church itself believed in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, to fulfill the promise made above, we note, regarding the words of Maximus the Martyr on Chapter IV of Zechariah:

> *The Holy Spirit, just as He is according to the essence of God and the Father, so too He is of the Son according to essence, as proceeding essentially from the Father through the Son ineffably.*

Here, someone objects (Cichovius, Question VI, p. 60):

> *It must be noted here, beyond the words of the Holy Martyr, in which he openly professes that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, that his discourse itself greatly supports the point. For this Holy Father assigns the reason why the Holy Spirit is according to the essence of the Son as He is of the Father: namely, because He proceeds (ekporeuetai) from the Father through the Son. Second, it must be noted that the evasions of the Photians are excluded here. For when it is said that He proceeds essentially through the Son, and therefore is according to the essence of the Son by nature (not by gift, not by favor, not by good pleasure), as He is of the Father, this cannot be explained by an action ad extra without manifest error. But when it is said 'proceeds' (ekporeuetai), it cannot be said that 'through' (dia) signifies this, for the sense would be that the Holy Spirit is breathed or produced (ekporeutos) by the Son, which is false, since procession (ekporeusis) is appropriated to the Holy Spirit as generation is to the Son.*

But first, how it does not help the Latins that the Fathers teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, we have already seen at the beginning of this treatise. Further, from the fact that the Holy Spirit, after the Son is begotten, proceeds from the same Father, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit is equally the Spirit of both the Father and the Son; but from this, again, it is not necessary that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son if He is the proper Spirit of the Father and the Son. But this has already been discussed in a special treatise.

Further, when Saint Maximus says that the Holy Spirit proceeds according to nature from the Father through the Son ineffably begotten, he entirely understands an action ad intra; but, as has been said, it has already been shown above how in this sense the Holy Spirit is said to

proceed from the Father through the Son. Finally, when it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the sense of these words is given here:

The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father with the Son;

it is understood, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father with the Son begotten. How, therefore, would it follow from this that the Son proceeds equally, and is not begotten?

And so far concerning those things that the Latins object from the Eastern Fathers.

TRACTATE XVI

In which it is shown that the remaining arguments of the Latins do not prove the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son

Besides the testimonies of Sacred Scripture and the Fathers, the Latins further propose various arguments which, in order to be equally refuted, remain to be addressed. First, it is clear what should be thought of these arguments from the fact that Peter of Ailly, himself a Latin, explicitly admits that the reasons of this kind proposed by his own side prove nothing. For thus he writes in Book I of the Sentences, Distinction XI, Question VIII:

> *The Holy Spirit proceeds naturally from the Father and the Son. Some attempt to prove this conclusion with arguments, but I simply say that this cannot be proven by reason, and all the arguments that might be made for it could easily be refuted.*

What solid hope, then, can be placed in arguments that even the Latins themselves reject? But let us examine them individually.

Latin Argument I

The argument they primarily rely on, following Thomas Aquinas, is this: The Persons of the Godhead differ from one another at least by opposed relations. The Son and the Holy Spirit would not differ by an opposed relation unless the Son were a principle of the Holy Spirit. However, this very argument of Thomas Aquinas is rejected by other Latins. It is refuted by Scotus in Book I of the Sentences, Distinction XI. John of Rada speaks similarly in Part I of Controversies between Thomas and Scotus, Controversy XV, Article 2: This opinion (namely, Scotus's, opposed to

Thomas) is held by Henry in Quodlibet V; Aureolus, as reported by Capreolus in the place cited above; Dionysius the Carthusian in Distinction XI, Question I; Ockham, Gabriel in the same distinction; Gregory; and all the disciples of Scotus. Namely, it is false that, for the Son and the Holy Spirit to differ as persons, there must be a difference of cause and caused between the Son and the Holy Spirit, as we will demonstrate below.

First, let us hear Thomas himself proving this very point. In Book I, Question XXXVI, Article 2, he says:

> *This is clear because the Father has two relations, one referring to the Son and another to the Holy Spirit. However, since these are not opposed, they do not constitute two persons but pertain only to the one person of the Father. If, therefore, in the Son and the Holy Spirit there were only two relations by which each refers to the Father, those relations would not be opposed to each other, just as the two relations by which the Father refers to them are not opposed. Hence, just as the person of the Father is one, it would follow that the person of the Son and the Holy Spirit would be one, having two relations opposed to the two relations of the Father.*

Response I

It is certain that the relations of the Father, by which he refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit, constitute one person, not two. However, this is not simply because the Father's relations are not opposed, but because they are not opposed in such a way that they cancel each other out, but can coexist in one subject. For if certain non-opposed relations cancel each other out, they cannot possibly coexist in one person. For affirmation and negation of the same thing about the same subject, or the reason for the same, cannot hold. Therefore, Thomas could not argue from the relations of the Father to the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For those relations are non-opposed and do not cancel each other out, whereas these relations, though non-opposed, do cancel each other out, as will become clear from what follows. But if Thomas simply meant that the relations of the Father constitute one person because they are not opposed, and from this inferred: The relations of the Father are not opposed; the relations of the Father make one person; therefore,

relations that are not opposed make one person, who does not see that Thomas is committing a fallacy of consequence? For in the third figure, only a particular conclusion can be inferred, in this manner: Therefore, some relations that are not opposed constitute one person. It is thus clear that from the single example of the Father, it cannot be universally inferred that non-opposed relations constitute one person, not two.

Response II

Moreover, it is absurd for Thomas to argue from the relations of the Father, by which he refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit, to the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father. This is evident for the following reason: The relation of the Son to the Father is to be begotten. The relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father is to proceed. Now, the procession of the Holy Spirit is not to be begotten, as the dogma of the Catholic Church holds and as the Latins themselves admit. For if the Holy Spirit were also begotten, he would also be a Son, which is impossible, since we believe in one Son, not two. Hence, Justin Martyr in his Exposition of the Faith, p. 380, says:

> *The Holy Spirit, light from light, proceeds not generatively but processionally.*

Athanasius, in Dialogue III against Macedonius:

> *The Son is generated from the essence and is therefore the only-begotten Son. The Spirit, however, proceeds from the essence: for it is written, 'The Spirit proceeds from me,' not 'is generated.' And the Son says: The Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, not who is generated.*

Ephrem the Syrian, in his Sermon on His Confession:

> *Moreover, the Holy Spirit is not begotten but proceeds. Again: When the Father wished to have another comforter, he did not beget him but produced the Holy Spirit from his substance.*

Gregory the Theologian, Oration XXIX:

The Holy Spirit is truly a Spirit proceeding from the Father, not in the manner of filiation, but of procession.

And in Oration XXXVII:

He who proceeds from the Father is not a creature; insofar as he is not something begotten, he is not a Son.

And in Oration XXXI:

Though not from the Father as the Son, he is nevertheless from the same Father.

Epiphanius, in Heresy LXXVI:

The Holy Spirit comes from the Father and is not begotten, because the Son is the only-begotten.

Caesarius, in Dialogue I:

The divine and most holy Spirit is not begotten but proceeds.

Amphilochius, among his Sentences and Excerpts:

I do not call the procession of the Spirit a generation.

Chrysostom, in his Homily on the Holy Spirit:

What is ‘proceeds’? He did not say ‘is begotten,’ for what is not written should not be thought.

Augustine, in Book II of On the Trinity:

Since the Son is from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, why are they not both called sons, nor both begotten, but the one the only-begotten, and the other, the Holy Spirit, neither a son nor begotten? For if he were begotten, he would surely be a son.

Elsewhere, if God grants, we will discuss this as far as He grants. He says similar things in On Faith and the Creed and in Book III against Maximinus, Chapter XV. Cyril, or whoever the author is, in On the Trinity, Chapter X:

The one Holy Spirit, namely the Spirit proceeding from the Father, not in the manner of filiation but processionally.

And in Chapter VIII:

Even if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it is not in the manner of generation but of procession. Again: The Holy Spirit alone, from the essence of the Father, is not begotten but proceeds.

And in Chapter IX:

The Holy Spirit is indeed from the Father, but not generatively, but processionally.

Fulgentius, in On Faith to Peter, Chapter I:

It is one thing to beget than to be begotten; it is another to proceed than to beget or to be begotten.

What Cyril had in Chapter X of On the Trinity, John Damascene repeats in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter XI. And what we cited from Chapter VIII of the same book on the Trinity in the second place, Damascene has in Chapter IX. Likewise, in Chapter VIII:

The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father through the Son, as He Himself knows, is not generative.

He says similar things in his Letter on the Trisagion and in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter X. Finally, Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his Letter to Leo III:

The Holy Spirit has existence from the Father, not by generation but by procession.

Therefore, to proceed is not to beget, and thus the begetting of the Son is not the proceeding of the Spirit.

Now, it is impossible for one person to be both begotten and not begotten, or to proceed and not proceed, from one and the same. Therefore, it is necessary that to be begotten and not to be begotten, or to proceed and not to proceed, be said of two persons from one and the same. Therefore,

the passive generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from one and the same Father cannot coexist in one person, since, as stated, they cancel each other out. However, the relations by which the Father refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit are entirely different. For it is entirely possible for one and the same to beget one and not to beget but to produce another in a different way. Thus, the relations by which the Father refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit can coexist quite harmoniously in one person of the Father. How, then, would it follow, I ask: The non-opposed relations of the Father constitute one person; therefore, the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit also constitute one person, not two, unless the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished by other opposed relations? Or how could Thomas, by comparison, conclude: Just as the relations of the Father constitute at least one person, so too the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father, would make only one person unless they were distinguished by other opposed relations? For it is necessary that being begotten and proceeding show the Son and the Holy Spirit to be two distinct persons, even if they are not distinguished by other opposed relations, since it is impossible for one and the same to be begotten and not begotten, which proceeding implies.

Response III

Next, the mode of existence of the Holy Spirit, or his constitutive property, is procession, which is undisputed among all. But the mode of existence of the Son, or the constitutive property of his person, is not spiration or the production of the Holy Spirit; otherwise, this would belong only to the Son and not also to the Father. For the mode of subsistence and the constitutive property of a person constitute that person alone. Thus, just as a person is proper to one alone, so too the constitutive property of a person, or the mode of subsistence, can be proper to one person alone. But if the production of the Holy Spirit is not the constitutive property or mode of existence of the Son, it follows that the mode of existence or constitutive property of the Son’s person is solely filiation. Therefore, the mode of subsistence of the Holy Spirit is procession, and that of the Son is filiation, which are clearly distinct modes of subsistence. Hence, Justin Martyr, in his Exposition of the Faith, p. 380:

> *Just as the Son is from the Father, so too is the Holy Spirit, except that there is a certain difference in their mode of existence: the former, light from light, comes forth generatively; the latter, light from light, comes forth not generatively but processionally.*

Cyril of Alexandria, in Dialogue VII on the Trinity, Volume V, Part I, p. 640:

> *What the nature of the Spirit is must be diligently investigated, setting aside for now the property of names that do not indicate deity but signify the mode of existence of each, as understood by us. For the term 'Father' signifies that he has begotten; the term 'Son' declares that he is begotten; and further, that the Spirit is from God the Father, proper to him like our human spirit, though understood to subsist hypostatically, the term 'Spirit' declares.*

Maximus the Martyr, in his Scholia on Chapter II of Dionysius the Areopagite's On Divine Names:

> *He calls distinctions the self-subsisting, adorable existences, that is, the inexplicable splendor of the Son from the Father (or generation) and the inconceivable procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father.*

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I of On the Dogmas of Faith:

> *The difference between generation and procession does not indicate a difference in substance. For the difference in existence does not signify what it is to be, but how it is to be, while the substance remains the same as that from which it comes and of those who come from it, according to a different mode, that is, understanding.*

Therefore, as has been said, the mode of existence differs, but the reason of substance remains the same. The author of On the Trinity, Chapter VIII:

> *There is no other generation that can be compared to the generation of the Son of God, for there is no other Son of God. For even if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it is not in the manner of generation but of procession, which is another mode of existence, no less surpassing comprehension and knowledge than the generation of the Son.*

John Damascene repeats the same in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter IX. And in Chapter XIII:

> *All these things must be received as common to the whole divinity, and (so to speak) identically, simply, and indivisibly, universally. But distinctly: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—cause, caused, unbegotten, begotten, and proceeding—are not indicative of substance but of relations to one another and modes of subsistence.*

Finally, Theophanes Cerameus, Archbishop of Tauromenium, in Homily LVI:

> *Lest anyone suspect this mission to be servile, he explains the mode of existence, saying: 'The Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father.'*

Thus, it is clear to the eye that the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father, being different modes of existence, necessarily constitute not one but two perfectly distinct persons, even if they do not differ by other opposed relations. For from the mode of existence alone, a person is uniquely constituted as a perfect person, perfectly distinct from others. Therefore, with two different modes of existence posited, two perfect and perfectly distinct persons are necessarily posited. But since the relations of the Father, by which he refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit, are not two different modes of subsistence but one, and thus constitute only one person of the Father, it is further clear that Thomas could not argue from the relations by which the Father refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit to the relations by which the Son and the Holy Spirit refer to the Father, as if, just as the Father's relations constitute one person, so too the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit constitute one person unless they differ by other opposed relations. For since the Son's mode of existence is filiation, from filiation alone the Son is a perfect person and perfectly distinct from the other persons, including the Holy Spirit.

Response IV

Finally, the Holy Fathers, when teaching specifically what difference exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit, mention only the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, at least through the relations by which the Son and the Holy Spirit refer to the Father, they teach that two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are constituted

and differ from one another. Justin Martyr, in his Exposition of the Faith with the words cited above:

> *Just as the Son is from the Father, so too is the Holy Spirit, except that there is a certain difference in their mode of existence: the former, light from light, comes forth generatively; the latter, light from light, comes forth not generatively but processionally. Thus, we recognize the Trinity in unity and unity in the Trinity.*

To acknowledge the Trinity in unity, he posits no other difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit except that the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Therefore, the relations alone of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father, constitute two perfect persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit. As he adds: These relations are two different modes of subsistence. But two different modes of subsistence necessarily constitute two perfectly distinct persons. Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity:

> *The difference between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit lies not in nature, not in will, but in generating, being generated, producing, and proceeding. What is generating, being generated, producing, and proceeding? The Father generates, that is, has begotten the Son; the Son is generated, that is, has been begotten; the Father himself sends forth, that is, has sent forth the Spirit; the Spirit proceeds, that is, has proceeded. Is this the difference? Yes.*

Thus, Athanasius acknowledges no other difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit except that the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds, clearly teaching that the relations alone by which the Son and the Holy Spirit refer to the Father constitute two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Basil the Great, in his Letter to His Brother Gregory:

> *The Holy Spirit has this recognizable sign of his property: to be known in subsistence with the Son and to subsist from the Father. The Son, who knows the Spirit proceeding from the Father through himself and with himself, shines forth alone in the only-begotten manner from the unbegotten light, having no communion in the proper notions with the Father or the Holy Spirit.*

He posits no other difference by which the Holy Spirit differs from the Son except that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is known by

the Son, while the Son is generated from the Father, not that he also proceeds from the Son. Therefore, the relations alone of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father, constitute two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XXXVII, from these words:

> *That which is not begotten, and that which is begotten, and that which proceeds—this is what it means to be called another Father, another Son, another Holy Spirit, so that the unconfused distinction of the three persons is preserved in one nature and dignity of divinity.*

He expressly states that from generation and procession, the Son is called one and the Holy Spirit another, and thus the unconfused distinction of persons is preserved in one nature of divinity. Therefore, the relations of the Son and the Holy Spirit, by which they refer to the Father, constitute two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed:

> *To make a distinction of persons, the terms of affection are distinguished, by which the Father is understood as the one from whom all things come and who has no Father; the Son, as born from the Father; and the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the mouth of God and sanctifying all things.*

In explaining the distinctions of persons by which they are distinguished as different subsistences, he says the Son is born from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the mouth of God. Therefore, generation and procession constitute two different persons, not one. Cyril of Alexandria taught the same in Dialogue VII on the Trinity with the words cited above, calling the Son's mode of subsistence being begotten and the Holy Spirit's proceeding. For two different modes of subsistence necessarily constitute two different persons. Further, Cyril, or whoever the author is, in On the Trinity, Chapter IX:

> *Because of the Father, the Son and the Spirit have whatever they have, that is, they have it because of the Father, except for unbegottenness, generation, and procession. For in these subsistential properties alone do the three holy subsistences differ from one another, not in essence but in the character of their proper subsistence, indivisibly and without distinction.*

If the Holy Spirit and the Son differ only by generation and procession, it is clear that generation and procession necessarily constitute two perfect and perfectly distinct persons. Leontius, in On the Sects, Action I:

> *They differ only in this, that the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from him.*

If the Son and the Holy Spirit differ from one another at least by generation and procession from the Father, it is again clear that generation and procession alone necessarily constitute two perfect and perfectly distinct persons. Anastasius of Sinai, in Book of Questions, Question XXIV:

> *In the Holy Trinity, we understand three hypostases, unconfusedly united and perfectly subsisting. The divine Word, begotten before all ages from the Father, is inseparable from the one who begot him; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father.*

He teaches that three unconfused and perfectly subsisting persons are understood because of generation and procession from the Father. Therefore, generation and procession constitute two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit, perfectly distinct from one another, not one. As he also taught with the words cited above, when he said that the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit are two different modes of subsistence. The same was the opinion of Maximus the Martyr with the words cited there, when he called the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit two self-subsisting, adorable existences: for two self-subsisting existences necessarily posit two perfect persons, not one. The words of the author of On the Trinity are repeated by John Damascene in Book I of Orthodox Faith, Chapter X. And in Book III, Chapter V:

> *We acknowledge the difference of hypostases only in three properties: in causality and paternity, in being caused and filiation, in being caused and procession.*

And in History of Barlaam and Josaphat, Chapter XIX:

> *The property of the Father is to be unbegotten, of the Son nativity, of the Holy Spirit procession. Thus, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in all things except the properties mentioned earlier.*

He says similar things in Book I, Chapter II of Orthodox Faith. Likewise, Caesarius, brother of Gregory Nazianzen, in Dialogue I:

> *All unity, equality, and identity in the Trinity, except for unbegottenness, generation, and procession.*

If the Son and the Holy Spirit differ only by generation and procession, it is clear that generation and procession necessarily constitute two perfect and perfectly distinct persons. Leo the Wise, Emperor, in his Oration on Pentecost:

> *They differ only in the reason of the principle of generation and procession, so that the Father is the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Son is generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds.*

Again, if the Son and the Holy Spirit differ only by generation and procession, it necessarily follows that generation and procession alone constitute two perfect and perfectly distinct persons of the Holy Spirit and the Son, and no other opposed relations are necessary for this. As Albertus Magnus, among other Latins, clearly states in Compendium of Theological Truth, Book I, Chapter XXII:

> *The notions of God are five: namely, paternity, filiation, procession, unbegottenness, and common spiration. The first is of the Father, the second of the Son, the third of the Holy Spirit, the fourth of the Father, the fifth of the Father and the Son. The first three notions are called personal because they make persons and properly distinguish them, and these alone are the three unities of the three persons, by which the persons are said to be three.*

And then:

> *It should be noted, therefore, that properly speaking, there are three personal properties, namely paternity, filiation, and procession, because a personal property is that which pertains to one person alone and distinguishes it from every other.*

It is thus a settled Catholic dogma that generation and procession constitute not one but necessarily two perfect and perfectly distinct persons, and there is no other difference between the Son and the Holy

Spirit except according to generation and procession. By what reason, then, did Thomas Aquinas, contrary to this Catholic dogma always handed down in the Church, deny that the Son and the Holy Spirit are perfectly distinguished by the properties of generation and procession alone? Is this not to accuse the Holy Fathers and the entire Catholic Church of Sabellianism? For if passive generation and procession can constitute only one person, it necessarily follows that when the Holy Fathers believed the Son and the Holy Spirit differ only by generation and procession, as we have seen, they, like the Sabellians, confused the two persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit into one and asserted that the Son and the Holy Spirit are only one person. But who would not rather say that Thomas, by denying that procession and generation, or two different modes of subsistence, necessarily constitute two persons, fell into Sabellianism? For this confuses two different modes of subsistence, and thus two persons, into one. It is indeed astonishing that many Latins, following Thomas, have everywhere proposed and continue to propose this as a demonstration of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

But someone insists: The relation of begotten to spirated is the same as that of generating to spirating. But generating is distinguished from spirating only by reason. Therefore, begotten and spirated are also distinguished only by the precise relation of origin. Indeed, if you consider the terms themselves, begotten relates to spirated as generating relates to spirating. For just as to be begotten is not to be spirated, and to be spirated is not to be begotten, so to generate is not to spirate, and to spirate is not to generate. However, in the divinity, their different reason arises from this: that one and the same, by spirating and generating, does not produce one but two persons. These acts can thus coexist in one person and do not cancel each other out. For one and the same can generate one and not generate but spirate another. But it is impossible for one and the same to be begotten and not begotten, to be spirated and not spirated, especially from one and the same before all ages. For one who is produced in the manner of generation cannot again be produced in a non-generative manner, and so on. Therefore, there is a greater disparity in the divinity between being begotten and being spirated than between generating and spirating. Moreover, as shown above, the Son’s mode of subsistence is filiation, and the Holy Spirit’s is procession. Therefore, to be begotten and to proceed are two different

modes of subsistence; but to generate and to spirate are by no means two different modes. How, then, would there not be a greater disparity between being spirated and being begotten than between spirating and generating, such that, since generating and spirating differ at least by reason, being begotten and being spirated would also differ at least by reason? Two different modes of subsistence differ not by reason but perfectly and really; for generation and procession are two different modes of subsistence.

And from this, the arguments that the same author subsequently repeats against this response collapse: Indeed, there is as much disparity between the relations of the generator and the spirator as between the begotten and the spirated; why, then, do real oppositions not arise from the former as they do from the relations of the begotten and the spirated? Is it because the former are in one subject, while the latter are in multiple really distinct subjects? But even the subjects themselves would not be really distinct if there were nothing in them by which they are really distinguished. There would be nothing by which they are really distinguished if there were no relation of cause and caused between them, as the Holy Fathers teach. And indeed, the only principle among the Holy Fathers against the Sabellians for distinguishing the divine persons was: Nothing produces itself. Nor do you find anywhere among them this distinction proven by an order of disparity. He gratuitously claims that some divine person must be distinguished from another by an opposition arising from relations of disparity. For where does this come from? Which of the Holy Fathers taught this? What reason proved it? Perhaps this necessity falls upon those who cannot otherwise avoid the Sabellianism objected to them; yet they do not even avoid it this way, since the disparate relations of the begotten and the spirated are no more distinctive than those of the generator and the spirator. That there is a greater disparity in the divinity between being begotten and being spirated than between generating and spirating has been clearly shown, since it is impossible for one and the same to be begotten and not begotten, to be spirated and not spirated; but one and the same can grenerate one and spirate, or produce another in a manner other than generating. Again, since generation and procession are two different modes of subsistence, but active generation and the production of the Holy Spirit are by no means so, this is also why real distinctive relations

do not arise from active spiration and generation, as they do from the relations of the begotten and the spirated. The reason for this disparity is not, as the Jesuit objected to us, that being begotten and being spirated are in multiple really distinct subjects, while spirating and producing are in one subject alone. For, as stated, procession and filiation inhere in the Son and the Spirit, through which relations they are necessarily really distinguished, as shown. Moreover, how the Fathers teach that the persons differ by the reason of cause and caused has been shown in the Treatise on the Testimonies of the Eastern Fathers concerning Gregory of Nyssa. Namely, not that the Son and the Spirit differ really only if one is the cause and the other caused, but either that the Father is the cause and Father, the Son caused and begotten, the Holy Spirit caused and proceeding, as John Damascene clearly stated there; or, according to Gregory of Nyssa, that the Father is the cause, the Son is produced from the Father with nothing, and the Holy Spirit is from the same Father but with the generated Son—which coincides with Damascene's view. Therefore, the Fathers posit the difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit only in the different reason of being caused, which the words of the Fathers cited above clearly show, when they repeatedly taught that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ only by generation and procession. How, then, could the Holy Fathers be contrary to us when they teach that the divine persons differ at least by the reason of cause and caused, since they understand the same thing by the different reasons of causation for the Son and the Holy Spirit? For when we say that the Holy Spirit and the Son differ at least by generation and procession, we mean the same different reasons of being caused, by which the Fathers equally said the Son and the Holy Spirit differ. The Holy Fathers rightly used this principle against the Sabellians: Nothing produces itself, to show that the persons of the Trinity are distinct. For if the Father generates the Son and produces the Holy Spirit, the Father is clearly another person from the Son and another person from the Holy Spirit, and thus there are not one but multiple persons in the divinity. But the Jesuit should have produced the words of the Fathers in which, after positing the principle that nothing produces itself, they assumed that the Son produces the Holy Spirit, or in which they simply inferred that the Son and the Holy Spirit are two persons from the same principle. For these alone pertain to this matter. What the Jesuit adds here is false: That nowhere among the

Fathers is this distinction proven by an order of disparity, or that the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished by an opposition arising from disparate relations. For by these disparate relations, generation and procession are understood. But the Holy Fathers repeatedly said in the words cited above that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ only by generation and procession. But besides the testimonies of the Fathers, the Jesuit demands reasons. These we have provided above in Responses II and III to this argument of Thomas. By what right, then, does he accuse us of Sabellianism, as is clear from what has been said above? For we teach the doctrine of the holy Catholic Church of the ages (we have seen the words of the Holy Fathers above): that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ perfectly by filiation and procession. Thus, it is not so much us, but the entire ancient Catholic Church that the Jesuit accuses of Sabellianism in this matter. Rather, it is the Latins, along with their leader Thomas, who, on account of their contrary opinion, lapse into Sabellianism, as seen above.

Eusebius Pimenias, p. 149.

The remaining points that the same Jesuit disputes from here on do not pertain to our response given above, and so we pass over them willingly.

However, Eusebius had said, against the one with whom the Jesuit disputes in the same place:

> *From the intrinsic nature of filiation and passive spiration, these persons are perfectly distinct or divided from one another.*

In refutation, p. 153. Therefore, the same Jesuit responds to this:

> *On the contrary: the intrinsic nature of active generation and the intrinsic nature of active spiration cannot make a person perfectly distinct, much less divided; therefore, neither can the intrinsic nature of passive generation, or filiation, nor passive spiration, or procession, make persons perfectly, that is, really distinct. For these have no opposition between them, which alone in divine matters is the principle of real distinction.*

But the solution to this is clear from what was said above. For the inference from active generation and production to passive generation and procession is entirely invalid: for these are two different modes of

existing, while the former are not. But two different modes of subsisting necessarily constitute persons who are perfectly, that is, really distinct. Furthermore, it is impossible for the same person to be both generated and not generated; therefore, one person could not be both generated and not generated, but there must necessarily be two. However, one and the same person could generate another and produce another in a way other than generation. The reason the Jesuit adds, which he takes from the phrase *to en dexio* (the one on the right), is false. For it is false that opposition alone is the principle of real distinction of persons in divine matters.

Finally, when another had objected, in terms similar to those we cited above, namely:

> *It is impossible for one divine person to emanate in two ways, that is, for the Son to be both generated and spirated, and for the Holy Spirit to be both spirated and generated; therefore, it is impossible for two persons emanating in two ways not to be two distinct persons, just as the terms are distinct.*

The same Jesuit responds to this:

> *On the contrary: whatever may be said of the antecedent (which some theologians deny in this hypothesis, asserting that there would be no reason why generation could not be spiration, or vice versa, if it is arbitrary (as the adversaries claim) that the generated person is the second and the spirated person the third), I deny the consequence, or rather, I distinguish: It is impossible for persons emanating in these ways not to be distinct with a distinction, because the modes of active emanation are themselves distinct, namely, with a distinction of reason, I concede; but with a greater distinction than these modes are distinguished, namely, a real distinction, I deny. Therefore, even if divine persons could be distinguished by these modes in reason, it will never be shown that they can be distinguished really.*

But the Jesuit's argument is baseless. We argue: it is impossible for one and the same to be generated and spirated, or not generated; therefore, it is impossible where the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds, or is not generated, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not two distinct persons. How, then, could the Jesuit limit this by saying: They are distinct

in reason, not really? Does it not, I ask, involve a contradiction to say that it follows from something that there are two distinct persons, but only in reason, not really? As if two distinct persons could be distinct only in reason while not being really different at the same time. And indeed, when the Jesuit introduces this distinction, he does not fully cite the objected words, namely: It is impossible for them not to be two distinct persons, but maliciously truncates them, repeating them thus: It is impossible for them not to be distinct, omitting those words: two distinct persons, in which, however, the entire force of the argument lies. For the demonstration of his distinction, the Jesuit provides no reason; at the very least, he most boldly denies that it can ever be shown that the Son and the Holy Spirit are really distinguished by filiation and procession, when indeed this is sufficiently demonstrated by the reasons we have brought forward above. For first, since the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit are two different modes of subsisting, as shown above both by clear reasoning and by the explicit words of the Holy Fathers, it necessarily follows that the Holy Spirit and the Son are really and perfectly distinguished from one another by passive generation and procession. For it is agreed by all that subsistences are perfectly distinguished from one another by different modes of existing: for just as one person differs perfectly and really from another person, so too do their modes of existing differ from one another; for the mode of existing alone constitutes a person. Furthermore, through that by which it is necessarily demonstrated that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not one person but two persons subsisting per se, these perfectly distinguish the persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For this is what it means to be perfectly distinguished. Now it is clear that through *to gignere* (to generate) and *to procedere* (to proceed), it is necessarily demonstrated that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not one person but two entirely per se subsisting persons: for *to gignere* and *to procedere* are themselves modes of passive emanation so mutually repugnant that it is impossible for them to belong to one person, but they necessarily imply two subjects. Now, those modes of passive emanation that by their nature are so mutually repugnant that it is impossible for them to belong to one person but necessarily imply two subjects, through these it is necessarily demonstrated that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not one but two per se subsisting persons. Therefore, it remains that through *to gignere* and *to*

procedere, it is demonstrated that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not one but two per se subsisting persons; and thus, it follows that through *to gignere* and *to procedere*, two persons are perfectly constituted, or the Son and the Holy Spirit are perfectly and really distinguished. For that by which the Son and the Holy Spirit differ such that they cannot in any way be one but must necessarily be two persons, by this the Son and the Holy Spirit are perfectly distinguished. That to be perfectly distinguished is the same as to be really distinguished is clear even from the words of the Jesuit cited just above. For he said:

> *Therefore, neither the intrinsic nature of passive generation, or filiation, nor of passive spiration, or procession, can make persons perfectly, that is, really distinct.*

Finally, the Holy Fathers, in the words cited above, taught that the persons of the divinity differ by these properties alone: paternity or innascibility, generation, and procession. But if the Holy Spirit and the Son differ from one another only by generation and procession, it follows that the Son and the Holy Spirit are really and perfectly distinguished by generation and procession.

If the Holy Spirit and the Son differ really and perfectly from one another, it is necessary that by that through which they differ, they differ perfectly and really. But the Holy Fathers taught that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ from one another only by generation and procession: therefore, by these properties alone, generation and procession, the Son and the Holy Spirit differ perfectly and really from one another. Furthermore, the Fathers added that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ by these properties of generation and procession alone, just as the Father and the Son differ from one another by innascibility or paternity and filiation: for one proposition was: the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit differ by the properties of innascibility or paternity, filiation, and procession alone. But the Father differs really and perfectly from the Son because of innascibility or paternity and filiation. Therefore, according to the teaching of those Fathers, the Son and the Holy Spirit also differ really and perfectly because of filiation and procession alone.

But it is equally clear from this, against the exception or distinction brought forward by the Jesuit, that the generated and the spirated are distinguished by a greater distinction than the spirator differs from the

generator; for between the modes of passive emanation, there is such a difference that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons; through these modes, the persons are divided by a greater distinction than the modes of active emanation are distinguished. Therefore, since there is such a difference between passive generation and procession that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons (for the same cannot be generated and not generated, or spirated, but where a generated and non-generated, or spirated, is posited, two persons are necessarily posited), it follows that through generation and procession, the Son and the Holy Spirit are distinguished by a greater distinction than the modes of active emanation are distinguished. This is indeed clear per se. It is also clear from this: those modes that differ from one another such that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons are distinguished by a greater distinction than those modes that can belong to one person and imply at least one, not two, persons. For if the former modes were not more distinct than the latter, why do the former not equally imply at least one person and belong to one person? Therefore, those modes of passive emanation that are so different that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and must belong to two persons are distinguished by a greater distinction than those modes that can belong to one person and imply at least one, not two, persons. But if those modes that imply at least one person and can belong to one person are distinguished by a lesser difference than those modes that are so different that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons, it follows that since the modes of active emanation imply only one person and can belong to one person, the modes of active emanation differ from one another by a lesser distinction than the modes of passive emanation, between which there is such a difference that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons; and thus (for this is the same in meaning), the modes of passive emanation, between which there is such a difference that they necessarily imply not one but two per se subsisting persons and can belong only to two persons, are distinguished by a greater distinction than the modes of active emanation, namely, of generating and spirating, which was to be

proved. And from this, it can further be inferred that the modes of passive emanation are not only distinct in reason but also really: for those modes that differ from one another by a greater distinction than the modes of active emanation differ by more than in reason, and thus really. For this is the same and is evident, and the Jesuit admits it when he said:

> *By a greater distinction than these modes are distinguished, namely, a real distinction.*

Now, the modes of passive emanation, to be generated and to proceed, are divided by a greater distinction than the modes of active emanation, as shown. Therefore.

Thus, since so many arguments most clearly demonstrate that the Son and the Holy Spirit differ really because of the modes of passive emanation, the Jesuit absurdly denied that this could ever be shown. Moreover, what the Jesuit added, that according to the opinion of the Easterners, it is arbitrary that the Son is the second person and the Holy Spirit the third, this indeed the Latins commonly object against the Easterners (which we will address later), but the Easterners never asserted this. And those Latins who object to this are absurd: if it is arbitrary that the Son is the second person and the Holy Spirit the third, there would be no reason why generation could not be spiration, or vice versa. For to be spirated is to be produced in a different way than to be generated; and thus, to be generated is not to be spirated. Therefore, if the impossible were posited, that the Holy Spirit is the second person and spirated, would spiration be generation, or would the Holy Spirit be generated? For the Father would still rightly retain the name of Father, since before all ages he generated the Son from himself, just as he produced the Holy Spirit before all time. But these are passing remarks, for they do not pertain to the issue. And so much for the first argument of Thomas.

Argument II of the Latins

Secondly, Thomas insists in the cited place:

> *We never find that from one proceed many without order, except in those things alone that differ materially. Just as one craftsman*

> *produces many knives materially distinct from one another, having no order among themselves. But in things in which there is not only material distinction, some order is always found in the multitude of things produced. Hence, even in the order of creatures produced, the beauty of divine wisdom is manifested. Therefore, if from one person, the Father, proceed two persons, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit, there must be some order between them. Nor can any order be assigned other than the order of nature, by which one is from another. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the Son and the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father such that neither proceeds from the other, unless someone were to posit some material distinction in them.*

But again, this argument of Thomas is opposed by Occam, Quaest. I, Distinct. XI, Book I of the Sentences.

And first, what kind of reasoning is it to argue from created things to the most simple and immense essence of God? For suppose that among created things, only those that differ in matter lack order; does it follow that the same could not hold in the divinity? Or, since among created things that have matter, they lack order, if no order holds in the divinity, does it follow that a material distinction would hold in the divinity? Thus, animals live, and humans contemplate: does it follow, because the supreme Deity also lives and contemplates, that it would partake of the nature of animals or humans, and that something material would equally be found in it? Therefore, Thomas is entirely absurd, arguing from a craftsman and knives to the very mysteries of the divinity and the procession of persons. Secondly, it is certain that there is indeed an order between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit. But it is false that no other order can be assigned except the order of nature, by which one is from another, as Thomas adds here. For the order between the production of the Son and the Holy Spirit, according to the teaching of the Holy Fathers, whose words we saw at the beginning of the Tract, in which we refuted the testimonies of the Fathers cited by the Latins, is this: God the Father, before all ages, with no one generated or produced, generated the Son, and simultaneously, with the Son generated, produced the Holy Spirit, such that the Son, by reason of the cause by which both proceed from the Father, is understood to precede the subsistence of the Holy Spirit before all time. Therefore, since this order holds between the production of the Son and the Holy Spirit, how

could no other order be assigned except that by which one is from another?

Hence, the lengthy dispute of the oft-mentioned Jesuit, built upon this argument, also collapses. For he says:

> *If the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Son, he would not be the third divine person but the second. The consequence is not to be admitted, as, according to St. Basil, it leads to the subversion of the mystery of the Trinity; therefore, neither should that be admitted from which such an inconvenience follows. The consequence is proved by this principle: the number and order in divine persons are taken from nowhere else but from the relation of causes to their effects, as St. Basil teaches in the cited places, especially in Book I against Eunomius.*

We say that the Father is prior to the Son according to the relation of causes to their effects. But the consequence of the major premise is entirely invalid. As for the proof of the consequence, we also say that the order in divine matters is taken solely from the relation of cause to effect, namely, that the Father, having generated the Son, produced the Holy Spirit, while he generated the Son with no one produced. But it is false that when it is said that the order in divine matters is taken from the relation of causes to their effects, the meaning of this proposition is that if there must be an order between the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Son must necessarily be the cause of the Holy Spirit. In this way, indeed, the Father is prior to the Son; but it does not universally follow that where one person is prior to another, one must be the cause of the other. For even when the order of the Son and the Holy Spirit is taken from the relation of cause to effect, since by the order in which the Son, generated from the Father as cause, precedes the Holy Spirit, the Son is understood to precede the subsistence of the Holy Spirit, as Gregory of Nyssa says.

But the Jesuit continues:

> *From this principle, therefore, the consequence is proved: a person who is not prior to the second person cannot be called the third person but only the first or second; the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, has no second person prior to him; therefore, the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, cannot be called the third person.*

The major premise is proved because it is impossible to pass from the first person to the third without the mediation of the second, and it is impossible to have a number of three where the second does not mediate between the first and the third, as is clear to all who know how to count things. But it is false that the Holy Spirit presupposes only the first person, or that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, has no second person prior to him. For how, as we have just seen, is the Son understood to precede or be prior to the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father alone, namely, that he proceeds from the Father not before the Son but with the Son generated? But the Jesuit proves his minor premise:

> *Only that divine person is prior to another which has the relation of a principle to the one that is prior. The second person, according to the Photians, does not have the relation of a principle to the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father alone. Therefore, the second person is not prior to the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father alone.*

This is confirmed:

> *The person that presupposes only the first person is the second person; the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, presupposes only the first person; therefore, the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, is the second person.*

But first, it is false that only that divine person is prior to another which has the relation of a principle to the one that is prior. The words of Basil, from which he claims to derive this, clearly do not say this, as we have just shown. Indeed, since St. Ephrem the Syrian teaches that the Father first produced the Son and after the Son the Holy Spirit, he shows that the Son is prior to the Holy Spirit, yet he does not add that the Son has the relation of a principle to the Holy Spirit. Again, when Gregory of Nyssa teaches that the Father, with no one intervening or produced, generated the Son, and with the Son generated produced the Holy Spirit, he shows that the Son is prior to the Holy Spirit, yet he does not add that the Son has the relation of a principle to the Holy Spirit. As for the Jesuit's confirmation, it is certainly false that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, presupposes only the first person, at least in this sense.

But the Jesuit continues:

> *Secondly: Where there are truly and invariably three persons, there the first is truly and invariably first, such that it cannot not be first; the second is such that it cannot not be second; the third is such that it cannot not be third. In the mystery of the Holy Trinity, there are truly and invariably three persons. Therefore, in the same, there is truly and invariably some person so first, some so second, some so third, that they cannot be prior or posterior by human choice. But among divine persons, there can be no priority or posteriority other than that of origin, or, as the Greeks say, to aitio kai aitiato (cause and caused).*

Therefore, by the same necessity that the second person presupposes itself caused by the first, the third person presupposes itself caused by the first and the second. With the prosyllogism conceded, what, I ask, is the reason for the consequence? The order in divine matters is taken from the relation of cause and caused; therefore, just as the second person presupposes itself caused by the first, so the third person presupposes itself caused by the first and the second. For if the order in divine matters is taken from the relation of cause and caused is understood such that one person must necessarily be the cause of another where there must be an order between these persons, this is entirely false that the order in divine matters is taken from cause and caused. Nor did the Fathers hand down this proposition in such a sense; rather, their sense is at least that the Son is generated from the Father with no one produced, while the Holy Spirit is produced with the Son generated, or after the Son, as shown elsewhere. What, then, is the reason for the consequence: priority and posteriority in divine matters are taken according to the order of production of the caused from the Father as cause; therefore, just as the second person presupposes itself caused by the first, so the third person presupposes itself caused by the first and the second? Therefore, the Jesuit achieves nothing when he elsewhere infers from the fact that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father alone, presupposes at least the first person, that the Holy Spirit is the Son. But the Jesuit makes an exception in what follows:

> *To counter these arguments, the Photians assign another reason for this order of divine persons, namely, that although the production of both persons is from the Father alone, the generation of the Son is prior to the spiration of the Holy Spirit because the generative power in the Father is prior to the spirative power; and thus, the Son is the*

second person and the Holy Spirit the third.

We have followed the Fathers themselves, that the Father generated the Son with no one produced, and with the Son generated, or after the Son, produced the Holy Spirit, and hence the generation of the Son is prior to the spiration or procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Ephrem the Syrian and Gregory of Nyssa, in the words cited at the beginning of the Tract, in which we refuted the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers cited. If the generative power in the Father is understood to be prior to the spirative power in another sense, we do not make this response ours. But the Jesuit absurdly denies here that the generation of the Son is prior to the production of the Holy Spirit, when he himself elsewhere asserts the same. For these are his words:

> *In divine processions, it is entirely necessary that active generation, by which the Father is constituted, and passive generation, by which the Son is constituted, and active spiration, by which the Holy Spirit is spirated, are simultaneous; for of these (as St. Athanasius testifies in the Creed), nothing is prior, nothing posterior; yet the order between these processions is natural and entirely immutable, such that active generation and paternity, which constitute the Father, are understood to precede passive generation, and consequently, active spiration is understood to precede passive generation and filiation, as the correlative of active generation and paternity, through which the Father is hypostatically constituted.*

Thus, with the clearest words, the Jesuit elsewhere teaches that active generation and passive generation are understood to precede active spiration; how, then, does he here accuse the Easterners, who teach the same, as deserters of the dogmas of the Catholic Church? For he continues:

> *On the contrary, first: because through these, the express dogmas of the Eastern Holy Fathers are deserted, who deny that the order of prior or posterior among divine persons is taken from anywhere other than se schesi tou aitiou kai aitiatou (the relation of cause and caused).*

But as often as the Jesuit repeats this, so often have we shown that the sense of the Fathers, when they teach this, is that the persons differ from

one another, in that the Son is generated from the Father as cause with no one produced, while the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father as cause with the Son generated. For thus Nyssenus himself held, the best interpreter of his own words. But from the same order, we also say that the Son is prior, as he is understood to precede the Holy Spirit. We do not dwell on the words of the Council of Toledo, which the Jesuit adds here, for judgment must be passed on them as corrupted, from the Tract on the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Western Fathers.

But the Jesuit continues:

> *On the contrary, secondly: it is gratuitously said that the generative power in divine matters is prior to the spirative power; for by what priority? Not of duration, as is clear from faith; not of nature, because in divine matters there is no actual dependence of one on another; not of origin, because this is clear from the terms. Therefore, there is no natural priority between these powers, but only from our imperfect mode of conceiving, from which it would follow that the Holy Spirit is the third person not by nature, nor by the force of origin and principle (as the Holy Fathers require), but arbitrarily, and only from the mode of conceiving of our intellect, which is unable to conceive God operating ad intra through the will without first conceiving him operating through the intellect. From which it further follows that the Holy Spirit is not the third person with respect to divine knowledge but only with respect to our abstract knowledge.*

We say that the Father first generated the Son and after the Son produced the Holy Spirit, and thus active generation is prior to the production of the Holy Spirit, prior, that is, not by a priority of time, for example, but of production. For St. Ephrem clearly taught:

> *After the Son, the Holy Spirit was produced by the Father.*

But St. Gregory of Nyssa:

> *With the Son generated, the Holy Spirit is produced by the cause, while the Son is generated immediately by the cause.*

Therefore, this priority is truly natural and holds in God, even if our imperfect intellect conceives no priority for itself. What of the fact that the Jesuit himself, in the words just cited, said:

> *Yet the order between these processions is natural and entirely immutable, such that active generation is understood to precede passive generation, and active spiration is understood to precede passive generation?*

With these, he clearly acknowledges a natural priority and order between active generation and spiration, since active generation is understood to precede active spiration; how, then, does the Jesuit again deny this here? Therefore, it is truly not only from the mode of conceiving of our intellect that generation is prior to spiration, but by the very force of origin and principle, the Holy Spirit is the third person; for it is impossible that he who is produced after the Son should simultaneously be produced before the Son. But what the Jesuit adds, that generation seems prior to production because we cannot conceive God operating ad intra through the will without first conceiving him operating through the intellect, since the Son is produced through the intellect and the Holy Spirit through the will: these are at least the inventions of the Scholastics, supported by no foundation, as will be seen in what follows. Indeed, the words of Gregory of Nyssa are in Book I against Eunomius, p. 164:

> *As the Son is joined to the Father and is not posterior to him in existence, so too the Holy Spirit is joined to the Only-Begotten by the concept of the mind alone, according to the reason of cause, with the Son understood to precede the subsistence of the Holy Spirit.*

But with those words: By the concept of the mind alone, with the Son understood to precede, Gregory at least intended to exclude time: so that the sense is that no time can be thought in which the Son is prior to the Holy Spirit, but this can be conceived only by the mind. For when he calls this priority according to the reason of cause (By the concept of the mind alone, he says, according to the reason of cause, with the Son understood to precede), it is clear that Gregory of Nyssa understood this priority as entirely natural. For priority according to the reason of cause is natural and holds in divine matters even before the human mind conceives it. But the Latins also expound these words of Nyssa as if his meaning were that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, and thus the Son is understood to precede the Holy Spirit by reason of cause. Now, it is clear that where one is the cause of another, a natural priority entirely holds, not merely an intentional one. How, then, could Nyssa, even if this were his meaning,

add that the Son is understood to precede the Holy Spirit by the concept of the mind alone, unless in the sense that the Latins also expounded?

Finally, the same author insists:

> *On the contrary, thirdly: Even if it were granted that some order of divine persons could be taken from the intentional priority or posteriority of productive powers, it would still not be shown from this that the Holy Spirit is second from the Son in being: for both the Holy Spirit and the Son would refer only to the Father, and both persons would be posterior in origin with respect to the first person alone. Therefore, there would be no reason why the Holy Spirit should be said to be second from the Son rather than the Son second from the Holy Spirit, since the Holy Fathers recognize no other principle for numbering and ordering divine persons than according to the reason of cause or origin; and it is necessary that in the same genus in which the third person presupposes the first, it also presupposes the second; or, what is the same, that for the reason the Holy Spirit is called third from the Father, for that same reason he is second from the Son, and thus is the third person of the Holy Trinity not arbitrarily but naturally. Therefore, it is clear that by the force of the original and natural order, the third person requires to be produced by the first and the second, just as the second requires to be produced by the first alone.*

But first, as just shown, the order and priority between the production of the Son and the Holy Spirit is not merely intentional but entirely natural. But even if you press these reasons brought forward by the Jesuit against this, they are easily refuted. Indeed, while the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, both the Son and the Holy Spirit refer to the Father alone as their producer, by reason of cause; yet it does not follow from this that there is no order between the Son and the Holy Spirit, and thus that the Son is not necessarily the second and the Holy Spirit the third person. For it is false that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are posterior in origin with respect to the Father alone: for although the Holy Spirit is thus produced by the Father alone, the Holy Spirit is also posterior in origin to the Son because he is produced by the Father with the Son generated, or after the Son. Therefore, it clearly does not follow from this that there is no reason why the Holy Spirit should be said to be second from the Son rather than the Son second from the Holy Spirit. For if the Holy Spirit is produced after the Son, not before him, how could the Son

ever be second from the Holy Spirit? Furthermore, the Fathers indeed recognize in the Trinity no other order than that of cause and caused; but, as we have repeatedly noted, they do not mean by this that just as the first person is the cause of the second, so too the second is the cause of the third, as the Jesuit interpreted it; but they mean at least this in the sense in which we have explained the order of production of the persons thus far, as shown above. Then, we indeed concede that in the genus in which the third person, insofar as third, presupposes the first, it also presupposes the second; or that for the reason the Holy Spirit is called third from the Father, for that same reason he is second from the Son. But it by no means follows from this that the third person requires to be produced by the second, as the second requires to be produced by the first: for by the order of his production from the Father, the Holy Spirit is called third from the Father, since he proceeds from the Father after the Son; for which reason, indeed, the Holy Spirit is second from the Son: for the Holy Spirit is produced after the Son, and no other intervenes between the generation of the Son and the production of the Holy Spirit, just as the Son intervenes between the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. And so much for the second argument of Thomas.

Argument III of the Latins

Thomas argues further in Summa Theologiae, Part I, Question 36, Article 2:

> *The Son proceeds by way of the intellect, as the Word; the Holy Spirit, however, proceeds by way of the will, as Love. It is necessary, however, that love proceeds from the Word: for we do not love anything unless we apprehend it by a conception of the mind. Hence, it is manifest from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.*

But this argument of Thomas is again rejected by the Latins themselves. Occam, in Book I of the Sentences, Distinction XI, Question 1; Arimin, in Book I, Distinction VIII, Question 1, Article 2, Distinction X, Question 1, and Distinction XIII, Question 1; likewise, Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, in Book I, Distinction VI, Question II, similarly denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds by way of the will as love.

Response I

First, we are ignorant of how the procession of the Holy Spirit relates to the generation of the Son: for the Doctors and Fathers of the Christian Church have always professed ignorance of the nature of both.

St. Dionysius the Areopagite, in *On the Divine Names*, Book II, p. 174, speaking of the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit:

> *In what manner these occur, we can neither express nor understand.*

Athanasius, in Dialogue I on the Trinity:

> *How God generates the Son, I do not curiously investigate, and how He emits the Spirit, I similarly do not curiously investigate; but I believe the Son is ineffably generated without passion, and the Holy Spirit similarly proceeds ineffably and without passion.*

Gregory the Theologian, among other things, in Oration XXXVII on the Holy Spirit, p. 597:

> *What then is this procession? Tell me what is the unbegottenness of the Father, and I will explain to you the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit, and we shall both go mad prying into the secrets of God.*

Gregory of Nyssa, in *On What It Means to Be in the Image and Likeness*, among other works of Gregory, published in Ingolstadt in 1596 by Fronto Ducaeus, p. 35:

> *In what manner can we distinguish the diversity of generation and procession in incorporeal, immobile, and immutable beings?*

Chrysostom, in Homily I on the Incomprehensible Nature of God, in the Greek-Latin edition, Volume I, p. 332:

> *I know that God generated the Son, but how, I am ignorant. I know that the Spirit proceeds from Him, but how from Him, I do not know.*

Augustine, in Book III Against Maximinus, Chapter XIV:

I do not know, I am not able, I am not sufficient to distinguish between that generation and this procession.

The author of *On the Unity of the Trinity* among Athanasius's works, Book IX, Volume II, p. 583:

It would suffice for the faithful to believe that the Son is generated and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but what kind or how great this procession is, no one is permitted to know. As it is said of the Son: Who shall declare His generation?

Leontius, in *On Sects*, Action I, Volume I of the Greek Fathers, p. 493:

In what manner the Son is generated from the Father or the Holy Spirit proceeds, it is not to be curiously investigated.

Anastasius of Sinai, in Book I on the Dogmas of Faith, p. 697, Volume VI of the Cologne Library of the Fathers:

How the Word is generated or the Spirit proceeds, let us not curiously inquire: for it is not safe or free from danger. This alone is known from the beginning. It is known only to God.

The author of *On the Trinity* among Cyril's works, Chapter VIII:

Procession is another mode of existence, no less surpassing comprehension and knowledge than the generation of the Son. Again: The mode of generation and procession is incomprehensible.

John of Damascus, in Book I of the *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter X, p. 36:

We have learned that there is a difference between generation and procession; but what this difference is, we by no means know.

And in Chapter II:

How God is begotten from God or proceeds, we are ignorant and unable to express.

Chapter IX contains what we have cited from *On the Trinity*. Again, in *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, Chapter XIX:

Do not seek to comprehend the mode of nativity or procession.

Finally, Bede the Englishman, in Volume V of his works, column 571, in his commentary on John XVI:

> *What the difference is between proceeding and being born is a long matter to discuss in inquiry, and rash to define once discussed: for it is extremely difficult for the mind to comprehend in any way, and what the mind might comprehend, it is most difficult for the tongue to explain, no matter how learned the teacher or how great the listener.*

Likewise, the Fathers and Synods teach elsewhere concerning the generation of the Son. Dionysius of Alexandria, in Response to Question V of Paul of Samosata, Volume I of the Councils, column 872. Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, in Gelasius of Cyzicus, Book II, Chapter XVI, Volume II of the Councils, column 180. And at length in the name of the same ecumenical Synod, Eusebius of Pamphilus, in the same Gelasius, Book II, Chapters XIX, columns 197, 200, and 201. The Catholic Council of Ariminum, in the condemnation of the Arian heresy, in Hilary, Fragments of the Later Book on the Synod of Ariminum, p. 47, Volume II of the Councils, column 796. Basil the Great, in Oration on the Nativity of Christ, cited by Acacius, Bishop of Beroea, in a letter to Cyril, Part I of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, Chapter XXIII, Volume III of the Councils, column 384. Augustine, in a sermon on the Nativity, cited by the bishops of Gaul and Germany at the Council of Frankfurt, Volume VII of the Councils, column 1033. Cyril, in *On the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten*, Number IV, Part III of the First Council of Ephesus, Chapter XXXI, at the beginning, Volume III of the Councils, column 1095. Emperor Justinian, in *Against the Three Chapters*, Volume V of the Councils, column 688. Mansuetus, in a synodical letter to Emperor Constantine, Volume VI of the Councils, column 606. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in a synodical letter read at Action XI of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod, Volume VI of the Councils, column 866. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in a letter to Leo III, Volume VII of the Councils, column 1216. John of Damascus, in Book I of the *Orthodox Faith*, Chapter II, and in *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, Chapter XIX. Finally, the bishops of Gaul and Germany, in a synodical letter to the Spaniards at the Council of Frankfurt, Volume VII, column 1033. The day would fail if we wished to assert the same from the

writings of the remaining Fathers. It suffices to enumerate those who interpret the prophetic saying, *Who shall declare His generation?* concerning the eternal generation of the Son of God from the Father: Justin, in *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, p. 261, and in *Questions to the Orthodox*, Question LXVII, p. 431. Irenaeus, in Book II, Chapter XLVII. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, to Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, in Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I, Chapter III, Volume III of his works, p. 528. Athanasius, in Dialogue III on the Trinity, Volume II, p. 213, and in *On the Exposition of Faith*, Volume I, p. 240. Cyril of Jerusalem, in *Catechesis XI*, p. 94. Basil the Great, in Book I *Against Eunomius*, Volume II of his works, p. 21. Ambrose, in Book I on *Faith to Gratian*, Chapter VI, Volume IV, column 123. Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel, Chapter I, Volume IV, column 733. Augustine, in Letters LIV, CL, and CLXXIV. Cyril of Alexandria, in Book I of the *Commentary on John*, Chapter I, Volume IV of his works, p. 11, and in *Thesaurus*, Assertion IV, Volume V, Part I, p. 24. The author of *On the Unity of the Trinity*, Book VIII, Volume II of Athanasius's works, p. 583. Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, in a confession of faith in Victor of Utica, Book II on the Vandal Persecution. And others likewise. While the Catholic Doctors unanimously confess ignorance of the mode of the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession, how, I ask, could Thomas alone penetrate it? Would he alone be superior to all the Fathers and Holy Councils? Absurd. Since, therefore, the mode of both is unknown, how could the Latins necessarily infer anything from what is unknown and hidden? Surely, this is a begging of the question, not a dialectical proof, much less a demonstration, if something is deduced from what is hidden, as the Philosopher teaches in *Prior Analytics*, Book II, Chapter XVI, and *Topics*, Book VIII, Chapter XIII.

Response II

But let us see what new thing Thomas proposes:

> *The Son proceeds by way of the intellect as the Word, the Spirit by way of the will as love.*

That the Son proceeds from the Father as the Logos is undoubted; but whence does he demonstrate that the Son proceeds from the Father by way of the intellect? Moreover, it is false that the Holy Spirit proceeds by

way of the will as love. The Holy Spirit is indeed love, as the Apostle teaches in Romans 5:7. But the Spirit is not alone love; so too are the Father and the Son. Hence, it cannot be said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father as love. Besides Dionysius the Areopagite, in *On the Divine Names*, Chapter IV, and his commentator Maximus, Augustine demonstrates the same from Sacred Scripture in Book XV on the Trinity, Chapter XIX:

> *It is more soundly believed or understood that not only the Holy Spirit is charity in that Trinity; but it is not without reason called charity properly because of what has been said. Just as not only the Spirit is spirit or holy in that Trinity, for the Father is spirit, and the Son is spirit, and the Father is holy, and the Son is holy, which piety does not doubt; yet He is not without reason properly called the Holy Spirit, for what is common to both, He is properly called, because both are commonly so. Otherwise, if in that Trinity only the Holy Spirit is charity, then indeed the Son is found to be not only the Son of the Father but also the Son of the Holy Spirit: for it is said and read in countless places: 'The only-begotten Son of God the Father,' and yet it is also true what the Apostle says of God the Father: 'Who delivered us from the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His charity.' He did not say 'the Son of His Son,' which, if he had said, he would have said most truly, as he often said most truly; but he said: 'The Son of His charity.' Therefore, the Son is also of the Holy Spirit, if there is no charity of God in that Trinity except the Holy Spirit. But if this is most absurd, it remains that not only the Holy Spirit is charity there, but because of what I have sufficiently discussed, it is properly so called.*

Thus, as the Apostle himself teaches, the Father is also charity when he says: He translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His charity. For if the word 'charity' here meant the Holy Spirit, it would follow that the Son of God is also the Son of the Holy Spirit, which is absurd. Hence, in many places in his books on the Trinity, especially Book XV, Chapter XVII, Augustine denies that the Holy Spirit alone is charity. The same is demonstrated from Sacred Scripture by the author of *Breviary Against the Arians*, published by the Jesuit Sirmond, p. 126:

> *Charity is the Father, charity is the Son, charity is I, the Holy Spirit. Of the Father, in the Epistle of John: God is charity. Of the Son, the*

> *Apostle to the Corinthians: The charity of Christ compels us. Of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle: I beseech you, brothers, through our Lord Jesus Christ and through the charity of the Spirit.*

Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not called charity in any other way than Christ is called truth; since indeed both the Father and the Son are truth. Since, therefore, not only the Holy Spirit is charity, but also the Father and the Son: how could the Holy Spirit be said to proceed from the Father as love? No less than it cannot be said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from God as holy or as spirit; or that the Son proceeds from the Father as truth. Indeed, since the Son is generated from the Father as Logos, this name of the Son is proper to Him in no way common to the Father or the Holy Spirit. But here, love, even if it could in some way be said to be a proper name of the Holy Spirit, as Augustine wished, is nevertheless equally common to the Father and the Son. The Holy Spirit is not produced as love from the Father in the same way that the Son is produced as Logos from the Father.

Response III

Thomas further posited: because the Holy Spirit proceeds as love, the Holy Spirit proceeds from God by way of the will. Since, as shown, the Son is equally charity, the Son would also proceed from God by way of the will; yet Thomas posited that the Son proceeds by way of the intellect and established the difference in the production of the Holy Spirit and the Son in this.

Response IV

Again, Thomas argued: The fruitful will of the Father, as they say, produces the Holy Spirit as love; but we do not love anything unless we apprehend it by a conception of the mind. Therefore, the Spirit proceeds from the Father by way of the will. It is truly proven that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son: because the Holy Spirit is love; but we do not love anything unless we apprehend it by a conception of the mind. With these words, Thomas clearly assumes that love proceeds from the apprehending conception of the mind. Hence, as we said, he infers that

the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Thus far, therefore, according to Thomas, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son because from His intellect, as from the apprehending conception of the mind, it is produced as love. Therefore, the fruitful intellect of the Son produced the Holy Spirit, just as the intellect or the apprehending conception of the mind produces love; and so the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son by way of the intellect, but from the Father by way of the will, which is absurd. For in this way, the Holy Spirit would be produced by different powers, and thus there would not be one spiration, but indeed two persons of the Holy Spirit, one produced by the Son, another by the Father. For Thomas wished the Son and the Holy Spirit to be produced from the Father by different reasons: because the Son proceeds by way of the intellect, the Holy Spirit by way of the will. Likewise, it is impossible for one and the same thing to be produced by different reasons.

Response V

If, then, the Son is generated from the fruitful, subsistent intellect of the Father, but the Holy Spirit proceeds from His subsistent will, it must be that, just as a person differs entirely from a person, the personal will of the Father differs from the personal will of the Son; and so two different wills would have produced the Holy Spirit, which is absurd. For if the Holy Spirit is produced from two different wills, He proceeds from two different spirative powers; and so He is not produced by one spiration. But if they say the Holy Spirit is produced by the common will of the Father and the Son, the Son would now have a threefold will with the Father: the first, which pertains to them by reason of the common divine essence; the second, personal; the third, intermediate; which is absurd. For what, I ask, would be the different reason for these three wills? They agree in name. But what agree in name also agree in definition, unless equivocation lurks. Nor could fruitfulness vary the nature of the intermediate and subsistent will: for one person is fruitful, another is not; yet the definition of the word “person” does not vary, whether it is said of a fruitful or unfruitful person. But if these wills in no way differ but are entirely the same, how, I ask, could the same common will be by reason of the essence and yet again proper to one or two subsistences only? To be the same and yet proper to at least one person and not another, and

again common to all three, is impossible. Likewise, this argument convicts the error of those who, with that threefold will removed, wished there to be at least two wills of the Father and the Son: namely, the natural and the intermediate.

Response VI

Thomas further argued: Love, therefore, proceeds from the Logos: because we do not love anything unless we apprehend it by a conception of the mind. Indeed, the apprehending conception of the mind produces love; but it produces the love by which the lovable is loved, not the lovable itself. If, therefore, the lovable itself is subsistent love, the conception of the mind produces indeed the love by which subsistent love is loved, but it by no means produces subsistent love. Therefore, the Son loves, and so love proceeds from Him, but the love by which the Holy Spirit is loved, not that which is loved, proceeds from Him, that is, the Holy Spirit, for He is subsistent love. Indeed, the Son knows the Father, who is certainly lovable. Therefore, the love by which He loves the Father proceeds from the Son; yet it does not thereby produce the lovable itself, namely the Father. Therefore, we rightly oppose Thomas's explanation of the productions of the Son and the Holy Spirit with the words of Gregory the Theologian, in Oration XXVI on the Method of Composite Discourse:

> *We must acknowledge one Father, without beginning and unbegotten; the only-begotten Son from the Father; one Spirit, who has subsistence from God, granting to the Father the property of being unbegotten, to the Son that of generation, equal in nature and fellowship, equal in glory and majesty. These things must be acknowledged, these confessed, here we must fix our step; but verbose trifles and profane novelties of words we send to idle men.*

Persisting, therefore, in the simplicity of faith according to the admonition of St. Gregory the Theologian, we remit those verbose and profane novelties of Thomas's words to his idle Latin defenders. They further argue: The action and form by which the Father is constituted in the being of the Father is active generation, but the operation immediately following the formal constitution of the person of the Father is active spiration (Cichovius, Question VIII, p. 94). This, therefore,

cannot but be common to the Son, since the equality of the Son of God with the Father requires that whatever follows the constitution of the person of the Father be common to the Son with the Father. But the solution to this is clear from what we have discussed in the treatise, in which we brought forth various arguments drawn from theological principles. For the word “Father” either signifies the entire first person or at least the relation to the Son. In the latter sense, if the word “Father” is taken, active generation alone constitutes the Father in the being of the Father. But if the word “Father” is taken in the former sense, it is certainly false that generation alone constitutes the Father in the being of the Father. For together with active generation, the production of the Holy Spirit enters into the constitutive of the first divine subsistence. And hence it is further false that the production of the Holy Spirit is only an operation following the formal constitution of the person of the Father, as shown at length in the cited treatise. But even if the production of the Holy Spirit were at least an operation following the constitution of the person of the Father, it is certainly false that the Son would be unequal to the Father unless the operation following the constitution of the person of the Father is attributed to Him. For a person is entirely distinct from a person; and so a person, with all that pertains to it as a person, necessarily differs from another. But what immediately follows the formal constitution of a person pertains to that person as a person: for it does not pertain by reason of nature but is in the person as its formal constitution was in it. Therefore, what follows the formal constitution of a person cannot pertain to another person. And thus far concerning the arguments of the Latins for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Since other arguments failed the oft-mentioned Jesuit, he now turned to others that were hardly relevant to the proposed discussion. For what did the miracle of, for example, Stanislaus, or the possession of the holy sepulcher by the Franciscans, finally taken by the barbarians in Constantinople, contribute to the inquiry about the procession of the Holy Spirit? Since these were outside the matter, and the necessary books for a fuller and more exact treatment of these were not at hand, we could rightly pass over them.

Let us, however, briefly examine each. First of all, Cichovius brings forth the house of Nazareth brought to Italy (Cichovius, Question IX, p. 98). But the same still exists today in Palestine and is shown to pilgrims. A

witness is John Doubdan, Canon of the Church of St. Paul in the city of St. Denis in France, who, in 1652, while in Palestine, in his itinerary of the Holy Land written in French, reports, to defend his own, that part of that house was brought to Italy, part remained in Palestine. From this author, it is further clear that not even the foundations of that house are still seen there, but the house itself; so the Jesuit we dispute against is vain when, in what follows, he calls at least the foundations of that house of Nazareth. The Jesuit adds that the most important sacred places of our redemption in Palestine are entrusted to the Franciscans. But what of it? Does this prove that the Latin faith alone is Catholic? Indeed, one could equally argue that the Turkish religion is true because the Turk, the supreme lord of all those places, grants them to either the Greeks or the Latins, depending on who pays more money: for through greater gifts offered to the Turks and the intercession of the legates of Latin princes, the Franciscans alone have been secured in possession of those sacred places. What, therefore, do we find immediate in this possession granted to the Franciscans? Indeed, as all report, the holy sepulcher itself has also been granted to the Orientals; and formerly, before the Latins had conquered Palestine, the Orientals alone always held all those sacred places, even at the time when that long schism had already divided the Churches: how, I ask, would the occupation of those sacred places by the Latins demonstrate that their religion is truly Catholic? The Jesuit adds that many holy relics are preserved by the Latins (p. 96): as if even today a great number of holy relics and the bodies of many saints are not equally preserved by the Orientals; or as if, in those times when the Latin Church had already separated from the East by schism, they had not been preserved. What argument, therefore, do the Latins think they can draw from this for the truth of their Church? What of the fact that many relics preserved by the Latins are fictitious and often appear to be the same? For example, the lance that pierced Christ’s side is held in Rome, in Lyon in France, and in Nuremberg in Germany (from the time when it defected from the Latin Church under Luther’s leadership). The Jesuit adds that St. Nicholas himself wished his body to be brought to Italy, and therefore the Romans preserved the Catholic faith. But the body of St. Nicholas was brought to those parts of Italy where, at that time, the orthodox Eastern faith still prevailed, with the orthodox Emperor of Constantinople still ruling the lower part of Italy. As for the corruptions of the Slavic

books that the Jesuit objected to the Orientals, we leave them to others to discuss. At least we add that errors of scribes often cause changes in books; and rather, as we have shown elsewhere in two treatises, the faith of the Latins suffers from this vice of corrupting authors. Concerning the claim that from the words of the Apostle, *Whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the Spirit of His mouth*, the word “Jesus” was removed, we have discussed in a treatise that the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of the Son is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

The Jesuit then boasts of miracles performed by his own: for example, that Stanislaus raised the dead. As if even now in the Eastern Church there have not flourished men renowned for the sanctity of their lives and miracles; or as if formerly, especially in the Eastern Churches, wonderworkers and truly holy Fathers had not shone, whose faith we follow in all things and in which we wish to be saved. Let the Latins themselves see how they regard as saints those whom, for the proven addition of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, Pope John VIII himself condemns and judges worthy of eternal damnation, and whom Leo III decreed had preserved and chanted that addition against the decree of the four ecumenical Synods. Meanwhile, those are saints to us, whose dogmas we receive: St. Basil, Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, Cyril, and others approved by the holy ecumenical Synods. If the successors of the Latins diverge from these holy Fathers, I know not by what sanctity of life or grace of performing miracles they are endowed: we rightly object to them the words of the Apostle: *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. If anyone preach a gospel to you besides that which you have received, let him be anathema.* Did not the Savior Himself teach that we must beware of false prophets who do not bear good fruit, even if they perform many miracles? But certainly, false prophets profess a bad and lying religion. Therefore, miracles alone are not an argument for true faith. Many will say to me, He says elsewhere, in that day: *Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Your name, and in Your name done many miracles? And I will say to them: I never knew you; depart from me, you who work iniquity.* What counsel, therefore, does the Savior give us to distinguish true prophets from false, when both perform miracles? *You shall know them by their fruits*, He says. By their fruits, therefore, we

also know those Latins renowned for miracles, who were at least clothed in sheep's clothing, as they were simultaneously defenders and approvers of the addition or profanation of the Creed. But as for the deed of Stanislaus, God could certainly have done this not because of Stanislaus's unblemished faith but to rebuke a tyrant and demonstrate justice against him, who, with utmost treachery against all justice, sought to harm his own bishop. Just as, indeed, among the pagans, God is read to have performed miracles for a similar reason. So, once, when certain Greeks plundered a pagan temple, they all miraculously perished. And the beneficent spirit of Piast, though a pagan, was rewarded with a supreme miracle by angels. It is certain, moreover, that the Latins often fabricate many miracles, so their claims should not always be believed. They are accustomed to call this fraud a pious deception, by which the people are further incited to greater worship of God. And this concerning the miracles claimed by the Latins.

The Jesuit then disturbs even the ashes of the dead to find some support among them for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The truth of the Catholic faith, he says, can still be proven by this: that the teachers and leaders of those who wish the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father alone were very wicked men and perished miserably. What a scoundrel Photius was, Baronius describes at length from others in the Eighth Council, and as he lived most like Apollonius of Tyana, so he perished by a similar death. Michael Cerularius was a factious man who, by his arts, stripped Michael Stratioticus, an excellent and most pious emperor, of his rule, and with supreme arrogance threatened deposition to Isaac Comnenus, Stratioticus's successor, by whom he was relegated to Chersonesus and died miserably there.

Finally, Ephesius was (according to the most learned Gennadius, Patriarch, Book I, Chapter V, Section 13, revered even by the Turks for the sanctity of his life) a man neither fully in control of his faculties, but puffed up with a show of wisdom, a man of no virtue, etc.

Concerning the manner of his death, Joseph, Bishop of Methone, reports:

> *You, Mark of Ephesus, who shamelessly slandered the Patriarch of Constantinople and those who, along with him, united with the Roman Church at the Council of Florence, you breathed out your soul amidst filth. This is attested by all of Constantinople. Thus, God's justice*

> *knows how to judge each one according to the faith they hold. And just as Arius, whose name derives from madness, once poured out his entrails downward, so you expelled filth through your mouth.*

Thus spoke he at that time. From this, it is clear how much weight should be given to his words, which God punished with such a death. Let us, therefore, follow the Catholic Chrysostom, not envying the schismatic "Coprostomum" (filth-mouth).

Indeed, we do not have Photius or other leaders and teachers as our guides, but our teacher is Christ, our leaders are the Apostles, and our doctors are the Holy Fathers, whom we also follow in the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. Photius, Cerularius, and Ephesius are no more our teachers or leaders in this matter than they are in the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father or in other doctrines of the true faith.

Even if Photius and others were very wicked men and perished miserably, does it follow that, because they also defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone against the Latins, this doctrine is thereby proven false? By no means. And how many Roman Popes, after publicly admitting and defending the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, were most wicked men and perished miserably? Among them, certainly, was Sergius, who had incited the Franks to gather arguments against the Easterners and pronounced other blasphemies against the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone—a most shameful and filthy monstrous man, as even Latin historians report. But more on this Sergius in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers up to the 10th century.

What does the Jesuit object against Photius? The actions taken against Ignatius and the uncertainty about where and when he died. We do not approve of what Photius did against Saint Ignatius. But does it follow that, since we find his faith in agreement with the Catholic Church, we should also disapprove of that faith? If Photius had been given the opportunity to dispute against the Arians or other heretics instead of clashing with the Latins, would we, I ask, because he sinned in the matter of Ignatius, also consider him suspect or heretical in this regard? Therefore, even if he sinned in his actions against Ignatius, he is still to be praised for vigorously defending the procession of the Holy Spirit from

the Father alone against the Latins. Moreover, what Photius did against Ignatius was ultimately absolved through the approval of his patriarchate by John VIII and the universal synod convened under Photius, to the extent that the said John VIII anathematized those who refused to accept Photius as the true, that is, Catholic, Patriarch of Constantinople, as shown in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers.

Furthermore, history does not record where, when, or how Photius died. The same is true for many exiled Catholic doctors. Does it follow, therefore, that Photius died badly or impiously defended the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone? By no means.

As for Michael Cerularius, we entirely disapprove of his ambition and factious spirit, but what does this have to do with the Catholic faith? I do not wish to dwell on how frequently such vices occur among Roman Pontiffs. We only mention what is relevant. Did not the factionalism of the Roman Pontiffs cause the Greek Emperors to lose the empire of Italy? Platina, at least, attests that when Theophylact, the Exarch sent by Tiberius Absimarus, came to Italy, the Italian soldiers, fearing some evil from his arrival—perhaps because they had experienced more harm from the Popes than from the Emperors in earlier times—resolved to kill him before he could enter the city.

Thus, it is clear how the Popes fostered factions against the Emperors. Hence, it came about that Gregory II and Gregory III openly incited rebellion against Leo the Isaurian and were responsible for denying him Italian tributes. And so it continued. It is no secret what the Popes did thereafter, when even Leo VIII, a rival of Michael Cerularius himself, did not hesitate to engage in military campaigns, take up arms, form public alliances against other princes, and promote factions and discord among princes to increase their own power.

The accusations brought by the Jesuit against Ephesius are slanderous, for Patriarch Gennadius does not attest to these things about Ephesius, but rather some impostor or deserter—whose credibility is questionable. Certainly, such a person could only be envious of Ephesius’s virtues. Furthermore, does bodily infirmity serve as evidence of bad faith? Even if another deserter truly reported that Ephesius died in such a manner, should his death be compared to that of Arius, which was manifestly a punishment from God, rather than a bodily infirmity? And how many

Popes have met a shameful end? Would the Latins concede that this harms their Church? With much greater justification, we object to the Latins the miserable death of Cardinal Julian, who, as a defender of faith-breaking against Ephesius at the Council of Florence, perished most wretchedly thereafter in his own perjuries, along with thousands of men for whom he was the author of perjury in breaking the treaty with the Turks. Behold the sanctity of him who was Ephesius's rival at the Council of Florence! Behold the miserable death, accompanied by the sins and slaughter of so many thousands, with Julian himself as the instigator!

The Jesuit adds further: Anastasius teaches that those who hold the holy places of our redemption are none other than Catholics, and that the house of Nazareth was brought to Italy as a testimony to the true Latin faith. But we have already addressed both points. Indeed, Anastasius adds there: "If those places are held without violence or fraud." He says, "If you claim that we hold these places by tyrannical force, it will be no difficulty to convict you of falsehood." Behold, when barbarians occupy the region where the holy places are, God has not allowed them to be taken from us. But when the Latins once occupied Palestine, they violently expelled the ancient Greek possessors from those sacred places and thereafter obtained possession of certain places from the barbarians only by giving great gifts and paying immense sums of money, defending themselves against the Greeks thereafter. Is this, then, the possession of the holy places that Anastasius urged against the heretic?

The Jesuit further objects that the empire of the Greek Emperors was destroyed, not because of sins, for other nations sinned more, but because of schism and the asserted procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. So say other Latins. But whence, I ask, was the entire African Church, which was Latin and once numbered several hundred bishoprics, not merely suppressed, as happened in Greece with the destruction of the Christian Emperors' kingdom, but completely extinguished by men of the same barbarous religion? If the Greek Empire was destroyed because of the heresy of the Greek Church, why, I ask, did the Almighty then raise the Grand Dukes of Muscovy to such great power and such a vast empire, so that the Russian Monarch and Autocrat now rules far more widely than the Greek Emperors ever did in Greece and Anatolia? Yet the Russian Church holds the same faith as the Greek. Therefore, God took the empire from the Greeks because of sins, not

because of heresy. Nor does it matter that others sinned more. For even in the time of the chief defender of the Antichrist, though many true and Catholic people were oppressed by him, his hand was to prevail against idolaters, murderers, sorcerers, fornicators, and thieves.

Thus it is written in Revelation, Chapter 9, verses 20–21:

> *And the rest of the people, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their hands, so that they would not worship demons and idols of gold, silver, bronze, stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk; and they did not repent of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.*

Likewise, in Ezekiel, Chapter 39, verses 23–24, God shows why He delivered the true Catholics, that is, Christians, to their persecutors, and then soon freed them from the countless army of Gog and Magog by fire sent from heaven, mentioning only their sins:

> *And the nations shall know that the house of Israel was taken captive for their iniquity, because they abandoned me, and I hid my face from them. Therefore, I delivered them into the hands of their enemies, and they all fell by the sword. According to their uncleanness and their crimes, I dealt with them, and I hid my face from them.*

Those whom God loves more, He is accustomed to chastise sooner than others. Thus, the Apostle says in Hebrews, Chapter 12, verse 5:

> *My son, do not neglect the discipline of the Lord, nor lose heart when you are reproved by Him. For whom the Lord loves, He chastises.*

Likewise, in Revelation, Chapter 3, verse 9:

> *Those whom I love, I reprove and chastise; therefore, be zealous and repent.*

If, then, the Greeks deserved punishment for this reason, God no less punished the Latin Church for its internal schism, when so many kingdoms, nations, and provinces, first under Luther’s leadership, defected from the Roman Pope, leading to countless bloody wars and factions among the Latins, so that more people perished in this way than

the Turks ever destroyed in Greece. And to add this finally: the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem suffered the same fate, which, after being conquered with the loss of countless thousands of men and defended with no fewer, was lost within a few decades with an immense slaughter of people. How, then, could the destruction of the Greek Empire by barbarians be evidence of heresy asserted by the Greeks?

But the Jesuit adds: Constantinople was captured on the very feast of Pentecost because of the defended heresy against the Holy Spirit. He says it can be proven thirdly by the destruction of the city of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Eastern Empire. I bring forth nothing from the Latins here; let a Greek be heard, namely Gennadius, the first Patriarch of Constantinople under Turkish subjugation, an eyewitness to this destruction. He says, after Pope Nicholas V sent a letter to Emperor Constantine in 1451 predicting this destruction with these words:

> *We will wait three years to see if you perhaps turn from schism and separation; if not, you will be cut off, lest you make the land idle and useless.*

In the third year from this warning, namely in 1453, on the very feast of Pentecost (as many historians of that time attest), Constantinople was captured.

But these words are not even those of Scholarius, who was not the first Patriarch of Constantinople but an impostor and deserter. The Jesuit adds that Constantinople was captured on the very feast of Pentecost. These are not even Scholarius's words. So say other Latins. Bellarmine, in Book II on Christ, Chapter 30, says:

> *So that they might understand the cause of their destruction was their persistence in error concerning the Holy Spirit, Constantinople was captured by the Turks on the very feast of the Holy Spirit, the Emperor was killed, and the entire empire was extinguished.*

For, as Gerhard Mercator proves in his Chronology, on May 28, 1452, Mohammed ordered his army to make the final assault, and the next day Constantinople was taken. That year, Pentecost fell on May 28, as is clear from the golden number and the dominical letter, from which movable

feasts are calculated. The golden number was 9, and the dominical letter was A. Thus, many compare the Greek Church to the kingdom of Samaria, which separated itself from the true temple and was eventually led into captivity.

And in Part II of the Chronology:

> *Constantinople is captured by the Turks in 1452, on the very feast of Pentecost, thus God avenging the perfidy of the Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.*

The Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide, in his commentary on Chapter 2 of Acts, says:

> *Lest anyone doubt that the Greeks were punished with this penalty for their blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, Constantinople was captured by the Turks, the Greek Emperor Constantine was killed, and the Eastern Empire was utterly destroyed on the third day of Pentecost, in the year of Christ 1453.*

He also objects the same in his commentary on Revelation, Chapter 8, verses 8–9. So say others.

First, it is entirely false, as Cornelius a Lapide and commonly the Latins hold, that Constantinople was captured on the third day of Pentecost. For even if we assume the city was captured in 1452 on May 29, it would not be the third but at least the second day of Pentecost. For in that year, the first day of Pentecost fell on May 28, as Bellarmine showed with the cited words; thus, May 29 was the second day of Pentecost, not the third. For Easter that year fell on April 9; therefore, May 28 was the first day of Pentecost, not the second. It is also false that the city was captured in 1452, so that the Latins could say it was taken on the second day or at least on the feast of Pentecost. For it was captured in the following year, 1453, on May 29, when the first day of Pentecost did not fall on May 28 or 27 but on May 20; thus, the assault on the city occurred eight days after the third day of Pentecost. For that year, Easter fell on April 1; therefore, the first day of Pentecost must have been May 20. That Constantinople was captured in this year is attested by all contemporary and near-contemporary authors, followed by all modern Latin chronologists.

At least men of the intermediate age dared to fabricate such things to make their opinion more popularly accepted, as Cichovius did. For the

Jesuit, often mentioned by us, was selling nonsense when he claimed with the words cited above that many historians of that time attested the same, when in fact all place the capture of Constantinople in 1453. But in 1452, not 1453, May 29 fell on the feast of Pentecost. Phranza, who was present at the siege of the city, in Book III of his history, Chapter 17, says:

> *The Turks reduced the entire city to their dominion and power on the third day of the week, at the third hour and a half from the beginning of the day, in the year of the world 6961, of the Lord 1453, on May 29.*

Scholarius himself, to whom the Jesuit appealed, or whoever the author was, in Book V of the defense of the Council of Florence, Section 14, says:

> *O great calamity! In 1451, he wrote this letter, and in 1453, Constantinople was captured.*

Antonius, Bishop of Florence, an author of this time, in Title 22, Chapter 13, Part 3, says:

> *In the year of the Lord 1453, on May 29, the city of Constantinople was captured by the Turks and their king.*

Francis Foscari, Doge of the Venetians, in a letter to Emperor Frederick of the Germans, which is among the letters of Aeneas Sylvius, number 159, writes that the city was conquered on May 29 of the previous year, clearly elapsed. But his letter is dated 1453, Indiction 1, July 29. So too Lombardus Chiensis, who was also present at the siege. So too Laonicus Chalcocondylas, who in Book VIII assigns the third year of Mohammed. Aeneas Sylvius, in his Book on Europe, Chapter 7, is read to say:

> *This was a notable year for the conquest of Constantinople, as grievous and mournful to the Christian people as it was fortunate and joyful to the Turkish nation, which occurred in the year 1453 after the birth of Christ.*

That this was a scribal error is shown by other letters of the same Sylvius. For in Book I of his Letters, Letter 155, he says:

> *An unfortunate, inauspicious, harsh, and horrible report has reached us: Constantinople has been conquered, Pera has been surrendered to the Turks, and the Christian fleet, which was going to aid the besieged, has been defeated and intercepted.*

They say that those coming to us from Rascia report that the Turkish Emperor moved war machines against Constantinople before the kalends of January and launched three assaults, etc. But these letters are dated 12 days before the kalends of August, in the year 1453.

And in Book I of his Letters, Letter 138:

> *It is reported among us that Constantinople has been conquered by the Turks. If you know the order in which this was done, I wish you would share it with me. We in these regions have no other news than this recently brought from Greece, dreadful and lamentable to all Christian people. Would that it were as false as I fear it is true!*

These were written from Graz on August 10, 1453. Similar reports of at least the received news are in Letter 139 of the same book, written on August 10, 1453. And Letter 141, also written from Graz in Styria on August 11, 1453. Finally, Letter 163, also written on July 12, 1453. The author of the history of the Patriarchs, inserted in the Turco-Greek history of Martin Crusius, Book II, says:

> *At that time, when Sultan Mohammed conquered Constantinople itself, it was in the year 1453 after Christ's birth, on May 29, the third day of the week.*

Likewise, both Turkish Chronicles published by Leunclavius, Book 15 of the Turkish history. Spandaginus in his Turkish history. Michovius in Book IV, Chapter 65 of the Polish Chronicle. Johannes Funccius in his Chronology. Trithemius in the Spanheim Chronicle. Krantzius in Book 11 of Saxony, Chapter 34, and Book 12 of the Vandals, Chapter 18. An anonymous author of the description of the Turkish Empire, in Honorius. Cromerus in Book 22 of the Polish Chronicle. The Great Belgian Chronicle. Barletius on the deeds of Scanderbeg. Bonfinius in Decade 3, Book 8. Boetius in Book 18 of the Scottish history. Palmerius in his Chronicle. Genebrardus in his Chronology. Bossius in the Milanese Chronology. Sethus Calvisius in his Chronology. Johannes Nauclerus in his Chronography. Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis in the Supplement to Chronicles. Henricus Pantaleon in the Ecclesiastical Chronography. Drechsterus in the Turkish Chronicle. Cuspinianus in his work on the Emperors, under Constantine VIII. Camerarius on Turkish affairs. Franciscus Sansovinus in the Chronicle added to Camerarius. Jacobus

Gordonus in his chronological work. David Chitreus in his Chronology. Bzovius in the continuation of Baronius's Annals. Spondanus for the year 1453. Finally, Sagredo, Procurator of St. Mark in Venice, in Book I of the history of the Ottoman Monarchs.

Therefore, the city was not captured in 1452 but in 1453. Even if it had been captured during the feast of Pentecost, would it follow that the Easterners erred concerning the Holy Spirit? By no means. What is more common in the sieges of cities than for the success of an assault to fall fortuitously on this or that day? And how many cities of great importance were taken by the same barbarians from the Latins in Palestine, Greece (which the Venetians held), Hungary, and finally Russia, subject to the Poles? If some feast happened to fall on the day of the conquest of one of these cities, would it be said that this happened to the Latins because of some heresy?

But the Latins, and the Jesuit above, object that the Pope himself predicted the time of the city's conquest because of the continued schism. Namely, Pope Nicholas V gave a letter to Emperor Constantine, in which, among other things, these are his words:

> *We know all things well, but we tolerate them, looking to Jesus, the eternal priest and Lord, who ordered that barren tree to be preserved until the third year, while the farmer is already preparing to cut down the tree because it bears no fruit.*

Hence, Scholarius, in Section 14, Chapter 5 of the defense of the Council of Florence:

> *He gave letters to the legates full of fear and horror, where he openly prophesies with a curse the destruction and utter ruin of the unfortunate Greeks.*

And after citing the words of Nicholas we mentioned, he continues:

> *O great calamity! In 1451, he wrote this letter, and in 1453, Constantinople was captured. Can you say these things are not true, by no means, when the matter itself speaks clearly? 'We will wait three years,' he says, 'to see if you perhaps turn from schism and separation and truly join the decree according to the Savior's precept about the fig tree. If not, you will be cut off, lest you make the land idle and*

> *useless.’ This miracle of miracles, as Pope Nicholas himself writes in the letter, that the great and formidable Greek nation, wise, renowned, strong, and mistress of lands, was led into the slavery of barbarians by divine vengeance.*

Indeed, we first marvel how the Latins or Latinizing Greeks dare to seek a mystery in a fortuitous event. For since the Greeks had not yet accepted the Florentine union, the Pope, brandishing threats, applies Christ’s words about the fruitless fig tree to his cause, as if he would still wait some time to see whether the Greeks would accept that union, and if they did not, he would proceed to excommunication—not that he here set a third year for the Greeks, in which, if they did not accept the union, Constantinople would necessarily be captured by the Turks and the entire Greek Empire destroyed. For in the same letter, Nicholas adds:

> *But if you refuse to accept the decree of union with the people, you will compel us to take measures that provide for both your salvation and our honor.*

From this, it is manifestly clear that Nicholas V did not threaten the Greeks here with the capture of the city by the Turks or the destruction of the Greek Empire by them, but at least with ecclesiastical excommunication. He does mention in that letter that Greece had already been largely oppressed by the Turks, but he does not predict the same fate for the city of Constantinople or the Greek Emperor; rather, he mentions it to show that the Greeks deserved that calamity as a punishment.

Nor did three years pass from the writing of that letter of Nicholas to the capture of Constantinople, but only eighteen months. For the letter was written in October 1451, and Constantinople was captured in May 1453. And what mystery, I ask, would those who claim Constantinople was captured in 1452 find in Nicholas’s words? Would they too consider Nicholas V a prophet? Never, unless they say three years passed from October to the following May. But even if Nicholas V were a prophet in this matter, which his mind was entirely far from, or even if he did not know he had predicted it, would it still follow that the Greeks suffered those calamities for the reason alleged by Nicholas V? Caiaphas truly prophesied about Christ, that it was better for one to die for all; but did

Christ justly suffer for the reasons Caiaphas, along with the other Jews, deemed just to punish him? We concede that the Greeks were justly punished by God, but we deny it was for heresy.

The Jesuit Cichovius adds the damages that befell the Greeks after the excommunication of Patriarch Michael, but due to the lack of Greek historians, we cannot judge what truth each holds. He then adds three reasons from Demetrius of Thessalonica, which he calls popular, and indeed the Lord marked them as such, for they are so wretched that we deem them unworthy even to be mentioned here.

He adds certain conjectures from Barlaam, as if the Christian faith could be demonstrated from conjectures. The first conjecture is: From the generation of the Son, the Father has His first subsistence, but from the production of the Holy Spirit, He has no proper name. Why, I ask, unless this action is common to the Father and the Son? But could not the Father also lack a proper name from the production of the Holy Spirit because the manner in which the Son is generated by the Father has been revealed to us, but the manner in which the Holy Spirit is produced has not? For the Son is produced by generation, but the Holy Spirit by an inscrutable, certainly unrevealed manner.

The second conjecture is this: It is often said that the Father operates through the Son, and the Father and the Son through the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit is never said to operate through the Father or the Son. Why, unless the faculty of operating is inherent in the Son from the Father, and in the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son? But the express words of the Apostle are in Romans, Chapter 8, verse 2:

> *The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has freed me from the law of sin and death.*

Here, “in Jesus” clearly means “through Jesus,” as is evident to all. And it is also gathered from other sayings of Scripture, where Christ is said to have cast out demons in the Holy Spirit; for here, to say “in the Spirit” is the same as “through the Spirit,” as Saint Chrysostom and the martyr Theodore the Studite interpret in their hymns. Meanwhile, it is also said elsewhere that the Son acts through the Spirit by reason of order, since the Holy Spirit could proceed from the Son.

Finally, the Jesuit objects with the argument of Hugh Aetherianus: If the

Holy Spirit were produced from the Father alone, He would be produced without the concurrence of the power and wisdom of God (for the Son is the wisdom and power of God); the consequence is absurd, for otherwise, according to this, the production of the Holy Spirit would be foolish or powerless, which is blasphemous. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not produced from the Father alone. Certainly, the Jesuit could not have argued more foolishly with Hugh. If, he says, the Holy Spirit were produced from the Father alone, He would be produced without the concurrence of the power and wisdom of God, since the Son is the power and wisdom of God? In what way, then, did the Father alone generate the Son? Was it without power and wisdom? Certainly, the Son did not concur with the Father in the production of Himself. Would the generation of the Son, then, be foolish or powerless? Who would not laugh at such a ludicrous argument?

Indeed, the Son is the power and wisdom of God; but does it follow that the Father lacks power or wisdom? Rather, it necessarily follows from this that the Son of God has all wisdom and all divine power from the Father Himself; and does it follow that the Father lacks power or wisdom? How, then, when the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father alone, would the Holy Spirit be produced without the concurrence of the power and wisdom of God? Never, unless you deny power and wisdom to the Father, or say that the generation of the Son of God is foolish and powerless, which is blasphemous even to think.

And thus far concerning the arguments of the Latins, which they are accustomed to weave for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son: how wretched and inept they are is clear to all, so much so that they are forced to resort to other things irrelevant to the matter, as was evident from the example of the Jesuit cited.

TRACTATE XVII

In which it is demonstrated that the union with the Roman Church under Innocent III was imposed on the Easterners by violent means, and hence, where it was possible, it was opposed and eradicated by them.

Therefore, apart from the various arguments that the Latins commonly heap up in favor of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, and the examples of the ancients they present to the Easterners, they claim that the Easterners repeatedly accepted the union with the Roman Church and the same Latin doctrine. With what audacity, then, could the Easterners, in open defense of schism, repeatedly rebel against the approved union and the confessed truth, defying both God and man, or their descendants persist in the same schism? And first, they cite the union accepted by the Easterners during the time of Innocent III, especially at the Lateran Synod, which we will discuss in this treatise.

Indeed, the Greeks themselves, through their ambition and factions, provided the occasion for the conquest of the Constantinopolitan Empire by the Latins and the pretext for its union with the Roman Church. After the death of Emperor Manuel, Andronicus seized the throne; when he was expelled, Isaac Angelus took power; and when he too was overthrown, his brother Alexius Comnenus succeeded. Incensed by this, Isaac’s son, Alexius, fled to the Latins, seeking aid to recover the empire. He swore that if he regained his ancestral power with the help of the Latins, he would restore the entire Eastern Church to union with the Roman Church and its sacred rites.

Niceta Choniates, in his Annals under Alexius Comnenus, Book III, p. 348 of the Greco-Latin Paris edition, notes that it was fortunate that a vast army of Latins, gathered from all nobility and the flower of youth

under the name of crusaders, was heading to Palestine to aid their people against the infidels. Alexius easily found these men willing to assist, as he promised so much regarding the union of the Eastern Church with the Roman Church. This, Alexius himself reports, was the primary reason that inclined the Latins to support him, as stated in his letter to the Pope of Old Rome, recorded by Bzovius in the year 1203, no. 1.

Thus, Alexius Angelus marched toward Constantinople with the crusader army. When words failed to achieve anything, he began the siege of the city. Emperor Alexius Comnenus, seized by panic, fled for safety. The citizens then brought Isaac out of prison, where he had been blinded by his brother. Isaac soon informed his son, Alexius Comnenus, of his flight and his own restoration, urging him to return to the city. The Latins, however, declared that the son could not return unless the father also promised the same things the son had pledged for their aid.

Niceta Choniates, in his account of Isaac Angelus and his son Alexius, p. 354, confirms that after the city was captured, Alexius Comnenus promised, through the crusaders and letters to the Pope, to bring the Eastern Churches back to obedience to the Roman See, as evidenced by his letters cited above and the letter of the crusaders to Innocent, recorded by Bzovius for the year 1203, no. 2.

Another condition of the Latin aid was the payment of a vast sum of money to the crusaders. The new emperors immediately struggled to collect this sum, as the imperial treasury and the wealth of captives were insufficient for the Latins. Since these resources were meager, sacred items dedicated to God were audaciously seized; neither ecclesiastical vessels nor the adornments of images were spared, and the Latins had no qualms about accepting gold from these sources. When the emperors needed further Latin assistance, the Latins again sold their services only for vast sums, knowing that this money was obtained through the most profane plundering of sacred items.

The money was collected with no less fault on the part of the citizens, who, unwilling to contribute from their private resources to meet these public expenses, allowed sacred items to be plundered and diverted to profane uses.

Niceta Choniates, in the cited passage, p. 355, describes how, while money was being gathered from all sides, the crusaders plundered suburban estates, temples along the Propontis, and imperial palaces, setting them ablaze and even engaging in various battles with the Greeks.

The people rose up, demanding protection from the emperors against the Latins. Alexius was horrified: how could he take up arms against the more powerful Latins, who were his allies? Isaac also taught his son to ignore the empty cries of the disorderly mob and to honor those whose aid had restored them to power. Only Alexius Ducas, nicknamed Murzuphlus, burning with ambition for the empire, dared to fight the Latins to win the favor of the citizens. The people raged, hurling insults at the emperors and plotting rebellion. They gathered in the Great Church, compelling the nobles to deliberate on choosing a new emperor, but no one was willing to accept the offered crown. After three days, a young man, Nicolaus Canabus, was reluctantly proclaimed emperor. Hearing this, Alexius summoned Boniface, the leader of the crusaders, and, after consultation, decided to admit Latin cohorts into the palace to suppress the new emperor and the people. Murzuphlus seized this opportunity to seize the empire, informing the double-axe-bearing soldiers of the emperor's plan and easily winning them to his side. Alexius was thrown into prison, and Murzuphlus assumed the imperial insignia. He then handed over Nicolaus, abandoned by his supporters, to custody. When poison failed twice to harm Alexius, Murzuphlus himself strangled him with a noose.

Niceta Choniates, in the cited passage, p. 360.

The Latin soldiers, however, report these events quite differently, interpreting them in the worst possible light to justify their subsequent actions against the Greeks.

Letters from Baldwin I, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to Innocent III, found among the acts of Innocent III, authored anonymously under Book IV, Registers 13–16, in the edition of Innocent's letters by Francis Bosquet of Toulouse, 1635, p. 87, attempt to prove to Innocent the misdeeds of the Greeks. Baldwin claims that as soon

> *as the Latins left the city walls, the emperor and people broke all their promises, committing as many perjuries as oaths they had sworn. When some Greeks resisted the Latins plundering the suburbs, Baldwin alleges that this was done with the emperor's encouragement and utmost treachery. He further claims that Alexius promised to surrender the palace but deceived the Marquis who came for this purpose, and that Isaac, above all, turned his son's mind against the Latins, despite Niceta Choniates, an eyewitness, noting Isaac's consistently favorable disposition toward them. Baldwin adds that Murzuphlus fortified the city with war machines and defenses, and that the Greeks thirsted for Latin blood, as if it were not lawful for anyone to fortify their own city.*

The Greeks, however, had no intention of waging war against the Latins, preferring that their guests leave the city and go elsewhere. Indeed, Bishop Antonius of Florence falsely claims, in Title XXII, Chapter XIII, Part XII, that the emperors themselves led troops, fought the Latins, and died dishonorably in battle.

Thus, Murzuphlus, the usurper of the throne, sent envoys to the crusaders to offer peace and request a parley. The Latins demanded the restoration of the captive emperor and the fulfillment of Alexius's promise of obedience to the Roman Church, both of which Murzuphlus rejected, as Baldwin notes in his cited letters. The Latins then began to assault the city, easily overcoming their enemy and slaughtering all who resisted. The carnage was so great that the soldiers, exhausted and disarmed, were forced to rest. Meanwhile, Murzuphlus urged his people to take up arms, but when this failed, he too fled. The next day, with the situation desperate, the people met the enemy with crosses and images of Christ, but the soldiers, unmoved, turned to plunder, seizing even sacred temples and vessels. Images were trampled, the relics of holy martyrs were cast into filth, the blood of Christ was profaned in horrific sacrilege, and His body was discarded. From these sacrileges, the Latins moved to other crimes: virgins, matrons, and nuns were subjected to rape, adultery, and incest; homes were plundered, their owners cast out to wander the streets with nowhere to turn. The Latins proclaimed that those who wished could leave the city. The citizens departed in droves, each mourning the loss of a spouse, daughter, or property. The ecumenical patriarch, carried on a humble donkey, bore neither purse

nor gold, nor staff nor shoes.

> *Niceta Choniates, in his account of Alexius Ducas Murzuphlus, p. 366 and following.*
>
> *Baldwin, in his cited letter, mentions the massacres and the vast plunder collected but passes over the sacrileges, rapes, adulteries, and incests in silence, still calling those wicked soldiers "soldiers of God" and "fighting for God." However, Innocent III himself bears witness to the truth of Niceta's account, condemning these crimes of wicked men in a similar manner. In his letter to the Marquis of Montferrat, Innocent writes: "Not aiming to recover Jerusalem but to occupy Constantinople, preferring earthly riches to heavenly treasures, and, what is far graver, some spared neither religion, age, nor sex, committing fornication, adultery, and incest in the sight of all, exposing married women, widows, matrons, virgins, and those dedicated to God to the filth of scoundrels. It was not enough to exhaust imperial wealth and plunder the spoils of both great and small; you extended your hands to the treasures of the churches and, what is worse, their possessions, tearing silver tablets from altars, violating sanctuaries, and carrying off crosses, icons, and relics, so that the Greek Church, however afflicted by persecutions, refuses to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, having seen in the Latins only examples of perdition and works of darkness, rightly abhorring them more than…" The same is recounted and condemned by Innocent III in his letter to the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, as will be discussed later.*

Thus, these acts were committed by the crusaders, supposedly dedicated soldiers of God. Without delay, the Latins, now masters of the city, created Baldwin, Count of Flanders, as Emperor of Constantinople. He promptly informed Innocent III of all this in writing, at length accusing the Easterners to justify the crusaders' actions to the Pope: they had hindered the recovery of Palestine, made alliances with the Saracens, held the Pope in great contempt, venerated only icons (not even statues), treated the Latins as unbaptized, and called them dogs. Thus, God, avenging such crimes, had used the crusaders to deliver the city and empire to them. Baldwin urged the Pope to summon nobles and commoners of any sex from the West to possess this most blessed land, as there were sufficient riches, honors, and everything else. Above all, he

urged the Pope to encourage clerics and monks to inspire the people and come in droves to the East to establish churches there. He added that it would be beneficial for the Pope to convene a council in Constantinople, which he would attend, so that the entire Eastern Church could finally be brought into communion with the Latins, as the most opportune time had now dawned and must be seized to achieve the reconciliation of the churches.

This letter of Baldwin is found in the cited passage.

Meanwhile, the Latin nobles each claimed estates, cities, and goods for themselves. Among them was the Marquis of Montferrat, who wrote to Innocent, asking whether he could rightfully retain what had been occupied. To gain the Pope's approval, he too railed against the Easterners in his letters, claiming that after Isaac and Alexius were restored and prepared to march to Syria, they were drawn to besiege the city against their will by the perjury and fraud of the Easterners, and that they had done everything to restore the Eastern Churches to communion with the Latins, now awaiting the Pope's approval with bated breath.

Upon receiving the letters of Baldwin and the Marquis, the Pope, initially uncertain, weighed various considerations. It troubled him that the crusaders, sent to liberate the Holy Land and bound by oath not to attack Christian lands, had abandoned Palestine and captured Constantinople amid countless massacres, plunders, sacrileges, rapes, adulteries, and incests. On the other hand, he considered that Alexius had failed to provide the promised supplies, making it lawful for the Latins to pursue him to obtain them and then proceed to Syria. Since the Greeks did not honor their promises, it was just to attack their hostile city. After long deliberation, Innocent recognized divine judgment for the schism and the Greeks' failure to provide timely aid to the Latins fighting in Palestine, and that God had permitted this so the Latins could more effectively defend Palestine. Thus, he responded to the Marquis that he could not yet decide definitively: the Easterners could justly be punished, but not by crusaders unjustly. Nevertheless, he granted the Marquis dominion over the occupied cities and those he would conquer thereafter.

This decision and response of the Pope are evident from his letters to the Marquis, found among the acts of Innocent, p. 94.

Thus, with Constantinople and many Greek lands unjustly occupied by the crusaders, the Pope devoted himself entirely to the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. First, he wrote to Baldwin, confirming him as Emperor of Constantinople and ordering all crusaders to support him in defending Constantinople from the Greeks. He urged bishops, abbots, and other clerics who had followed the crusader army to encourage Baldwin and the nobles to bring the Easterners into union with the Latins and to introduce Latin rites in the churches of Constantinople.

> *Bzovius, citing Innocent's letters for the year 1204, no. 4, notes that the Pope also wrote to the prelates of France, urging them to invite clerics and laypeople to journey to Baldwin in the East, where they would gain both spiritual and temporal riches, so that, with Baldwin's affairs secured in Greece, the Latins could more effectively advance to conquer Palestine. This letter is recorded by Bzovius for the year 1205 and among the acts of Innocent, p. 96.*

Beyond the bishops of France, the Pope also urged the doctors and students of the Parisian Academy to go to Constantinople and the East to restore literary studies there. Spurred by the Pope and the bishops, so many Latin clerics from across Europe crossed to the East that the Latin Patriarch Thomas had much difficulty discerning which to admit to sacred functions.

> *Bzovius, citing Innocent's letters for 1205, no. 4.*

Meanwhile, the crusaders, though bound by oath to liberate Palestine from the barbarians, preferred to indulge in the delights of the occupied regions rather than suffer hunger and thirst on the journey or risk their lives in battles with the barbarians. They thus arranged to be released from their oath and vow to conquer Jerusalem by the Pope's legate. Similarly, other Latins in Palestine, seeing no expected aid from the crusaders, deemed it wiser to make truces with the barbarians and leave the perilous land for the more peaceful and pleasant regions of Greece. So great a multitude of clerics and laypeople left Palestine for Greece that few Latins remained in Palestine. Hearing this, the Pope was no less enraged at his legate than at the crusaders, who, abandoning Palestine, now pursued only goods and riches, unafraid to commit massacres, rapes, sacrileges, and incests.

See the acts of Innocent, p. 98, and his letter to the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, p. 99.

Thus, it is clear that Innocent's hopes, by which he believed God had delivered Greece to the crusaders to better defend Palestine, were entirely vain: the conquest of the Constantinopolitan kingdom led to the loss of Palestine. The Latins sent to aid Palestine lingered in Greece, each preferring the delights of pleasant regions over a desolate and unsafe land, until finally, the Latins were entirely expelled from Palestine.

Meanwhile, Greece suffered. A Latin patriarch was created in Constantinople by the crusaders, as it was agreed among them that the emperor would be chosen from the Franks and the patriarch from the Venetians.

Blondus, Book VIII, Decade, Chapter II.

Latin prelates occupied bishoprics everywhere, even among those who had accepted union with the Roman Church. Among those who embraced this union was the clergy of Thessalonica, as evident from Innocent III's letter to the bishops of Thermopylae and Sardica, Letter XLI, Register XIII, p. 33 of the cited edition, and his letter to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, Letter XVIII, Register XV, p. 317. Beyond Thessalonica, the Church of Corinth also joined the Latin communion, as seen in Innocent's letter to Walter, Archbishop of Corinth, Letter LVIII, Register XV, p. 344. Likewise, a certain John, Bishop of Redestona, submitted to the Roman See, as evident from Innocent's letters to him, Letters CLXXXII and CLXXXIII, Register XV, p. 40. Thus, Innocent III is recorded as having proclaimed the union of the Eastern Church with the Roman Church.

In his letter to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others established in the Constantinopolitan Empire, Letter CV, Register XVI, p. 629, he writes: "Truly, by the Father of lights, from whom comes every perfect gift and every good endowment, the Greek Church, mercifully enlightened, has been wholesomely restored to the magisterium of Peter, namely the unity and devotion of the Roman Church." Similar sentiments are found in his letter to the Latin Prince of Achaea and other Latin nobles, Letter CVI, Register XVI, p. 630.

Thus, in 1215, the Lateran Synod was held in Rome, attended by over 400 Latin bishops, along with the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem.

> *Chapter I, as recorded in Volume XI, Part I, column 142 of the Councils, states: “We firmly believe and simply confess that there is one true God, eternal, immense, omnipotent, unchangeable, incomprehensible, and ineffable, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons indeed, but one essence, substance, or nature entirely simple. The Father from none, the Son from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit equally from both, without beginning, always, and without end. The Father generating, the Son being born, the Holy Spirit proceeding, consubstantial and coequal, co-omnipotent and coeternal, one principle of all things.”*

In this council, the Latins claim, the Greeks embraced union with the Roman Church, though they soon withdrew from it due to their characteristic inconstancy.

> *Cichovius, p. 24.*

> *Similarly, Cromerus, in Book VII of On Polish Affairs, states: “Baldwin the Gaul succeeded him and reconciled and subjected the East to the Roman Church, ending the schism.”*

The Latins add that this reconciliation of the churches lingered long in the minds of the Greeks. When, in 1149, the Pope sent envoys to Emperor John Ducas in Anatolia and Patriarch Manuel, inviting them to the faith and communion of the Latin Church, the mission was highly successful, and there was certain hope that the Pope’s wishes would be fulfilled. However, the premature deaths of the emperor and the Pope that year caused the effort to be abandoned.

> *Antoninus of Florence, Title XXIV, Chapter IX, Part V.*

That the Greeks were then inclined to union with the Latins, albeit with certain conditions, is noted by George Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XII of his history. Gregoras, in Book V of his history, also testifies that union was discussed at that time, and Nicephorus Blemmydas, a learned Easterner, defended the Latin position on the procession of the Holy Spirit in writings to Theodore Lascaris and James of Bulgaria.

These works were included in Greek and Latin by Oponicus Raynaldus, continuator of the Annals of Baronius, in Volume I of his continuation, and are also mentioned by Nicephorus Gregoras in the cited passage.

The Kingdom of Cyprus also persisted in communion with the Latins, as evident from Innocent IV's letter to Odo of Tusculum, Cardinal, concerning a dispute between the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia and the Greek bishops of Cyprus, Letter X, Innocent IV, Volume XI of the Councils, and from Odo's letter to Pope Innocent, Volume VII of the Spicilegium of Ancient Writers, published in Paris in 1666, p. 223.

Furthermore, during Innocent III's time, the Wallachians and Bulgarians, invited by the Pope, are recorded to have willingly joined the Latin communion under their Prince Joanicius and Archbishop Basil, as evident from their letters, found among the acts of Innocent III, pp. 50–51. Indeed, Basil himself set out for Rome, and though detained by the Greeks and intimidated in various ways, he sent two companions to Rome in his stead, as shown by his letter sent back to the Pope upon his return, found among the acts of Innocent, p. 56. Thus, Cardinal John, sent by the Pope to Wallachia, conferred the archiepiscopal pallium, miter, and ring on Basil, who, in his presence, swore obedience to the Roman See. In the same cardinal's presence, Joanicius also subjected himself and his kingdom to the Pope and the Roman Church, promising full obedience in a written and sealed diploma.

Acts of Innocent III, p. 54.

As Cardinal John returned from Rome, Joanicius and Archbishop Basil, along with the Bulgarian bishops, sent letters to the Pope, all affirming their obedience.

Acts of Innocent III, pp. 55–57.

Moreover, the Prince of Serbia requested Innocent III to send a legate to reconcile his people with the Roman See, but this effort could not be completed due to the opposition of the King of Hungary, as evident from Innocent's letter to the King of Hungary, found among the acts of Innocent, p. 68.

Even the Ruthenians favored union at that time, as shown by their choice of Coloman, the Latin son of Andrew, King of Hungary, as their duke after the death of their Roman duke.

Letters from Coloman, Book II, Roman Privileges, Letter XXXVI, and Volume I of Eastern Expeditions, near the end, show Andrew requesting Innocent to grant the Archbishop of Esztergom in Hungary the authority to crown Coloman, as the Halicians promised to remain in unity and obedience to the Roman Church.

Furthermore, at Hyacinth's request in 1230, the Preaching Order established monasteries in Halych and Kiev, as testified by Michovius, Book III, Chapter XXXVII, and Cromerus, p. 265. In 1346, Duke Daniel of Russia promised to bring himself and his entire people into obedience and communion with the Roman Church.

Michovius, Book III, Chapter XLIII; Cromerus, Book IX, On Polish Affairs.

The following year, in 1247, when Latin monks from Eastern Tartary passed through the Russian provinces on their way back to Italy, urging the Russians to unite with the Latins, Daniel responded that they would regard the Pope as their patron and lord and the Roman Church as their mother and teacher, sending letters to the Pope to this effect.

This is testified by the Franciscan monks themselves in Vincentius's Mirror of History, Book XXXI, Chapter XXXIX.

Thus, this union of the Eastern Church with the Roman Church under Innocent III, which the Latins have since cited, was established.

However, first: beyond the fact that in many places orthodox prelates were expelled and Latin prelates installed, those Easterners who then embraced union with the Latins did so not willingly or persuaded by arguments, but driven by threats, fines, and the loss of goods and honors.

The anonymous author of On the Dispute Between Easterners and Westerners, cited by Leo Allatius in Book II, Chapter XIII, no. 2 of Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, states: "From the empire of Lord

Emmanuel Porphyrogenitus to that of Lord Batatzes, they plundered flourishing cities and islands, expelling orthodox prelates from those they occupied and appointing cardinals in their place who agreed with them, in Constantinople, Cyprus, Great Antioch, and other cities. Not only this, but they compelled the entire population, priests, and monks to their doctrine, communion, and commemoration of the Pope, appearing friendlier to those who agreed with them, while openly punishing and martyring their critics as heretics, abhorring their communion entirely, as ancient kings and tyrants did to orthodox Christians. In Cyprus, brought under their control in 1231, monks were imprisoned for three years and afflicted with various torments for refusing to accept communion with the Latins. Seeing they achieved nothing, they killed them in various ways. While Abbot John stood for some time amid flames, a Latin, driven by fury, struck him down with a club. The bones of many animals were piled onto a pyre with holy relics that the fire had not yet consumed and burned together."

The anonymous author continues: "My witnesses are those holy monks in Cyprus who endured the struggle, imprisoned for three years and tormented in every way for refusing to communicate with them. When they would not yield even to confess with their lips that they agreed with them, the Latins, in a fury, dragged some tied to horses' tails through rugged and trackless places, killing them, while others were burned in a blazing pyre. Abbot John, standing and praying in the flames for a long time, was struck down by a Latin knight's club and thus gave his blessed soul to God. When the pyre was extinguished and the relics found intact, they piled the bones of many animals and unclean beasts on top, kindled a new fire, and burned until all was reduced to ashes."

Regarding both the oppression of the Greeks by the Latins and the persecution in Cyprus, Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople writes to Pope Gregory (these letters are found in Volume XI, Part I, columns 31–38 and 199 of the Councils):

"To touch the core of truth, many powerful and noble men would obey you if they did not fear the unjust oppressions, exorbitant exactions, and undue servitude you extort from us, your subjects. Hence arise cruel wars against one another, the desolation of cities, seals placed on church doors, schisms among brothers, and the complete cessation

> *of priestly ministry, so that God is not worshipped as He should be in the Greek churches. One thing, we believe, has long been destined for the Greeks: the time of martyrdom. And now it looms, as a tyrannical tribunal is opened, seats of torment are set up, blood flows in torrents, and we descend to the arena of martyrdom to fight the good fight, to receive crowns from the right hand of the Almighty. The famous island of Cyprus knows this, which has produced new martyrs and seen Christ's soldiers, who, passing through a valley of tears with compunction and sweat from their labors of confession over long periods, finally passed through fire, and God led them as victors to heavenly refreshment. Are these things good, O most holy Pope, successor of the Apostle Peter? Does Peter, the meek and humble disciple of Christ, command such things? Does he thus instruct the elders in his letter, saying, 'I beseech the elders among you,' etc.?"*

Likewise, in Thessalonica, the Latins poured out all their fury. When the city was captured, they savagely attacked the citizens in homes, streets, and caves, striking even suppliants with the sword. Taking refuge in temples offered no protection, as the ferocious soldiers pressed everywhere. Those who escaped the sword were stripped of all possessions, cast out of their homes, and wandered naked in the streets, lacking clothes to cover their shame, bread to eat, or shelter to enter. The sky was their covering, the earth their bed, and hunger their sustenance, which nature abhors. Sacred items dedicated to God and His temples were seized; images were hacked to pieces, their ornaments plundered and cast into the streets or burned like common wood; altars were danced upon, barbarian songs were sung, temple floors were defiled, and all sacred things profaned. To summarize the citizens' immense misery, when they gathered in temples to sing God's praises, the soldiers burst in with barbaric shouts or disruptive tumults, disturbing and confounding all worship of God. Some mingled obscene songs and beastly howls, so that true worshippers of God could not be heard.

> *Nicetas Choniates reports this about Andronicus Comnenus, Book I, p. 192.*

Pope Innocent III: Violent and Thus Opposed

In the year 923 [likely a reference to a specific year in the chronicle, possibly a scribal error for 1203 or similar], the Pope, along with the Latin Patriarch, issued this decree:

- In churches where only Greeks are present, Greek bishops who approve of the union and show obedience to the Roman Church should be appointed;
- but in churches where Greeks are mixed with Latins, at least Latin bishops should be appointed;
- Greek monasteries, lacking monks or occupied by Latin monks, could be handed over to secular clergy.

> *This is confirmed by the letter of Innocent III to Thomas Maurocenus, found in the Acts of Innocent, p. 109.*

Hence, wherever Latins held dominion in Greece, archbishops and bishops who did not accept union with the Roman Church were expelled, and Latins were appointed in their place. Indeed, even when there was still hope that Corinth would soon fall to the Latins, the Pope sent letters to Latin archbishops in the East, instructing them that as soon as the Latins gained control of the city, they should ensure that the churches of that city were subjected to the Roman See. If the archbishop refused to acknowledge the Pope as head by sworn oath, he was to be removed from his see, and a Latin was to be appointed in his place. If the clergy of the churches refused to obey, they too were to be removed and replaced with compliant clergy; those who resisted were to be condemned with anathema.

> *This is confirmed by the letter of Innocent III to the Archbishop of Athens, the Bishop of Thermopylae, and the Bishop of Sidon, which is Letter VI of Register XIII, p. 8.*

Likewise, when the Pope sent Pelagius as his legate to Constantinople, he entrusted him with the task, as he says, of uprooting, destroying, building, and planting—that is, to strengthen the Greeks who had joined the Latins in union, and to compel those who had not joined to do so.

This is confirmed by the letter of Innocent III to the Emperor of Constantinople, which is Letter CIV of Register XVI, p. 28. Also, from the letter of the same to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates of the churches established throughout the Kingdom of Constantinople, which is Letter CV, p. 628. And from the letter of the same to the Prince of Achaea and other Latin nobles, which is Letter CVI, p. 630.

Thus, when Pelagius arrived in Constantinople, he gave the citizens a choice: either death or obedience to the Roman See. He ordered the churches to be reopened; he cast monks and clergy into chains; and the matter would have had a disastrous outcome had not the Latin Emperor Henry, to whom the Constantinopolitans appealed, opportunely resisted Pelagius' efforts.

This is reported by George Acropolita, Number XVII, p. 15, in the Greco-Latin edition published in Paris, 1651.

The same Henry, it is said, while ruling in Constantinople, sent a prelate to the queen of cities, whom they call a legate, named Pelagius, who, exalting all the prerogatives of the Pope, acted arrogantly. For he wore red shoes and was clad in garments of various colors; even the saddle and reins of his horse were dyed with the same venom. And being of a more savage disposition, full of pride and insolence, he raged excessively against the Constantinopolitans, and his purpose did not stray from reason: for he compelled all to submit their necks to the old Rome. Hence, monks were imprisoned, priests were bound in chains, and all churches were locked. Nor did he propose a third option: for either they would acknowledge the Pope as the supreme pontiff of all and commemorate him during sacred rites, or those who refused would pay the penalty of death.

This caused the citizens of Constantinople, especially the leading ones, to be anguished and tormented in spirit.

What wonder, then, if the Greeks who rejected union were so oppressed by their Latin lords, that one or two bishops, or this or that church, submitted to the Roman Pope and admitted communion with the Latins? They did so under coercion, not willingly.

Does this union, approved by some Easterners, therefore favor the cause of the Latins? No more, surely, than it would favor the Arians that many joined them when Catholics were similarly oppressed by Arians, and genuine bishops were replaced by heretics.

Indeed, when Alexius Angelus arrived in Constantinople with an army of crusaders, the Emperor Alexius Comnenus could no more move the Constantinopolitans against his rival than when he showed that the Latins were coming to overthrow their sacred rites and subject them to the Pope. Hence, when the Latins sought to confer with the citizens, they received arrows instead of words.

> *For thus the crusader soldiers themselves report in a letter to Innocent, found in the Acts of Innocent, p. 86, which Bzovius cites as written by the Cardinal of Praeneste in the year 1203, number 2: "Contrary to the expectation of all, we found the minds of all the citizens hardened against us, and they defended their city with walls and machines as if an infidel people had come to defile the holy places and inexorably uproot the Christian religion. For the most cruel usurper of the empire, the betrayer and deceiver of his lord and brother, who had condemned him to perpetual imprisonment without crime, and who intended to do the same to his illustrious son Alexius if he had not been fortunately rescued from his hands into exile, had, through a detestable conspiracy among the people, so poisoned the powerful and the commoners with venomous words that he claimed the Latins were coming to overthrow ancient liberty and restore the place and people to the Roman Pontiff and subject the empire to Latin laws. This matter so animated and armed all against us that they seemed to have all conspired together against us and our exile. Often, through our messengers, indeed through our exile, we sought to be heard by the citizens, but we could neither explain the cause of our arrival nor the manner of our petition; but as often as we offered words from the walls by land or sea, we received arrows instead of words."*

Thus, it is clear that the Greeks never willingly turned their minds to entering into union with the Romans; but whatever union followed was obtained by violent means.

Secondly, wherever it was possible, even under Latin dominion, bishops, monks, and the people openly fled from communion with Latin

archbishops and persevered publicly in their ancestral faith. Among these were the bishops and clergy subject to the Archbishop of Larissa: for they refused to be compliant with the Latin archbishop or to join the communion of the Latins, even while the widow of the Marquis of Montferrat granted them this liberty.

The Pope raged at this and hurriedly sent letters to the Latin archbishops in the East, ordering them to dissuade the widow from this course and to condemn the non-compliant bishops with anathema if necessary.

> *Thus, Innocent III writes in a letter to the Archbishops of Neopatras, Nazor, and Citron, which is Letter CIII of Register XIII, p. 97: "Not only does she [the widow] detain them, but she also protects certain Greek suffragan bishops of the Archbishop of Larissa and other abbots and clergy who refuse to show her reverence, granting them favor in their great wickedness against him. Therefore, unwilling to tolerate that the same noblewoman should deprive the archbishop of his rights, we command your discretion through apostolic writings that you earnestly admonish and effectively induce her to restore what she detains and desist from such presumption; and if necessary, compel her by ecclesiastical censure, with the obstacle of appeal removed, as justice requires, and similarly compel and constrain the aforementioned bishops, abbots, and clergy to render due obedience to the same archbishop."*

Likewise, elsewhere, where Latin lords granted liberty to the Greeks, they openly showed no obedience to Latin prelates and rejected union with the Latins.

> *This is confirmed by the letter of Innocent III to the Archbishop of Larissa and the Bishop of Cithon, which is Letter CLXXII of Register XIII, p. 140: "Our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Patras, has brought before us that the lords of that land, because they seek to oppress Greek priests and monks, do not permit them to show due obedience and reverence to him and other Latin prelates, to the detriment and grievance of their souls. Therefore, we command your confraternity through apostolic writings that, with prior admonition, you compel the said lords to desist from such presumption by ecclesiastical censure, with appeal removed, as justice requires."*

Likewise, when Pelagius, the Roman legate, proposed either death or union with the Latins to the Constantinopolitans, they by no means accepted that union; indeed, they so prevailed upon the Latin Emperor that he, even against the legate's will, took up the defense of their liberty.

> *Thus, George Acropolita continues after the words cited above: "The citizens of Constantinople, especially the leading ones, anguished and tormented in spirit, went to King Henry and said, 'We, born of another race and having another pontiff, have subjected ourselves to your authority, but only over our bodies, not our minds or spirits. For while you wage wars in your defense, we must take up arms; but to yield to your rites and ceremonies is entirely impossible. Therefore, either free us from this pressing danger or allow us, as free people, to return to our native land.' Speaking thus, he [Henry], unwilling to lose so many excellent and noble men, even against the legate's will, reopened the churches, freed the monks and priests from chains and custody, and calmed the storm that was then tossing Constantinople."*

Likewise, in the year 1109 [likely a typo for 1209 or a similar year], when Benedict, a legate sent by the Pope, was in Constantinople, he is recorded as disputing with many holy and learned men in Thessalonica, Constantinople, and Athens about the procession of the Holy Spirit.

> *Thus, Nicholas of Otranto, in Book I against the Latins, cited by Leo Allatius in Book II of Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, Chapter XIII, number 4, states: "Let us, therefore, hold a dialogue with well-educated men skilled in divine matters and philosophy, and from what we heard especially in Thessalonica, in the queen of cities, and also in Athens from most wise and holy men who debated with Lord Benedict, a cardinal and legate of the Roman Pontiff Innocent III, we have written, keeping in memory what we translated from the Greek Church into Latin by his command; for we were then interpreters between the Greeks and Latins."*

Likewise, when John, Bishop of Redeflon, joined the communion of the Latins, the Pope urged him to induce his fellow bishops, monks, and clergy to render obedience to the Roman See. Thus, those bishops, monks, and clergy had not accepted union with the Latins.

> *So Innocent III writes in a letter to the same John, which is Letter CLXXXIII of Register XV, p. 400: "Since you have returned to the obedience of the Apostolic See, so that what you have heard, you may tell others; come and draw, as one curtain draws another. We command your fraternity by the present authority that you diligently exhort and prudently induce your fellow bishops, as well as Greek monks and clergy, to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, so that your diligence may shine forth in its effect and you may more fully deserve our grace and favor."*

Indeed, just as the Latins had violently imposed the papal yoke on many and a tyrannical dominion on many others, so, thirdly, the Greeks, wherever they could, took up arms and publicly defected from the Latins, asserting themselves and their people into the liberty of religion and life.

First, while the Latins, after occupying Constantinople, roamed like locusts devouring everything and sought to seize lands, some nobles already looked toward liberty, and eventually, with matters ripened, they publicly defected from the Latins, choosing Adrianople as the seat of war.

Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, wishing to crush the rebellion in its infancy, hastened with a small force, since most of his troops were dispersed through fortifications and marches, and began to besiege Adrianople, a city most fortified by the Greeks and separated only by mountains from the neighboring Vlachs. But liberty was secured for the besieged by Joannicius, Prince of Wallachia, who was called to their aid. For, arriving with great forces, he captured the incautious Latins and Baldwin himself, along with many other Latin nobles, as prisoners.

> *Thus, Henry, Baldwin's brother, writes in a letter to Pope Innocent, found in the Acts of Innocent, p. 114: "It happened that the Greeks, with their customary great malice and treachery, always showing betrayal against us after every kind of security and caution, immediately after the departure of the messengers last sent to you, openly revealed the rebellion they had long conceived against us. When this was discovered, my brother and lord, the Emperor, promptly, accompanied by a few men—since we were largely dispersed through fortifications and marches—set out from the royal city with the intent to punish the source of the rebellion, namely Adrianople, a city most fortified by the Greeks and separated only by mountains from the neighboring Vlach*

> *peoples. But when Joannicius, lord of the Vlachs, heard that the Latins, with such a small number of men, had besieged the aforementioned city—whom the Greeks had secretly called to their aid to harm us more—he suddenly attacked our men with a multitude of barbarians, Vlachs, Cumans, and others. Our men, going out to meet them too unexpectedly and standing farther than they should, and finally surrounded by the enemies' ambushes, alas! the lord Emperor, Count Louis, Stephen de Perche, and certain other barons and knights, which I can scarcely relate without shedding tears of blood, overwhelmed by such a multitude, not without loss to them, were captured by the enemies."*

Likewise, Michalicius, a man powerful in followers and wealth, greatly persecuted Latin soldiers and killed all Latin priests he encountered in various manners of death. And, astonishingly, Latins were already fighting against Latins in Michalicius' army.

From the Thirteenth Century

Hence, to preserve his union, the Pope sent letters to the Patriarch of Constantinople and other Latin archbishops established in the East, instructing them to recall Latin soldiers fighting under Michalicius' banners and to condemn the obstinate with anathema. Thus, Innocent III writes in a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Register XIII, p. 149:

> *From the letters of our most dear son in Christ, H., the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople, it has been revealed to our apostolate that Michalicius, despising the fidelity he had sworn to the same Emperor, and with his men showing no hesitation, and likewise disregarding the oath he had sworn to the same Emperor and his brother, to whom Michalicius had given his firstborn daughter in marriage, captured the Constable of the Empire, along with others up to a hundred, in deceit. He scourged some of them, cast others into prison, and wickedly killed some; he even hanged the Constable himself with three others and his chaplain on a cross, which is horrible to say. Emboldened by this wickedness, supported by the power of Latins who, blinded by greed, had fled to Michalicius, he besieged the Emperor's camp, burned villages, and beheaded all Latin priests he could capture, including one elected as a bishop and even one confirmed. We command your*

> *fraternity through apostolic writings that you diligently admonish, induce, and enjoin the Latins under penalty of excommunication not to aid the Greeks, especially the aforementioned Michalicius, who, by causing priests to be killed, has incurred the bond of excommunication, against the aforementioned Emperor or his faithful, etc.*

And so the Greeks rose up everywhere, as Honorius, Innocent's successor, sent a legate to Constantinople and instructed the Patriarch to assist the Latin Emperor of Constantinople against the rebellious Greeks, as he says, who were stirring all things with schism.

Bzovius, from the letters of Honorius, in the year 1217, number 3, reports that the Easterners fought long against the Latins, and their cause was later greatly advanced by the timely aid of Asan, King of the Vlachs; for Wallachia had renounced obedience to the Roman See. This so enraged Pope Gregory IX that he incited Bela, King of Hungary, against the Bulgarians and granted Latin monks the authority to call crusaders against them, as recorded in letters on these matters to the King and others, found in Wadding's *History of the Friars Minor*.

Matthew Paris, in his *English History* under Henry III, p. 585, edition of London, 1571, reports that the Greeks so heavily oppressed the Emperor of Constantinople and were so hostile to the Roman Church that many were of the opinion and will to call crusaders against them. For the Latin Emperor himself, to resist them, had withdrawn to the western regions to seek aid:

> *In those times, with the Greeks raging with their usual insolence against both the Roman Church and their lord, the Emperor of Constantinople, they so exasperated the Lord Pope and the entire Church that many were of the opinion and will to turn an army of crusaders against them. The Emperor, too, to avoid their fury, withdrew to the western regions to seek aid and counsel from the Roman Church.*

Thus, when Baldwin, with the aid of his kinsmen and friends, had gathered a strong army, in the following year, 1238, he returned to the East with forces to subdue the Greeks who had renounced him and the Roman Church. Thus, Matthew Paris, p. 644:

> *In those times, the Emperor of Constantinople,* Baldwin*, set out to the regions of Greece to subdue those rebelling against him and the*

> *Roman Church, with a strong hand and no small army, as great and of such quality as all his friends and kinsmen could provide.*

Hence, when in 1237 Philip, Provincial of the Friars Minor in the Holy Land, sent letters to Pope Gregory from Palestine, he added that the Greeks everywhere contradicted the Romans, condemned their sacred rites, and called every sect alien to their own perverse and heretical. Thus, in those letters, among other things, as cited by Matthew Paris, p. 590:

> *While all the aforementioned nations (namely the Nestorians and Eutychians) accept the doctrine of the Trinity (meaning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son) and our preaching, the Greeks alone persist in their malice, everywhere, either secretly or openly, contradicting the Roman Church, blaspheming all our sacred rites, and calling every sect alien to their own perverse and heretical.*

Among the Greeks who sought to assert themselves and their people into liberty by taking up arms, casting off the yoke of the Roman Church and the crusaders, Battacius [likely Vataces, i.e., John III Ducas Vatatzes] stood out especially, so well-equipped with forces that Baldwin's army, brought from the West, was not sufficient for his defense, but he was forced to seek aid from Emperor Frederick. Through his intervention, a truce was established between Baldwin and the Greeks.

Thus, Emperor Frederick of the Germans offered his daughter in marriage to Duke Battacius, which greatly displeased the Pope, so much so that it increased the enmity between the Pope and Frederick. Thus, Matthew Paris again, p. 832:

> *At that same time, when the Emperor of Constantinople had fled from the persecution of the Greeks and had nothing in his treasury to continue the war or withstand the continuous assaults of the Greeks, he sought the counsel and aid of* Emperor Frederick *of the Romans, who, by both threatening the Greeks terribly and negotiating wisely, finally obtained a one-year truce. Meanwhile, the same* Emperor Frederick *arranged for his daughter to be married to a great Greek prince named* Battacius. *This seemed grievous and burdensome to the Lord Pope and the entire Roman curia: for through this same*

> Battacius*, a schism arose between the Roman and Greek Churches, and the Roman Church calls him a schismatic, and the enmity between the Lord Pope and* Emperor Frederick *became more obstinate.*

Thus, while the Greeks had fought so fiercely for the liberty of their Church and state, almost nothing remained for the Latins in the East except Constantinople, where the Greeks had confined them. As the Latin religion was also being expelled with their lords, everyone yearned for, desired, and embraced with both hands the liberty of their ancestral religion. So much so that the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, who previously had more than thirty suffragan archbishops, by the year 1245 had scarcely three still subject to him.

The Latin Patriarch complained of this in the Council of Lyon, where the procurator of Emperor Frederick promised the Pope that if he reconciled with his lord, he would be willing to bring the Easterners back to obedience to the Roman Church by force of arms. Although the Pope did not trust the Emperor, this condition was not accepted; at least, in the same synod, the Pope again set forth the lamentable state of the Latins and the union with the Roman Church. Thus, among other things, the Acts of that Synod state, as found in Matthew Paris, p. 896, and in *Concilia*, Volume XI, Part I, column 658:

> *The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople set forth the state and needs of his Church, asserting that he once had more than thirty suffragans under him, of whom scarcely three now remain, adding further that the Greeks and certain other enemies of the Roman Church have violently occupied almost the entire empire of Romania up to the gates of the city of Constantinople, who in no way obey the Roman Church, detest it, and hostilely oppose it. Hence, grief and confusion threaten all Christians.*

Also present there was Thaddaeus of Suessa, the procurator of Emperor Frederick, a prudent and singularly eloquent man, a knight and doctor of laws, a judge of the sacred palace, ready to respond constantly and diligently for his lord. For his lord’s peace and the restoration of former friendship, he confidently offered on behalf of his lord the Emperor to recall the entire empire of Romania, that is, Greece, to the unity of the Roman Church. To which the Pope responded, exclaiming:

> *Great are the promises, yet never fulfilled or likely to be fulfilled! But these, as is clear, are promises made so that the axe, now placed at the root, may be turned aside by delay, mocking the council. Let the Emperor keep the peace he swore in his soul according to the form of the oath he took, and I will acquiesce. But why should I trust a shape-shifting Proteus? Even if I granted his requests, and he wished to retract (as I expect nothing else), who now would stand as surety for him to compel the reluctant? And when* Thaddaeus *offered the Kings of France and England as sureties for this, the Lord Pope responded: We refuse. For if he broke or entirely invalidated the agreements (as we believe, due to his frequent violations), we would later have to take action against them; and then the Church would have three enemies who have no equals, or even peers, in secular power. And since* Thaddaeus' *procuratorship was not sufficient for this, nor did he have enough time to conclude these matters competently, he fell silent, sorrowful.*

After invoking the Holy Spirit in the following litany and duly performing other rites, the Lord Pope preached, setting forth this theme for each point: "O all you who pass by the way, attend and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow!" And continuing his sermon elegantly, he compared his five greatest sorrows to the five wounds of Christ:

- The inhumanity and savagery of the Tartars devastating Christianity.
- The schism of Romania, that is, the Greek Church, which in our times, in just a few years, has insolently and arrogantly turned away from the bosom of its mother, as if from a stepmother.

Regarding this sermon of the Pope, the Vatican Acts of the same Council state, *Concilia*, Volume XI, Part I, column 638:

> *After these things were done, he began to preach on the authority of the prophecy: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, your consolations have refreshed my soul." He began by saying that his sorrow was manifold, for five sorrows surrounded him. The first was the deformity of prelates and subjects. The second was the insolence of the Saracens. The third was the schism of the Greeks. The fourth was the savagery of the Tartars. The fifth was the persecution by* Emperor Frederick.

Regarding the third, the schism of the Greeks, he spoke of how Vataces, Emperor of the Greeks, with the schismatic Greeks, had occupied and destroyed almost up to Constantinople, and it was feared for the city unless Christians provided swift aid.

Thus, since he could not subdue them by arms, the Pope sought through his emissaries to bring the Easterners back to obedience to the Roman See, as recorded in Wadding's *History of the Friars Minor*, in the year 1247. But since arms could not entirely subject the Greeks to the Latins, would the words of emissaries move the Greeks?

Indeed, Innocent IV, in a letter to Otto of Tusculum, *Concilia*, Volume XI, Part I, column 612, speaks thus of the division of the Churches:

> *It would surely cool the fervor of our anxious mind with the irrigating fountain of flowing joy if all those whom the Lord once gathered into one Catholic flock were united in the same indivisible assembly under one Shepherd's guidance and protected by his custody. O, if the East would shine upon the Easterners from on high, bringing them back to Catholic unity with the illumination of its light, so that, gathered with the rest of the orthodox in the bosom of one court, they might draw the saving doctrine from the breast of the mother Church! Then the Church would receive great and desirable salvation; then its womb would grow with multiplied offspring; then the dawn of heavenly illumination would rise for the Easterners; then the morning star of truth would shine for them; then the fullness of overflowing joy would burst forth throughout the universal Church; then the whole world would shine with exceeding exultation: for it would be very good and pleasant for brothers to dwell together in the house of the Lord; then the same Church, multiplied in joy, would resound with a new song of gladness.*

And so, when in 1253 Pope Alexander [IV] was reigning, he again entrusted the Provincial of Poland of the Order of Preachers to send monks to the Greeks to bring them back to obedience to the Roman See, as recorded in Wadding's *History of the Friars Minor*, in the year 1253.

Likewise, in the year 1252, when certain Latins in Constantinople wrote against the Easterners about the procession of the Holy Spirit, a treatise published in Ingolstadt in 1616 by Peter Stevartius along with other Greek and Latin authors, they openly confess that both then and up to

now the Greeks were opposed to the Latins and not joined to them in communion. Thus, they begin, p. 535 of the cited edition:

> *Although we know that the Church of the Greeks was once adorned with the flowers of virtues and the studies of philosophy, and through the swift course of the holy Fathers, Prophets, and Apostles, it sent many living and glowing stones to the building of the heavenly Jerusalem; now, however, in the end of times, which we cannot say without great sorrow, it persists in the same darkness of its opinions, obscured by countless and diverse whirlwinds of errors, differing from the holy Roman Church. And although the infinite seeds of heresies have manifestly sprouted in its various parts for three hundred and eighty years or so, that is, from the time of* Photius *or* Photinus*, the first inventor of this schism, due to a lack of knowledge and the bitterness of envy; it is especially known to deviate from us in four general or common articles, the first of which, beginning with the Divine Majesty itself, asserts with a polluted mouth, against the opinion, indeed the Catholic faith, that the third person in the Trinity, that is, the Holy Spirit, does not proceed or is not spirated from the Son, or have existence from Him.*

Against these pernicious errors, although the labor of many faithful has already sweated, and many writings have been left for reading in defense of the true Catholic faith; since, however, the modern Greeks, both new and old schismatics, are unwilling to be overcome by arguments or reasons, nor by the testimonies of sacred Scripture, except by the writings of their own saints, to which they greatly cling, both apocryphal and true; moved also by fraternal prayers, I will strive to show, as far as I am able, how their obstinacy may be refuted from their own books.

And among other things, p. 591:

> *Since, therefore, the Greeks cannot excuse themselves in this matter, why is it that, having departed from the mother Church for so long, they refuse to return to obedience with such obstinate minds? I think that the length of time has brought this blindness of the inner man upon them. For it is believed that three hundred and eighty years and more have passed since this schism and scandal began to arise. But does time prejudice such matters? Indeed, the longer they ungratefully abuse the times granted for penance, the more guilty they are of schism before the judgment of the eternal judge.*

Matthew Paris also reports in the year 1254 that certain Eastern nobles came to Rome to meet the Pope, to whom they spoke very harshly, showing how he, along with the other Latins, erred in asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and they disputed variously with the Latins on this matter. The Pope treated them well and sent them back to their people with gifts. Thus, Matthew Paris, p. 1190:

> *At that same time, namely in the summer, certain noble and powerful men from the empire of the Greeks came, dressed in the finest garments, riding the finest horses, with about fifty packhorses and a well-equipped retinue. They met the Lord Pope with very harsh words, charging him with erring gravely in faith, and through him all the Latins who say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, while, according to the proof and approval of the Greeks, it is affirmed to proceed only from the Father. And this is the ancient error of the Greeks, which the Latins disapprove and reject, supported by strong reasons and authorities, which brevity prevents us from reciting. They also debated whether procession and mission are the same or differ, which we leave to disputations to determine. But when examined on the articles of faith and the sacraments, they responded tolerably well. And where they wavered, some kindly offered instruction. The Pope gave them precious garments, namely scarlet robes with exquisite furs, silk belts adorned with silver and gold, and precious clasps, so that they could justly glory in their pride.*

Thus, for the reasons stated, the Greeks opposed their Latin oppressors, drove them out, and especially attempted to conquer Constantinople, the seat of the Latins. Finally, with the aid of the Greeks and the conspiracy of the citizens, Emperor Michael Palaeologus obtained the city in 1261, with the Latins miserably defeated; God repaid them for the great cruelty they had used against the Greeks when they had conquered Constantinople. For the Greeks, enraged against the Latins for their oppressed liberty and religion, killed all the Latins who had not provided for their escape; their houses were set ablaze, and women, children, and the sick were consumed in the fire. The Latin churches burned likewise, with those who had fled to them perishing miserably in the flames. The clergy were especially targeted, for the Greeks complained that they had been chiefly oppressed by them. The Pope’s legate was put to death, with

a dog's tail tied to him. Their corpses were dragged from their graves through the streets, torn apart, and thrown into the fire.

VIOLENTLY, AND THUS ATTACKED.

In revenge for the injuries that the living Greeks had inflicted upon them: even the xenodochium (hospital) was not spared, but the sick and weak were equally pierced with swords; the clergy and monks themselves incited their people against the Latins, offering rewards to urge them to vengeance, so that no Latin might escape. Yet many captives were sold to the barbarians. These events are recounted individually by William, Archbishop of Tyre, in Book XXII of the *Sacred War*, Chapter XII. For, speaking of the recapture of Constantinople, he says:

> *It came to pass, therefore, that as their conspiracy grew stronger, the Protosebastos was captured, deprived of his eyes, and stripped of his manhood; whence our people were greatly dismayed in spirit, fearing a sudden uprising of the citizens against them. Warned by some who knew of the conspiracy, those who were stronger fled the schemes of the Greeks in forty-four galleys they found in the port; others, in ships of which there was a great abundance in the port, loaded all their possessions and escaped the danger. But those who were slower or found to be infirm and less fit for flight were left in their homes and suffered the rage of the impiety that others had escaped. For, with a ship secretly prepared, the oft-mentioned* Andronicus *brought all the forces he had with him into the city. These forces, barely having entered, along with the citizens, rushed into the part of the city inhabited by our people. With raging swords, they killed the remnants of the people who, as others had left or were unwilling or unable to leave, were slaughtered. And though few were able to take up arms, they resisted for a long time and left a bloody victory to their enemies. Forgetful, therefore, of the treaty and the many benefits our empire had conferred, they killed those who seemed able to resist and set fire to their homes. Then they quickly turned their region into ashes; women, children, the elderly, and the sick were consumed in the blaze. Nor was their impiety satisfied with desecrating profane places; but, setting fire to churches and all venerable places, they burned those who had fled there for safety along with the sacred buildings themselves. There was no distinction between the common people and the clergy, except that they raged more fiercely against those who bore the appearance of religion and honesty. For monks and priests were the first to suffer*

> *injuries and were killed with exquisite tortures. Among them, they seized a venerable man named* John*, a subdeacon of the holy Roman Church, whom the Lord Pope had sent there for church business, and in contempt of the Church, they tied his head to the tail of an unclean dog. But not even the dead, whom all impiety is accustomed to spare (as among such detestable and worse-than-parricidal sacrileges), were safe in their rest. Those extracted from their tombs were dragged through the streets and squares, as if they could feel the injuries inflicted upon them. Moreover, approaching the xenodochium called* St. John*'s, they killed with the sword all the sick they found there. Those who, by the duty of piety, were rightly held to alleviate the afflictions of the oppressed—namely, their priests and monks—offered rewards to hire assassins and mercenaries for the slaughter, searching out hiding places and the innermost parts of homes so that no one hiding there could escape the peril of death. Those found were violently dragged out and handed over to executioners, who were even paid a blood price for the killing of these wretched people. Those who seemed to act more leniently with them sold those who had fled to them, to whom they had given hope of safety, to Turks and other infidel peoples in perpetual servitude. Of these, more than 4,000 of mixed sex, age, and condition are said to have been sold to barbarian nations for a price. Thus, the impious Greek people, like a brood of vipers, like a serpent in the bosom of a mouse in a trap, ill-rewarded their guests, who deserved no such treatment and feared nothing of the sort. Yet they had given their daughters, granddaughters, and sisters as wives to them and had made them familiar through long association.*

It is also evident that the rest of Greece was by no means subject to the Roman See, as shown by the fact that the Latin fugitives from Constantinople, in revenge for their people killed by the Greeks in Constantinople, devastated both shores of the sea from Constantinople to the mouth of the Mediterranean, attacking cities, towns, and monasteries, killing the people, monks, and priests, and laying waste a vast region. They then entered the Mediterranean Sea and similarly subjected all its shores to fire and plunder. For so says the same William, in Chapter XIII:

> *But they are not said to have committed such an unheard-of crime with impunity. For those who, as we mentioned, had escaped in galleys, and those who later followed them in other ships, having with them a great multitude and no small fleet, gathered near the city, awaiting*

> *the outcome of the affair. When they fully learned that those who had stirred up the tumult in the city had burned their regions, consumed their wives, children, and entire families partly by the sword and partly by fire, they were moved by just indignation and burned with anger. Desiring with fervent zeal to avenge the blood of their people, they went around both shores of the Hellespont, from the mouth of the Pontic Sea, which is three hundred miles from Constantinople, to the mouth of the Mediterranean Sea, which is two hundred miles from the same city, violently seizing cities and all towns situated on both shores, killing all their inhabitants with the sword. They also invaded monasteries located on both shores of that sea and on the small islands scattered through it, killing the false monks and sacrilegious priests in revenge for their brothers' blood, and setting fire to the monasteries along with those who had fled to them. Passing through the straits of that sea, between Sestos and Abydos, ancient and maritime cities, they entered the Mediterranean Sea, thoroughly plundering the shores of Thessaly and the cities and towns of the provinces adjacent to the sea, subjecting everything to fire and plunder, and causing immense destruction.*

From these events, it is clearly evident that the Greeks were tyrannically brought to union with the Roman Church by the Latins, and where they could shake off the Latin yoke or obtain freedom with the help of their compatriots, they immediately rejected the communion of the Latins, renounced obedience to the Roman Pope, and returned to their pristine orthodox faith. This is also clearly shown by the fact that Michael Palaeologus, having at least liberated Constantinople from the Latins, soon labored (or at least appeared to labor) with the Roman Pontiffs to restore the churches of all Greece to the obedience of the Roman See. This, as it was accepted among the Latins, so no one, unless devoid of sense or a stranger to history, could deny. For in such a manifest matter, it would be superfluous to bring arguments. It is thus sufficiently clear that those Greeks who professed union with the Latins under Innocent III were coerced by force, and at least outwardly, with hearts resisting, were joined to the Latins. For why else, even taking up arms, would they have sought to assert the freedom of their Church as soon as they could? Or, once freed from the Latins, why would they have immediately renounced all union and pursued Latin rites with all hatred? Why, rather than breaking the fidelity given to the Latins and staining themselves with the

mark of rebellion, would they have wished to condemn themselves and their people to Latin communion forever?

Furthermore, fourthly, it is clear that the Greeks, where they were not coerced by the Latins, most strongly abhorred union with the Latin Church, as shown by the example of those whom the Latins, marked with the cross, could not equally subject to their dominion. For as the Latins were pressing, Theodore Lascaris, the Greek prince, fearing that he would be proclaimed Emperor of Constantinople by the clergy marked with the cross, urged the gathering people, though rejecting the imperial insignia, to resist. Seeing that none could be moved and that the Latin soldiers were approaching the city, he sought safety in hasty flight. Nicetas Choniates, in his account of Alexius Ducas Murzuphlus, relates this. Thus, this Lascaris, a fugitive from the city to Anatolia, having drawn many provinces to his side, widely ruled under the title of Emperor of Constantinople. And when the orthodox Patriarch was expelled from Constantinople, he similarly resided in Nicaea at the side of the same Theodore. Many successors followed this Emperor, all of whom successfully defended these regions against the tyranny of the Latins until Michael Palaeologus, having recaptured Constantinople, rejoined this kingdom to the Greek empire. Therefore, the Greeks living freely in Anatolia under these Emperors never accepted or wished to accept union with the Latins, to which the Latin tyrants had coerced others of their nation in Greece. Indeed, the aforementioned Theodore, as a testament to his hatred for the Latins, ordered a captured Latin prince to be flayed. So says Innocent III in his letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, p. 149, in Register XIII of his letters:

> *Furthermore,* Lascaris*, who acted as Emperor, supported by the forces of the Latins, who, setting aside the fear of God and respect for man, and even spurning the stipends that the same Emperor could indeed offer them, received greater rewards from his enemies than he could grant them, took one of their princes and, as it is said, had him flayed.*

Then, in the year 1231, when the orthodox Patriarch Germanus responded to the Pope’s letters concerning the tyranny that the Latins were then exercising over the Greeks (as mentioned above by the anonymous author on the discord between Greeks and Latins, cited by Leo Allatius in the place noted above), in this letter he earnestly urged

the Pope to diligently investigate whether the cause of the schism did not lie with the Latins. He indicated that he was ready for labors and journeys, despite his advanced age, provided that a true union with the ancestral Church could finally be achieved. This letter is found in Volume XI, Part I of the *Councils*, column 318. At the same time, he sent letters to the Cardinals of the Roman Church, containing similar matters, which are found in Matthew Paris's *History of England* under Henry III, p. 615. From this latter letter, the following words are noteworthy:

> *This alone I will add, and with this word I will conclude, that there are many and great peoples who agree with us and, being Greeks, concur with us in all things. First, those who dwell in the first part of the East, the Ethiopians, then the Syrians, and others who are more serious and virtuous, namely the Iberians, Lazi, Alans, Goths, Khazars, the innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdom of the great victorious Bulgarians. And all these, as to their mother, obey our ancient orthodoxy, remaining steadfast in it to this day.*

From this, it is again evident that the Greeks, when independent, never turned their minds to union with the Latins. In response, Pope Gregory, replying to Germanus, only accused the Greeks of being guilty of schism, admonishing them to return to the infallible Roman Church. This letter is found in Volume XI of the *Councils*, Part I, column 321.

Not content with letters, he also sent legates to procure the union of the Churches. The letters accompanying them are found in Volume VI of the *Councils*, Part I, column 324. The legates themselves recorded the acts of this mission, which are preserved among the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, fragments of which Odericus Raynaldus inserted into his continuation of Baronius under the year 1232. When the Pope's legates inquired what causes had separated the East from the West in schism, the acts report that, after holding a council, they gave this response:

> *We say that there are two causes. One is concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, the other concerning the sacrament of the altar.*

To this, we responded thus:

> *If these are the causes and no others, why have you withdrawn obedience from the Roman Church? Let us see whether these are, or ought to be, sufficient causes for such great disobedience.*

After an interval of two days, a debate was held in the imperial palace concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit and whether anything should be added to the Creed by the Latins. From there, the legates indicated that they should move on to the other question concerning the use of unleavened bread. But Patriarch Germanus insisted that a synod of the Eastern bishops must be convened, and without the consent of the other Patriarchs, nothing could be discussed or decided in such a serious matter. When a council of the Eastern bishops was then convened, the legates pressed for discussion of the sacrament of the Eucharist. However, the synod wished first to address the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Pope's legates responded:

> *We see that you are delaying and seeking to evade our question, and you do not dare to profess your faith. Henceforth, our heart will be open to you with clear speech, and we will declare whatever we think of you. We now perceive that you hold erroneous views about the sacrament in unleavened bread: first, through your writings, which are full of this heresy; second, because you dare not respond to the question posed about the sacrament, lest your heresy be exposed; third, because your actions prove it, for you wash your altars after a Latin has celebrated on them; fourth, because you compel Latins coming to your sacraments to apostatize and abjure the sacraments of the Roman Church; fifth, because you have removed the Lord Pope from your diptychs, though we know you remove no one unless they are excommunicated or heretical; sixth, because you excommunicate him once a year, as some who heard it have reported to us.*

In response, the Chartophylax denied that the Easterners excommunicated the Pope and added:

> *Do not be surprised at the other things we do, for your Latins, when they captured Constantinople, broke into churches, destroyed altars after taking gold and silver, cast the relics of saints into the sea, trampled the icons of saints, and turned churches into stables, so that the prophetic words seemed fulfilled: "O God, the nations have come into your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple."*

To this, the Patriarch said:

> *If you are surprised that we have removed the Pope from our diptychs, I ask: Why has he removed me from his diptychs?*

The Pope's orators replied:

> *The Lord Pope has never removed you from his diptychs, because you were never there; but if you ask about your predecessors, you should investigate whether the Pope removed you before you removed him. As for the other things you impute to the Roman Church, you impute nothing, since these were not done with the consent or command of the Roman Church. If these things were done, they were done by laymen, sinners, excommunicates, presuming such things on their own authority, and it should not be imputed to the whole Church that some unjust individuals presumed to do so. But what we say about you is true, for you testify to it in word and deed. These things are done first by your Patriarch and Archbishops, and then by your Bishops and other prelates of your Church; you do these things and teach them to be done, so you no longer have any excuse for your sins. And since we find so many abominable things among you and no willingness to amend what has been erred thus far, behold, we will return to him who sent us.*

From these words, it is clear to the eye that those Eastern Churches neither then nor to this day accepted the communion of the Latins, but rather abhorred it as much as possible. The acts of that legation were also recorded by Centius Camerarius and are preserved in the Vatican Library. These are reported by Wadding in the *Annals of the Minors* and in Volume XI of the *Councils*, Part I, column 460, among other things, stating that the Latins wrote down their confession concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the Greeks did the same concerning unleavened bread. Finally, as the acts state, with the Greeks and their Patriarchs and individual prelates subscribing, especially the aforementioned Archbishop of Samastria, they declared it heretical and leading to perdition to say that the sacrament could be consecrated in unleavened bread. It was agreed that they would write their faith concerning the matter of consecration, and the apocrisiarii (legates) would write theirs concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and exchange the writings. Thus, the Greeks wrote about unleavened bread, which is found in Volume XI of the *Councils*, Part I, column 461. The

Latins wrote about the procession of the Holy Spirit, which is found in Latin in the cited place, column 326, and in Greek in Volume XI of the *Councils*, Part II, column 2336. The Emperor, summoning the Pope's orators, proposed that union could be achieved if the Latins removed the addition to the Creed and the Greeks admitted that the sacrament could be consecrated in unleavened bread. But the legates entirely rejected these conditions, showing that union could only be achieved when the Greeks condemned the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone and burned all books written on this matter. Hearing this, the Easterners were inflamed with great anger and sought ways to confound the legates anew. For the acts of that legation, in Volume XI of the *Councils*, Part I, column 463, continue that the legates responded to the Emperor:

> *The apocrisiarii boldly and openly declared, as they write, that the Emperor, though otherwise a good man and exceedingly desirous of union, was steeped in error, and he should know that for no gain, however great, to the state or province would the Roman Catholic Church change even a single jot or tittle of its most firmly established faith. Nor could it in any way be united with the Greek Church unless it first rejected and condemned its errors, especially concerning the point of the procession of the Holy Spirit, condemned all its books in which that doctrine was taught or written, and consigned them to the fire. As for the consecration in leavened bread, the Greek Church is not rejected or condemned by the Latin Church for this, nor does it wish to be condemned for using unleavened bread, since each lawfully consecrates in either kind of bread.*

The acts add:

> *Hearing this, the Emperor's spirit sank, abandoning all hope of union, for he saw the stubbornness of his people, who, out of excessive attachment to their own opinions, could not be persuaded by any entreaty to yield to the Latins or abandon their deeply held beliefs. This he learned the next day when he reported the conversation to the apocrisiarii. For they were so moved and indignant that, with a great murmur arising, they raged against the apocrisiarii, holding secret meetings against them to confound them. After a public assembly was held, the confession of faith concerning the procession of the Holy*

> *Spirit, which the legates had given to the Easterners, was read publicly. After it was read, the Easterners disputed many things against the Latin position. The people, stirred by the novelty of the doctrine, were barely calmed by the Patriarch. Finally, the Pope's orators asked: "Do you believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, or not?" The Patriarch, speaking for all, responded: "We believe that He does not proceed from the Son." To which they replied: "Therefore, you are condemned by anathema, for* Cyril*, who presided over the Third Council, anathematizes all who deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son." At this, the Easterners, inflamed by the shamelessness of this response, declared that all who taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, along with the legates themselves, were heretics and condemned.*

For so the acts continue, as reported by Wadding and in the cited volume of the *Councils*, column 464:

> *They warned them on the Wednesday of the third week after Easter to attend the Council the next day, Thursday, for a unanimous resolution of the matter, for it no longer seemed that one should compel the other. When they arrived, they found the entire multitude of the people gathered, and with the doors open, the Patriarch sat in the courtyard, with the Council convened in that larger open space. As they sat, the Patriarch said in a loud voice before all: "While there was hope of union, we spoke to you of all peace and showed you all love; but now, with that hope frustrated, we do not know what to do. You have given us your faith concerning the Holy Spirit in writing; do you wish us to promulgate it among our peoples, nations, and provinces? Here, in the presence of those standing by and you, if it pleases you, we wish it to be read." They responded that this pleased them and that they desired nothing more than that the true doctrine of the Roman Church be spread and read everywhere. Immediately, one of the senior counselors read the entire definition of the apocrisiarii. After this, the Greeks brought forward certain authorities of the Holy Fathers in favor of their opinion. Then, with a great murmur and tumult arising among the people, the Patriarch signaled for silence with his hand and voice, as the apocrisiarii feared the unrestrained and seditious crowd. When the murmur was calmed, the apocrisiarii said in a loud voice: "Do you believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, or not?" The Patriarch, speaking for all, responded: "We believe that He*

does not proceed from the Son." And they added: "But if Cyril*, who presided over the Third Council, anathematizes all who do not believe this, then you are anathematized." Likewise, you believe and say that the body of Christ cannot be consecrated in unleavened bread, but this is heretical. Angered by the harsh condemnation of their beliefs, they declared the apocrisiarii and the supporters or followers of those opinions to be excommunicated heretics.*

This was the end of the Synod. For the legates, fearing the people, obtained permission from the Emperor to depart and set out on their journey. The acts continue:

With a great uproar and tumult having arisen, the apocrisiarii withdrew, taking precautions for themselves. Before they ate, they urgently sought from the Emperor permission to return, seeing that they could achieve nothing and that no hope remained of bending a stiff-necked and obstinate people in their errors. Permission was granted (for the Emperor was grieved that the matter had remained unresolved and had proceeded to contention and sedition), and early the next morning, Saturday, they departed from Nymphaea. Some from the Synod then came to return to the legates the profession of faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit and to demand the Synod's confession concerning unleavened bread. The legates refused, saying they would not return it. Those sent then pronounced an anathema against anyone who would act as their guide or aid them in any way. The legates, incensed by this affront, set out alone but, eventually wandering and fearing for themselves, returned to the city. The confession concerning unleavened bread was extorted from the legates, and another, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, prepared by the Synod, was given to them to deliver to the Pope.

For the acts, after some further details, state:

The patriarchal envoys said they were sent by the Council to return the profession or definition of faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit given by the apocrisiarii and to demand the one the Greeks had given concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist. The apocrisiarii responded that they had given them the definition so that it might remain as a memorial of the faith and doctrine of the Roman Church, and that all the churches of the Greeks might know what they should

> *believe and teach concerning that article. But your writing concerning the sacrament of the altar, they said, we wish to take with us, so that it may be more certain to the Latin Church and the most holy Lord Pope in what error you are entangled and that you are unwilling to depart from it. The envoys persisted for two days in demanding the return of the writing, but when they could not obtain it, they pronounced the sacrament of excommunication against all the companions and leaders of the apocrisiarii, prohibiting under anathema anyone from aiding or counseling them. Then, having obtained what they desired, they turned to kind words and dismissed them in peace, giving them letters from the Patriarch of Nicaea or Constantinople, as well as Antioch, or rather from the entire Synod, in which they tirelessly inculcate their error concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit with amassed authorities of the Holy Fathers.*

Hence, a lengthy confession concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone follows in the cited place. The Chartophylax subscribed to it thus:

> *I, Chartophylax of the great Church of Constantinople,* Aulinus*, by the command of the most holy Patriarchs, both general and of the great Theopolis of Antioch, and by the persuasion of the Holy Council, have subscribed to this booklet of our confession and faith.*

This confession exists in Greek in the Vienna Library in manuscript theological codex LXIV, as testified by Peter Lambecius, Book III of his *Commentaries on the Vienna Library*, p. 118. It is also held in the Vatican, as Leo Allatius testifies, Book II of his *Perpetual Consensus of the Churches*, Chapter XIV, number III.

Furthermore, Germanus later published writings against the heresies of the Latins, specifically against the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. For it exists in the cited Vienna codex, as testified by the same Lambecius in the cited place, p. 121:

> *A synopsis of testimonies from sacred Scripture and the Holy Fathers against the heresies and errors of the Latins concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened bread, and baptism, taken from Patriarch* Germanus*'s response to the letter of* Pope Gregory IX.

Beyond this, Germanus published another writing on the procession of the Holy Spirit. He also collected all the authorities of both Eastern and Latin Fathers, expressed in Greek words, supporting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, with refutations added, as testified by Leo Allatius in the cited place.

Thus, the attempt by Gregory IX to achieve union between the Eastern and Roman Churches had been in vain, as he himself laments in his letter to Frederick, Book XI of his Letters, Epistle 413. From this, it is sufficiently clear that those Eastern Churches were, both then and at that time, averse to that union.

Again, when in the year 1249 the union between these Eastern Churches and the Romans was discussed anew, it was accepted by the Easterners only under these conditions: that the Pope be mentioned in the liturgies; that the Latins not aid those occupying Constantinople; and that the addition to the Creed be removed; in other matters, it could be held and read. Pachymeres, in Book V of his *History*, Chapter XII, states:

> *Thus, [*Michael Palaeologus*, the Emperor] brought forth from history the memory of ancient examples, especially that of* Emperor John Ducas *and the bishops who were then, together with Patriarch* Manuel*, who agreed and promised, even sending bishops to make this agreement: that they would commune with the Latins in the sacred liturgy and make mention of the Pope in it, provided he refrain from aiding the Latins who held the city. As proof of this, a codex of the Church, in which these things were written, was brought forth. The Emperor, discussing this matter, compared the state of affairs then with the present, also presenting written and signed opinions of the prelate of that time, which he held to be valid and argued should be considered as their own by those now in the same position, ordering that it be considered: that those Fathers entirely refrained from accusing the Italians of impiety or heresy on account of the addition to the Creed, which they only sought to have removed from the Creed, allowing it to be held and read as other things were in other respects.*

And since Pope Innocent died under these circumstances, his successor Alexander, hearing these conditions of union, by no means wished to accept them all. He declared that a universal council should be convened so that the union of the Churches could be more easily achieved, and he

signified this to Theodore Lascaris, the successor of John Ducas, through a legate. As reported by Wadding in the *Annals of the Minors* under the year 1256, this Theodore then wrote two orations on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone against the Latins, as testified by Leo Allatius, Book II of his *Consensus of the Churches*, Chapter XIV. From this, it is clear what should be thought of that union, which the Latins claimed was nearly perfected under John Ducas. For if that union persisted at least in the commemoration of the Pope during the sacred rites, yet with the condition that the Latins remove the addition to the Creed, the Easterners truly ought to have desired this union. For two things chiefly divide the Churches: the addition to the Creed and the tyranny of the papacy. Hence, the Pope did not even wish to accept those conditions of union. Blemmydas, who then wrote in favor of the Latins, does not prejudice these matters. For the learned are not immune to error; often, the most learned men have been the authors and defenders of heresies. How, then, could it be an argument for a Catholic dogma that a learned man held the same opinion? And similarly, the Greeks later, under Michael Palaeologus, joined to expel the Latins from Constantinople and their sacred rites, and thereafter he labored (or appeared to labor) for their reduction to obedience to the Roman Church, as already mentioned above.

Finally, fifthly, in the regions of Syria and Palestine, the Greeks, either secretly or openly, resisted their Latin lords; whatever obedience was shown to them was done with the mouth, not the heart. Hence, James of Vitry, a Latin bishop in Ancona in Syria, in Chapter LXXIV of his *History of Jerusalem*, Volume I of the *Eastern History* published in Hainaut, in the year 1611, p. 1090, speaking of the Syrians:

> *The Syrians fully observe the customs and institutions of the Greeks in divine offices and other spiritual matters and obey them as their superiors; but to the Latin prelates in whose dioceses they reside, they claim to obey only with their mouths and superficially, out of fear of secular lords. For they have their own Greek bishops, and they do not fear the excommunications or any other sentences of the Latins in any way, unless their lay lords withdraw them from communion in contracts and other necessities. For they say among themselves that all Latins are excommunicated, and thus they cannot bind anyone with any sentence. For in the Council of Nicaea, which is one of the*

four principal councils received by the Church as the four Gospels without retraction, in which there were 318 bishops, among many other things, it was said and determined that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. And at the end, they bound all who would add or subtract anything from the aforementioned Council with the sentence of anathema. And then: Hence, both the Greeks and the Syrians, miserably deceived on account of the Creed composed by the Holy Fathers in the Nicene Creed, deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.

And after some further remarks:

Both the Greeks and the Syrians, as mentioned, believe all Latins to be excommunicated.

Similarly, Marinus Sanutus Torrellus, a Venetian, in Book III of his *Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, Part VIII, Volume II of the *Eastern Church*, p. 182, speaking similarly of the Syrians:

They observe the customs and institutions of the Greeks as those of their elders; to the Latin prelates in whose dioceses they reside, they profess to obey with their mouths but not their hearts, out of fear of secular lords. Hence, they do not fear their excommunications, except insofar as they are separated from the contracts and benefits of the faithful. For, as mentioned, they say that all Latins are subject to the sentence of excommunication, and therefore they cannot impose a sentence of excommunication.

Likewise, the author of the appendix to the *Sacred Wars*, Volume VI of Canisius's *Ancient Readings*, p. 265:

The Syrians have their own Greek bishops and mock and deride the excommunications of the Latins, saying that they are eternally excommunicated. In the same way, following the custom of the Greeks concerning the Holy Trinity, they say that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son but only from the Father.

Since, therefore, both the Greeks and the Syrians consider all Latins to be excommunicated, they have been accustomed to wash their altars, on

which the Latins have celebrated divine services, before they themselves celebrate on them. They also show no reverence for our sacraments. Hence, under Pope Innocent III, the Patriarch of Antioch, along with his clergy, was excommunicated by the Pope's legate because he had opposed the Latins. Nevertheless, he was restored to his see, along with the other Greeks, by the King of Armenia, who had also elsewhere expelled Latin clergy and replaced them with Greeks. For this, Innocent reproaches the King of Armenia in a letter written to him, which is found in Epistle II, Register XVI, page 521:

> *Previously, the said Patriarch, striving to overcome evil with good, had remained silent about certain matters, which you had attempted, by which you not only lightly offended the Apostolic See, but indeed Him who established it as the mother and teacher of all churches. For when our venerable brother, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, legate of the Apostolic See, deemed it necessary, by our special mandate and in accordance with justice, to depose a certain man who called himself the Patriarch of Antioch, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all who regarded him as Patriarch, you nevertheless received him, not without injury to the Apostolic See, rashly treating him as Patriarch. Furthermore, when the elected Bishop of Tarsus was removed, and the oft-mentioned Patriarch hoped that, according to your promise, an archbishop would be appointed there, you, with sacrilegious presumption, divided the revenues and properties of that church among your soldiers, completely expelled the Latin clergy from it, and presumed to install certain Greeks in their place.*

On the Relations with the Eastern Churches

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, also reports in a letter to the cardinals that the Syrians and other Eastern peoples were united with him and his church, but not with the Roman Church. Thus, Germanus states in the words already cited above:

> *This alone I add, and with these words I will conclude, that there are many and great nations that agree with us and align with us Greeks in all things. First, those who dwell in the easternmost part, the Ethiopians, then the Syrians, and others who are more serious and virtuous,*

> *namely the Iberians, Lazi, Alans, Goths, Khazars, the innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdom of the victorious Bulgarians; all these, as to their mother, obey our ancient orthodoxy, remaining steadfast up to now.*

It is also noted that in the Synod of Nymphaea in 1233, the Patriarch of Antioch was present and, along with Germanus, resisted the Latins, as we have seen. Likewise, in 1237, Philip, Provincial of the Friars Minor in the Holy Land, wrote to the Pope from Palestine, as recorded by Matthew Paris in his *English History* under Henry III, page 590:

> *While all the aforementioned nations acquiesce to the doctrine of the Trinity and our preaching, the Greeks alone persist in their malice, everywhere either secretly or openly contradicting the Roman Church, blaspheming all our sacred rites, and calling everything alien to their own perverse and heretical.*

In 1238, the Patriarch of Antioch, with the consent of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, condemned the Pope and the entire Roman Church with an anathema, adding, among other things, that his church surpassed the Roman Church, since it was first governed by Peter for seven years and always honored there with the highest reverence, which was not done in Rome; and that the Roman Church was wholly defiled by simony and other crimes. Thus, Matthew Paris, in the cited place, page 644, states:

> *In that year, the Archbishop of Antioch, with the consent of Germanus, Archbishop of Constantinople, advocate of the Greeks and acting as an antipope, dared with such audacity and rashness to excommunicate the Lord Pope and his entire Roman Church and court with empty authority; and, blaspheming, he solemnly preached that he and his church surpassed the Lord Pope and the Roman Church in both time and dignity, because the blessed Apostle Peter first governed the Church of Antioch with the highest honor for seven years, received there with the reverence due to him and honorably enthroned; whereas in Rome, he was afflicted with many injuries and insults, and finally, under Emperor Nero, suffered a cruel death alongside his fellow apostle, St. Paul, the special teacher of the Greeks; hence, the city and region that conferred honor and reverence on the blessed Apostle*

> *Peter, along with its citizens and all its inhabitants, should rightly be held dearer and more beloved than those who inflicted disgrace and torments upon him.*

He further claimed that the power of binding and loosing was more freely granted to the Greek Church than to the Roman, which he said was now defiled by simony, usury, avarice, and the stains of other crimes. With these and other superficial reasons, the said antipope cloaked his wounds, excusing his sins with excuses. But the pillar of the Church, the Lord Pope, the true successor of St. Peter, though not fully his imitator, was unmoved, reserving all vengeance for the time of retribution.

Finally, in 1247, it is recorded that the Roman Pope attempted through his emissaries to bring the Greeks under the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem back to obedience to the Roman Church, as noted by Wadding in the *Annals of the Friars Minor* for that year.

It is thus sufficiently clear that the Easterners, wherever possible, rejected that union with the Latins or did not even consider it; and those who were forcibly compelled to it, once they gained freedom—whether by taking up arms themselves or through the aid of others—unanimously renounced that union, which they had professed not with their hearts but only with their lips. Therefore, what benefit did this union, imposed on the Greeks under Innocent III, bring to the Latins, or what harm did it cause the Greeks? Certainly, it cannot be argued that the Catholic faith is falsified because part of the Catholic Church is oppressed, as was once done by the Arians, as is accepted by all. As for what was objected above, that certain kings willingly sought some form of union with the Roman Church, this does not contradict the Catholic truth. We say that they gravely erred in this; nor were they immune from error. Moreover, they were not moved to it by arguments, persuasion, or the prompting of conscience, but by human motives, seeking to recover their empire or obtain royal dignity. Can those who are led by such motives not often stray into error or falsehood? The rule of our faith and communion with others is not utility, profit, honor, or fame, but sacred Scripture alone, understood in the sense that the Catholic Church has always interpreted and accepted it. If, therefore, someone does not follow the true rule for resolving controversies of faith, is it surprising if they fall into error? For instance, the son of Isaac promised to join the sacred rites and

communion of the Latins for no other reason than to recover his father's empire, which had been usurped by his cousin, with the help of the Latins. Otherwise, the Latins would not have offered him even the hope of aid, as they were bound by oath to proceed directly to Palestine. As for Wallachia, the splendor of a royal crown, which he could easily believe he would receive from the Pope upon entering into union, enticed him to consider it. Hence, in all his letters, he repeatedly requests and, through others, seeks from the Pope that a royal crown be sent to him. Thus, in a letter to the Pope, found in the *Acts of Innocent*, page 50:

> *This, however, our empire requests from the Apostolic See, that we may be established in the Roman Church as in the filial bond of a mother. Above all, we request from the Roman Church a crown and honor, as a beloved son, according to what our ancient emperors possessed. There was Peter, there was Samuel, and others who preceded them in empire, as we find written in our books.*

Likewise, Basil, Archbishop of the Bulgarians, in a letter to the Pope, found in the *Acts of Innocent*, page 51:

> *Hence, all of us, both small and great, as good sons, ask you as a good father that our lord emperor may obtain what he seeks from you, for he is worthy to obtain it, as he and his entire empire foster good devotion to the Roman Church, as heirs descending from the blood of Rome.*

Again, the Prince of Wallachia, in other letters to the Pope, cited in the same place, page 35:

> *And I ask another thing of your holiness, that you send a cardinal to this empire, who may come to me or another from the Apostolic See, and give him a diadem and scepter according to the blessing of the Apostolic See and the Prince of the Apostles, and send a privilege sealed with gold to be kept perpetually in the Church of Trnovo. And let all these things be granted to our empire, and let them consecrate and crown my empire with your holiness. Let the present messenger, Bishop Blasius of Blandiziberen, see this, so that he may report what is written by my own hand: if your holiness fulfills all these things, I will consider it as done for the wisdom of my empire and all the Bulgarians*

> *and Wallachians, that they may be beloved and orthodox sons of the holy Roman Church.*

Thus, only the royal crown motivated Wallachia to seek union, as he saw that his ancestors had enjoyed it. Basil, Archbishop of the Bulgarians, sought union either for another reason or similarly to obtain patriarchal dignity from the Pope. Thus, in the emperor's letter to the Pope, cited earlier, page 55, in the *Acts of Innocent*:

> *I ask and beseech your great holiness to fulfill the desire of the empire, to send a pastoral staff to gather the sheep, and other things that a Patriarch is accustomed to have, and to make the present Primate patriarchal in the holy and great Church of Trnovo, the first city of all Bulgaria. And let that church, even after the death of this Patriarch, have a Patriarch forever by your holiness's command.*

It is not clear from this whether, beyond the clergy motivated by the prospect of greater dignity, the other clergy, nobles, and people accepted this union. The promises or declarations of the king cannot be simply trusted, for in the same way, Michael Palaiologos sought to deceive the Latins, as noted elsewhere. Likewise, Patriarch Germanus, in a letter to the cardinals written in 1232, explicitly states that the Wallachians and Bulgarians remained steadfast in communion with the Eastern Church, not with the Latin Church, as we will see again in his words. Meanwhile, it is certain that not long afterward, the Bulgarians were averse to all communion with the Latins, and their king, Asen, supported the Greeks, who, having shaken off the Latin yoke, sought to assert their freedom. This so enraged Gregory IX that he called upon Bela, King of Hungary, against the Bulgarians and permitted monks to summon crusaders against them, as recorded in letters to the Hungarians and others, found in Wadding's *Annals of the Friars Minor*. Before this time, Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople wrote to the Roman cardinals, as cited above:

> *There are many and great nations that agree with us and align with us Greeks in all things. The innumerable people of Russia, the kingdom of the victorious Bulgarians, and all these obey our mother as to ancient orthodoxy, remaining steadfast up to now.*

Thus, either the rest of the Bulgarian nation did not accept the union at that time, or, if they did, they followed the will and commands of their emperor, from which, once freed, they willingly returned to their original orthodoxy. Similarly, in 1253, when Pope Innocent IV was residing in Assisi, he commissioned the Provincial of Poland of the Order of Preachers to send monks to the Bulgarians to bring them back to obedience to the Roman Church, as noted by Wadding for that year.

Likewise, Stephen, Magnippanus of Serbia, sought union with the Roman Church to obtain a royal crown from the Pope. Since the crown was not sent to him, he did not publicly introduce the union, which any prince who truly desires it can introduce into his court even without the presence of a Roman legate. Thus, Innocent III, in a letter to the King of Hungary, found in the *Acts of Innocent*, page 68:

> *It would not have been irrelevant to note in this case that when the noble man Stephen, Magnippanus of Serbia, humbly requested through venerable envoys that we send a legate to his land to bring it back to obedience to the Roman Church and confer on him the diadem of a kingdom, and we, with the common counsel of our brothers, decided to grant his petition, entrusting the office of this legation to our venerable brother, the Bishop of Albania; but when we learned that this greatly displeased your serenity, out of respect for you, we abandoned the undertaking, not without some embarrassment.*

However, Stephen's successor, Vuk, is recorded as having wished to bring Serbia to obedience to the Roman Church, with the King of Hungary agreeing that a royal crown be sent to Vuk from the Pope. But it is not recorded that Vuk himself desired that union. Certainly, no union of Serbia with the Roman Church followed. Thus, Innocent continues in the cited letter:

> *But after you conquered Serbia, removed Stephen, and installed Vuk in his place, you sent envoys stating that you wished to bring that land to obedience to the Roman Church, and you would equitably allow Vuk to receive a royal crown from the Apostolic See; hence, with the counsel of your envoys, we deemed it appropriate to entrust the execution of this matter to our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Kalocsa. But since two years have passed, we know that no progress has been made.*

Likewise, Daniel, Duke of the Russians, at least in whatever he said or promised about union with the Latins, did so only to be anointed as king by the Roman Church; and, having achieved his goal, he publicly acted contrary to it. Cromer, in Book IX of *On the Affairs of Poland*:

> *Through a legation sent to Opizo, the Apostolic Legate in Poland, he promised that he and his entire people would join the society or unity of the Roman and Catholic Church and defend Christian regions against the Tartars, who had already struck great fear into all Christian princes. He obtained the name and diadem of a king for himself and his posterity, with no objection from Opizo, Bishop Prandota of Krakow, and several others. But having obtained what he sought, he violated his faith and the sanctity of his oath; relapsing into his former error, he not only failed to defend Christians from the barbarians but even allied with the Tartars, as we have said, and soon also with the Lithuanians.*

Michovius, Book III, Chapter XLIII:

> *Daniel, Prince of Drohiczyn and Kiev, among the more powerful princes of Russia, requesting and promising that he would bring the lands of the Russians, abandoning the Greek rite, into obedience and communion with the Roman Church, was crowned and anointed as king over Russia in 1246 by the aforementioned legate Opizo in a fortress, though all the Polish bishops opposed it, knowing Daniel's faith to be wavering and false, as was later confirmed.*

And in Book III, Chapter L, for the year 1249:

> *In that year, Albert, formerly Bishop of Armagh, then promoted by Innocent IV to Bishop of Prussia, was sent to Daniel of Russia and demanded that he render obedience to the Roman Church. Daniel did not comply with the Apostolic request and dismissed the Apostolic Legate without honor. And although Daniel, now king, was crowned a second time by the Pope's legate and swore obedience to the Roman Church, he again departed from this intention.*

Thus, Michovius, Book III, Chapter LIII:

> *By the mandate of Pope Innocent IV in 1253, Opizo of Meszano, Apostolic Legate, accompanied by Bishop Prandota of Krakow and several*

> *other bishops, anointed Daniel, Duke of Russia, as King of Russia in the fortress of Drohiczyn, renewing his prior coronation, having received his oath that, abandoning the Greek rite, both he and the Ruthenian nation would faithfully follow the Roman rite. But beyond the wars that Daniel is recorded to have waged against the Poles, as noted in Book III, Chapters XLIII, XLVII (1260 and 1262), and Chapter XLV, it is added in Chapter LV for the year 1266: 'Daniel, schismatic King of Russia and apostate from the Roman Church, ended his life, leaving two sons, Leo and Roman.'*

As for what was objected above, that after the death of Roman, the Russians chose a Latin lord as their prince and sought union with the Romans, this is clearly false, as it is evident from the fact that the Russians, fearing for their religion, soon expelled the Latin prince. Cromer, Book VII of *On the Affairs of Poland*:

> *Since this displeased the Russians, who were intolerant of foreign domination and feared they would be forced to change their religion, of which they are most tenacious, along with their prince, they willingly conspired with Mieszko, who claimed Halych by hereditary right, against the Hungarians and Poles.*

Michovius, Book III, Chapter XXXI:

> *When he came to Halych and was crowned and anointed King of Galicia by Vincent, Bishop of Krakow, and other Hungarian bishops, the Ruthenians turned to hatred and alienation, fearing that their rite and race would be led to destruction through this. Thus, Mieszko…*

Hence, in 1237, when Patriarch Germanus sent letters to the cardinals, he listed, among other peoples who were entirely alien to communion with the Latins and agreed with the Greeks in all things, the entire people of Russia, as we have seen in his words above.

As for what was objected above, that monasteries were granted to the Latins, Michovius himself adds, following Cromer and Dlugosz for the year 1233:

> *Vladimir Rurikovich, fearing that his Greek rite would be persuaded by the religious and exemplary Friars Preachers, expelled them from Kiev.*

Thus, how could granting a monastery to the Latins be evidence of a proven union with them?

Finally, Cromer states in Book IX of *On the Affairs of Poland*:

> *The Archbishop and bishops of Poland who were able to attend through good health were present at that celebration, as were Gerhard, Bishop of the Russians, and Vitus, Bishop of the Lithuanians; for these had already acceded to the Christian religion, and the latter had joined the society of the Catholic Church, as we will explain more fully soon.*

But what he adds about the union of the Ruthenians with the Roman Church refers to the actions of Daniel, Duke of Russia, as noted above. The two bishops of Lithuania and Russia were Latins, not Ruthenians. Thus, Michovius, Book III, Chapter LI:

> *Among the spiritual leaders present were Opizo, Abbot of Meszano, Apostolic Legate; Fulco, Archbishop of Gniezno; Prandota of Krakow; Thomas of Wrocław; Volimir of Włocławek; Andreas of Płock; Gerhard, the first of the Cistercian Order, formerly Abbot of Opatów, Bishop of the Russians; and Vitus, the first of the Order of Preachers, Bishop of the Lithuanians.*

Indeed, in that same year, while Innocent IV was residing in Assisi, he commissioned the Provincial of Poland of the Order of Preachers to send monks to the Ruthenians to convert them to obedience to the Roman See, as noted by Wadding in the *Annals of the Friars Minor* for that year.

As for the Lateran Council under Innocent III, which was also objected above, only Latins attended it, and no Greeks were present. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem were indeed there, but they were also Latins. The Patriarch of Jerusalem had come to seek aid for recovering the Holy Land, as Jerusalem had been captured again by the barbarians. Likewise, after the capture of Constantinople, it was agreed between the Franks and Venetians that an emperor would be chosen from the Franks and a patriarch from the Venetians, as noted above by Cichovius in *Tribunals*, Question II, page 24. The Lateran Council was held in 1215. Hence, one may rightly laugh at the Jesuit who added above:

> *In that council, the Greeks embraced union with the Roman Church, only to withdraw from it shortly afterward, as is typical of their fickle disposition.*

And so much for the union forcibly imposed on the Greeks under Innocent III.

TRACTATE XVIII

In which it is demonstrated that the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, promoted by Emperor Michael Palaeologus, did not benefit the cause of the Latins.

From the union of the churches under Innocent III to the union initiated at the Council of Lyons, the Latins proceed. First, it is noted that Emperor Michael Palaeologus voluntarily summoned the Bishop of Crotona to learn from him what the Roman Church believed. Instructed by him and converted, Michael sent letters to Pope Urban IV, in which he urged union and showed himself ready to bring the Eastern Churches into obedience to the Roman See. This letter is found in Bzovius under the year 1263, no. XIII. Indeed, in his second and third letters, he repeated the same request and urged it, as is evident from the letters of Pope Urban IV to the same Emperor Michael, recorded in Bzovius under the year 1339, no. XXXIII. After Urban's death, Michael voluntarily informed Pope Clement IV that he desired nothing more than for a union between the churches to be established. See Bzovius under the year 1266, no. IX. When the papal see was vacant thereafter, Michael, sending envoys, chose King Louis of Hungary as an arbiter in the matter of establishing the union, as is clear from the letters of the cardinals to the envoys sent to Constantinople, recorded in Wadding's Annales Minorum, volume II, under the year 1270. After Gregory was elected Roman Pontiff, Michael promptly sent envoys to negotiate the union, as is evident from Nicephorus Gregoras, History, Book V, and Pachymeres, Book V.

From the letters of Gregory X to Palaeologus, recorded in Bzovius under the year 1339, it is stated that Gregory refused to admit Michael into communion with the Roman Church unless he fully adhered to its faith or

unless a synod was convened. For there could be no doubt about the Roman faith, nor should its truth be questioned in any way; once the profession of the Latin faith was accepted, a council could be convened. This is clear from the cited letters of Gregory X. Thereafter, the Emperor, having gathered a convention of the Patriarch, bishops, and clergy, spared no effort to encourage them toward the peace of the churches. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XII. He also had a book written demonstrating that the Latins could not be accused of heresy, as recorded in Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XIV. Likewise, Beccus, moved by the arguments of Blemmydes, praised the Latin rites and the union with the Roman Church, as noted in Nicephorus Gregoras, History, Book V, and Pachymeres, Book V, Chapters XV and XVI.

However, some objected, citing the testimonies of the Holy Fathers, saying that a man of such stature as Blemmydes surely understood better than Palamas, the author of grave heresies and near-Talmudic fables, or some Pletho or Cabasilas, to whom not even their fellow Greeks attributed as much testimony of learning or virtue as was given to John and Nicephorus (Blemmydes). And when he praised Manuel Calecas, Barlaam, Scholarios, Bessarion, Chrysoloras of Milan, and others of similar ilk, he added:

> *Here I address you, venerable and religious Fathers, that with your ingenuity and fairness of judgment you may decide: Is it advisable, in the path of eternal salvation and in matters of faith, to abandon those leaders whom the Greeks themselves attribute the highest praise of learning and exceptional sanctity, and to follow those who, among their own people, have not received such testimony of learning or virtue? It seems to me that even if the Latins had no doctrine, no Scriptures, no councils, no Holy Fathers, and if the path of salvation and doctrine of faith were to be sought solely from the Greeks, they would fare much better by seeking it from those whom the Greeks themselves acknowledge as their most learned, rather than from certain crude and half-articulate individuals whose sole endeavor is to tear apart the seamless garment of Christ our Lord.*

Thus, with even the bishops embracing the union, the Emperor sent envoys to inform the Pope that a perfect union had been achieved. Thereafter, Gregory held the Council of Lyons, attended by several

hundred Latin bishops in addition to the Eastern ones. The letters sent by the Emperor to the Pope with his envoys contained statements about the procession of the Holy Spirit, as recorded in Concilia, Volume XI, Part I, column 964:

> *We believe that the Holy Spirit, fully and perfectly God, true God, proceeds from the Father and the Son.*

The ecumenical Council of Lyons also defined this, as cited in the same volume, column 974:

> *With a faithful and devout profession, we confess that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle, not with two spirations, but with a single spiration. This the holy Roman Church, the mother and teacher of all the faithful, has held, preached, and taught, and continues to hold, preach, profess, and teach with the unchangeable and true consensus of the orthodox Fathers and Doctors, both Latin and Greek. But because some, due to ignorance of this irrefutable truth, have fallen into various errors, we, desiring to close off the path to such errors, with the approval of this sacred council, condemn and reject all who presume to deny that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son, or who rashly dare to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and not as from one.*

Witnesses such as Flavius Blondus, Robert Guaguinus, John Nauclerus, and others, cited in Severinus Binius's life of Gregory X, confirm that Emperor Michael himself attended this council, along with Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the envoys of the Eastern bishops. Their letters are preserved among the acts of that synod, along with the oath taken by the envoys on behalf of the bishops, in which they approve both the Latin faith and the union with them. Thus, after the acts of the synod were heard in Constantinople, a commemoration of Pope Gregory was made among the sacred rites, and he was proclaimed the Supreme Pontiff of the Apostolic Church and ecumenical Pope. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXI.

In the presence of the envoys of John XXI, the Emperor again swore the oath that his envoy had taken at the Council of Lyons. In letters sent to

Pope John, he subscribed to the profession of faith that Gregory X had sent him and repeated that oath, as recorded in Bzovius under the year 1276, nos. VIII and IX. Likewise, when some Easterners, through published pamphlets, opposed the union defined by the ecumenical council, Beccus refuted their audacity with various treatises. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXVII, and Book VI, Chapter XXIII. These were translated into Latin by Leo Allatius and published in Mainz in 1655 in three books on the procession of the Holy Spirit addressed to Bishop Theodore of Sugdea. They were also translated into Greek and Latin by Peter Arcudius in Rome in 1670, as a collection of statements from the Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit with annotations. The remaining works of Beccus are listed by Leo Allatius in Consensus Perpetuus Ecclesiarum, Book II, Chapter XV, no. VIII. George, the deacon Metochites, also wrote in favor of the union and the Latins, as enumerated by Leo Allatius in his diatribe on the Georges, appended to the Parisian edition of George Acropolites' history (1651), pages 345–346, and in Consensus Ecclesiarum, Book II, Chapter XV, no. IX. Simon of Constantinople's treatise in favor of the Latins is also listed there, no. IX. Finally, Beccus, with a synod of many bishops, sent letters to Pope John XXI, in which the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is asserted. These letters are found in Concilia, Volume XI, Part I, column 1034. He also added another synodal letter excommunicating all who rejected that union with the Latins, as recorded in the same volume, column 1037. Thus, the Latins could object to the union promoted by Emperor Michael on these grounds.

However, regarding Michael Palaeologus, the author and promoter of this attempted union of the churches, it is certain that he turned his mind to this union not for sacred reasons but for human ones. It did not seem possible for him to assert the recently recovered Constantinopolitan Empire against the Pope and the Latins or to expel the remnants of the Latins from the rest of Greece. Indeed, after Constantinople was captured, the Pope immediately ordered a crusade to be preached against Michael, as noted in Wadding's Annales Minorum, Volume II, under the year 1261, no. XVII. Thus, at least initially, he proposed a simulated union with the Latins to avert their military actions. Later, pressed by the Popes and driven by necessity, not by true reasons, he promoted the union. Bzovius explicitly states this in the letters of

Clement IV under the year 1266, no. IX:

> *While these things were happening in Italy, Michael Palaeologus, to conceal his schemes, sent an embassy to the Pontiff, declaring himself ready and obedient to Clement in all things. However, since the Pontiff was not unaware that Michael had conspired with Manfred against Charles and cared for nothing other than expelling Baldwin from the corner of Greece where he had retreated, and distracting the forces of Charles, who at that time, through ties of kinship, wished to assist Baldwin and perhaps aspired to the Constantinopolitan Empire, he reproached Michael for his fraudulent conspiracy and friendship with the recently fallen Manfred, as well as his alliances. At the same time, he admonished him to make it clear, if he wished to obey the mandates of the Apostolic See, that he should return to the unity of the Church with his subjects and openly profess the formula of faith that had been sent to him in the ancient manner.*

Again, Bzovius, from other letters of Clement IV under the year 1267, no. IV, states:

> *Thus far, Palaeologus wavered, as one who, not moved by sincerity but compelled by necessity, pretended faith and communion with the Roman Church and promised to embrace it in deceit. To test his intentions more certainly, Pope Clement sent him the formula of faith conceived by the Apostolic See, so that, in the presence of designated envoys, together with the Patriarch, bishops, clergy, and people, he might publicly profess, according to ancient custom, what the holy Roman Church believes and confesses, and manifestly declare that he himself believed and confessed it, and return to the unity of that Church with his entire clergy and people.*

Then, fearing at least the military preparations of Charles, he similarly promised Pope Gregory that he would bring about the union. Thus, Nicephorus Gregoras, History, Book V, page 89, states:

> *Surrounded by so many difficulties, the Emperor, driven almost to despair, sent envoys to the Pope concerning the establishment of harmony between the Old and New Rome, provided that Charles' expedition could be averted.*

And Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XI, says:

> *When Gregory announced these things through the friars, it was clear that the Emperor, out of cowardice and fear of Charles' military preparations, sought peace, which he would never have considered had those preparations not existed.*

And in Book V, Chapter XI:

> *Nevertheless, he persisted resolutely in pursuing this endeavor, whether willingly or under compulsion, I do not know; this was agreeable to them, but to us, it revealed, through convoluted speech, his anxious concern about impending wars and the shedding of much blood, which evils he steadfastly adhered to preventing through this proposed undertaking, no matter what anyone might object.*

In Chapter XVII:

> *At this juncture, it seemed both timely and necessary to send mutual envoys to the Pope, so that the formidable expedition of the Latins might be more securely suspended, under the pretext that Charles could no longer attack the Greeks as schismatics, since an embassy in Italy would acknowledge the Roman Church as the leader of the churches.*

And in Chapter XVIII, it is recounted how the Emperor sought to persuade the clergy of the Great Church to accept the union, pointing out the great evils—wars, devastations, and slaughters—that would follow unless the union with the Latins was established, and that these could only be prevented by the union. Finally, he concludes:

> *What urges us is one thing: to escape inevitable danger unless we do this. Let each person prudently consider the magnitude of this danger and judge and say what must be done. Certainly, if this danger did not exist, we would not pursue these things.*

What could be clearer than this? The Emperor himself acknowledges that he would not have promoted the union unless driven by the fear of wars. Bzovius further elaborates under the year 1276, nos. VIII, IX, and X, that

Emperor Michael, in great distress due to the military preparations of the Latins, appeared to sincerely embrace the union with the Roman Church and subscribed to the profession of faith sent to him by Gregory X, also approving the oath taken by his envoys at the Council of Lyons. When Pope Martin later excommunicated Emperor Michael for this merely simulated union, Michael, though inwardly recoiling from the union, did not wish to renounce it for human reasons. Thus, Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXX, states:

> *When these things were reported to the Emperor through the Nicaean, for Heracleota had died on the journey, he took it most indignantly, to the point that when, during the sacred rites in the Emperor's presence, the deacon was about to pronounce the customary commemoration of the Pope, the Emperor forbade him to do so. Publicly complaining to his household, he said: 'Truly, my charity toward the Latins has brought me great reward! For their sake, I have not hesitated to engage in conflicts with my own necessary allies, even enduring harsh punishments, yet they repay my steadfast faith in them with curses and execrations.' At that time, therefore, he wished to revoke all that had been previously established and to rescind the entire agreement of concord. He would have done so immediately had certain considerations not restrained him. He reckoned that if he were to dismantle in a moment what he had achieved with such long and laborious effort and at great personal cost, and openly proclaim a change and revocation of his previously attested position, he might provoke the hatred of his enemies against him. It was not unlikely that a time would come when it would not benefit him for his earlier actions to appear condemned by his own judgment. Fearing, therefore, that if he hastily retracted and publicly announced this reversal, he would do something he might later wish undone, he deemed it better to hold back, especially seeing that the affairs of the Church were on the verge of significant change. For although he was confident that if Joseph, as it seemed likely, were reinstated to the patriarchal see, nothing sinister or hostile would be attempted against him by Joseph, whose mild and peaceable character he had observed, yet since Joseph was easily swayed by others' impulses, and there would likely be those who would incite him to set an example of opposition to the peace, he judged it necessary to refrain from preemptively condemning himself.*

Regarding Beccus, it is clear that he was not prompted by the Emperor

nor suffered the hardships of imprisonment, but rather voluntarily recoiled from the Latins. Indeed, when asked by the Emperor, as reported by Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XII, he responded:

> *Some are heretics and are called such; some are neither heretics nor called such; others are called heretics but are not; and finally, some are heretics but are not called such. The Italians should be placed in this last category, as they are not called heretics but are subject to heresy.*

Later, thrown into prison by the Emperor for this reason, when he received the works of Nicephorus Blemmydes to read, he approved the Latin faith and their union, as noted in Nicephorus Gregoras, History, Book V, page 93, and Pachymeres, Book V, Chapters XV and XVI. Ambition also played a role: he believed that a great reward could be obtained from the Emperor for changing his stance. Indeed, when two brothers, Manuel and Isaac, were to be blinded for opposing the union with the Latins, Beccus is recorded as having reproached them beforehand. Thus, Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXIV, states:

> *Before they were blinded, they boldly reproached the Patriarch in the Emperor's presence, saying they would have believed, and would believe to the end, what they had learned from him when he spoke from his own conviction and endured punishments and chains for that faith. But they refused to believe what he now taught, having gained the Patriarchate as the price of his changed opinion.*

And to show his fickle character, after Michael's death, Beccus presented a letter of repentance to the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, acquiescing to his condemnation and deposition, though he later returned to his original stance. Spondanus reports this from the synod held under Andronicus Palaeologus against Beccus in 1283, no. X. At the start of that same synod, Beccus was accused by the great rhetor Pachymeres, as reported by Leo Allatius in Consensus Ecclesiarum Perpetuus, Book II, Chapter II, no. XI. The rhetor said:

> *For what reason do you, whose writings still confess your errors, seek forgiveness, and renounce your dignity, now resume today what you previously admitted, claiming that an injustice has been done to you, so that such a great synod has been convened?*

Beccus replied:

> *When we pronounced the opinions of the Fathers, we were called upon to give an account of them. When the exposition of those opinions differed from what it was then, we acted out of a desire for peace and quiet, renouncing other matters. Yet those who had it in mind continued to criticize us and accuse us of heresy.*

As for what a certain Jesuit objected to us regarding Beccus or Blemmydes' superior learning, who does not know that among heretics, both in the past and today, there have been men renowned for their erudition and extensive knowledge? A certain Arian philosopher is said to have excelled in learning at the First Council of Nicaea, such that the Fathers could hardly counter him with arguments. Likewise, Apollinarius, the most learned of his time, is well known, yet he became a schismatic and separated himself from the communion of the other Catholic Fathers. To be brief in a clear matter, are not the most learned men among the Lutherans and Calvinists celebrated, who, if not superior, are certainly not inferior to Latin authors? The Catholic Church is founded not on learning or philosophy but on the simple tradition of faith. Its pillars were fishermen, not philosophers summoned from Athens. Similarly, the Apostles did not ask those they appointed to lead the churches whether they had studied philosophy in Athens or were trained in theological science. And what Beccus or Blemmydes does the Jesuit present to us as men with whom none of those who defended the Catholic dogma against the Latins can be compared? The Latins themselves acknowledge that Photius was most learned, as his writings, particularly his Bibliotheca, demonstrate his extensive engagement with the Fathers and other authors. Theophylact, a most learned interpreter of sacred Scripture, is universally admired. Nor is Elias, the Metropolitan of Crete, less worthy of praise for his learning, as evident from his commentaries on the orations of Gregory the Theologian. Moreover, which of the Latinizing Greeks can be compared to the most distinguished philosophers like Eustratius, Metropolitan of Nicaea, or Michael Psellus? I pass over Euthymius Zygabenus, renowned for his Panoplia against all heresies, and Nectarius, an abbot who, at the Lateran Council in 1179, easily refuted all the arguments of the Latins, as noted by Baronius under that year, no. X. I omit many others, for the day would fail me if I were to list

even their names. Furthermore, if Gregoras praises the erudition of Beccus and Blemmydes, he also mentions others who surpassed Beccus and convicted him of error in the synod held under Andronicus Palaeologus. These were Gregory, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the great Logothete Muzalon. We will see Gregory's words later.

If some Greeks Latinized, so too did some of the most learned Latins write in favor of the Greeks. Among these was the aforementioned George, the Cypriot Patriarch, and Barlaam, originally from Calabria, though he later defected back to the Latins, as noted by Cantacuzenus in History, Book II, Chapter XXXIX, page 329 (Parisian edition, 1645). Nilus Damilas, an Italian by birth, is also mentioned by Leo Allatius in Consensus Ecclesiarum, Book II, Chapter XVIII, no. X, who adds:

> *I am not unaware that many Italians, as we have written elsewhere, supported the Greeks in this matter (the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone).*

Thus, we have not only Palamas, Pletho, or Cabasilas, as the Jesuit objects to us, but a great number of most learned men and doctors of the Church who wrote against the Latins in favor of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. The works of Gemistus, the most learned of the Greeks, also called Pletho, are listed by Leo Allatius in Book III, Chapter III, no. 6. Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote demonstrative orations on the procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins, published in Greek in London, most worthy of reading. He also wrote refutations of Beccus's writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit, published in Greek and Latin in Rome in 1630 by Peter Arcudius. Nilus Cabasilas, also Archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote various works against the Latins, as reported by Leo Allatius in his diatribe on the Niluses and their writings, appended to the letters of Nilus Alcetas, published in Rome in 1668, page 49. Among these, his excerpts on the procession of the Holy Spirit are said to have grown into a work of immense size, as testified by Bessarion in Syropulus's History of the Council of Florence, Section VI, Chapter XII. The protheoria of this work was published by his brother Cabasilas, as noted by Leo Allatius in the cited place. Since that Jesuit never read these works, how could he judge their erudition? Indeed, if these praised authors had written in favor of the Latins, they would now be called most learned and most holy; but

since they are of no account to the Latins, they are deemed half-articulate and minor deities. How futile is the claim of Chrysoloras as a defender of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as evident from his disputation against the Easterners in Baronius under the year 1116, no. XII, yet the Jesuit cited him for his erudition. Likewise, while the Latins commonly believe that Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote in favor of them and is thus called most learned and most holy, his questions, published in Latin, assert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. However, since these same questions, with Gennadius's name suppressed, were appended to the works of Athanasius and assert the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, how can these questions not be deemed worthless by that same Jesuit? They contain teachings contrary to faith, their style is base, their concepts ridiculous, the deduction of God, which he attributes to Gregory the Theologian, is mocked, and the purpose of the incarnation is deemed utterly inept. Such questions are unworthy of being attributed to a great Patriarch. Thus, even if a book originates from a most learned and holy Father, if it is corrupted by the Latins' bad faith, it will be suspected by all. If, elsewhere, according to a reading acceptable to them, it affirms the Catholic dogma of the Easterners, the author will be deemed foolish, inept, and base; minor flaws will appear as mountains. Here, the Latins will have the eyes of Argus, and whatever is said to their disadvantage will be evident, though the sole assertion of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son will shine with such brilliance that it blinds their eyes to all errors. Who, then, would not laugh at this vanity of the Latins?

Finally, the Jesuit added that the Greeks themselves attributed the highest praise of learning and exceptional sanctity to Beccus and Blemmydes. I concede their learning but deny their sanctity, for Gregoras makes no mention of it, and this is merely an addition by the Jesuit. Thus far concerning Emperor Michael and Beccus.

Furthermore, secondly, if some bishops or clergy later turned their minds to the union, they did so either at the Emperor's prompting or under coercion. Where they could still freely hold their opinions, they absolutely refused to accept the union outright. Initially, when asked by Gregory X's envoys, they responded that the union was impossible unless the addition to the Creed was removed, though they professed unwillingness to dispute the dogma itself. Thus, Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XI, states:

> *The leaders of our Church responded in this manner: Who would deny that peace is honorable and desirable, especially between such prominent churches, which undoubtedly hold the esteem of all Christ's disciples throughout the world, the Prince of Peace? But this peace must be secured safely and not in just any manner, for there is great danger in deviating from the right path in either direction. What you wish us to change in this agreement is not something new or recently established by us, for which we could justly be accused of either audacious novelty, attempting something no one has before, or obstinate refusal to return to where we once were. Rather, men of great virtue and wise learning established these things through much deliberation and granted them authority to be held with steadfast consistency. It would therefore be good and fitting for you, striving sincerely, as you claim, to bring about the peace of the churches, to pursue the most direct path to that goal—namely, to persuade the Italians, with your wisdom, authority, and influence among them, to remove the scandal they have introduced, though they falsely accuse us of it. For if the fault of this scandal truly lay with us, you would rightly reproach us, and we would patiently accept the reprimand, as we are prepared to do whenever we are conscious of deserving it. But if the scandal originated with them, it is your duty, as a spiritual leader and negotiator of peace, to attempt to remove the crime of their rashly presumed innovation in altering the Creed.*

Pachymeres adds:

> *Thus spoke the Church's leaders, and they were so disposed that they would not heed the Emperor, no matter what he commanded regarding these matters, even if he threatened the gravest consequences.*

When the Emperor later gathered a convention of the Patriarch, bishops, and clergy and made several proposals to encourage them toward the union, Beccus, the Chartophylax, compelled by the Patriarch's anathema to state his opinion on the Italians, responded that they were heretics but not called such, due to the power of their nation. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XII. When the Emperor thereafter had a book written demonstrating that the Latins could not be accused of heresy and presented it to the Patriarch, confident that nothing could be raised against it, the Patriarch, in a convened synod, ordered each person to

bring forth whatever objections they could against it. The document was then returned to the Emperor. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XIV. The Patriarch, after consulting with the synod on how to handle the document, deemed it necessary to gather those he believed to be on his side. These were the most distinguished and the choicest flower of the Church. Among them was Joannicius of Nicaea with his supporters, though they had openly separated from the Patriarch. Yet, called by the common good, they deemed it necessary to set aside their grievances and causes of discord for the time being. With them was the Emperor's sister, Eulogia, along with the most eminent and renowned monks and other learned and distinguished men of various orders. They were united in purpose, with a shared zeal to compose a document countering the one sent by the Emperor. To this end, it was deemed appropriate to recite the Emperor's document to all present, and as each section was heard, to immediately propose whatever objections might arise. The task of collecting and organizing these diverse opinions into a single work was undertaken by Job Fasites, chosen for this purpose, who had other assistants, including the author of this history. With diligent effort, they compiled a volume in a short time, which was read aloud in a public assembly, with each person advising on anything that needed adjustment or moderation, ensuring that nothing in it was sharp or harsh enough to offend the Emperor. Finally, the polished work, deemed sufficiently refined, was sent to the Emperor through the same Arsenius.

The Patriarch then issued letters to all the bishops under his authority, admonishing them not to depart from the ancient faith or join with foreigners, binding them with an oath to strictly observe these directives. At a convened council of bishops, the letters of Joseph were read, and all assented, with many subscribing with their own hands. These letters were then sent everywhere. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XV. Meanwhile, the Patriarch was deeply engaged in reflection, considering what plausible response he could offer to the Emperor's arguments, who, openly advocating for the cause, was clearly pressing vehemently and would not rest in the future. While the Patriarch was immersed in this contemplation, the monk Job Fasites, not without reason fearing that the Patriarch might ultimately yield to the pressure of opposing arguments and schemes, devised a plan to strengthen the Patriarch's resolve to resist. He suggested that a pastoral letter be written and sent to all the

faithful under his care, admonishing them on what to hold in these matters and, to persuade them more effectively to remain steadfast, that the Patriarch publicly swear an oath never to deviate from his firmly established position or yield, no matter who might sway him, to accept into communion those he and his followers justly considered separated. Agreeing with Job's suggestions, the Patriarch entrusted him with drafting the circular letter in this sense. Once composed, before it was sent, the Patriarch deemed it necessary to test the bishops' judgment on these matters to discern whether they were so disposed that one could confidently rely on their unwavering resolve to resist until the end. Thus, with the bishops gathered, the letter drafted by the monk Job for the Patriarch was read. Each was asked whether they agreed with it and whether they had firmly resolved to persevere in it. All immediately assented, and the letter, confirmed by the subscriptions of all but a few prudent individuals, was sent everywhere. Thus, it was agreed between the Emperor and the Patriarch that Joseph would relinquish the patriarchal see if the union was completed, but would return to it if the union did not follow. See Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XVII. The same is recorded in a letter from many Greek bishops to the Latins in Concilia, Volume XI, Part I, column 970, and thereafter, when the union was achieved, Joseph voluntarily relinquished the patriarchal see. See Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXII.

From these things, it is sufficiently clear that where the Patriarch, bishops, clergy, and people still had freedom, they absolutely refused to heed the union, and thus they accepted it not willingly but only when prompted or coerced by the Emperor.

Thirdly, the Eastern bishops did not accept the union with the Latins voluntarily or convinced by sacred reasons, but rather, prompted by the Emperor, who was anxious about future calamities for the people, they accepted it not because they deemed it good in itself but to avert greater evils that threatened the East from the Latins. Thus, Pachymeres explicitly states in Book VI, Chapter XXIII:

> *Both the Bishop of Ephesus and many others who shared his opinion, compelled by great evils to embrace peace, consented to it only on the condition that the dogma remained untouched, with no changes to the writings or decrees, which they denied could be called into question*

> *or newly discussed. They believed they could outwardly maintain concord with the Latins, while preserving their duty to faith and religion, following the precedent of many examples in the histories of the early Church. They deemed, I say, that communion with the Latins could be safely admitted with a clear conscience, not as something inherently probable or fully aligned with the rules of faith, but as something that could be prudently tolerated out of fear of grave disadvantages. They considered it commendable and good not absolutely but comparatively, as the masters of rhetoric say, not as it was in itself but in comparison to the greater evils that would arise from it. Thus,* Paul *shaved his head, and others observed the Jewish purification rites. Thus,* Timothy *was circumcised by him. Thus, the Third Synod refrained from excommunicating* Theodore of Mopsuestia*. Thus,* Basil *earlier accepted the harm inflicted on the Church by* Valens*. Thus, we find other such examples recorded in ancient histories, which we need not enumerate individually. Therefore, they accepted the recently established peace in this manner, admitting that a sin could be perceived in it by one who judged the matter in itself, according to the duty of religion, which commands us to reject communion with those who err in faith, by strictly and rigorously cutting to the core of the matter.*

Since Beccus approved the union with the Latins in itself and upheld their dogma, the others united against him vehemently. Pachymeres continues:

> *This exception did not please* Beccus*, who believed that unless he could demonstrate and prove with certain, as he thought, authentic testimonies of writings that the earlier rejection of communion with the Latins was in error, his life would not be worth living. Hence, he frequently convened synods, summoned many outsiders, examined ancient books, published many new ones, and left no stone unturned to assert that all should adhere to this peace with complete security of conscience as just and valid in itself, leaving nothing undone in his excessive zeal for this cause. The Patriarch objected, arguing that the mediation of the Son necessarily implied the preposition 'through' or 'on account of,' and that the preposition 'from,' which the Latins used here, should be admitted, as these particles appeared to be interchangeably permissible.*

However, the Bishop of Ephesus, along with Meletius of Athens and many others, were scandalized, believing that to stir up and call into question

long-established dogmas was a greater evil than they could conscientiously accept. Nevertheless, to avert grave evils, they accommodated their consciences to admit this lesser sin by agreeing to peace with those who erred in divine dogmas. Meletius, in particular, spoke with great freedom on these matters, to the point that one day, after declaiming extensively on this topic in the synod, he ordered his attendant to lift his cloak and prepare for a journey, as if ready to go into exile for this cause. The Bishop of Ephesus acted more moderately out of respect for the Emperor, aware that he would offend him if he appeared to cast obstacles and causes of discord in the way of those who accepted the agreement in good faith. Yet he, too, was deeply distressed, along with his supporters, at Beccus's actions, and it was clear they would not hesitate to attempt, if possible, to remove him from the patriarchal see through clandestine means. Earlier, Pachymeres, after reporting that Beccus defended the union and the Latin dogma with published writings, states:

> *What followed? An untimely conflict arose, and a fierce dispute broke out, with many sharply opposing* Beccus*. Their chief complaint against him was that he was stirring up dogmas and that he and his adherents were fostering vain disputes. They added: 'It may be permissible for you to privately debate these matters of dogma among yourselves, but refrain from introducing these disputes into the house of the Lord.' As if to say: 'It may be tolerable for you to think and speak privately about dogmas as you wish, but we implore you to refrain from publicizing these debates and disturbing the simplicity of the faithful who accept the tradition in good faith.' Many voices were raised on account of* Beccus*'s writings, and some criticized him for engaging in an unfair contest with his adversaries by debating dogma, knowing that others had been silenced on the matter. If he continued to provoke them, and if, for the necessary defense of received doctrine, they were forced to mention dogmas in response, would they not act against the prohibition and be justly punished? I would not believe so. I know that accusations against* Beccus *reached the Emperor's ears on this account, with some promising to comply with the established decrees and remain peacefully in accord, provided the Emperor explicitly forbade anyone from touching on the dogma itself in future writings, content to defend the peace, rightly and justly established, with any other arguments they could.*

Would the Latins, then, approve such a union or such a disposition of the united, or deem it beneficial to their cause? That the Latins erred in matters of faith, that union with them was inherently unacceptable, and that it could be admitted only as a lesser evil out of fear of imminent evils from the Latins—what, then, do the Latins sustain in objecting to the union established under Emperor Michael?

But fourthly, some Easterners at the time testified that the union was entirely vain, and the Latins themselves demonstrated this through the embassy they sent. Indeed, Emperor Michael Palaeologus, persuading his people of the union, spoke as follows, according to Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XVIII:

> *The entire matter of this concord with the Roman Church is contained in three points alone: primacy, appeal, and commemoration, each of which, if rightly considered, appears to be in vain.*

Some Easterners explicitly confessed the same to Latin monks residing in Pera. Thus, Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XIV, states:

> *Some of our people, mingling with the friars, agreed with them and spoke similarly: the peace that is boasted of as established seems nothing but a mockery thus far.*

The Emperor himself, in Chapter XV, according to Pachymeres, said to the friars in Pera:

> *Some of our people, meeting with the friars, said that this peace is nothing but a mockery and a fraud.*

Hence, Pope John XXI, sending envoys, informed the Emperor and the Easterners that the peace of the churches is not contained in words but in deeds, and that it was necessary to demonstrate that peace between the churches had been achieved by accepting the Creed with its addition. See Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XIV. The same is evident from the memorandum that the Pope gave to those envoys, as recorded by Leo Allatius in *Consensus Perpetuus Ecclesiarum*, Book II, Chapter XV, no. II. However, neither the Emperor himself nor the others who were united were willing to accept this condition. See Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapters XIV and XV. At least, a document was prepared under the Emperor’s

direction, as if all the Eastern bishops had subscribed to it. In it, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son appeared to be asserted, but the dogma was so wrapped in many other words that the term “procession” was entirely obscured. The document bore the signatures of a great number of bishops, including many who had never attained a bishopric, and it listed places that had never been episcopal sees. The names of the others were imitated by the scribe with some artistry to appear as if written by their own hands. This document was presented to the envoys as genuine, intended to satisfy their demands, with the Emperor believing he could persuade the Latins that a solid union had been established by the Easterners, though in itself it was utterly vain. Thus, Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XVII, states:

> *Hence, effort was made to prepare a document to satisfy the Pope’s mandates conveyed through the envoys. They sought to commend this booklet with an ambitious display of subscriptions, in which they passed off many as bishops who had never been ordained to that rank, nor did the places from which they were named ever hold the title of a bishopric except through the scribe who drafted this document. With varied skill in forging handwriting, he added the names of most of those listed as if they had written them themselves, including many renowned sacred figures, to more surely persuade them of what they desired. Whether the Patriarch was aware of these actions, I have not confirmed, but I see a certain ambition in the Emperor, who ambitiously sought to equate the affairs of the Greek Church with those of the Latins. For when he saw the names of bishops subscribing to the instruments brought from Rome in agreement with the Greeks, since bishoprics are so numerous in those regions that their synods often consist of several hundred bishops, the Emperor, either to make faith more complete or, as I said, to ostentatiously display a kind of equality between the Eastern and Western Churches, employed this impressive multiplication of our prelates. It was also ensured in the same document that, in expressing the dignity of the procession of the Holy Spirit, a vast number of varied expressions from our Fathers, gathered from various sources, were compiled, stating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, is poured forth, given, shines forth, radiates, or is shown, and similar terms. By amassing these, they covertly aimed to overshadow the term “proceeds” commonly used by the Latins, and, under the guise of these other terms, to silently abol-*

ish it. For those who asserted it, these terms, presented by our side as seemingly equivalent, were meant to deter them from demanding anything further from us. At the end of the document, it was added: "If anyone does not comply with this agreement, we decree that they be punished with fitting penalties." These were empty words, lacking solid substance beyond a superficial form, designed to conceal the crime of deceit and bad faith in this matter. In truth, if one were to examine deeply and understand the matter clearly, such actions would convict those who so carefully sought to dispel this charge of the very same crime. Moreover, these things would later serve as grounds for accusations and occasions for harassing the unfortunate clergy, who would be accused of pronouncing anathema as if they were orthodox. Letters written to the Pope were to be cited as the most certain evidence of this, although, in my judgment, those letters were not written with the true intent they appeared to convey or that the Latins then believed. Indeed, they were crafted with flattery to please the Pope. These letters are preserved in full in Volume XI, Part I, of the Councils, column 1034, and in Leo Allatius*'s Book II of the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, Chapter XV, number V.*

Thus, regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit, they state:

We believe in the same way in the Holy Spirit, who searches all things, even the depths of God, who naturally inheres in God and the Father, and is essentially infused, so to speak, and indivisibly proceeds from Him; naturally inheres in the Son, and is essentially infused in Him, and indivisibly proceeds and is poured forth from Him. For He proceeds in the same way as from a source, from God and the Father; He is also poured forth from the Son as from a source, just as from God and the Father. But although the Father is the source of the Spirit, and the Son is the source of the Spirit, there are not two sources of the Spirit, the Father and the Son. For the faithful and pious understanding holds that the Father and the Son are one source of the Spirit; and therefore, the Church's luminaries and doctors have taught that the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son. For just as the Spirit is naturally of the Father's substance, so too is He naturally of the Son's substance; and just as He exists according to the substance of God and the Father, so too does He exist according to the substance of the Son. And as He is proper to the essence of the Father, not proceeding outside it into being, so too is He proper to the essence of the Son, not proceeding

> *outside it into being. For the Son, as a communicator of the natural goods of God and the Father, essentially existing, possesses the Spirit, just as each of us contains our own spirit within ourselves and pours it forth from our innermost being. For this reason, He also bodily breathed Him upon the disciples, for we know the Spirit in the Son's breathing, and we have been taught by the Apostle that the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ.*

Therefore, since even the Easterners, along with the emperor himself, admitted that this union was at least vain, and according to the Latins, it was at least verbally agreed upon but full of deceit, would the Latins approve this union or say it favored their interests?

Fifthly, even as the Easterners agreed to this union, the emperor's solicitations, threats, exiles, fines, and punishments of others brought it about. Barlaam the Abbot clearly declared to the Romans, as attested by Benedict XII in a letter to Robert, King of Sicily, in Leo Allatius's Book II of the *Perpetual Consensus of the Churches*, Chapter XVI, number II, that the emperor (Michael) attempted to enforce the union with them by force, not willingly. Since the emperor could not persuade the Church's leaders to his side, he angrily accused them of various crimes: refusing obedience, attacking those who approved the union, and cursing the emperor in its name. Having made these accusations, he added that each should openly state their opinion on the union. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XVII and XVIII, recounts that he violently ordered the houses of the city to be searched, claiming that since he had taken the city from the enemy, all its houses had become his property, and he would not grant their use to the disobedient. Those who had opposed the emperor in the matter of the union were dragged into exile; others were ordered to leave the city voluntarily, so that many, broken by such miseries, approved the union. Thus, Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XIX, states:

> *After this, he sent his guards to search and harass the homes, indiscriminately targeting the innocent and the guilty. He claimed that since he had taken the city from the enemy, all its houses had become his property. He would grant their use without cost to those loyal to him, but to those suspected or refusing to obey him in any matter, he would not extend this favor. Moreover, he demanded payment for the use of these houses, retroactively for many years, and this payment was exacted harshly with immediate seizures and the*

> *removal of household goods. Thus, whatever ornaments or valuable possessions the citizens had in their homes were confiscated. Ships were also prepared to transport those who seemed sufficiently guilty and condemned of this crime to various exiles. They were no longer merely threatened or left in anticipation of harm; the wretched were dragged into its immediate experience: some were sent to Lemnos, others to Skyros, some to Kea, and some to the city of Nicaea. Others were scattered, expelled from the city, either ordered to leave by name or voluntarily preempting necessity. Some, still deliberating, were sent to Selymbria and Redestum, designated places of exile; others to the port at Pharos, many of whom, compelled by hardship, professed agreement with the peace and were recalled home.*

It was not enough to proscribe them; the emperor ordered the rhetorician Holobolus, along with ten other clerics, to be dragged through the city in a shameful public spectacle. The remaining clergy, horrified and justly fearing for themselves, requested a truce until the return of the legates sent to Rome to finalize the union. But the emperor pressed harder, declaring that all who did not immediately subscribe to the union would be condemned for the crime of lèse-majesté. Some fled to avoid similar punishment. The emperor issued a decree, laden with dire imprecations, swearing that he had no intention of allowing even a single letter to be added to the Creed, and that they should at least consent to the primacy, appeal, and commemoration, threatening the harshest punishments for those who did not comply. Thus, many clerics subscribed to these terms; others, refusing, were sent into exile until, by this means, all the clergy approved the union. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XX, describes:

> *He first cruelly ordered him to be flogged, then led him through the city in a novel spectacle, dragging a long rope from his neck—first* Holobolus*, then* Phasites Melias*, followed by others in a continuous line, completing a group of ten men, with an eleventh, a woman,* Holobolus*'s niece, paraded as if a sorceress through the entire city, particularly around the church, in a shameful triumph. The first two, as if stubbornly denying the sufficiently proven charges against them, were wrapped in sheep's intestines still filled with dung and proceeded burdened, with the added disgrace to* Holobolus *that he was continually struck in the face with the freshly extracted livers of those sheep throughout the journey. These actions were not so much for the ignominy of that unfortunate man as to deter the clergy still resisting the*

> *peace, clearly showing them how much harm awaited those persisting in such a stance. These events took place at the beginning of the year, on October 6, six days after Patriarch* Arsenius *had died, his final day being September 30. Terrified by this display of the emperor's wrath, the clergy, not without reason fearing for their safety, requested a brief truce from the emperor, asking that he neither decree anything harsher against them nor press them until the legates sent to Rome had returned. But they obtained nothing, despite their ardent pleas. Instead, it was sternly declared that whoever did not immediately subscribe to the articles of agreement being negotiated would be inexorably condemned for lèse-majesté.*

Joseph, unwilling to approve the union, was deposed from the patriarchate. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXII, notes that even though he received those who opposed the union amicably, the emperor forbade him from engaging in such interactions or conversations. The patriarch responded that it would be harsh if he could not freely converse with those once closest to him, and that only his own exile could prevent it. With these bitter words, he hoped to move the emperor, his closest ally, to compassion. But the emperor, interpreting these words as if Joseph desired voluntary exile, ordered him to be taken to a distant place, while the monks loyal to him were exiled elsewhere. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXIX, adds that some of the emperor's own relatives and associates were imprisoned for opposing the union, and he displayed them to the Pope's legates to show his sincere commitment to promoting the union. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XVI, describes how the emperor devised another effective means to convince the legates that the peace was no mockery: he sent Bishop Isaac of Ephesus with the legates to the public prisons, ordering them to show his own relatives and associates detained there for not consenting to the peace. These were Protostrator Andronicus Palaiologos, Butler Manuel Raul, his brother Isaac, and the Protostrator's nephew, John Palaiologos, who, in harsh attire, each occupied a corner of a single square prison, bound in heavy chains. Furthermore, he sent others who utterly condemned the union to Rome for punishment as deemed fit, though the Pope received them kindly and sent them back unharmed to the emperor. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapters XVII and XVIII, recounts that when others continued to resist the union, the emperor, enraged, vented his fury on his imprisoned

relatives, and because they refused to approve the union even after repeated warnings, he ordered their eyes to be gouged out and sent them into exile. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXIV, laments that what was done at that time was worthy of tears rather than ink. The emperor, driven by a savage frenzy and a disturbed mind, raged against all he deemed suspect for reasons unknown, except that he appeared, or wished to appear, anxious about himself and his religion, complaining that he was unjustly treated. Despite his efforts to seek and maintain the correct path of divine worship and sound doctrine, he was accused of perverting the faith through gross calumny. Thus, he sent his guards to bring forth the noble men of patrician lineage from custody—namely, the brothers Manuel and Isaac, sons of Raul, and John from the Kantakouzenos family (since Protostrator Andronicus had died in prison)—not to judge them, but as already condemned. After harassing them for days with harsh words and numerous grave insults, he ordered Manuel, and then Isaac, to be blinded for inflexibly refusing to obey the emperor’s will. This cruel punishment was inflicted on these two alone, as Kantakouzenos, separately confronted and terrified by threats, submitted, undoubtedly facing the same fate as the others had he not secured his safety and sight through obedience. Thus, these two alone bore the glory of steadfastness in acting and suffering for their ancestral customs, which no one else dared to do or endure. In a single day, those born of the same womb were deprived of sight, and those joined by kinship and shared suffering were separated far from one another: Manuel was exiled to Cenchreae near the Scamander, confined in the custody of a grim castle devoid of human care, while the other was taken elsewhere.

If the emperor raged against others for fabricated reasons, approving the union could avert punishment that would otherwise be inevitable. Ultimately, he indiscriminately punished all who expressed anything contrary to the emperor’s views on doctrine, even granting impunity to informers. Pachymeres continues:

> Macarius*’s most innocent simplicity, which earned him the nickname “dove,” and the remoteness of the places where he lived, far from our borders, did not shield him from the emperor’s wrath. Accused of treason for allegedly conspiring with Western rulers, he was seized by* Icarius*, the commander of the fleet with the title of Grand Duke, and given the condition that he either pay the penalties due for treason or*

> *redeem them by approving the ecclesiastical concord he had hitherto refused. When he persisted in rejecting the peace, the law was applied against him. I pass over the monk* Kokkos *and those with him. The emperor was so irritable in this matter that anyone who uttered anything contrary to his views on the controversies then being debated faced immediate punishment. He made no distinction or scrutiny in accepting accusations on this matter: whoever accused anyone was believed at first word. Even mere suspicions were treated as evidence, and when criticized by respected men who could speak freely with him for excessive severity, he cited royal laws and the customary conduct of princes in his defense, adding that Romans could not be rightly governed by an emperor as monks are by their superiors, who suffice to expiate their monks' faults with penances. He justified his readiness to believe informers as a necessary means to prevent emerging evils, stating that any crime reported to the prince, whether true or falsely accused, should be admitted for the common good. He often used this defense, adding that he counted it among his misfortunes that, having been a friend of monks from childhood, he was now forced to hate them due to their malevolence—malevolence he attributed to their refusal to approve what was being done.*

When Beccus defended the Latin doctrine in published writings, many reported him to the emperor, and these informers were similarly punished. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXV, recounts:

> *As some, driven by reckless zeal, daily grew more fervent in denying the emperor obedience in matters prescribed for observing the peace, and accused the patriarch of defecting to the Latins, the emperor, patiently tolerating their disobedience, burned with such zeal for the patriarch that he seemed to resent these accusations against him more than death itself. He was vehemently angered against all, regardless of rank or status, who murmured such things, but was especially indignant when those he had raised with special affection from childhood, elevated with honors, and believed to be wholly devoted to him through great benefits, acted thus. Among others,* Constantine Acropolita *and* Theodore Muzalon *were not spared for their accusations against* Beccus.

Thus, since the Easterners admitted the union promoted by Emperor Michael only under solicitation, threats, or punishments, it is clear they

approved it with their lips, not their hearts. Hence, it is evident that this union, promoted by Michael Palaiologos, did nothing to advance the Latin cause.

Sixthly, even amidst the emperor's solicitations, threats, fines, and exiles, there were always those who utterly opposed the union, some persisting briefly, others longer, and some resisting the emperor to the end. When the bishops, solicited by the emperor, finally approved the union, there were initially clerics who long refused to accede to it until some were compelled by the punishments of their peers to approve it, unmoved by mere words. When solicited by the emperor, they responded that they could not decide on the peace, being under the patriarch's authority. When questioned individually, some rejected all three articles—primacy, appeal, and commemoration—contending that the Church, accustomed to obeying its supreme head, the patriarch, could not accept them. They argued that they must preserve and pass down what they received from the Fathers. The dangers said to loom were not their private concern to avert except through prayers to God for their removal. The emperor's duty, they said, was to omit no political or military effort to prevent evils and preserve the republic unharmed. Some said the first two articles, primacy and appeal, could be conceded without great harm, as they amounted to mere names and appearances, not extending to action; under the pretext of nominal submission, they preserved the Greeks' uninterrupted possession of their customary rights. However, the third article, concerning the commemoration of the Pope in the liturgy, seemed far different, as it introduced a right and practice confirmed by action. Granting this would concede what our side had always strenuously refused: openly admitting into our communion those known to have sinfully dared to alter the public scripture, namely the Creed, the rule of faith. Xiphilinus, then holding the office of grand economus, with the confidence of his age and long familiarity with the emperor, began to plead standing, then fell at the emperor's feet, embracing his knees, and twice implored him:

> *Take heed, Lord, lest in your anxious effort to avert external war, you entangle us in a more difficult internal one, destroying both ecclesiastical and civil peace. For even if we agree to this peace, not all will persist in it.*

Indeed, from this point, greater tumults arose in the Church, with some condemning others for approving the union. Pachymeres, Chapter XIX, continues:

> *Seeing the tumult in the Church grow due to factional conflicts, as one refused communion with another, and those steadfast in the ancient belief shunned as profane those who assented to the new propositions, the emperor resolved to confront the growing evil. Many were exiled to Lemnos, Skyros, and elsewhere for opposing the union; some voluntarily left the city. Many exiles persisted in their ancestral beliefs, though some, overcome by hardships, secured their return by approving the union.*

Pachymeres adds:

> *Ships were prepared to transport those found guilty and condemned of this crime to various exiles. They were no longer merely threatened or left in anticipation of harm; the wretched were dragged into its immediate experience: some to Lemnos, others to Skyros, some to Kea, and some to Nicaea. Others were scattered, expelled from the city, either ordered to leave by name or voluntarily preempting necessity. Some, still deliberating, were sent to Selymbria and Redestum, designated places of exile; others to the port at Pharos, many of whom, compelled by hardship, professed agreement with the peace and were recalled home.*

Among these, some, along with the great rhetorician Holobolus, were publicly dragged through the city in a most wretched and shameful spectacle by the emperor's order, as noted above. Their steadfastness overcame the resolve of the remaining clergy, who feared similar punishments, as also mentioned. When the emperor's legates returned from the Council of Lyon and the Pope's commemoration was first included in the liturgy, the tumult in the Church grew even more intense. Some so condemned the company of others that they recoiled from touching, addressing, or speaking with them, and even those who approved the union disagreed among themselves. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXIII, states:

> *The Church's affairs suffered, and people were divided from one another. One admitted communion with another; others used hateful*

> *formulas of separation: ‘Beware of approaching, beware of touching.’ They extended this superstitious fear of contamination from shared use to avoiding contact with cups, greetings, and addresses. The schism grew daily, so that one who yesterday did not hesitate to associate with someone today shunned them. As if a new disease had struck someone already inwardly afflicted, the wretched one’s pain doubled; the prior ailment, worsened by the new one, increased in severity and distress. Indeed, the two diseases fought each other to the patient’s ruin, and remedies that might aid one disease strengthened the other. So it was with God’s Church then: already burdened by the Arsenian schism, this new schism arose, each a grave wound in itself, but made more troublesome and foul by their mutual association. In the Church’s great body, though free from heretical seditions, these internal assaults by those fighting one another tore it apart and miserably lacerated it. It was also unexpected that those who seemed to agree on one side would again contend among themselves, some interpreting the agreements one way, others another; some content to take the matter simply, others probing it more subtly, as if unraveling its hidden meaning, and while each clung obstinately to their views, they widened the schism.*

Among those opposing the union, many approached Patriarch Joseph, urging him to rise against it and to refuse communion with those who supported it. Angered by this, the emperor openly forbade the patriarch from conversing with them. Pachymeres, Book V, Chapter XXIX, notes that some could neither remain quiet themselves nor allow Joseph, enjoying his seclusion, to do so. They disturbed him daily with gatherings, causing him much trouble, trying to rouse his zeal, which they complained was too weakened by his gentle nature, and to ignite it with their provocations. He was so mild and courteous that if anyone in communion with the Church had reason to approach him and sought his blessing, they needed only to kneel and ask; he would immediately grant the grace of the Holy Spirit to anyone admitted to communion, which seemed intolerable to those around him and others. Thus, they repeatedly urged him to openly and completely cut himself off from all association with the opposing side. The emperor, informed of this, took it more gravely than his previous benevolence toward him warranted, blaming him for being too amenable to factional zealots. He sought in him both prudence and steadfastness, and complained that he was unjustly treated

by one to whom he had granted such free and tranquil security, yet who did not hesitate to admit into intimate familiarity those who thought far differently and actively worked to tear the Church apart with their opposing faction. He should have used his authority to make them conform, acquiescing to public decrees and living peaceably, not allowing himself to be swayed by their turbulent counsels and openly follow the enemies of the Church and state in matters of utmost importance. Thus, the emperor sent men to Joseph, ordering him in his name to cease associating with such people if he wished to securely maintain the peace he enjoyed. Since Joseph refused to avoid the company of those opposing the union, he was sent into exile, along with other monks loyal to him who similarly had not accepted the union. Pachymeres adds:

> *Some of the monks who adhered to him were exiled to various places, sent to different islands in the Aegean. The monk* Phasites Job *was sent to Chabea, a fortress by the Sangarios River, to be held in secure custody.*

The Church's schisms grew so much that some, even those who nominally accepted the union, anathematized those who embraced the peace. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XVIII, notes that it was well known that some felt this way and openly pronounced anathema on those accepting the peace. These were overly scrupulous and superstitiously fastidious, who, in their complete ignorance and lack of interest in understanding the Latin Church's affairs, did not know that the Greeks and Latins had once been closely united in the principal mysteries and doctrines of Christianity. Even if some incident had temporarily loosened that ancient bond of concord, both sides had preserved inviolate their agreement in faith and the practice of the chief sacraments of Christianity, such that neither had rashly attempted, by public decision, to alter the rites of baptism, priesthood, marriage, monastic life, or other mysteries by which the one Catholic Church initiates its members. Ignorant of these things, as if they were oak stumps or stone blocks, they haughtily despised the Latins with their ignorant arrogance, cursed their own sacred rites after the peace as profaned and polluted by association with the Latins, and declared them worthy of being cast into precipices, rivers, and the inaccessible crags of mountains, as if they no longer preserved the ancient dignity of religion. Seeing this grave and pernicious disturbance

to the Christian faith, the emperor, moved by zeal for the indignity, summoned all—bishops and monks—giving security to some notable schismatics among them. One was Acacius of Phrygia, another his disciple Germanus, along with many others.

Among the many who did not assent to the union was Despot Nicephorus Ducas and Syntocrator John Ducas of Patras, all of whom were condemned as disturbers of the peace in letters to Pope John XXI, anathematized by Beccus and other Easterners. The synodal letter, in Volume XI, Part I, of the Councils, column 1037, states:

> *We wish to make known to your eminence through these presents that, while we were gathered in the Council of Constantinople to address the schism long existing between the Latin and Greek Churches, caused by the one who envies unity, and after deliberation with this holy council, we have excommunicated and anathematized all schismatics and disturbers of ecclesiastical union, wherever they may be, who do not accept the holy Roman Church as the mother and head of all other Churches and the teacher of orthodox faith, along with its supreme pontiff, the first pastor of all Christians. This applies to those holding any office or rank, whether pontifical, priestly, diaconal, or any other schismatics and disturbers, of any condition or status, whether of the imperial court, the Senate, or any other condition, including* Nicephorus Ducas*, called Despot, and* John Ducas *of Patras, called Syntocrator, as schismatics and disturbers of this ecclesiastical union and persecutors of those who agreed to it, and as those who separate themselves from our community and flee our society because of the obedience we have shown to the apostolic see. We have pronounced them condemned and utterly rejected. In testimony of this, we have affixed our seal and customary signature to this document. Given in Constantinople at Saint Sophia, in the year of our Lord 1277.*

Although Pachymeres, in Book IV, Chapter XVI, suggests these letters were at least written at the emperor’s behest, it is clear that many were opposed to the union. Not content with words alone, many also published books attacking the union. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXIII, notes that as Beccus daily received new writings from opponents, which invidiously exaggerated the crime of admitting the Latins into communion, claiming it was nothing less than nefarious apostasy, supported by certain scriptural testimonies, they added that those who

acquiesced in this false and perverse security, deluded by error, provoked the anger and hatred of others due to their blindness, pleasing themselves in evils they did not recognize. Seeing many such pamphlets published and spread among the people, Beccus was finally driven to respond in writing.

Thus, despite those who opposed the union, the emperor ultimately turned his wrath on his own relatives. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXIV, describes how the emperor, driven by savage passions and a disturbed mind, raged against all he deemed suspect for unknown reasons, except that he appeared, or wished to appear, anxious about his religion, complaining of unjust treatment. Despite omitting no effort to seek and maintain the correct path of divine worship and sound doctrine, he was accused of perverting the faith through gross calumny. Among those opposing the union, the religious were prominent, and because they suffered such evils for refusing to subscribe to it, they cunningly began to inquire about the time of the emperor's death, hoping to be freed from his tyranny. This further inflamed the emperor, who afflicted many monks with the harshest punishments. Pachymeres, in the cited passage, states:

> *This same dark rage of the emperor soon erupted against the monks, not because they were rebellious schismatics, but because they counted his days and set times, believing his death would end their sufferings. He struck them with fierce and burning threats, restrained only by some concern for his reputation, lest he seem to rage without just cause. Yet, shortly after, he cast aside this restraint: he gouged out the eyes of* Galation*, cut off* Meletius*'s tongue, and decreed mere exile when he wished to show mercy. Thus, his moderation spared* Lazarus Gorianites*, a venerable man; though he sent men to blind him, he recalled them and deemed exile sufficient. But neither* Macarius*'s innocent simplicity...*

Meanwhile, when Beccus wrote in defense of the Latin doctrine, opposition grew fiercer, with many accusing him before the emperor, though they faced punishment for their accusations. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXV, notes that the emperor steadfastly protected Beccus, whom, as I said, public complaints openly condemned as the source and author of the present disturbances, because he was not content merely to tolerate and use the concord but sought to prove the Latins correct in

their doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit, barely acknowledging their slight fault in adding to the Creed. This incredibly inflamed most people's minds, and many believed that if Beccus had refrained, the schism's fervor would have gradually subsided, and all would have been settled in peace over time.

Ultimately, the emperor's relatives and others openly rebelled, denying him all obedience and resisting with arms the forces he sent against them. A synod of about a hundred monks, eight bishops, and several abbots pronounced anathema on Pope Nicholas, the emperor, Beccus, and all their supporters, condemning them as heretics. The bishops opposing them were treated most harshly, making it seem impossible for the emperor to further promote the union without risking the loss of all authority. He sent messengers to Rome to inform Pope Nicholas of this. Spondanus, in the year 1279, number I, records:

> *In the year of Christ 1279, the seventh indiction, messengers came from the Greek Emperor* Palaiologos *to congratulate* Nicholas *on his pontificate. Through them,* John Beccus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, also fulfilled this duty, recognizing* Nicholas *as the Pastor of Pastors and the preeminent prelate of all.* Ogerius*, the emperor's protonotary, added instructions stating that the emperor had done his utmost to bring all to the union with the Roman Church, but many of his relatives and kin, not to mention others, had fiercely resisted, even breaking into open rebellion, which neither arms nor armies sent against them could subdue. Moreover, a pseudo-synod of about a hundred monks, several abbots, and eight bishops pronounced anathema on Pope* Nicholas*, the emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and all their supporters, condemning them as heretics and treating the opposing bishops most harshly. Thus, it seemed impossible for the emperor to further promote the union without risking the loss of his dominion. These letters and instructions are preserved in the Vatican Register of Pope* Nicholas *and were transcribed by* Wadding*. It is also certain that many prominent opponents of the union fled to Trebizond, where they established the Empire of Trebizond, drawing many provinces to their side, which flourished until 1461, when Trebizond was conquered by the Turks, and its last emperor,* David Comnenus*, was killed, as* Wadding *describes in detail in Annals of the Minors, Volume II.*

Finally, apart from the emperor, Beccus, and some of their steadfast

supporters, all others were thoroughly weary of the established concord. Pachymeres, Book VI, Chapter XXX, states:

> *Informed of the truth about our affairs and suspecting that the much-vaunted peace was nothing but a sham and mockery, all except the emperor, the patriarch, and some of their steadfast supporters were thoroughly weary of the concord. Nor did the other three patriarchs—Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—along with their bishops, assent to this union. Whatever was done for the union was confined to the Church of Constantinople and its subject bishops. How, then, could this union benefit the Latins, which many, indeed most, Easterners did not accept, and which those who approved had been driven to by solicitations, threats, and punishments, not as something good in itself, but as a lesser evil out of fear of greater harms, and were ultimately weary of the union itself?*

And hence, seven years later, Michael Palaiologus himself, due to a union entered into insincerely and poorly promoted, was condemned by Pope Martin with excommunication in the year 1284. The words of the anathema are reported by Eberhardus, Archdeacon of the Church of Ratisbon, in his *Annals*, Volume I of Canisius' *Antiquarian Readings*. The same bull is found in the *Bullarium Pontificum*, Volume I, Roman edition, 1617, p. 124. It reads as follows:

> Martin*, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the certainty of the present and the memory of the future, declares with the counsel of our brethren and in the presence of a large multitude of the faithful, that* Michael Palaiologus*, who is called the Emperor of the Greeks, as a supporter of the ancient schismatics among the Greeks, those established in the ancient schism, and through this, heretics, as well as their heresy and the ancient schism, has incurred the sentence of excommunication pronounced by canon law and is bound by the bond of that sentence, etc.*

The same is reported by Pachymeres in Book VI, Chapter XXX, that this was done by Pope Martin in the presence of the Emperor's legates. It happened then that while the Emperor was staying at Prusa, a message arrived concerning the state of his affairs with the Pope. This was Martin, who had succeeded Nicholas. To him, the Emperor had hastened to send Bishop Leo of Heraclea and Theophanes of Nicaea. When these men

arrived at their destination, they were not received as expected; rather, everything turned out contrary to their hopes. Indeed, the Latins, having been informed of the truth about our affairs and suspecting, as was the case, that the peace so greatly boasted of was nothing but a sham and mockery, disapproved of it. Except for the Emperor alone, the Patriarch, and a few of their close associates, all others were plainly weary of the concord. Moreover, disapproving of the harsh penalties imposed by the Emperor, foreign to the Church's custom, to enforce the sincerity of the peace, they treated the legates coldly and with contempt, scarcely and reluctantly introducing them to the Pope. The outcome of the legation was such that the Emperor and his followers, as deceivers who used the pretense of punishments to simulate the concord they had entered into, were subjected to anathema.

The Advancement [of the Union] Does Not Benefit the Latins

After this was done, the legates were dismissed without any show of kindness or honor. With what audacity, then, do the Latins reproach us with the union, when the Pope himself decreed with excommunication that it was null? Surely, those who object to us about the union attempted by Michael must have forgotten this excommunication. Otherwise, they would have been ashamed to cite for their cause a union that the Pope himself finally declared was professed by the Greeks with their mouths, not their hearts.

Hence, other Latins have since held this union to be of no account. Innocent VI, for instance, in a letter to Emperor Cantacuzenus, recorded by Bzovius under the year 1353, number XXIV, states:

> *It has become known to us the fervor of your desire and the fullness of your affection, with which your mind ceaselessly burns to purge the rust of the inveterate schism, to dispel the darkness of errors, and to return to the unity of the holy Roman and universal Church and the acknowledgment of the Catholic faith, which that Church, the teacher of truth and ignorant of falsehood, holds, teaches, and preaches, and which Christ, the Redeemer of all, its author, does not allow to be divided. Thus, together with the people subject to you, you may return, and by willingly advising you, you may provide leadership for salvation.*
>
> *From this, our soul has indeed magnified the Lord, and our spirit has*

> *rejoiced in God our Savior, especially because we credibly believe and confidently hope that the business of the union of both Churches, Latin and Greek, for which the pious efforts of many of our predecessors labored greatly, will be brought to the desired completion in our times. Thus, in our days, the Lord's flock, by the grace of Him who entrusted it to us to feed and govern, having overcome the frauds of the ancient enemy, will be fed by one Shepherd alone and rest in one fold only.*

On the Attempted Union of the Churches

Thus, if many Popes before Innocent VI labored for the union of the Churches, at least Innocent's hope was that this union would achieve its consummated outcome (for this was Innocent's meaning). It is clear, then, that Innocent himself held the union attempted by Michael to be of no account. Similarly, Pope Eugenius IV, in the decree of the Council of Florence, Volume XIII, *Conciliorum*, Column 512, states:

> *Behold, the Western and Eastern Fathers, after a long period of dissension and discord, exposing themselves to the dangers of sea and land, and overcoming all labors, have come together joyfully and eagerly to this sacred ecumenical council with the desire to restore the most holy union and ancient charity, and their intention has not been frustrated! For God has granted us a great and divine gift; we see with our eyes what many before us, though they greatly desired it, could not see.*

If no one had ever seen the union of the Churches until then, despite greatly desiring it, it is clear that neither Gregory X, nor John XXI, nor Nicholas III had seen the union of the Churches. Therefore, Eugenius IV similarly held the union attempted by Michael Palæologus to be of no account. Likewise, Bessarion, in his oration at the first session of the Council of Florence, states:

> *For how can it be that the members of the Church, separated from one another for so long that they would not even meet in any way, and even found the very idea of meeting intolerable, persisting willingly in what was harmful to them, now strive with such ardor on both sides, setting aside many obstacles, to achieve that which leads to peace? By what reason would anyone not ascribe this to divine power and consider it the surest sign of all good things?*

If, until the time of the Council of Florence, the Easterners were unwilling to meet with the Latins in any way, it is clear that no solid union had been achieved under Gregory, John, or Nicholas, as mentioned. And among others, Nicholas V, in a letter to Emperor Constantine, found in Arcudius' *Golden Theological Works*, p. 693, states:

> *Behold, nearly five hundred years have passed since Satan, the prince and author of all sins, and especially the instigator of schism and division, led the Church of Constantinople away from the obedience of the Roman Pontiff, who is the successor of Peter and the vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ. Countless negotiations have taken place, many councils have been held, and numerous legates have been sent for this purpose, to heal such a grievous wound in God's Church. Most recently, however, with God so providing, in the Councils of Ferrara and Florence…*

Thus, if at least negotiations and councils had taken place to remove the schism until the time of the Council of Florence, it is clear from this that a solid union of the Churches had not yet occurred.

Eighthly, after the death of Emperor Michael, the promoter of that union, it was unanimously rejected and condemned by all, whether those who had reluctantly subscribed to the union or those who had refused to assent to it. For immediately, those who had not accepted the union rose up in tumult against the others who were united. Gregoras, in Book VI, at the beginning, states:

> *When Andronicus succeeded his father in the empire, everything was filled with great tumult. Hence, the ecclesiastical war was renewed by the opposing faction, with the Emperor's death providing the occasion.*

Likewise, his son Andronicus Palæologus, by a published edict, recalled those exiled for condemning the union and signaled the abolition of the union, since, while his father was alive, he had at least pretended to approve of what was done. Gregoras continues:

> *He returned to Byzantium and, after performing just rites for his father, labored above all to restore the state of the Church. This plan, which he had carefully concealed while his father was alive, he brought forward*

> *on this occasion, showing who he was. Thus, through heralds and edicts sent everywhere, he announced the correction of the Church, recalling those who had been exiled or mistreated for the Church's sake.*

Beccus, too, in a published writing, confessed his error, sought pardon, and voluntarily renounced the patriarchal dignity. But this has already been discussed above in Response I. Beccus secluded himself in the Panachratus monastery, fearing he might be torn apart by some in this upheaval. Joseph was immediately appointed in his place. Gregoras continues:

> *Meanwhile, Beccus secretly left his see and secluded himself in the Panachratus monastery, fearing he might be torn apart by some in this sudden change. In his place, Joseph, who had previously yielded the position to him, was appointed, though worn out by illness and old age and near death.*

When Beccus was later sent into exile, which was significantly promoted by Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus out of rivalry, Beccus, claiming to suffer such injustice, appealed to public judgment, hoping either to sway the judges with his eloquence or to show their mercilessness. Upon learning this, the Emperor, so that Beccus would not seem to suffer injustice, convened a council of nobles and clergy to address Beccus' case. Gregoras, in the cited place, states:

> *A council was held with Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople, Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria, all the clergy, bishops, many monks, and prominent laymen. Those disputing against Beccus were Patriarch Gregory and Mezalo, the great Logothete. When asked, the two archdeacons defending Beccus responded that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son does not contradict the Creed; that Scripture teaches that the Spirit is poured out and given through the Son; and that the great Damascene says the Father is the producer of the Spirit through the Son. They added that, since the cause and producer are the same, the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit through the Son, but not that the Son is simultaneously the cause of the Holy Spirit.*

Yet nothing could be more absurd than what the archdeacons put forward. For if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or is produced by

Him, the Son is indeed the producer of the Holy Spirit. But, according to them, the cause and producer are the same; thus, if the Son is the producer, He is also the cause of the Holy Spirit. How, then, did they deny that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit?

The great Logothete pressed further: “They absolutely make the Son the cause of the Holy Spirit when they say the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit through the Son (for by ‘through’ they meant the producer).” To this, they replied that many absurd things could be drawn from the doctrines of faith, but the truth of the doctrines is defended despite the condemned absurdities. But was this sufficient to answer the Logothete’s objection? It should have been shown that nothing absurd follows from their doctrine; for they falsely claimed that something absurd could be drawn from other articles of faith. Moschampar denied that those were the words of Damascene, but the great Logothete contradicted him, turning again to the archdeacons and pressing: “If the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit through the Son (in the sense they meant), the Father would be the cause in one way and the Son in another, which is impossible.”

To this, the archdeacons, unable to counter the argument, repeated Damascene’s words: that the Father is the producer of the Holy Spirit through the Son, saying the dispute was not against them but against Damascene. Patriarch Gregory retorted that such seemingly difficult passages often appear in Scripture but admit a suitable meaning. Similarly, Damascene’s words, when poorly interpreted, are twisted to suggest that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; and sometimes obscure things are said by the Doctors. Thus, to prove this is Damascene’s meaning, they should produce the words of other Fathers. The archdeacons replied that Damascene’s words admit no other sense than the one they gave.

We have seen in another tractate what Damascene’s true meaning is. The Patriarch responded that the meaning is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. The archdeacons accepted this. The Logothete pressed: “Then why do you object to us with those words?” While the Logothete rightly pressed them (for it does not follow that if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, He also proceeds from the Son), Beccus responded: “Does not Gregory of Nyssa similarly teach that the Holy

Spirit is produced from the Father through the Son? Does not light arise through a ray from the sun, yet the ray is not the cause of the light, but the sun?”

When those supporting Patriarch Gregory understood Beccus to mean that, after the Son is begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son with an interval of time, Beccus clarified that no time intervenes, but in the conceptual reasoning of our mind, as Nyssen says, the Son is continually begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father through the Son. Beccus poorly defended the archdeacons, for the question was whether the Father is the cause through the Son in the sense that the Son is also indicated as the producer of the Holy Spirit. But in Nyssen’s sense, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father after the Son is begotten, not that the Spirit proceeds from the Son simultaneously.

As Beccus defended the archdeacons, the ailing Patriarch of Alexandria exclaimed: “What you propose, Beccus, is new; the Fathers did not teach such things.” Namely, that when it is said “from the Father through the Son,” it means the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son simultaneously. For Beccus was arguing this sense with the archdeacons; otherwise, the Fathers clearly taught that the Holy Spirit is produced from the Father after the Son or once the Son is begotten. Hence, the Patriarch of Alexandria showed that peace should be pursued, and disputes over non-essential matters should not be stirred. The Emperor urged the same. Patriarch Gregory interrupted: “You say ‘from’ and ‘through’ mean the same in such matters. According to you, then, when Nyssen says, ‘The Holy Spirit is through Him who is continually from the First,’ the Holy Spirit is from Him, namely the Son, who is continually from the First, which you now refuse to say.”

Moved by this, those following Beccus confessed their error, asking, however, not to be entirely cursed or considered profane, noting that others had sinned greatly as well. Beccus, seeing things not going as he wished, said: “Do what you will, I yield to you; let us remove ‘through the Son,’ let us condemn what has been handed down. Let me be condemned by God with you. But if you cannot condemn ‘through the Son,’ as it is handed down by the Fathers, why am I judged by you for saying and teaching the same, or compelled to condemn it?” Beccus spoke in vain, for he was not accused of saying the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father

through the Son, but of taking “through the Son” to mean that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. This synod rejected that proposition as understood in Beccus’ sense and wished it to be rejected by all, otherwise agreeing entirely with the Fathers and the Seventh Ecumenical Council that the Holy Spirit, in its sense, proceeds from the Father through the Son.

The Patriarch then sharply criticized Beccus, who, inflamed with anger, attacked the Patriarch and, turning to the Emperor, said: “If he does not resign the patriarchate, the Church will never be calmed from this storm.” Thus, the first session of this synod ended in disputes. Pachymeres reports this in detail in Book VII, cited by Leo Allatius in Book II, *Perpetual Consensus of the Churches*, Chapter II, number XI, but we refrain from quoting the words due to their length.

Likewise, how the Patriarch and the great Logothete opposed Beccus in this synod, such that Beccus was inferior to them, is reported by Gregoras in Book VI. He writes:

> *When Beccus came forward and, with all the force of his eloquence, mixed everything, refuting what the defenders of sound doctrine objected, perhaps falsehood would have overcome truth, and curiosity triumphed over virtue, had not Patriarch Gregory and Muzalo, the great Logothete, with their wealth of doctrine and the sentences of Sacred Scripture, resisted and calmed that great storm of a pernicious tongue. Muzalo was almost a partner in the empire, engaged in imperial and public affairs, and held in the highest honor by Andronicus for his learning, age, and long and varied experience combined with prudence. For these reasons, he alone among the ancients who held the same office was granted the honor of wearing a head covering of cloth interwoven with purple and gold, shaped like a pyramid at the top, differing from the Emperor’s children only in that it lacked the lower, hollow surface adorned with golden circles, being entirely smooth.*

Then, in the same synod, the Patriarch composed a tome against Beccus. Pachymeres, in Book VIII, cited by Leo Allatius in the aforementioned place, states:

> *Therefore, accepting the main point and preserving it as a sacred saying (namely, Damascene’s statement that the Father is the pro-*

> *ducer of the Holy Spirit through the Son), they sought a remedy while searching for the certainty of the doctrine, deciding to compose a tome and commit piety to writing. Since the Patriarch was considered wise by all, they entrusted the writing of the tome to him, as a pillar of piety, as they thought, and a witness for posterity of those who had repented of error.*

The Patriarch undertook the task and composed a robust tome. In this tome, first, a confession of faith was set forth, demonstrating as clearly as possible that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. This was followed by the condemnation of the Union of Lyon. Next came a report of the acts of the synod held against Beccus, noting that Beccus had confessed his error and acquiesced to his deposition. Finally, a sentence of condemnation was issued against Beccus and his associates, with a reiterated detestation of the union attempted by Emperor Michael. The tome was subscribed by the Emperor, the Patriarch, 42 bishops, and 28 clerics. Spondanus, under the year 1283, number X, states:

> *The most learned Father Jacobus Sirmondus, S.J., now confessor to the Most Christian King, communicated to us that a synod was held on this occasion under Emperor Andronicus Palæologus and Patriarch Gregory against John Beccus and his associates, Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites, who professed the Latin doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit and had persisted in teaching it for eight years, as the synod's words indicate, from the time of the general Council of Lyon held in 1274. After a preface, a confession of faith is presented, strongly emphasizing the Greek opinion on the procession of the Holy Spirit. At the end, the peace made at the Council of Lyon is rejected. It then recounts that John Beccus had previously been condemned for this reason in a certain synod of the Greeks, attended by the Patriarch of Constantinople and Alexandria, and had offered a document of repentance, acquiescing to his condemnation and deposition, but later returned to his former opinion. Then follows the sentence of condemnation of the three aforementioned men, a refutation of each point of their doctrine on the Holy Spirit, and a reiterated detestation of the union made, which they call a 'mixture of communion' and an 'abominable crime.' At the end, subscriptions are added: first, the Emperor's in red letters: 'Andronicus, faithful in God, Basileus and Emperor, Ducas Angelus Comnenus Palæologus.' Then:*

> *‘Gregory, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, Ecumenical Patriarch.’ John, humble Bishop of the Metropolis of Ephesus, etc. Forty-two bishops and 28 ecclesiastical officials subscribe. The location of this synod cannot be determined from the title, which is largely obliterated, nor from the end. However, from what has been said, it seems to have been held at the beginning of Andronicus’ reign, likely in Constantinople itself.*

Nicephorus Callistus, a writer of this era, in the preface to his history addressed to Emperor Andronicus Palæologus, near the end, Volume I, p. 22, Parisian edition, 1630, states:

> *And you, what have you done? Have you not followed the same course regarding the consubstantial Spirit? For, having convened a council, not of some local figures, but of the firstborn of our Church, like a new Abraham, you have again received the blessed Trinity in hospitality and, disrupting the ranks of those who erred in speech, you clearly declared the procession, whence it comes, namely from the Father alone, from whom the Son also has His existence in an incomprehensible yet true manner as the begotten.*

After the synod was concluded, those who had subscribed to the union under Michael were treated miserably, even though they openly condemned it again and confessed their sin. For all these—metropolitans, bishops, and priests—gathered in the temple, though suppliant and imploring mercy, citing examples from previous times, were stripped of their offices. After many indignities, they were forcibly expelled from the temple; yet these same men later paid the price for their frenzy and were all again driven from their sees. Gregoras, in Book VI, states:

> *For after the burning of those contentious books at Atramyttium, all those who pretended zeal for religion, having already divided or planning to divide the metropolises and other dignities, universally and harshly decreed the deposition of all pontiffs and clerics who had assented to Emperor Michael, with no moderation or humanity in their fortune. For many of them were from a rude and insolent crowd, who shortly before would not even have been permitted to look upon the Emperor’s face, but now, most kindly received by him, forgot their condition, differing little from drunkards. Having received authority*

> *from the Emperor—for he granted them everything due to his ardent desire to unite the Church—they confidently gathered all those against whom they were to cast that infamous vote, like sheep, into the great Blachernae temple. Though these men sought to elicit compassion with suppliant words and actions, citing examples of ancient humanity, including the double iconoclasm, where those who had gravely erred experienced humaneness from those defending the orthodox opinion and retained their positions, they resolved not to relent from the cruelty of their decree. Instead, they cast all clemency and mercy into the depths of the Atlantic Sea with the flood of their wickedness. Such envy and bitterness prevailed in that sacred assembly from the outset of that illustrious concord. Who is so hard-hearted and of adamantine spirit as to recount that insult and utmost inhumanity used against the wretched bishops and priests? For after verbal abuses, the leaders ordered their subordinates to tear off their head coverings and cast them to the ground, shouting three times, 'He is unworthy.' Others were ordered to strip off the garments of others, invert them from the hem to the head, and again shout three times, 'He is unworthy.' Then, with slaps, they were forcibly expelled from the sacred place as if they were criminals. Yet Jesus, our Savior, admitted even a thief and desired and awaited the repentance of a betrayer, had he wished it. Thus, though late, they paid just penalties. For none of these new legislators died in their dignity but were most shamefully driven from their sees, as we will later recount, consumed by grief of spirit.*

Besides the aforementioned tome, in the Vienna Library, there are sermons by Gregory of Cyprus against Beccus' blasphemies. Likewise, Gregory Moschampar, Chartophylax of the Great Church, wrote against the Latins, as Beccus testifies in Leo Allatius' Book II, *Perpetual Consensus of the Churches*, Chapter XV, number XIII. Finally, Constantine, the great Acropolita, published several tractates on the procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins, cited by Allatius in the same place, number XIV. Thus, the Easterners, except for Beccus and his two associates, with unanimous consent opposed and condemned the union of the Churches attempted by Michael Palæologus, a clear proof that they had only accepted it reluctantly, under the pressing urgency of the Emperor. Would such a union, then, aid the cause of the Latins?

Ninthly, regarding the Council of Lyon, how, I ask, could this council be considered universal when neither the Eastern Patriarchs nor their

legates were present? Hence, Abbot Barlaam, as reported by Pope Benedict XII in a letter to Robert, King of Sicily, in Leo Allatius' Book II, Chapter XVI, *Perpetual Consensus of the Churches*, number II, states:

> *If anyone says that a general council was held at Lyon concerning these matters, in which Greeks were present, let him know that no one can compel the Greek people to accept that council without another council. Why? Because those Greeks who were present at that council were neither sent by the four Patriarchs who govern the Eastern Church nor by the people, but only by the Emperor, who sought to make a union with you by force, not voluntarily.*

Thus, the legates of Emperor Michael attended that synod, and we have seen above, at length, how he was moved to this by human reasons, such that his consent here is of no weight. For what some Latins added above, that the Emperor himself was present at that synod, is not at all consistent with the truth, as even Waddingus refutes in *Annals of the Minors*, Volume II. Nor was Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople present at that synod, but another Germanus, a relative and magister of Emperor Michael, who, though he had once sat on the patriarchal throne for a year, was sent to the Council of Lyon not by the Church but by the Emperor and consented to the union of the Churches in the Emperor's name. Moreover, there were legates of the bishops with letters written by them, whether truly sent by those bishops or suborned by the Emperor. For there exists among the acts of the Council of Lyon a letter from the Eastern bishops, professing to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope, to return to the union, and to restore Patriarch Joseph, who was not opposed to it. But the same letter was written in the name of all the clerics of the Great Church, as anyone examining it will see. Yet, the clerics had not yet consented to the union when the legates set out for the council, as Pachymeres testifies in Book V, Chapters XVII and XVIII. If, therefore, the letter was falsely written in the name of the clerics, what trust could be placed in that entire letter regarding the bishops or their legates?

Furthermore, that letter states, among other things:

> *But the diligence of the Emperor, crowned by God, prevailed in the end, and now all are in agreement to this single union, through which we assent to attribute to the apostolic see of ancient Rome the primacy attributed to it from ancient times.*

But all this was fabricated: for, as mentioned, except for the bishops, the rest had not consented, as we have seen above how much the Emperor labored to promote the union and how much many Easterners abhorred it. This was also the Emperor's artifice to deceive the Latins with fabricated letters from the bishops, as we saw above regarding the letters written to John XXI.

Finally, the oath taken by the bishops' legate, read according to their mandate in the same council, was fabricated. It is recorded in Volume XI, *Conciliorum*, Part I, Column 971, as follows:

> *I, N., a messenger with sufficient mandate from them for what follows, utterly renounce all schism and acknowledge the subscribed truth of the faith, as it has been fully read and faithfully expounded by me, to be the true, holy, Catholic faith in the name of God and our Lord. I accept it, confess it with heart and mouth, and promise to observe it inviolably, as the holy Roman Church holds, faithfully teaches, and preaches it, and to persevere in it at all times, never to depart from it or deviate in any way, nor to differ from it. I also confess, acknowledge, accept, and willingly undertake the primacy of the most holy Roman Church, as contained in the foregoing, coming spontaneously to its obedience. And I promise and confirm by a bodily oath to observe all the foregoing, both concerning the truth of the faith and the primacy, acceptance, observance, and perseverance of the Roman Church, so help me God and these holy Gospels. Scriniarius, Sacrista, Chartophylax, and great Scevophylax of the most holy Patriarchate in Constantinople, John the Lector.*

In this oath, taken by the mandate of the bishops, the faith of the Latins is approved, and thus also the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But though the bishops had approved the union thus far, they always confessed simultaneously that the Latins erred in faith and refused to hear of that Latin doctrine. Whatever union had been entered into concerned at least the primacy, appeal, and commemoration of the Pope, as shown above at length. How, then, could such an oath have been taken by the mandate of the bishops? The oath further states: "So help me God." If the oath had been taken in the name of the bishops, it should have said: "So help them God." Again, it says: "In the name of God and our Lord." But the legate could not promise obedience to the Roman see

in the name or stead of God. Hence, the Jesuit Gabriel Cossartius, who, along with Jesuit Philippe Labbe, published the *Volumes of the Councils* in Paris in 1671, adds there: “It was conceived in the same words as the Emperor’s oath previously issued, from which we have supplied a gap in some words here.”

What if this oath was described as imperial instead of episcopal? For the bishops’ messenger should have said: “In the name of the bishops,” as the Caesar said: “In the name of my said Lord,” which words here are corrupted and changed into “In the name of God and our Lord.” For he neither accepted this faith in the name of God nor promised obedience to the primacy of the Roman Church in the name or stead of God. Then, what do the words at the end, “So help me God,” mean? And what is above: “And I myself all the foregoing, etc.,” is what is read in the Emperor’s oath: “And he himself all the foregoing, etc.”

The bishops could have written similar letters for the union and could have sent legates for that purpose, for they had then assented to the union. But what does this union prove regarding the universality of the Council of Lyon? The bishops had approved the union with the Latins, but not as good in itself; for they confessed that they were joined with those who erred in faith, but at least as the lesser evil compared to greater evils, since otherwise, cruel wars, slaughter, and devastations threatened the East from the Latins. Indeed, neither they nor others later accepted such a peace in this manner voluntarily but were moved to it by the Emperor’s solicitations and driven by threats and punishments. Would the Latins, then, consider this acceptance of the union to support the authority of the Council of Lyon? On the contrary, this clearly convicts it of protracted error. The bishops consented to the union concluded at that Council of Lyon; but did they therefore subscribe to the decrees of that synod? As we have seen, they consistently denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Yet, in the same Council of Lyon, as seen above, those who question this doctrine are condemned. How, then, could the Eastern bishops have accepted the Council of Lyon, and how could their assent have added to the council’s authority? Thus, only Emperor Michael remains who, with his vote, approved the decrees of that council. But he did so insincerely, as we have seen above; indeed, he was excommunicated by Pope Martin for it. Therefore, only the Latins who attended and consented to this synod remain. With what audacity, then,

could it be asserted that that council was universal?

Furthermore, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was asserted in this synod, and those who denied it were condemned; but nothing of this doctrine was discussed or proven in the synod, and everything was determined at the pleasure of the Pope and the Latins. This is far different from the custom of legitimate synods, where demonstrations of faith drawn from the principles of Scripture or the authorities of the Fathers always preceded any definition of a controverted question. And hence, while other universal synods have been consistently received by the universal Church, this very Council of Lyon, after Michael's death, was rejected and condemned by a council of the Easterners and was never thereafter accepted by the Eastern Church. It is clear, therefore, that it is absurd for the Latins to cite the Council of Lyon against the Easterners.

And thus far concerning the union of the Churches attempted by Michael Palæologus.

TRACTATE XIX

In which it is demonstrated that the Council of Florence was not a legitimate council, much less to be counted among the holy eceumenical councils

Since the acts of the Council of Florence are widely known, it is not necessary here to provide preliminary remarks for the Latins, but rather it is fitting to pursue the proposed aim directly: namely, to show why the Eastern Churches have rightly rejected that synod up to now.

First, the earlier part of this synod was consumed in disputes about the meaning of the decree of Ephesus: No other definition of faith besides the Nicene Creed shall be introduced into the churches. The Latins fought as if for their altars and hearths, claiming that the meaning of that decree was that at least no false additions should be made to the Creed. And so, toward the end of the synod, they issued a definition, reasonably asserting that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had been inserted into the Creed. But whatever the Latins asserted in Ferrara over so many sessions on this matter, and whatever they later defined in Florence regarding the addition, clearly convicts them of error, yet it is far different from the disputation and definition of Pope Leo III. For in his disputation with the envoys sent from the Council of Aachen to Rome, Leo clearly showed that the meaning of the decrees of the synods was that not even true additions could be inserted into the Creed. He then issued a definition: The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, inserted into the Creed, must be removed. He also erected an eternal monument in which the holy Creed was inscribed in golden letters, untainted by that addition, with the subscription: Leo, out of love and care for the orthodox faith, has placed this here. Indeed, in that disputation, Leo added:

Such arguments must be provided (namely, those demonstrating that

> *the meaning of the decrees of the eceumenical councils is that not even true additions can be inserted into the holy Creed) that not only are the wise satisfied, but the foolish are silenced.*

Where, then, according to Leo's judgment, should the Latins gathered at the Council of Ferrara be placed, when Marcus of Ephesus, disputing at length on this matter, could not satisfy them? But let us not press this point further.

For we have extensively drawn an argument from Leo's actions in the treatise where it was demonstrated that the meaning of the Ephesian decree is that not even true additions can be inserted into the holy Creed. Indeed, the Latins ought to blush at this, where their so-called ecumenical council defends, establishes, and defines something so shamefully contrary to the exposition and definition of Leo III (not to mention the other arguments cited there). For an ecumenical council, or at least a legitimate one, does not trample on the decrees of other eceumenical councils, does not defend things contrary to them, does not uphold the most false claims in numerous sessions, or finally define something illicit.

Secondly, the Latins devoted the other part of this council to disputations about the dogma itself, namely to show that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is taught in sacred Scripture and by the holy Fathers, both Eastern and Western, and that it has always been asserted with common consent in the Roman and Latin Church. However, as far as sacred Scripture is concerned, they used only absurd deductions to infer that dogma from it, as shown in several treatises elsewhere. They misinterpreted many testimonies of the Eastern Fathers and produced others corruptly, as demonstrated in the treatise on the testimonies of the Eastern Fathers cited by the Latins and in the treatise on the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the Eastern Fathers. Among these, the corrupted words of Basil, around the beginning of Book III against Eunomius, stood out, as did the Symbol of Athanasius, and, worst of all, the Symbol of the Second eceumenical Council of Nicaea itself. Indeed, many sessions of this other part of the synod were spent in disputations about that corrupted passage of Basil and another from his Homily XVII on Baptism, as if the Latins' opinion was most strongly founded on these two testimonies. Yet, even from the editions of Basil published by the

Latins, both passages are read as Marcus of Ephesus then contended, in accordance with the truth of the matter. We have shown this extensively with other arguments in the cited treatises. Likewise, the testimonies of the Western Fathers produced by the Latins were shown to be corrupted in a specific treatise on the corruptions perpetrated in the testimonies of the Latin Fathers. Similarly, they falsely supposed that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son had always been asserted with constant consent in the Latin Churches. For how many disputes and contentions arose among the Latins themselves, even if we set aside the earlier centuries, after some introduced that dogma into the Latin Church at the beginning of the ninth century, as shown in a specific treatise. The dogma they defended with such great efforts and finally approved by definition was not of minor significance but directly contradicts sacred Scripture and all Catholic tradition left in the councils and writings of the Fathers, introducing two principles and thus two gods in the manner of the pagans, as shown in several other treatises.

Would it be an ecumenical council where sacred Scripture is profaned with ludicrous deductions, where the testimonies of the Fathers are twisted to suit one's own meaning or produced with the worst bad faith, and where, finally, the eternal consensus of the Latin Church in a certain dogma is upheld with the greatest falsehood? In legitimate councils, there is no place for fraud, perversity, or corruptions; truth alone defends truth. Indeed, when the Monothelites corrupted the acts of the Fifth eceumenical Council, they were condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council, as discussed elsewhere.

Would it be an ecumenical council where a dogma contrary to sacred Scripture, the councils, the Fathers, and even the principles of the Christian faith is defended, established, and defined? Even if far more Fathers from the West and the East had been present at Florence than we know were there, if truth was not established there, if a false dogma was defined, a large number of Fathers does not make a true eceumenical council. Hence, the Council of Nicaea is accepted, but the Council of Ariminum, though celebrated with a greater number of bishops, is rejected; for no council could overturn the tradition of the Catholic faith founded in sacred Scripture and the writings of the Fathers or prescribe something contrary by a definition.

But thirdly, let us turn to the Easterners gathered at that council. Did any of the Easterners, as long as they could freely express their opinions, or as long as free disputations with the Latins were in effect, approve the Latins' opinion with any arguments? By no means. Indeed, the primary controversy between the churches was and is about the addition. Marcus of Ephesus then confessed, and the Easterners later confessed, that the churches could be united in a true and stable union if the addition to the Creed were removed. Let the acts of the Council of Ferrara be examined, let those who wrote about this synod be consulted: is there any record of any Easterner, either during the disputations about the addition or even after those disputations were set aside, approving that the Pope or the Latins could insert something true into the Creed? Certainly none. How, then, could the Easterners, supposedly convinced by some arguments, have subscribed to the definition that the Latins rightly use the addition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the Creed? Again, as long as free disputation about the dogma was held in Florence, the Easterners by no means yielded to the Latins but persisted in their original faith. Were they, then, moved by the Latins' arguments to subscribe to their dogma? Likewise, when the Emperor, seeing that the disputations with the Latins were achieving nothing for union, suppressed all disputations, and even then, while liberty still remained, all unanimously rejected the definition proposed by the Latins concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Indeed, Gregory the Protosyncellus, Isidore the Metropolitan of Kiev, and Bessarion of Nicaea, though great promoters of union, together with the Bishop of Mytilene, urged that another definition of union be composed, as attested by the eyewitness Sylvester Syropulus in his History of the Council of Florence, Section VIII, Chapter XIV. Yet, thereafter, most Easterners subscribed to the definition only after it had been condemned by them.

It is clear, therefore, that the Easterners were induced to subscribe to the Latins' dogma and decrees by reasons far different from the Latins' arguments. Namely, they were moved by solicitations, the allurements of words, and the Emperor's threats, or even by weariness of traveling and inducements of financial support, to finally yield to the Latins. For since the Emperor saw that he could not defend himself or Constantinople against the looming Turks without the Latins' aid, he desired to unite with the Latins by any means to obtain that aid. Hence, seeing that the

disputations were not achieving this, he suppressed them and sought other means to lead his people to enter into union with the Latins. For these counsels, only the aforementioned Gregory, Isidore, and Bessarion were summoned, as the Emperor knew they favored union, as again attested by Sylvester Syropulus, Section VIII, Chapter IV, as well as the acts of the Council of Florence, published in Greek and translated into Latin by John Matthew Caryophylus, which add near the end of Session XXV that Isidore and Bessarion approved union with the Latins.

The Emperor, therefore, with the counsel of these three, tried various approaches, deciding that union should be entered into if the Latins would accept the letter of St. Maximus, which we have discussed in its place. But when the Emperor proposed this to the other Easterners summoned, some approved, while others condemned this means of entering into union (Sylvester, Section VIII, Chapter V). A new definition of union was then drafted by the Emperor's order. Its meaning was this: While the Latins confess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle, the Greeks confess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is proper to the Son and emanates from Him, and from both, namely from the Father through the Son, according to substance: hence the Greeks and Latins unite again into one Church (Sylvester, Section VIII, Chapter XVII). But this did not please all the Easterners either: when votes were sought, twelve rejected it, while twenty-four approved it (Sylvester, Chapter XVIII). The Latins, however, did not accept this definition of union proposed by the Emperor, denying that union could be achieved unless the Easterners simply subscribed to their dogma (Syropulus, Chapter XIX, and the cited author of the acts of the Council of Florence, Session XXV). Such negotiations had taken place, as also attested by Cardinal Julian in Andrew of Santa Croce's Collation XXII of the Council of Florence, Volume XIII, Councils, Column 1159. He says:

> *It seemed good to the Lord Emperor and the Greeks that disputation should cease, and that they should proceed to certain negotiations, hoping thereby to reach a conclusion. They wished that there be few negotiators so that their will might be obeyed, and not all Your Paternities could be consulted, but certain ones were appointed. And because the matter of the procession was more serious, several negotiations began, hoping that once it was concluded, little difference*

> *would remain. Many difficulties and many approaches were heard. First, the Greeks said it should be defined that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. This approach was rejected by the deputies for many reasons. Another was proposed, that they confess that we hold rightly, and that they hold rightly according to their understanding. This approach was rejected by us because truth does not admit division. Then another was proposed, that it be declared that the Holy Spirit flows from the Father and the Son, with the Greeks objecting to the word "proceed." This approach was rejected by us because those words would introduce doubt and thus should not be placed in a definition. Then it was said that there was no difference whether the Holy Spirit emanates or flows, but whether He proceeds, and thus the contention would not be resolved by this. Then it was proposed that it be defined that He proceeds from the Father and the Son, and from the Father through the Son. This approach did not seem good because it could lead to a bad interpretation, as the word "from" could be explained as "through." It was said that this approach would declare that the Son is a cause, and that this was not a good way of speaking because it would be a doubtful statement, which ought to be certain.*

Yet the Emperor did not falter despite the Latins' dissent. Having gathered his own assembly, where some had already defended against others that through is equivalent to from, as noted by Sylvester (Section VIII, Chapters XIV, XV, and XVI), and believing he could proceed to union based on this dissent among his own, he proposed: Is not "through the Son" and "from the Son" the same? But when he saw that he could not succeed with this reasoning either, as the bishops acted contrary to it, he asserted that union could not be achieved unless the authority of the Latin Fathers established it. For he saw that his people were greatly pressed by this difficulty by the Latins, who explicitly assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. If they accepted these, union would be within reach. But when votes were sought, some said they should be accepted, others that they should be rejected (Sylvester, Section IX, Chapters II and III). Five bishops and three Crossbearers denied that they should be accepted, along with others who voted afterward. To reduce the votes of the dissenters, the Emperor cunningly suppressed the votes of the Crossbearers, for they had not subscribed to the seven ecumenical councils (Sylvester, Chapter IV).

Thereafter, the Emperor asked his people: Do you think the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son? The Patriarch responded ambiguously; of the bishops and monastics, ten affirmed it, while seventeen condemned it. To bring these dissenters to the same opinion, the Emperor employed various tactics, seeking to win them over—some with reproaches, others with friendly conversations, and others with flattery—assisted by the Patriarch and Isidore (Sylvester, Section IX, Chapter VIII). Nor did this plan lack success. For while some wished to return to their homeland but could not do so without union, as the means of return would not be provided, and while others feared that the promised subsidies would be withheld, as had already happened once, they began to respond more leniently to the Latins' opinion. In a council of his own, when the Emperor again asked, Who approves the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son?, thirteen bishops consented, while at least six did not. The votes of the monastics and Crossbearers were not sought, as the Emperor, knowing their opposition, had recently deprived them of voting rights. At that time, the Patriarch asserted that through the Son signifies a cause and that through the Son is the same as from the Son. When the laity were asked, all approved the union. These matters are extensively reported by Sylvester (Chapters IX and X). Since the majority now approved the Latins' dogma, the Emperor deemed it lawful that the dissenters should yield to their opinion, leaving them no freedom but compelling them, even unwillingly, to approve the contrary opinion. Hence, when that assembly was to be dissolved, he delivered a speech, the gist of which was:

> *The ecumenical council has now established union with the Latins; therefore, it is fitting that all adhere to it, and the union must be strictly observed, provided the Latins do not add anything further, and the addition must be accepted by us, or their rites must be received.*

But when the Pope then insisted that it was not enough for them to agree on the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but that the addition to the Creed and other points must also be approved, forgetting his promise and not being led by any arguments but seeing that the Latins would not otherwise accept union, the Emperor confirmed all these points, with all but Gregory, Isidore, and Bessarion unaware of this (Sylvester, Section X, Chapter I). With what face, then, or with what

conscience could the Emperor or the others induced by him subscribe to such points that they entirely rejected in their hearts and had just professed to reject? For this reason, the Emperor had previously mentioned not admitting that addition, as it was clear that his people were entirely opposed to it.

Moreover, although the Pope had willingly promised subsidies to the Easterners to come to Italy for the synod, to then compel them to enter into union, he did not pay the promised subsidies, as Sylvester Syropulus frequently complains and as Marcus of Ephesus attests in his Apology Against the Council of Florence. Indeed, the author of the acts of the Council of Florence, in Session XV at Ferrara, testifies that subsidies were denied to them, forcing them to go to Florence. Thus, in Volume XIII, Councils, Column 216:

> *Moreover, no word was said about the money designated for sustenance, which caused us great financial distress. For the Pope said: "You know well that nothing can be provided for you at Ferrara, for what we hoped for has not succeeded as expected. Thus, the Florentines lend us 40,000 gold coins to transfer the synod there. Follow me, therefore, to Florence, and I promise to give 12,000 gold coins in the name of Constantinople's aid, and two triremes, and to you whatever florins I owe and a public table, so that in the future your monthly provisions will never fail. Come, therefore, to Florence, and after three or four months, you may leave, whether union follows or not."*

Hearing this, we were disturbed, as was fitting, especially since there was no hope of receiving anything at Ferrara. Nor did it occur to us what should be done. Not to go to Florence, but here we lacked sustenance. To go, then? What if we fell into the same troubles there as at Ferrara? Thus, we were in suspense. And then, Column 217:

> *Thus, we proposed these conditions to the Emperor if he wished us to go to Florence: that the money be paid for the defense of our city for eight months, and that what was owed for our sustenance for five months be counted out.*

The philosopher Amyrutius also confesses that some Easterners subscribed to the union because of financial subsidies, and that the Pope,

by withholding subsidies, compelled them to do so. He himself had subscribed to the union but, upon returning, renounced it again. Thus, in Leo Allatius's Book III on the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, Chapter I, Number IV:

> *How could it be ecumenical, paying silver for faith, a simoniacal synod, which for the sake of financial gain and secular aid they embraced with kisses? But the Pope says: I see division clearly before my eyes, and I am amazed and cannot comprehend what benefit this division has been to you. If this happens, how will the Western princes accept it? And with what sorrow will we be afflicted? Indeed, by what means will you return to your homeland?*

Note from this that the Pope plainly tells the Easterners that if they do not subscribe to the synod, since they lack the necessities for sustenance, they will be deprived of them; and if these are lacking, they cannot return to their homeland or raise trophies against the Turks. Dositheus, in the Synod of Constantinople held just before the city was captured by the Turks, as we will see in its acts, says:

> *Besides the cunning Gregory, both of us, by the Emperor's force and command, gave our hands to unjust subscriptions. Unwillingly and reluctantly we erred, thinking through those subscriptions to obtain not only the means to return to our homeland but also victory against our enemies.*

In another session of the same synod, Gemistius, speaking about the events in Italy, showed that the union at Florence was transacted simoniacally by the Emperor and others. Indeed, the three Patriarchs—of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem—add:

> *Truth ought to be discussed through disputations, not by imperial force, nor should the Easterners have been compelled to assent by the withholding of necessities.*

But more on this later. Finally, Michael Ducas, nephew and supporter of the union, in his Byzantine History, Chapter XIII, page 120 of the Paris edition of 1651, speaking with George Acropolita about the return of the bishops from Italy:

> *But after the archbishops, bishops, and prelates departed on triremes, the citizens of Constantinople, as is customary, greeted them and asked, "How are things with you? How was the synod conducted? Did we win?" They responded: "We sold our faith for a price." And after some remarks: Some of the archbishops, when it was time to subscribe to the decree, said: "Unless you provide us with sufficient money, we will not subscribe." Once the money was paid, they immediately dipped their pens in ink and subscribed. Immense, almost infinite sums were paid to sustain them, and money was counted out to each of the Fathers present. But after they repented, they did not return the money.*

By their own confession, therefore, that they sold their faith, they are accused of sinning more gravely than Judas himself, who returned the silver. Those who did not yield to the Emperor's similar solicitations or to the desire for money were compelled to subscribe by his orders and threats. For three Crossbearers, ordered to subscribe to the union, entirely refused, as Sylvester, one of those three Crossbearers, attests (Section X, Chapter VI). Ordered again by the Emperor with added threats, they consented, but, as Sylvester himself confesses, with a protestation that they rejected the Latins' opinion and were compelled to obey orders, and that it should be lawful for them to recant afterward, however they wished (Sylvester, Section X, Chapter VIII).

The philosopher Amyrutius also confesses that the Council of Florence was composed by the Emperor's force and threats. Thus, in the cited passage:

> *How could it be ecumenical—violent, not established by the demonstrations of the saints, but by the force of the Emperor, who, carried away by error and suffering from dizziness, imposed it with threats?*

The words of Dositheus, cited earlier, were:

> *Besides the cunning Gregory, both of us, by the Emperor's force and command, gave our hands to unjust subscriptions; unwillingly and reluctantly we erred… And after some remarks, he adds: I repent of the violent subscription; may God forgive me!*

Finally, the three Syrian Patriarchs, with the cited words:

> *Truth ought to be discussed through disputations, not by imperial force.*

It is sufficiently clear from this that the Council of Florence is rightly rejected by all as simoniacal and violent. For the Emperor, as we have seen, the chief promoter of union, did not subscribe to the Latins' decrees nor induce his people to approve them because of their arguments, but for simoniacal reasons, to obtain aid against the Turks. Induced by this reason, he desired by any means to unite the Easterners with the Latins. Nor would they ever have subscribed to even the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son alone if they could have otherwise obtained union with the Latins, as we have seen above that he frequently tried other paths to union through various negotiations. What is this but to simoniacally betray the Christian faith, to sell the untainted and orthodox faith for external aid? And thus, when the Emperor saw that little benefit accrued to him from that union with the Latins, he began to promote it coldly and, when dying, entirely renounced it.

The same simoniacal reason induced Bessarion, Gregory, and Isidore, among others, to be authors of the union for the Emperor or to assent to it. Since the Emperor acted in all things with the counsel of these three, with their authority he tried those various paths to union with the Latins; and thus, they too, if the Latins had allowed it, would have entered into union without approving or subscribing to the Latins' decrees. When disputations were suppressed and liberty still remained, all unanimously rejected the Latins' definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But when things were done by the Emperor's decrees and orders, not by arguments, demonstrations, or discussions, they admitted, approved, and subscribed not only to that dogma but also to the addition to the Creed and other Latin dogmas. Who does not see that this synod was violent? When the Emperor saw that the Crossbearers and monastics did not favor the union, he suppressed their votes so that their dissent would no longer disturb the consent of the others, whom he wished to simply follow the others' opinion. When, therefore, the assembled Fathers lacked the due freedom to express their opinions, who would deny that the synod was violent? The Emperor and his accomplices then, with various friendly conversations, flatteries, and reproaches, moved the dissenters to approve the Latins' opinion. Should those who were led to approve the Latins' faith by so many frauds and deceits be said to have approved the union moved by demonstrations and arguments, or rather deceived by the allurements of words? Likewise, out of weariness of

travel, since otherwise they saw no way to return home, and again to obtain financial subsidies, for otherwise these too would be denied by the Pope, they subscribed to the union. Is this how conscripted Fathers in a legitimate council should be induced to subscribe to a definition of faith—compelled and coerced? Finally, imperial force was added, decreeing that the majority's vote should be followed, with threats then heaped upon them. Is this how truth is discussed in legitimate synods, by imperial force, and not rather by demonstrations drawn from sacred Scripture, councils, and Fathers? Rightly, therefore, for these reasons, the Council of Florence is counted among simoniacal and violent synods, as one in which the Easterners subscribed to the Latins' decrees not willingly but because they could not otherwise unite with the Latins for the sake of aid for their homeland, financial subsidies, solicitations, orders, and threats of the Emperor. For all these things were far removed from legitimate and holy eceumenical synods accepted by the Church; indeed, they must be absent.

In a similar manner, I recall that the Council of Ariminum was conducted. The Catholics in that council had steadfastly persisted in the orthodox faith until then. Communion was even denied to their own legates because they had yielded to the Arians in the East. Yet later, most of them, partly through weakness of mind, partly through weariness of travel, surrendered to their adversaries. Once their minds inclined, they went over to the other side in droves until the number of Catholics was reduced to twenty. But the fewer they were, the stronger they were, and among them, our Fegadius and Servatius, Bishop of Tongeren, were considered most steadfast. Since they did not yield to threats and terrors, Taurus approached them with prayers and, weeping, implored them to adopt milder counsels. The bishops, confined in one city, were now in their seventh month; afflicted by the harshness of winter and want, they were given no hope of return. What, then, would be the end? They should follow the example of the majority; authority should be taken from their number. Indeed, Fegadius declared himself ready for exile and any punishment demanded, stating that he would not accept the faith formulated by the Arians. Thus, several days were spent in this struggle, where they made little progress toward peace. Gradually, even he became weaker and, in the end, was overcome by a proposed condition. For Valens and Ursatius, asserting that the present faith had been

formulated with Catholic reasoning, brought forward by the Emperor's authority, asked how there could be an end to discord if what pleased the Easterners displeased the Westerners? Finally, if anything in the present faith seemed less fully expressed, they themselves would add what they thought should be added, promising to give their consent to those things that were acceptable. This favorable proposal was accepted by the inclined minds of all, and our side no longer dared to resist, now desiring to put an end to the matter by any means. Then the confessions drafted by Fegadius and Servatius began to be issued, in which, first, Arius and all his perfidy were condemned; however, the Son of God was not declared equal to the Father, nor without beginning, nor without time. Then Valens, as if aiding our side, added a statement that contained hidden deceit, that the Son of God is not a creature like other creatures, and this deceitful profession misled the listeners. For by these words, which denied that the Son is like other creatures, He was nonetheless declared a creature, though superior to others. Thus, neither side could fully consider itself victorious or defeated: for the faith seemed to favor the Arians, but the subsequent professions were in favor of our side, except for the one Valens had added, which, not understood at the time, was later recognized as harmful. In this way, the council was concluded with a good beginning but a shameful end.

Since, therefore, the Council of Florence was concluded in the manner described, some Jesuit, Cichovius (Question II, p. 25), writes without basis:

> *They cannot be unaware, not only the Greek and German historians (of whom I saw one copy printed in Nuremberg shortly after the Council of Florence in the Rozrazeviana library; another printed in Augsburg around the same time, I saw in the very ancient and illustrious convent of the Dominican Fathers in Kiev), not only, I say, do the writers of that age, Greek and German, testify that this council was most happily concluded with the full consent of the Eastern and Western Fathers (with only Marcus objecting, or, as the Greek writer of the Council of Florence puts it, 'with only one little crow remaining among the crows'), and that in it not only the Greeks but also the Armenians were reunited with the Roman Church.*

But could or should the truth of the acts of Florence be sought from the Latins themselves, or from Germans, or, for example, from Greek

defectors? (For he then adds these.) We have seen Sylvester Syropulus, we have seen others who were present at that council: it is clear that the situation there was far different. For, in the end, that synod was entirely composed simoniacally, fraudulently, and violently. Where liberty existed, the Easterners by no means assented to the Latins. Could it, therefore, be said that the council was most happily concluded with the full consent of the Eastern and Western Fathers, when the Eastern Fathers consented only through fraud, the Emperor's orders and force, and simoniacal inducements? Nor was Marcus alone in objecting, since many others steadfastly persisted in rejecting the Latins' dogmas, as we will discuss later. Likewise, whatever Eugene did regarding the Armenians, it is certain that no union followed between them and the Latins. Boterus, in Part III of his Universal Relations, in the chapter on the Discorians, where he speaks of the Armenians, clearly states (translated from the vernacular Italian, in which those relations were published, into Latin):

> *They remembered their first union with the Roman Church made in the times of Pope Sylvester and Emperor Constantine. And we have the bull of the union of the Armenians, Greeks, and Jacobites concluded at the end of the Council of Florence; although the Armenians themselves, like the Jacobites, have no memory of it.*

Fourthly, although the majority of the Easterners gathered at Florence yielded to the Latins for the reasons mentioned, some steadfastly objected to that union. Among them, Marcus, Archbishop of Ephesus, the Exarch of the Synod, stood out, who up to that point, both in Ferrara and Florence, had borne the burden of disputations against the Latins alone. And since he saw most clearly that the Latins' arguments contained nothing solid, he by no means wished to admit, against his conscience, the simoniacal reasons of others, the Emperor's orders, persuasions, or threats. Among the dissenters, Marcus alone touched the Pope. He refused to submit to the synod's opinion. By his confession, therefore, he would have ascended to martyrdom had the Emperor not denied that this was possible, as attested by Sylvester Syropulus (Section X, Chapter XII). Summoned to the Pope, even then, despite added threats, he could not be moved from his constancy (Sylvester, Chapter XV). Neither did Germanus, the Emperor's brother and Despot, nor Gemistius, nor Scholarius, the most learned of all Greeks, assent to the union or the

Latins' decrees. For when many had already consented to the union and others were being pressed to approve it, they, along with the Despot, departed for Venice (Sylvester Syropulus, Section IX, Chapter X). Previously, the Latins had by no means wished to admit either of them to the disputations, as they were aware of their outstanding learning. Indeed, to remove Gemistius further from the synod, they sent him to France to seek books, as Gemistius himself confesses in the synod held in Constantinople just before the city was captured by the Turks, as we will discuss later. Nor did the legates of the Iberian people wish to assent to the union. Indeed, one of them, when the subscriptions to the Latins' definition of faith were being discussed, showed a diploma from the Patriarch of Antioch, which ordered that he not agree with the Latins or detract even a jot from the orthodox faith of the Easterners (Sylvester, Section IX, Chapter XII). Thus, the names of these Iberian legates are not found among the subscriptions to the Florentine definition, although the author of the Greek acts of the Council of Florence asserts at the beginning of the council that there were two legates from Iberia:

There were also from Iberia one metropolitan and one bishop.

In the Latin acts of the Council of Florence, edited by Andrew of Santa Croce, in Collation I of the Synod, mention is made that among the Eastern archbishops was the Metropolitan of Iberia, the apocrisiary of the King of Iberia. But he is not recorded as having subscribed there either. Regarding Scholarius, Laonicus Chalcocondylas writes in Book VI, page 756 of the Greco-Latin Paris edition of 1650:

> *Marcus, Bishop of Ephesus, and Scholarius, the most learned of the Greeks, did not even from the beginning wish to assent to the Latins' dogma.*

From the dissent of these most learned men, especially Marcus, Scholarius, and Gemistius, it is sufficiently clear that the Easterners were not moved by reasons or demonstrations to approve the Latins' decrees but were led by other human reasons to yield to the Latins. For while these more learned men demanded reasons and demonstrations to satisfy their consciences, they by no means wished to burden their consciences with forbidden subscriptions.

Additional Arguments Against the Council of Florence

Argument V: Renunciation by Eastern Delegates

Fifthly, those who had subscribed to the union and the Latins' decrees at Florence, upon returning to their homeland, all except the Bishop of Cyzicus, Gregory the Protosyncellus, Bessarion, and Isidore, renounced the union, repeatedly teaching that everything there had been done unjustly, simoniacally, and violently. Laonicus Chalcocondylas, in Book I, page 4, writes:

> *The Greeks, having returned home, did not wish to abide by what had been done in the Italian synods, believing it by no means lawful for them to give consent to the Romans, who brought forth impious things. Hence, they perpetually fostered discord against the Romans in matters of religion.*

And in Book VI:

> *The Greeks, having returned home, no longer wished to abide by what they had agreed upon in Italy, but, adopting a different opinion, they no longer wished to adhere to the Romans in matters of religion.*

Leonardus also confesses that the Easterners, after the Council of Florence, having cast off their former stupor and torpor and shaken off excessive lethargy, realized, as if awakened from sleep, that they had gravely erred by assenting to the Latins' wishes in matters that should neither have been permitted nor touched at all; and therefore, with a great outpouring of tears as a sign of repentance, they zealously sought to wash away that crime. The philosopher Amyrutius, who had been present at the Council of Florence and had approved it with his subscription, with the words cited above, likewise professes that the synod was simoniacal and violent and not ecumenical, entirely renouncing that union. Michael Balsamon, who had similarly subscribed to the definition of that synod, extensively condemns it in the Anaphora of the Clergy of Constantinople, cited throughout Leo Allatius's Book III on the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches. Macarius of Nicomedia and Ignatius, Bishop of Tornovo, had also subscribed, but they too later condemned it, as is clear from the letter of the Easterners sent to the

Bohemians, which we will discuss later. That many others who had subscribed to the definition renounced the union is evident from the Synod of Constantinople held just before the city was captured by the Turks. Among these were Dositheus, Metrophanes, Athanasius, Hegumen of the Peribleptos Monastery, and others, as we will see again.

Moreover, when an assembly was later held in Constantinople to elect a Patriarch, the Metropolitan of Heraclea spoke thus in that assembly, as attested by Sylvester Syropulus (Section XII, Chapter II):

> *I have not come here to vote, but to say to you what I wish. I say, therefore, that I, and those who were at Florence, did not consent to you who confirmed the union out of my heart's conviction, as you know; nor did I confirm the deed as holy or with deliberate consent. Although I, unwillingly, do not know how I subscribed to the definition, I now confess that what is in that definition is contrary to the tradition of our Lord Jesus Christ and alien to our Church. Indeed, since I subscribed, I have been scourged by the internal lashes of my conscience, and, as if overwhelmed by the weight of my thoughts, I have wandered hither and thither, sobbing, seeking by what means I might unburden myself of this load. Now, therefore, I give thanks to God, for He has deemed me worthy to see you gathered and to say what I wished, and to lay down my burden in your sight. Therefore, I proclaim before you that I reject, repudiate, and disavow, or rather, I never confirmed the union and definition, and what in it is discordant and contrary to the ancient tradition of our holy Catholic Church, I immediately reject. I also surrender myself to the Church and submit to its penalties for having subscribed to what was not permitted.*

Trapezuntius, when asked by those exploring his opinion on the union, responded thus, as reported by Sylvester (Section XII, Chapter III):

> *The union does not seem good to me, nor well done; therefore, I cannot confirm it.*

And when the others pressed him:

> *Now, in this confusion and peril of the Church, it is impossible for me to accept it [the Patriarchate], even if I were to confirm that ill-made union. How much more, when it seems neither good, nor just, nor done according to God, nor confirmed by all, nor by me? This I confess,*

> *and do what seems right to you; for you will find nothing else from me.*

When the Emperor appointed the Bishop of Cyzicus, a defender of the approved union, as Patriarch, the Grand Scrinarius and Sylvester Syropulus himself, both Crossbearers, not tolerating such a Patriarch, resigned from their office, as they too condemned the union again, as attested by Sylvester himself (Section XII, Chapters VII and VI).

Moreover, Michael Ducas, nephew, in his Byzantine History, Chapter XIII, page 120 of the cited edition, reports the following about those who returned to their homeland:

> *But after the archbishops, bishops, and prelates departed on triremes, the citizens of Constantinople, as is customary, greeted them and asked, 'How are things with you? How was the synod conducted? Did we win?' They responded: 'We sold our faith for a price; we exchanged our religion for impiety, and we lost the pure sacrifice, becoming azymites.' They spoke even more disgraceful words, even those who had subscribed to the decree. Namely, Anthony, Metropolitan of Heraclea, and others. If anyone objected to them, 'Why did you subscribe?' they immediately responded: 'We did it out of fear of the Franks.' When further asked, 'Did the Franks subject you to tortures, did they flog you, or throw you into prison?' they replied: 'We were not treated thus, but, as this right hand subscribed, let it be cut off; as this tongue confessed, let it be torn out by the roots.' They could give no other response. Some of the archbishops, when it was time to subscribe to the decree, said: 'Unless you provide us with sufficient money, we will not subscribe.' Once the money was paid, they immediately dipped their pens in ink and subscribed. Immense, almost infinite sums were paid to sustain them, and money was counted out to each of the Fathers present; but after they repented, they did not return the money. By their own confession, therefore, that they sold their faith, they are accused of sinning more gravely than Judas himself, who returned the silver.*

The same is reported to have happened by Plusiadenus, though he interprets it without basis, saying that the Fathers did not speak thus from their heart's conviction. Thus, in Leo Allatius's Book III on the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, Chapter II, Number I:

> *Likewise, the others who had gathered together, seeing the populace so incited against the Latins and themselves, as those agreeing with the Latins and being shamelessly called azymites, neither considered bishops nor Christians in the least, said through irony: 'Why are you so angry with us for subscribing? We acted unjustly. Behold the hands that subscribed in the synod, cut them off.' They said this, boldly restraining the populace's attack raging against them. But if they truly declared this, which I do not believe, it is not surprising.*

But if Plusiadenus did not know whether the returning Easterners spoke thus truly or in pretense, the other cited authors sufficiently show that they spoke from their heart's conviction. Could, therefore, the Council of Florence be legitimate, where the Eastern Fathers, restored to liberty, renounced the subscribed union again, as one to which they, unwillingly, persuaded and coerced by the Emperor against their conscience, had subscribed?

You might say, with the aforementioned Plusiadenus, that the same happened at the Council of Nicaea, where some Fathers who had subscribed to the Catholic faith later renounced it. But their cases are entirely different. At the Council of Nicaea, everything was done through arguments and discussions; there, golden liberty prevailed; the Fathers were not led to subscribe by force, fraud, threats, or the allurements of words. At Florence, everything was done contrariwise. With the liberty of opinion finally suppressed, the Fathers were not led to subscribe by arguments but were moved by the Emperor's solicitations, flatteries, and threats, and by simoniacal reasons. Since, therefore, the returning Fathers confessed that everything at Florence was done thus and renounced the union again, who does not see that for this reason the authority of the Council of Florence is entirely undermined, being destitute of the consent of the Eastern Fathers? But, as I said, the Fathers who had subscribed to the Catholic faith at Nicaea could not claim otherwise, for they had consented freely and moved by arguments. Thus, their subsequent dissent could not harm the universality of that synod.

Argument VI: Lack of Universal Reception

Sixthly, if any council is to be heard as universal, it must also be received and approved by the entire Catholic Church thereafter. But the other

Eastern bishops who were not present at Florence refused even to hear of the Council of Florence. Likewise, the three remaining Patriarchs—of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem—condemned that council and revoked the subscriptions of their legates. Since, therefore, the East so greatly abhorred that synod, and since the subscriptions of the Patriarchs' apocrisiaries were abolished by the Patriarchs themselves, how, I ask, could the Council of Florence be recognized as eceumenical by the Eastern Church? Indeed, the very history of the Council of Florence, prefixed to its acts, after discussing many injurious things about the Easterners, adds near the end (Volume XIII, Councils, Column 4):

> *Thus it happened that, except for those Eastern Church Fathers who were present at the synod, the Greeks never received this general council.*

And regarding the Church of Constantinople, Sylvester Syropulus writes (Section XII, Chapter I):

> *All of us who were among the chief clergy of the great Church of God, together with those gathered under us, returned to the great Church around the first week of Lent to perform all its sacred rites according to our ancient order. But those of the clergy who had remained in the city and had fulfilled the Church's duties looked upon us who had returned with scarcely smiling eyes. When the Feast of Orthodoxy approached, knowing that if we wished to celebrate the liturgy, confusion would arise, we omitted it on that Saturday and Sunday. Then we gathered again according to the order we had. But the penitentiaries, the prefects of the holy buildings, and the other clergy rejected us as Latinizers. And later: On the Sunday of the Adoration of the Cross, the Grand Scrinarius, together with the others who had been with us at the synod, celebrated the liturgy. But neither he whose turn it was to perform the sacred rites that day, nor anyone else who needed to be persuaded, attended the liturgy, but they only pretended to; for, mocked, they fled. And so, they left the Church empty to us, and those who had been with us at the synod celebrated the liturgy.*

The Political History of Constantinople, inserted in Crusius's Turco-Graecia, Book I, states:

> *But the clergy of the city, hieromonks, priests, abbots, confessors, and others did not wish to celebrate the liturgy with the returning*

> *bishops or to mention them in their prayers, but separated themselves from them as from the impious, so to speak. Many also renounced the priesthood. Thus, the union became a division.*

And Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, in Book on Europe, Chapter III:

> *Although Joseph, the Patriarch, and John, the Emperor of that people, chanted the Symbol of Faith in harmony with the Latin Church, the Church of Constantinople considered it a crime to believe what the Roman Church held.*

Moreover, when Arsenius, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Exarch of the entire East, heard about the acts of the Council of Florence, he went to Palestine and explained to the three remaining Patriarchs what had been done and was being done. They, therefore, convening, condemned the union entered into at Florence and ordered that all who had obtained the office of clergy through Latinization be deposed; they anathematized the disobedient. The decree of the synod is recited by Leo Allatius in Book III on the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches, Chapter IV, Number I. It reads thus:

> *Patriarchs of Syria. When the most holy Metropolitan of the most holy Metropolis of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who is Protothronus and Exarch of the entire East, came here, both to venerate the most sacred and divine tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ and to visit the holy places in Jerusalem, where the most admirable mysteries of Christ's dispensation were fulfilled, and to share with us the great mystery of true faith and piety, and to reveal all the scandals that arose in Constantinople because of the execrable synod held in Florence, a city in Italy, which approved, contrary to what was lawful, the dogmas of the Latins with Pope Eugene, subscribed to a certain addition in the sacred and untainted Symbol of our faith, persuaded that the divine Spirit proceeds from the Son, allowed the use of azymes in the sacrifice among us, and therefore ordered the commemoration of the Pope; moreover, it accepted and embraced many other illicit things contrary to the prescriptions of the canons. And how the matricide Metrophanes of Cyzicus, like a brigand, seized the see of Constantinople, giving consent to heretics and to the aforementioned Pope and the Emperor of the Greeks, Palaeologus, who agreed with the Latins, persecuting the faithful and followers of the true faith with threats,*

as a tyrant oppressing and reproving, but summoning, honoring, and promoting to dignities the unfaithful and those imbued with perverse opinions, as supporters of his heresy; and, what is more astonishing, kissing those same people because of the opposition to faith and piety he bears in himself: hence it came about that he introduced profane metropolitans and execrable bishops everywhere into the divine and holy sees of the holy great Church of Constantinople, as if they were subject to his diocese. The aforementioned most holy Metropolitan, Lord Arsenius, of the most holy Metropolis of greater Caesarea in Cappadocia, Protothronus, and Exarch of the entire East, showed that the matricide Patriarch Metrophanes not only appointed those who agreed with the Latins to other churches against the canons but even ordained such profane metropolitans and bishops in the four dioceses of the entire East—in Amasia, Neocaesarea, Tianis, and Mocessus—who approve and execute all things Latin, expecting not only ruin and destruction to follow from this but, after such a crime, deceiving and corrupting all the Christians living there under Christ's flock, and spreading many things among them that cause scandal to the orthodox Church. Therefore, the pious, most faithful, and zealous defender of the universal true faith, the aforementioned Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia, grieving at the innovation and harm to Christ's Church introduced by those of alien opinions into our most upright and true faith, requested that we, the three orthodox bishops in Syria—Philotheos of Alexandria, Dorotheus of Antioch, and Joachim of Jerusalem—issue a synodal decree so that he might expel all those of perverse opinions from his entire diocese, as he is older and orthodox. Therefore, we, gathered synodally, decree in the name of the consubstantial, life-giving, and indivisible Holy Trinity that metropolitans and bishops, not promoted for their virtue and piety, as well as abbots and spiritual fathers, if any there be, likewise priests, deacons, and those constituted in any ecclesiastical rank, profane and unworthy, who, seizing the occasion of heresy while the true faith was brought into question, shamefully rushed in, driven by vain glory and the pattern of heresy to episcopates and metropolitan sees, as if they were saviors of souls, so that they might lead others with themselves to destruction, and leaving Christ's entire orthodox flock, our true God, utterly destitute of the fear of God, as well as the fruits of justice and piety, or rather despisers and shamelessly inclined to all impiety, we, decreeing thus from this day, strip them of all priestly action and ecclesiastical rank until their piety is examined communally and universally.

> *If they obey, let them cease from all sacred office; if they oppose and, like brigands, act contrary to the holy canons, let them be excommunicated as contumacious and contradictors, and alienated from the holy, supersubstantial, and consubstantial Trinity; likewise, those who embrace them and give consent and aid in similar matters. We have granted authority to the aforementioned most holy Metropolitan, who is Hypertimus and Exarch of the entire East, as a herald of piety and orthodox faith, to proclaim piety through all places, not fearing to establish the truth, neither the face of the Emperor, nor of a Patriarch who does not think and act rightly, nor of the rich, nor of the prince, but to possess faith and orthodoxy openly and freely, without any fear or hesitation of Eugene, according to the precept imposed upon him: let him, therefore, from this time, for the sake of piety, reprove, rebuke, and correct those who think wrongly in every place he can reach, with the permission given by us, on account of the grace and power of the Holy Spirit given to us, who must wholly and incorruptly preserve piety; and therefore, our decree, fully subscribed by our own hands in a plenary synod, has been delivered to him in writing, in the month of April, in the year 6951, now in the sixth Indiction, which is the year 1443 from the birth of Christ.*

The Pope had also written letters to those Patriarchs about receiving the Florentine union, without adding, however, the reason why that union was entered into. Their response to the Pope was: If the traditions of the seven ecumenical councils were confirmed in the Council of Florence, they would accept it; but if the matter was otherwise, the union and all those from the East who had agreed to it should be condemned.

Thereafter, since it was not yet clearer to them regarding the reason for the Florentine union, the same Patriarchs sent a letter to Emperor John, warning him not to overturn Catholic traditions but to return to a sounder mind; if he persisted obstinately, penalties would also be decreed. Thus reads the synodal letter of the Patriarchs to the Emperor, cited by Leo Allatius in Book III, Chapter IV, Number I:

> *Most powerful, most humane, most serene Lord and Emperor! We continually beseech God that Your Majesty and empire be preserved immune from all adverse fortune for our spiritual joy. Let it be known to Your sacred Majesty that we have received three letters from Pope Eugene about the union of the Church, urging us to embrace it, with-*

out intermediaries, as it was done, and to make commemoration of the Pope. And this, indeed, Pope Eugene wrote to us plainly; but he did not explain by what means that matter was transacted. Nevertheless, through earlier letters from the most holy brother, Lord Joseph, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch, I truly and clearly learned that the Council of Florence was not, as the Greeks and Latins had sworn in writing, canonical and free according to the traditions of the Apostles, the seven holy and ecumenical councils, and the divine Fathers; but that the Italians, mingling infinite frauds, indeed violated them, perverted the sworn written agreements, and, in the end, like tyrants, reestablished their impious dogmas and other things contrary to the canons; and, what is worse and more impious, they did not neglect that addition in the common Symbol of Faith but even committed it to writing—alas, the wretched!—to be proclaimed by all. Therefore, I responded to the Pope: If he has accepted the traditions and determinations of the holy eceumenical councils and whatever the holy Fathers decreed as canonical and legitimate, I too embrace the Council of Florence and do not refuse the commemoration of the Pope, provided he sends us a similar profession in writing, as legitimate and ancient tradition and custom prescribe. But if this is not done, I neither accept the Council of Florence nor the commemoration of the Pope. And those of our own who gave consent to such things, namely the Council of Florence and the commemoration of the Pope, without the aforementioned correct profession, if they are clergy, we depose them, depriving them of all sacred office and priestly ministry; if they are from the senate, we excommunicate them and separate them from the fellowship of the faithful, according to the canons of God's heralds, Christ's disciples, and the prescriptions and traditions of the seven holy and eceumenical councils. And this we wrote to him. We make this known to Your Majesty. If you gave place to such things for the sake of our sorely afflicted and almost dead nation, compelled by all means to secure aid for yourself, or perhaps supported by some other foresight, you went over to the Latins' opinion and embraced that addition by some force, but now, setting aside their absurd and impious things, you unhesitatingly confess and embrace the sound tradition in the divine Symbol according to all divine Scriptures and believe in it as those who held the empire before you did, then we will not only make friendly commemoration of Your Majesty but will beseech God with continuous and inexhaustible prayers for your empire, especially for your soul,

daily rendering God propitious to you, that He may grant forgiveness for your sins, whether committed deliberately or in ignorance. And in this way, you will obtain mercy for your sins and remission of ignorances, if you do not reject divine traditions. But if you obstinately persist and support the dogmas of those who think otherwise, which are alien to all canonical and synodal tradition, we will not only cease the commemoration of Your Majesty but will also impose penalties, lest the ruin of an alien and harmful dogma take strength in Christ's Church; for we are called shepherds of piety, and we have professed this in writing before God and the holy Angels. Therefore, we do not shepherd the Church of piety as hirelings; neither our blood nor our soul is dearer to us, but we are ready to pour out our soul, flesh, blood, and whatever else we possess on earth for Christ and His Gospel. But if, like a tyrant, you unjustly impose force and strive to seduce the free and unsubmissive Church, know that we will never abandon piety nor bear silence with equanimity, but according to the precept, we will reprove without fear and rebuke with added threats. Therefore, we send this to Your Majesty with the hieromonk and spiritual father, the most excellent Lord Macarius, our humble son, who will report to Your Majesty about the synod, as we have entrusted to him. For we, believe me, as anyone else, ardently desire the union of elder Rome and all the Italians, provided they yield to the truth. But if they strive to establish a lie, we cannot communicate with them, even if they cut off the heads of all in a single day; it is better to lay down one's life piously at any hour, if one must die at last. Embrace, therefore, O most serene and divine Emperor, the sacred sanctions and laws of Christ and the traditions of God's heralds, Christ's disciples, who have lived piously until now, as your parents, who died piously and justly, testify. For there is nothing ambiguous in our piety that could lead to hesitation or doubt in Christian dogmas. But no nation has placed such investigation and careful examination in matters of faith as our Fathers in the faith of Christ; therefore, from the foundation of the world, they firmly believed in the testimonies collected at various times, foretold by the Holy Spirit through the sacred prophets, before all else; afterward, with the shadow passed and the access of grace, the entire salvific mystery of the dispensation was fulfilled. And thus, with the most splendid and life-giving resurrection completed, His disciples, through the Holy Spirit, clearly declaring the mystery, proclaimed it to all, so that all posterity, rightly following them, may become partakers of the everlasting kingdom, of which may we be deemed worthy in Christ

Jesus our Lord. Amen. In the month of December, sixth Indiction.

The Russian Church received the Florentine union with similar sentiment. For when Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev, who was among the first at Florence to approve the union and was later made a cardinal of the Roman Church by the Pope, preached the union to those peoples, he was by no means heeded; indeed, when he passed into Muscovy, he was seized by the princes, thrown into chains, and stripped of his possessions. In a council of bishops, he was condemned and would have been burned according to their judgment had he not escaped from prison. Since he could accomplish nothing among the other Russians thereafter, he finally returned to Rome. Matthias Michowius, in Book II on Sarmatia, Chapter I:

> *Isidore, the Metropolitan, formerly of Kyiv, highly skilled in the Greek language and doctrine, during the time of Pope Eugene IV, had gone to the Council of Florence with a hundred horses. Having accepted the union of the Roman Church, he returned to Russia. The Muscovites, when he preached Roman obedience to them, stripped him of his possessions and drove him to extreme ruin.*

And in Book IV of the Polish Chronicle, Chapter LVIII, speaking of the union established at the Council of Florence:

> *That union of the Latin and Greek churches lasted only briefly, as the Greeks and Ruthenians mocked and despised it. Thus, when the aforementioned Isidore came to his suffragans in Russia and Moscow and preached that union, he was captured by the princes of Moscow, imprisoned, and stripped of all the notable treasures he had acquired. However, with God’s favor, he escaped from this captivity through flight and was saved.*

Cromerus, in On Polish Affairs, Book XXII:

> *Isidore, Metropolitan of Kyiv, made a cardinal by Eugene, returned to Rome after being expelled by his Russians for having joined the Latins at the Council of Florence.*

Herberstein, the ambassador of the German Emperor to the Russian Monarch, in On Muscovy:

There was a certain Metropolitan of Russia who, at the urging of Pope Eugene, attended the synod where the churches were united. Upon returning to his homeland, he was captured, stripped of all his possessions, and thrown into prison, from which he eventually escaped.

Gyagninus, in Description of Muscovy, Chapter II:

There was a certain Metropolitan of Ruthenia named Isidore, who held his seat in Kyiv. He attended the Council of Florence, held under Pope Eugene, where he united the Ruthenian churches with the Roman Church, abandoning Greek rites. But When he returned to Russia and proposed his plan and the concluded matter to the Ruthenians, urging them with the Word of God toward unity and harmony of faith, he was captured, stripped of all his goods, and thrown into prison.

Leo Creusa, in a small book defending the union of the churches, published in Vilnius in 1618:

Basil Basilides, the Grand Duke of Muscovy, harshly treated Isidore, the Metropolitan, in Muscovy for promoting the union of the Muscovites with the Roman Church and for the truth of the dogmas of the Council of Florence. For he threw him into prison in chains, and, with a council of Muscovite bishops convened, a judgment was instituted against him, by whose decision he would undoubtedly have perished had divine kindness not preserved and delivered him.

The same is confirmed by the letter of King Casimir of Poland to John Capistran in 1451, as recorded by Bzovius for that year, number 26:

Moreover, we have witnessed the vast lands of Russia, which, although they profess the Christian faith, have long been drawn into the Greek schism and observe their rites. For such a long time, since their lapse and schism from the Latin Church, despite the efforts made in many councils, they could not be drawn away or separated from the darkness of their ceremonies. Therefore, the Ruthenians did not accept the Florentine Council.

Thus, the Jesuit Wijuk, in Book IV of Lithuanian History, page 187, states:

> *Amid the storms of war, the peace of religion, restored through the long labor of the Florentine Fathers, also took great strides in Lithuania through the efforts of Isidore, Bishop of Kyiv and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.*

When the Pope heard that the Greeks were strongly opposed to the Florentine Union, he sent envoys to Constantinople to ensure that the synod would be accepted by all. However, when the matter came to debate, the Roman envoys returned unsuccessful. Thus, Laonicus Chalcocondylas, Book VI, page 156:

> *Hence, the Pope sent learned men to Byzantium to confer with the Greeks, who did not accept the synod and agreement made in Italy. For Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, the most learned scholar of the Greeks, did not wish to consent to the Latin doctrine from the outset. When it came to discussion and debate, the Romans could achieve nothing, and they returned home unsuccessful.*

This debate is also mentioned by Antonius, though he twists everything to defend his own opinion. Thus, in Title XXII, Chapter XI:

> *That Ephesian, a fierce debater, remaining in his perfidy, refused to return to the truth with others. Returning to his homeland, while the Venetian Cardinal, appointed as legate, lingered in Constantinople, and in his company was the venerable Bishop of Coron, Lord Bartholomew of Florence, an eminent professor of sacred theology and not ignorant of the Greek language, it pleased the Greek Emperor and his nobles that a public debate be held between the aforementioned Bishop of Ephesus and the Bishop of Coron, already renowned there. In this, the Ephesian was again defeated and confounded, and such grief consumed him that he died within a few days with his perfidy.*

However, we have shown elsewhere that Mark did not prevail over the Latins at Florence. It is also false that, after those debates in Constantinople, he died within a few days. For he was still alive during the reign of Emperor Constantine and attended the final synod before the city was captured by the barbarians, as we will discuss later.

Even Emperor John, who had so vehemently promoted the Florentine Union in Italy, later pursued it tepidly and, when dying, entirely

renounced it. Hence, Patriarch Metrophanes withdrew to seclusion, refusing to perform his office unless the Emperor publicly introduced the union into the Church. The Emperor promised to do so, but when the day appointed for it arrived, the Patriarch died. Thus, for many reasons, the Emperor did not introduce the union. These matters are recounted in detail by Syropulus, Section XII. Also, Pope Eugene himself, in a letter to Despot Constantine Palaeologus in 1441, recorded in Part III of the Council of Florence, number X, writes:

> *With what desire and fervor of soul, out of reverence for God and zeal for the Catholic faith, your devotion seeks that this holy union of the Western and Eastern Churches, recently so solemnly, rightly, and harmoniously celebrated by the grace of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, should achieve its due fulfillment in Constantinople and other parts of Greece, the letters of our venerable brother Christopher, Bishop of Coron, our envoy, and the reports of many orthodox men have announced to us and the Apostolic See. For although, through our dearest son in Christ, John Palaeologus, Emperor of the Romans, progress has been made thus far only faintly and tepidly, your highness wishes and intends that the matter itself be brought to its place and perfection as far as possible. Therefore, with God's favor, whose cause you pursue in this most holy matter and intend to pursue, as stated, if in the future you should succeed to the Roman Empire in any way, or be appointed and created Emperor, and give due fulfillment to the establishment of the aforementioned union with the publication and reading of the decree, we promise, through these presents, to your devotion, the assistance, support, and subsidies of our Apostolic See, which we promised to the aforementioned Emperor, our dearest son in Christ, for the protection and defense of the city of Constantinople. These could not be fulfilled due to his fault and tepidity, but they will be fulfilled in you and your person, then presiding in the aforementioned empire, and, as we have said, having already perfected this union and maintaining it in its firmness, to complete and fulfill it with due provisions. We also add that you should never doubt that the Roman Church and the Apostolic See will fail you, provided you show the due and devoted reverence, walking in the path of justice and faithfully applying the necessary fulfillment of this most holy union.*

However, that Emperor John did not publicly introduce the union is evident from the letter of Pope Nicholas V to Emperor Constantine, found

at the end of the Golden Theological Works edited by Peter Arcudius in Rome in 1630. Thus, he states there:

> *We have no doubt that John Palaeologus, your predecessor and brother in the empire, if he had wished, with the prudence given to him by God, could have brought this to a happy conclusion. But, as he thought too much about adapting this matter to his temporal state, he was taken from our midst. Moreover, it is testified by the chronicler of the final Constantinopolitan synod that he renounced the union before his death.*

Thus, it begins:

> *This book begins with the final Constantinopolitan Synod, convened in the temple of Holy Sophia after the false Florentine synod, with an interval of one and a half years, and after the death of John Palaeologus, who sided with the Latins, deceived by the Italians under the pretense of aid, but before his death had given assent to the orthodox doctrine.*

Nor, during the reign of Constantine up to the year 1451, was the decree of the Florentine Union received in the East, as testified by Nicholas V in the aforementioned letter. Thus, he states in the cited place, page 697:

> *And behold, so many years have passed since these things were done, yet among the Greeks, the decree of this union is covered in silence, and no hope shines forth, as it seems, that they are disposed to embrace this union. Daily delays are given, and almost the same excuses are brought forward, so that the Greeks believe that the Roman Pontiff and the entire Western Church, as we understand, are deprived of light, because they do not understand where the words of their delayed responses lead: they understand but tolerate.*

However, it was not enough for the Eastern churches to unanimously reject the Florentine Union; they also wished to oppose it with a synod of their own, in which they condemned the later synod as simoniacal and violent. This synod was held in 1450 in Constantinople in the temple of Holy Sophia, under Emperor Constantine. In the first meeting, with the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem present, Gregory, the Patriarch of Constantinople and supporter of Latin doctrines, was summoned repeatedly but refused to attend even on the third call. Hence,

his patriarchate was declared vacant, and Athanasius, an orthodox, was elevated to the seat and brought to the synod. Representatives of the Easterners who supported the Latins and those who supported the Easterners were presented. When the one defending the Latins was inferior to the other, that meeting was dissolved. In the second meeting, Gemistius, a most learned man, gave a speech about the events in Italy, teaching that the Florentine Union had been transacted simoniacally by the Emperor and others. The Syrian Patriarchs added that the truth should be examined through disputations, not imperial force, and that the Easterners should not have been compelled to consent when necessities were denied. Gemistius added that the Latins did not give the wiser Easterners an opportunity to debate but only the ignorant and unlearned; that he himself had gone to France to seek books; that Gennadius was not admitted to the debates; that silence was finally imposed on Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, the exarch of the synod; and that Bessarion, seeking a cardinalate, was the author of all this evil. Then, all the others confessed that they had been coerced by the Emperor, deceived by the hope of aid, and, fearing they would be deprived of expenses for their return home, had subscribed. The acts of the synod themselves state:

Athanasius, Patriarch:

Dositheus:

Patriarchs:

Dositheus:

Metrophanes:

Dositheus:

Macarius of Nicomedia:

Patriarch Theophanes:

Ephesus:

Patriarchs: “Let their labor fall upon their own heads: for you did not

From here, Ephesus, Gennadius, and others debated variously about the addition to the Creed and the corruption of the Fathers by the Latins; finally, the addition was condemned.

In the third meeting, the disputations of Ephesus, Gennadius, and others concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Finally, the

Patriarchs concluded:

> *The Latins, considering their fields to be paradise and hell, believe it is in their power, not God's, to send whomever they wish to hell and whomever they desire to paradise. Therefore, they cast into hell those who do not believe that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and cause, and they place in paradise those who believe it. They fail to notice that Dionysius the Areopagite, Justin, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and the seven synods taught a faith sufficient for salvation. For, as Nyssenus reports in his oration on Thaumaturgus: 'That blessed man taught one Holy Spirit having existence from God and appearing through the Son, namely to men.' Note well and accurately that 'namely.'*

In the fourth meeting, the remaining Latin doctrines were debated, and their rites and customs, which violate the canons, were noted. Finally, the Patriarchs issued a decree:

> *Therefore, nothing follows but that the Florentine assembly was a fraud, deception, and a violent and universal imposition, devoid of any superior diligence. For the traitor Bessarion, concealing one thing in his mind while proclaiming another with his mouth, persuaded the Patriarchs that he could compel the Latins to accept our doctrine through disputations, and the Emperor that he could defeat the Hagarenes through the union. But when the Eastern assembly reached Ferrara and Florence, he promised the Latins that, if they made him a cardinal, he would persuade the Greeks to follow their opinions. He compelled the Emperor to embrace the union with the Italians with open arms so that he might achieve victory over the Hagarenes. However, the Italians contrived deceptions and promised great things while capable of little. And in this way, the Italians deceived and were deceived. For, overcome in speech, they sought to prevail by force. Therefore, let the subscriptions and that small assembly be null, and let it be cast out beyond the other synods, as it is full of fraud and violence. For the other ecumenical synods were established by the Patriarchs and the whole world; this one, however, the Patriarchs, together with the entire East, rejected as hateful to God.*

After this, the objections raised by the Latins against the Easterners were discussed. Finally, the subscriptions of the four Patriarchs, many bishops, and the entire clergy followed, adding:

> *We all confess together that the addition to the Creed is superfluous. For the Creed of the seven synods does not need correction, nor is it deficient for salvation. The Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son, and the Father alone is the cause of the subsistence of the Son and the Spirit in the se schesi tou aitiou kai aitiatou. The Pope, if orthodox, constitutes a synod with the other four Patriarchs and precedes them in order, not in dignity, as they are not subject to his laws. A eceumenical synod decrees salvation, not the Pope as a monarch. The saints behold God, but not perfectly before the judgment. Liberation occurs in hell, not in a purgatorial fire outside hell. The transformation of the mysteries occurs according to their essence in the Trinity through the Lord's words and the prayers of the priest as a conductor and instrument for the sacred action.*

This synod is supported by the assembly of the three Patriarchs, whose principle is:

> *Of the three ecumenical Patriarchs, Philotheos of Alexandria, Joachim of Jerusalem, and Dorotheus of Antioch.*

These things were briefly published by Leo Allatius from a manuscript in the appendix to his three books On the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches. But a certain more recent writer contends that this entire synod was fabricated. First, in all synods and ecclesiastical assemblies, the time when the synod was held is noted at the beginning or at least at the end; in this one, there is no mention of time, no record of the month, no designation of the indiction. The title states:

> *This book begins with the final Constantinopolitan Synod, convened in the temple of Holy Sophia after the false Florentine synod, with an interval of one and a half years, and after the death of John Palaeologus, who sided with the Latins, deceived by the Italians under the pretense of aid, but before his death had given assent to the orthodox doctrine, under Constantine, his orthodox son.*

It was extracted from the private library of manuscripts of Constantine Lascaris, a truly learned man who published a fairly extensive and clear Grammar at the command of the most wise Byzantine Patriarch Athanasius, transcribed by Theodore Zygomalas, the great Protecdicus of the Church. It is said that this synod was held one and a half years after

the Florentine Council; but this would be the year 1440. Yet, mention is made in the acts of this synod of another synod of the Patriarchs that occurred in 1443; it is also added that the synod was held under Constantine, but John died in 1449. How, therefore, could that synod have been held one and a half years after the Florentine Council? Second, Constantine was John's brother, not Byz his son. Third, it is factually untrue that Emperor John, having once entered the union, condemned it: for he elevated Metrophanes of Cyzicus, a defender of the union, to the patriarchal throne, and after his death, Gregory, the Protosyncellus, during whose lifetime the Emperor died. Fourth, it is false that Lascaris wrote the Grammar at the Patriarch's command: for this was done in Italy, where the Patriarch's authority could not intervene. Lascaris himself admits that he wrote the Grammar at the request of certain Latins. But if it is said that the words mean not that Lascaris wrote the Grammar at the Patriarch's command but that the synod was transcribed from his autographs at Athanasius's command, it is strange that a synod, scarcely born, was transcribed from an external autograph at the president's command. Was it not preserved in the archives, could it not be obtained from the notaries? Did Athanasius trust Constantine's documents more than those of others? Fifth, no writer, whether Greek or Latin, mentions that Athanasius was the Patriarch of Constantinople at this time. Sixth, in the first meeting, the Patriarch of Antioch is called Dorotheus, but in the subscriptions, Ananias; yet, three years later, Dorotheus was still alive, as evident from the synod of the three Patriarchs. Ordaining Athanasius, the Bishop of Nicaea is called Neophytus, and the Metropolitan of Cyzicus, Metrophanes; but in the subscriptions, the former is called Parthenius and the latter Stauracius. Had their names been forgotten? Were they suddenly dead and replaced, only to be later restored to their dignity? Seventh, in the second meeting, the Metropolitan of Cyzicus is said to be Isidore, and later Dorotheus, and so on. Eighth, in the same meeting, Gregory the Patriarch is deposed, and Athanasius is elected: in 1440, when this synod was allegedly held, Gregory was not yet Patriarch, as he became Patriarch only after Metrophanes in 1445. Ninth, Athanasius confesses that he was one of those who attended the Florentine Synod and, along with Ephesus and Heraclea, refused to subscribe. But, it is said, no Athanasius appears among those who attended the Florentine Synod, except the one who was once the Hegumen of the Peribleptos

monastery, who subscribed even in this false synod after Patriarch Athanasius and others, and thus could not have been the Hegumen of Peribleptos. It could have been another, but since he equates himself with the Metropolitans of Ephesus and Heraclea, it is likely that his name would not have been omitted from the acts. Tenth, Athanasius is said to have been consecrated by Macarius of Nicomedia, Neophytus of Nicaea, and Metrophanes of Cyzicus; but this is always done by the Heracleen, who was present and subscribed. Eleventh, Metrophanes of Cyzicus, a supporter of the Latin opinion, was Patriarch; how, then, accused of heresy, could he have become Bishop of Cyzicus? It could have been another, but why did that Metrophanes not also subscribe? Twelfth, in the third meeting, the Florentine Synod is said to have been interrupted by pestilence; but pestilence prevailed only in Ferrara. Thirteenth, in the fourth meeting, it is reported that the Lord's words were debated in Florence: whether, namely, the bread is transformed into the body and the wine into the blood of Christ by those words, or whether the prayers of the Fathers are necessarily required in addition? The Latins are said to have stated that, while praying after the Lord's words, "Make this the body of the Lord, and this wine the blood," transforming by Your Spirit, they understand: "After You have transformed, make this bread the body, this wine the blood, so that it may be for the salvation of the body and soul of the communicants." But this is false: for the Latins asked the Greeks why they use this prayer after the Lord's words. Finally, when they debate in that synod, more recent Eastern writers who lived during the schism and the Latin Fathers are praised; but the Greeks did not do this. These are the arguments of Leo Allatius.

Indeed, Leo Allatius labored so much to discredit this synod for no other reason than to prevent the Latin opinion from appearing to have been overcome by the Florentine Synod. But does not Allatius himself consider the aforementioned synod of the three Patriarchs valid? Is it not also evident from elsewhere that the Greeks, both those who attended the Florentine Synod (with very few exceptions) and those who remained at home, entirely rejected that synod as simoniacal and violent? This we have shown above. Therefore, we have here the universal consensus of the East against the Florentine Synod. But this is not a new objection of the Latins: when a synod opposes them, they claim it was fabricated. They did the same with the most famous synod held under Photius, as

discussed elsewhere. For just as the Latins, led by a spirit of falsification, corrupted the writings of the Fathers in countless places, inserting some things and expunging others, so too, with the same spirit, they strive to eliminate anything from the synods that is contrary to them beyond the entire world. With what fraud and bad faith they fabricated the letter of Philotheos, Patriarch of Alexandria, in favor of the Florentine Synod, we will see later. Here the matter is clear, leaving no room for doubt, so that it can be more justly objected to the Latins that they acted in bad faith concerning the commendation of this Florentine Synod.

As for the arguments of Allatius, though they appear specious, they conclude nothing necessarily, according to his familiar method, whereby in his entire work *On the Perpetual Consensus of the Churches* he uses at least probable arguments, never certain and indubitable ones, as we could prove with countless examples if we did not avoid prolixity. Many of the arguments he adduces are overturned by a single response: How does Leo Allatius know that every word in the manuscript of that synod, which he used, came from the Fathers themselves who convened? Do not errors of the transcriber or subsequent copyists often occur in the writings of others? Should a document be deemed fabricated because of such errors? By what necessity, therefore, could Leo Allatius necessarily infer anything about the truth of that synod from his manuscript? And how, pray, if this synod were fabricated by a more recent author, would it be probable that the author would deliberately err in matters that were clearly known to him and could not have escaped his notice; indeed, in matters that, if stated as they were, would not harm the argument of a fabricated synod? Since almost all of Allatius’s objections are of this nature, it is clear that there must be another reason why such things appear in the manuscript of that synod that could be noted, rather than simply stripping the synod of all authority. It would be desirable that this synod be published from several corrected manuscripts. For then, I believe, its appearance would be far different; certainly, a more certain judgment could be made about each detail. But as for the title of the synod, from which Allatius wove many arguments, what, pray, could be brought from it as an argument against the synod itself? Let it be absurd, let it be entirely discordant with the times and other reasons: are these the words of the synod itself, or rather of the one who extracted the acts of that synod from Lascaris’s library? How, therefore, could it be inferred

from this that the synod was fabricated? For it does not follow that the synod itself erred, or that these errors originated from the Fathers themselves.

Let us examine each of Allatius's arguments. Concerning the designation of time, even in the objected title of the synod, mention of time was made. We freely admit that there is an error in the words here: for the synod was not held in 1440 but already after the death of Emperor John, one and a half years later. A copyist could easily have erred in one syllable, such that while it should have been written in Greek: "After the false Florentine synod, with an interval of one and a half years after the death of John Palaeologus," the copyist inserted the conjunction "and" before the words "after the death of John," and indeed, that Constantine, elevated to the imperial throne, by no means approved the faith of the Latins and was an opponent of the Florentine Union. And from this, he deposed Gregory, the Latinizing Patriarch of Constantinople, and even then, the commemoration of the Pope was not made, and the Easterners were even more opposed to that union, as is manifestly clear from the writers of that time. Michael Ducas, nephew, in *Byzantine History*, Chapter XXXVI, page 141:

> *The king had previously sent to Rome, requesting aid so that the harmony reconciled at Florence might be established, and that the Pope's name be recited in the liturgies of the great Church from the sacred diptychs, and that Patriarch Gregory return to his throne, with the legates also urging that the Pope send some to resolve the capital hatreds arising from the schism.*

Pope Nicholas V, in a letter to Emperor Constantine, likewise mentions the deposition of the Latinizing Patriarch and his restoration to the throne. Thus, among other things, on page 607 of the *Golden Theological Works* edited by Arcudius:

> *We wish you to recall the Patriarch of Constantinople to his seat.*

Aeneas Sylvius, in *On Europe*, Chapter III:

> *Constantine, who succeeded him, whether deceived or of his own madness, seemed by no means to consent to the union, and even expelled Gregory, the Patriarch who succeeded him, because he walked in the truth of the faith, seizing ecclesiastical goods.*

Also, the letter of the great Church of Constantinople to the Bohemians, dated January 18, 1451, as will be discussed later, states:

> *This most holy Church has decided to write to you and exhort you to union with it, not according to that simulated Florentine union, which should rather be called a separation from the truth, for which reason we have not admitted it, indeed we have entirely annulled it, but according to the unblemished and immutable decree, in which alone we can truly and safely be united.*

But during John's time, the Florentine Union had not yet been publicly annulled; therefore, this was done under the reign of Constantine. But finally, the clear words of Philosophus Amybutius, who attended the Florentine Synod, are found in Leo Allatius, Book III, Chapter I, number IV:

> *And therefore, the Patriarchs, not without reason, annulled the subscriptions of their own procurators, even in the coerced synod, desiring that an end be put to it through intermediate disputations and a synod without divine authority.*

But this the Patriarchs accomplished in the synod: for thus their words in the second meeting of this synod stated:

> *Since that false synod ended through cunning, fraud, and force, and not through the examination of truth, according to our judgment, the procuratorial office has no validity.*

Therefore, under the reign of Emperor Constantine in 1450, that synod was convened; and not one and a half years after the Florentine Synod, as Allatius's manuscript erroneously read.

Second, it is true that Constantine was John's brother, not his son; but this too could have been written through the ignorance or carelessness of some copyist, so that nothing necessarily follows against that synod.

As for the third point, Allatius's reasoning has no force: for what is the consequence? Emperor John had previously elevated Metrophanes and then Gregory, both Latinizing, to the patriarchal throne; therefore, he did not renounce the Florentine Union before his death? It is admitted that he tepidly promoted the Florentine Union at home and finally entirely

renounced it. We have shown above that he lukewarmly promoted the Florentine Union at home, and in the end, it was clearly not legitimate. We have demonstrated above that it was entirely neglected; hence, it is not surprising that when he saw no aid forthcoming, or that such aid was no longer necessary as he was dying, he renounced that union. We have shown above that the union was entered into by him at Florence solely in the hope of obtaining aid.

Furthermore, the meaning of the inscription’s words is not that Constantine Lascaris published a grammar by order of the Patriarch, but that the acts of the Synod were transcribed by order of the Patriarch. Nor are all things distorted here: the meaning is clear, straightforward, and not at all forced. The acts were taken from Constantine’s manuscripts by order of the Patriarch and transcribed by Zygomala; indeed, it could have been done under various names, as the acts of this Synod were taken from Constantine’s manuscripts, so that nothing can be inferred against the truth of the Synod without necessity.

Regarding the fifth point, it is true, as far as I recall, that other authors do not mention Patriarch Athanasius; but this could be because he died shortly afterward or because he was deposed by the Emperor, who looked favorably upon the Latins, whose aid he sought against the impending Turks. Thus, since his dignity was, as it were, momentary, it could have been overlooked by authors regarding his name. Indeed, it is clear from the cited letter of the Church of Constantinople to the Bohemians that on January 18, 1451, there was no Patriarch of Constantinople. But more on this later.

As for the claim that the names of Dorotheus of Nicaea and the Bishop of Cyzicus were confused due to a scribe’s error or some other issue, manuscripts could indeed have contained such errors. If Allatius’ argument held, it would mean the Council of Florence itself was fabricated, for the acts of that Synod similarly disagree on the names of the Fathers, even though only the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Metropolitan of Stauropolis had died. For if you examine the Greek acts of that Synod, Ignatius, Metropolitan of Tornovo, and Matthew of Melenicus subscribed to it. Yet at the beginning of the acts, they are not listed among the Easterners present at the Synod. Conversely, at the beginning, Methodius, Metropolitan of Lacedaemon, is named, yet he did

not subscribe. Again, Eustratius of Melenicus is mentioned, but in the subscription, his name is Matthew of Melenicus. If we turn to the Latin acts written by Andrew of Santa Croce, in the first collation, mention is made of the Archbishop of Trivonensis (or Tornovensis), Toloson, Garinensis, and Achiliensis, yet they are not found in the subscriptions. On the other hand, the Archbishops of Russia, Rhodes, Samos, and Drama subscribed, though they are not named in the first collation. Apart from the two named deceased prelates, only the Bishop of Ephesus, along with the Iberian legates, refused to subscribe.

Regarding the seventh point, what logic is this? Isidore was Metropolitan of Russia; therefore, before that Synod held in 1450, while he was alive, there was no other Metropolitan of Kiev! We have already seen above that Isidore, returning from the Council of Florence, was rejected by his people; indeed, according to Cromer's words, he was driven out, forcing him to return to Rome. With Isidore stepping aside, how could another not succeed him as Metropolitan? Indeed, the history of the Ruthenians testifies that Gregory, a hegumen from Constantinople, was ordained Metropolitan of Kiev in 1442. Whether he was united with the Roman Church or not, or whether he is the same as the Dorotheus whose name was mistakenly changed in that Synod, is not the place to investigate further here. It suffices that Allatius' argument, which concluded there was no other Metropolitan of Kiev (e.g., Dorotheus) because Isidore was Metropolitan, is entirely refuted. We add, at least, that it is falsely claimed by that Jesuit, among others, who writes that Russia, along with Gregory, accepted the Florentine Union. For he says:

> *He sought from him (Isidore from the Pope) that Gregory, his companion in travel, be consecrated as Metropolitan of Kiev, and this was granted. Gregory came to Poland with letters from the Pope, requesting the King to ensure Gregory was suitable for obtaining the Metropolitan see. The Muscovites wished to oppose this and thus created a new Metropolitan for themselves. But Russia, subject to the Polish King, accepted Gregory along with the union he promulgated.*

We have shown above that Russia did not accept this Florentine Union; this is especially evidenced by the cited letters of King Casimir of Poland in 1451, in which he admitted that Russia, subject to Poland, had not yet accepted any union.

Who, then, in 1442, along with Gregory, accepted the Florentine Union in Russia? Likewise, when two Ruthenian bishops from the Synod of Brest, without the knowledge of others and using great deceit, went to Rome and, in the name of the rest, offered obedience to the Pope in 1595, Silvius Antonianus, the Pope's secretary, spoke thus, as recorded by Baronius in the appendix to Volume VII:

> *To the rock of faith, upon which Christ the Lord built His Church, to the holy mountain where it pleased God to dwell, to the mother and teacher of all Churches, the holy Roman Church, the Ruthenian bishops have returned after 150 years, by the great and singular grace of God toward you and your people; with such joy to our most holy Lord that no abundance of speech or power of expression can sufficiently convey.*

And further:

> *Our most holy Lord is ready with paternal kindness to admit you, your Metropolitan, your fellow bishops, and your Ruthenian nation into the embrace of charity and communion.*

If, therefore, in 1595, 150 years were counted since Russia was not united with the Latins (since, because of Isidore, Russia is thought to have acknowledged the Pope's claimed primacy), how could Russia have accepted the Florentine Union along with Gregory? Or, as the Latins otherwise claim, was all of Russia united with the Roman Church until 1516? Thus, the Latins should not be immediately trusted without scrutiny when they claim that for the union with the Roman Church, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops, and nations acknowledged the Pope as their infallible head.

As for the eighth point, since that Synod was not held in 1440 but in 1450, that objection is irrelevant.

Regarding the ninth point, it is indeed possible that Athanasius attended the Council of Florence, then still holding some lesser position, and in the many years from the Council of Florence to 1450, he could have attained a higher dignity. Why, then, did the Patriarch, later elected, not also align himself with the Heracleans and Ephesians? As for the tenth point, there could have been various reasons why the Patriarch of Constantinople was

consecrated by others and not by the Heracleans, so that nothing can necessarily be inferred against Athanasius' Patriarchate.

Furthermore, regarding the eleventh point, Metrophanes, Bishop of Cyzicus, who attended that Synod, was distinct from Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople from Cyzicus. If his name appears in the subscription, this often happens in the acts of the Council of Florence, as shown.

As for the twelfth point, it was rightly said that the Council of Florence was interrupted by the plague. For the name "Council of Florence" commonly refers to both the Ferraran and Florentine Synods among the Latins.

Regarding the thirteenth point, not all that discussion about the consecration of the mysteries revolved around the Latins' question: why do the Easterners still pray after the words of the Lord? We often read that this matter was discussed at the Council of Florence, according to its 25th session. Could not the Easterners, among these discussions, have asked the Latins what the Synod reported was asked of them, and could the Latins not have given such a response? Lastly, Allatius added that the Synod objected to those from their side who had lived during the schism, as well as to the Latin Fathers. But what of it? Why, since they had not yet sufficiently known, could the Easterners not have objected to the Latins, even those who lived during the schism, just as the Latins could have turned the same back on them? I see no contrary custom among the Greeks. For they, too, are accustomed to cite their predecessors in continuous order to show that the truth of the Catholic dogma has been handed down to them by continuous succession. How could the Easterners, who had lived in Italy for a long time, not have known some testimonies of the Latin Fathers for their dogma? Indeed, if this reasoning held any weight, the Synod would not have been fabricated by a Greek, as Allatius claims, but by some Latin, which is absurd.

Such things, he says, the Greeks are accustomed to do. And so much for that final Synod of Constantinople.

Perhaps, as the Bohemians had defected from the faith of the Latins, they sent letters to the Church of Constantinople, desiring to be united with it; in response, a letter was written in the name of the Church of Constantinople to the Bohemians, again condemning the Council of

Florence. This was published in Frankfurt in 1573, at the end of David Chytraeus' book *On the State of the Churches in Greece*. Its opening reads:

> *The most holy Church of Constantinople, mother and teacher of all orthodox.*

The words of the letter cited above state:

> *This most holy Church has decided to write to you and exhort you to union with it: not according to that pretended union of Florence, which should rather be called a departure from the truth, and which we have not accepted but utterly rejected; but according to the unalterable and immutable decree, in which alone we can truly and safely be united.*

It was subscribed by: Macarius of Nicomedia, Ignatius, humble Metropolitan of Tornovo, Joseph of Philippopolis, Acacius, humble Metropolitan, the Great Ecclesiarch Deacon, Sylvester Syropulus, Theodorus Agallianus, Keeper of the Law and Catholic Doctor of the Orthodox Church, and the humble monk Gennadius. The editors add that this letter was published in Prague from the library of Charles IV College, and on the other half of the same manuscript, it was written in Latin, though the Latin version includes something not found in the Greek:

> *For the certainty and assurance of all to whom these presents come, we have wished it to be fortified with our customary seal bearing the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, God, and His Mother, impressed in azure wax, hanging from the margin by a silk cord in a wooden box, and corroborated by the subscriptions of our most prominent members. Given on January 18, 1451, in the 15th indiction.*

When Emperor Constantine saw the Turkish threat approaching, looking to Latin aid, he feigned, following the custom of Eastern emperors, that he would join the union. He sent legates to Rome to show that he had not yet been able to introduce the Florentine Union, though he greatly desired it, as many obstacles had stood in his way. But the Pope easily perceived these words as mere pretense and earnestly urged him to implement the union. This is clear from the letter of Nicholas V to the Emperor, found at the end of Arcudius' *Golden Theological Works*. Again,

as the tyrant prepared a fatal siege of the city, the Emperor, reduced to desperation, sent legates to the Pope to seek aid, promising to firmly establish the Florentine Union, restore Gregory to the patriarchal throne, and ensure the Pope's commemoration in the diptychs. The Pope should send legates to heal the great schism. Isidore was sent to Constantinople, but after discussions on concord, the Emperor and some others approved it, while most condemned it.

Those who dissented from the union approached Gennadius, asking what should be done. He affixed a note to the door of his cell, vehemently denouncing those who approved the union as betrayers of the orthodox faith and liberty, trusting not in God but in foreign aid, and destined to be led into slavery when the city was captured. Those who consulted him followed his lead. Likewise, those who had approved the union publicly claimed they could withdraw from it without penalty once the danger had passed, as they had only favored the union to obtain Latin aid. Thus says John Ducas in his *Byzantine History*, Chapter 36, page 141:

> *The King had previously requested aid to establish the Florentine concord. The Pope's name was to be recited in the sacred diptychs during the liturgies of the Great Church, and Patriarch Gregory, then in exile, was to return to his throne. The legates urged that the Pope send representatives to resolve the schism's causes and calm the resulting hatred. Moved by this, the Pope sent Cardinal Isidore, formerly Archbishop of Russia, a prudent and modest man, learned in orthodox doctrine, not of Roman descent, who, as we said, was an eminent Father at the Council of Florence.*

When the expected ship appeared, they set sail from Chios toward Constantinople, arriving at its port in November 6961 [1452]. The King received the Cardinal courteously and honorably, as was fitting. In discussions on Church concord, the King and some of the Greek Church showed themselves inclined to establish it. But the majority of the sacred order, monks, hegumens, abbots, and nuns rejected this reconciled concord. Why say most? The nuns so moved me that I write: none at all consented to it, and even the King adhered to it only in pretense and simulation.

Nevertheless, those who seemed to obey the union's decree—clerics, priests, deacons, the King, and the Senate—gathered in the Great Church

to celebrate the divine liturgy with united hearts and pray to God with sincere minds. Meanwhile, the schismatics rushed to the Pantocrator Monastery, approached Gennadius (formerly George Scholarius), and sought his advice on how to proceed. He kept himself confined in his cell, and when asked for his opinion, he wrote a statement containing the following:

> *Wretched Romans, why have you strayed? Trusting in the strength of the Franks instead of the hope placed in God, you have fallen far. With your city, you will soon lose the true religion. Woe! Be merciful to me, Lord. I testify before You that I am innocent and free of such fault and offense. Take heed, wretched citizens, of what is happening today. By denying the faith accepted by your parents and ancestors, you embrace impiety in anticipation of the servitude that looms over you. Woe to you when you are judged!*

Having written these and more, he affixed the note to the door of his cell for all to read and then secluded himself again.

Those nuns considered of upright and pure life, serving God and adhering to the orthodox dogma, along with Gennadius, their teacher, the monastery hegumens, confessors, other priests, and laity, by their own judgment and the Synod's decree, anathematized those who approved or would approve it. The common and marketplace crowd, dispersing from the monastery cloisters into the taverns, holding cups filled with wine, cursed the united, invoking the image of the Mother of God to protect and aid the city as she had fought against Chosroes, Chagan, and the Arabs, and now against Mehmet. They said, "We have no need of Latin aid or their union; away with the rites of the azymites." But the Christians who gathered in the Great Church, offering prolonged prayers and vows to God and hearing the Cardinal's speech, obeyed the decree of Church unity. Both sides agreed that, once the Turkish threat was removed and peace restored, select distinguished and proven men would examine the decree, correcting and amending anything less than orthodox. Thus, this reconciled concord was agreed upon: the Italians and Greeks would celebrate a common liturgy in the Great Church, with the commemoration of Pope Nicholas in the sacred diptychs and of Patriarch Gregory, then in exile. On December 12, 6961 [1452], that sacred liturgy was celebrated. But many abstained from the sacred gifts offered,

considering that liturgy, celebrated for the sake of reconciled concord, an impure and abominable sacrifice. Meanwhile, the Cardinal observed and scrutinized the intentions and hearts of the Greeks, whose deceit and guile did not escape him. Being of their own race, he sought to bring aid to the city, though he acted more slowly and cautiously. What followed provided the Pope with a legitimate excuse, and most of those events were attributed to God’s will, who directs all things to a beneficial end.

But the wild populace, hostile to the good, the seed and root of arrogance, the branch of vain glory, the flower of pride, the dregs of the Greek nation, which holds other nations in contempt while itself contemptible, considered all these acts null and void. Those who followed the united and conversed with the schismatics said:

> *Let us see if God removes this enemy, this monstrous dragon standing against us, who boasts he will utterly devour this city. If God destroys him, it will then be clear to you whether we have returned to concord and friendship with the azymites.*

That this union was feigned is also testified by Leonard of Chios in his *Book on the Fall of Constantinople*. During Lent, when confessions were customarily made, the Church of Constantinople was deeply agitated by schism. Orthodox confessors, if they encountered someone who had communicated with a supporter of the union or attended a liturgy celebrated by such a person, imposed heavy penalties. After penance, they forbade taking the Eucharist from a priest who approved the union, declaring such a priest invalid and incapable of performing the offering. If a united priest appeared at a funeral or a commemoration of the dead, the rest fled immediately. The Great Church, where the union was initiated and the Pope commemorated, was deserted by all, while Scholarius continued to curse the united. Thus says the cited Ducas, Chapter 37, page 146:

> *As spring approached, time passed with these minor conflicts, and the days of fasting began, yet the Church’s discord did not cease. A portentous discord was evident to all, as those charged with hearing confessions diverged into opposing factions. Christians confessing their sins were asked whether they had communicated with those cut off from Church communion or attended a liturgy celebrated by a*

> *united priest. Those who admitted to it were subjected to harsh penalties and severe words. After completing the customary penance, those deemed worthy of receiving the Lord's body and blood were forbidden, under heavy penalty, from receiving it from a united priest, as such a priest was not considered valid, nor was the offering performed by him complete. When called to a funeral or to commemorate the dead, if a united priest appeared, they immediately fled as if from flames. The Great Church was considered a haunt of demons and a shrine of Greek pagans. Where were the candles? Where was the oil for lighting the lamps? All was full of darkness, and no one was there to dispel it. The sacred temple appeared deserted, portending the solitude soon to be fulfilled because of the sins and iniquities of its inhabitants.*

Gennadius, still secluded, taught that those embracing the reconciliation of peace should be cursed. Even as the city's siege began, the Constantinopolitans continued to reject that union. The same author, page 148:

> *From the day the concord was made in the Great Church, the Constantinopolitans shunned it as if it were a synagogue of the Jews; no offering, holocaust, or incense was made there. If any priest wished to celebrate the divine liturgy on a significant day, those praying stood by until the offering of the sacred gifts was reached, then all—men, women, monks, and nuns—left. Why say more? They considered the temple a pagan shrine and the sacrifice as if offered to Apollo. Meanwhile, Gennadius did not cease teaching or writing against the united daily, accusing even the most wise and blessed Thomas Aquinas and his writings, as well as Demetrius Cydones, of heresy, weaving arguments and syllogisms against them. He was supported by the chief senator, the Grand Duke, whose reckless audacity against the Latins—indeed, against the city itself—reached such a point that, when the Romans saw the vast Turkish army approaching, he declared it better for the Turkish turban to rule in the city's midst than the Latin hat. Meanwhile, the Romans, despairing of all hope of salvation, made this prayer: 'Would that our city fall into the power of the Latins, who invoke Christ and His Mother, the Theotokos, rather than be handed over to the impious Turks.' But the Grand Duke proclaimed the opposite. And in those days, the city was finally captured by the Turks.*

It would take too long to show how, from then until the present day, the Easterners have opposed the Council of Florence. It suffices that, as the

final argument against the Council of Florence, we have shown above that the Easterners, when they learned of it, did not accept the Florentine Union; indeed, in synods held, they rejected it as fraudulent, violent, and simoniacal. If any seemed to favor it afterward, they did so only in pretense, for simoniacal and human reasons—namely, to obtain Latin aid.

As a final note, we point out the fraud of the Latins, who fabricated a letter of Philotheos, Patriarch of Alexandria, in support of the Florentine Union. We mentioned above the letters of the three Patriarchs, including Philotheos, to Emperor John, in which they stated that they had received letters from the Pope about the union concluded at Florence but that he did not specify how it was conducted. They responded that if the union at Florence was made according to the traditions of the seven ecumenical councils, it would be accepted in the East, provided the Pope sent a written profession of faith to the Patriarchs. Without the Pope's correct confession, they would never accept the Council of Florence and would condemn those who did. They similarly wrote to Emperor John, as evident from the same Patriarchal letters, that if he embraced the Latins' opinion at the Council of Florence, he should again condemn it; if he persisted obstinately, he would face penalties. For union with the Latins would be excellent, but it could not be accepted where they sought to establish their falsehoods. Moreover, the same three Patriarchs issued a synodal decree against Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople, for siding with the Latins, cursing the Council of Florence and deposing all Latinizing Metropolitans and Bishops. We cited this letter above. Finally, in the Synod of Constantinople in 1450, these Patriarchs condemned the Council of Florence as fraudulent, violent, and simoniacal, as seen in the acts of that Synod. How, then, could Philotheos, upon receiving the Pope's letters about the Florentine Union, have approved it? Or how could he have responded categorically to the Pope, accepting the decree of the Council of Florence and a single Creed with the Latins? How, too, could Philotheos have written to Emperor John, declaring that anyone who did not accept the Florentine Union should be condemned, when he himself, as we have seen, considered the Emperor worthy of excommunication if he persisted obstinately in defending the Latins' dogma? Yet such things are contained in that entire letter of Philotheos, which the Latins boast of.

Thus it reads in Volume XIII of the *Councils*, page 1173:

Most holy Father, most blessed Father, most religious, most just, terrestrial angel and celestial man, adorned with God's grace, clothed in sacred vestments, excellent shepherd of the good flock, who with your teaching drive away the wolves attacking the sheep of the universal Church, patron of our benefactor Christ and then of the prince of the Apostles, Peter, the rock of faith, head of all Christian Churches, who, receiving sacred authority from our Lord Jesus Christ, became Pope of the great city of the Romans and protector of the other Patriarchs, co-minister and brother in the Holy Spirit, holy Lord Pope Eugene, may grace, magnificence, and glory be to you from God the Father Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ, who, giving peace to His disciples in holy Zion, said: 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave with you.' Not as to other nations, but through fiery tongues it came to them, opening and filling their hearts as each could receive, and thus He sent them, established, into the whole world. Though unlearned in natural and pagan philosophy, they received the rudiments of true knowledge and justice. May this grace, peace, and blessing multiply in your supreme beatitude first, then in the holy brothers of my modest condition, pontiffs, priests, and all called by the Christian name, through the intercession of the most perfect queen and lady, the Mother of God, Mary, the blessed Apostle and Evangelist Mark, and finally all the saints of God. Amen. My humble self, most blessed Father, reports to your great holiness what my son in the Holy Spirit, brother Albert, a monk of the Order of Minors sent to Egypt, has brought: namely, that arriving here, he delivered your most holy letters, which we ordered to be read most diligently. We understood and recognized from their contents the mandates of the sacred and ecumenical Synod, with all the Fathers, the locum tenens of the holy Patriarchs, and our most powerful Emperor John Palaeologus, along with all the holy pontiffs and doctors, Eastern and Western, how unity and peace were celebrated in the entire Catholic Church, with perfect charity, one soul, one faith, and one Creed, casting aside schism and enmity, invoking the love and peace of Almighty God through the grace, mercy, and piety of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen. Having read your most holy letters, most perfect Father, we gave all thanks of adoration to our Lord Jesus Christ for such an excellent gift bestowed upon His Catholic Church. Another kind of joy was added to our delight. For at almost the same moment that brother Albert arrived here, letters from the great city of Constantinople from the most serene Lord Emperor and the Fathers holding our place, along

with certain nobles, were delivered to me by the most sacred brother of my modest condition, the Metropolitan of Rhodes, Anathermetis. We read both, Greek and Latin, examined them, comparing word for word, verse for verse, and found them entirely similar, stipulated with the subscriptions of the holy Fathers and brothers, Archbishops, and Eastern and Western masters, sealed with the seals of your great holiness and the most powerful prince, the Lord Emperor. Hence, with our Egyptian pontiffs and other clerics, we decreed that in all Christ's Churches, during the solemnities of the Mass, we should make mention of your beatitude before the other Patriarchs, as stipulated in the sacred canons. I, most blessed Father, receiving the decree of the sacred Synod with the greatest veneration, have fixed it in my heart with eternal inspection, resolving to follow the sacred footsteps of your holiness and the Apostolic canons. We also give thanks to the most pious God with those Christian peoples, that He deemed us worthy of such a gift and established us all to be governed under the authority and power of your holiness and led under the shadow of the wings of your piety. All nations will consider you, most blessed Father, happy and worthy of the highest beatitude. For the source of life in the Gospel called blessed and sons of God those who bring peace to men. And surely you are blessed, most holy Father, for many holy pontiffs and kings desired to see this gift of union but could not. You, however, have not only achieved this above others but will also receive the highest reward and be crowned with the crown of truth along with all the just. Amen. My humble self wrote letters to the most powerful prince, the Lord Emperor, and to certain pontiffs in Constantinople, signifying that if anyone does not accept what was decreed and defined in the sacred Synod, they should be considered a tyrant and heretic and cut off from the communion of the holy Catholic Church. I bow myself, most blessed Father, beneath the footstool of your holiness' feet, with whom be grace, beatitude, and peace with all men of both orders under your authority, and may the blessing of your beatitude be with us all. Amen.

Thus, the Latins sought to support the fraudulent Council of Florence with further fraud. And so ends the discussion of the Council of Florence.

FINIS SECVNDÆ PARTIS.

End of the Second Part

EPISTLE DOGMATICA

By the Constantinopolitan Doctor Coridalius to the Most Reverend Father Sophronius Poczaki, Formerly Rector of the College of Kiev, Now Igumen of the Moldavian Monastery of Jassy, in Response

To the Most Pious Father, Most Learned Brother, and Dearest Friend in Christ, Worthy of All Veneration, I Wish the Fulfillment of All Desires from God.

We are exhorted by the Savior Himself to give to everyone who asks; that is, to provide aid, as far as possible, to all who are in need. If we are bound to assist those seeking earthly things as long as our means allow, how much more must we be ready to provide spiritual things that lead to heavenly life, which your most reverend paternity requests of me (as you say) from the heart. Therefore, I will endeavor to satisfy your requests to the best of my ability, though I will use the method I consider most expedient and certain.

Most Reverend Father, the errors and disputes that arise from theological questions, which cause so much discord among Christians and miserably set the members of the same Savior against one another, are known to stem from two sources, as it were, from the same fountainhead. Either because not all assume the same principles, or because, even with the same principles, not all use them in the same way. Therefore, by setting forth the principles assumed by the Eastern Church and the manner in which it uses them, we believe we can present a clear and consistent path for judging and understanding propositions.

The Eastern Church, which is the true and only Apostolic Church—not as it is constituted by men of various opinions and customs ruling at any given time, but as it is established by the community of the faithful who all profess the doctrine of its ancient Doctors, even though some, through

ignorance, are led astray and accept things contrary to that doctrine—this Church, I say, was taught by the Apostles themselves that the Gospel it received and retains is not according to man, nor was it received or taught by man, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ. Therefore, it is continually established in the doctrine of the Apostles as on a firm and unshakable foundation. For it is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, with Christ Himself as the chief cornerstone, in whom the whole structure, being joined together, grows into a holy temple in the Lord. Indeed, it learned from those same Apostles what it should proclaim concerning the Apostolic saying: “For we have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God, that we might understand the things freely given us by Christ, which we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the Holy Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual” (1 Corinthians 2:12-13).

Since the Eastern Church is thus Apostolic, taught by such Doctors, it consequently always recognizes the foundation of its edification through the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets, apart from which no one can lay another foundation, which is Jesus Christ. It knows one head, which is the Savior Himself, for He is the head of the body, the Church. It acknowledges one lawgiver, who can save and destroy, as St. James has handed down. For it knows that, after God, all things are subject to and obedient to God. Therefore, it always holds to one doctrine, true in itself, and assumes the primary and indemonstrable principles in matters of faith, namely, the divinely inspired Scriptures, to which it admits no addition or subtraction. From these Scriptures, and from what necessarily follows from them, it is manifest to Christians everywhere that the credible and actionable teachings in the sacred writings are beyond all controversy, and we are easily persuaded of this.

If, however, witnesses are needed, and someone inquires what the Church’s opinion was in former times concerning these sayings, it would be possible to bring forward almost all the Doctors of our Church as witnesses. But for brevity’s sake, let it suffice for now to mention the great Basil among the holy Doctors, in his ascetic sermons on faith, Rule 110 (in question and answer form), and Rule 26 in the shorter rules, titled: “It is necessary that those who listen be skilled.”

The Apostolic Eastern Church accepts those councils that pronounce in harmony with the Holy Spirit and whose decrees do not contradict the divine Scriptures. This is acknowledged by the Fathers of the councils themselves, who promise to define matters according to the sacred Scriptures, and the very purpose of their gathering in one place clearly confirms this. For this reason, they assembled with great expense and labor from diverse and distant provinces to judge disputes arising in the Church according to Scripture, accepting what was consonant with the Scriptures and rejecting what was not. Nor should we be deterred by the Apostle’s saying to Timothy, for as long as the Church is subject to its head, Christ, it draws spiritual doctrine from His teaching as a branch from the vine. The Church is the Church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of truth. But if it is cut off from Christ, the spiritual vine (as can happen to particular churches, such as the Church of the Armenians or any similar), such a church is no longer the Church of God but a church of the wicked and villainous. Who would deny that a church perverts Christ’s doctrine when it is cut off from Him? Experience itself leads to this conclusion: the faithful did not accept, for example, the Council of Ariminum, convened on the Arian doctrine, but embraced the Council of Nicaea because its definitions were not consonant with the sacred Scriptures, whereas Nicaea decreed in accordance with them. For it is not because of the number of those gathered—since at Ariminum, there were more, from both the Eastern and Western Churches—that we reject the Council of Florence as eceumenical for no other reason than that it did not decree in agreement with the Scriptures. Nor can it be said that it lacked a sufficient number or authority, since the Emperor, the Pope, the Patriarch, and a great number of bishops were present. If someone desires a firmer argument, I can say that all nature after God is a servant of God Himself, not only the Church but also the angelic hierarchy, which are secondary lights, as the Theologian teaches, ministering to the primary light. All ministers are certainly bound to serve their Lord through the written laws, and thus bishops are bound to render their ministry to God above the divinely inspired law. In short, let this be affirmed: whoever despises the divine law and opposes the doctrine of the Holy Spirit sins against the faith of Christ. But no Church, while preserved in God’s grace, sins against the faith of Christ. Therefore, no Church despises Christ’s law or opposes the doctrine of the Holy

Spirit. It is thus evident that councils are to be accepted only insofar as they speak in agreement with the sacred Scriptures.

The third class, after the ecumenical councils, consists of the holy Doctors of our Church, including Basil, Gregory (called the Theologian par excellence), Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, Gregory of Neocaesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysius the Areopagite, the most wise and holy Maximus, Basil of Seleucia, John of Damascus, the most learned Theodoret, Macarius of Egypt, and many others, whom we venerate as is fitting and whose doctrine we embrace in expounding the divine Scriptures and confirming the right way of living. The Apostolic Church also accepts the holy Doctors of the West, such as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Cyprian, and others, though it does not rely as much on their works, being content with its own, except for St. Augustine, who, having written much and being useful in many respects, is cited by some of our more recent authors. However, the Scholastics and other modern Westerners, such as Thomas, Scotus, Bellarmine, and others of their kind, as well as Lombard, who initiated this class, have no place in the truly Apostolic Eastern Church. The innovations and excessive curiosities of moderns regarding faith are not even allowed to reach the ears of the Eastern Church. For it considers it holier to rest in what has already been known and defined according to the sacred Scriptures than to waver in the variety of artificially devised arguments.

With the theological principles thus established, it is necessary that those interpreting the sacred Scriptures be not only skilled but also sincere in judgment and morals, so that they do not twist the Scriptures' words to suit their opinions through perverse interpretation, nor assume a conclusion according to their preferences and then seek principles from the Scriptures or Doctors to support it, as the proverb says, "not fitting the stone to the plumb line, but the plumb line to the stone." Obscurer passages of Scripture, if possible, should be clarified by more evident passages, for such an interpretation, with Scripture explaining itself, will undoubtedly be genuine. If this is not possible, we must turn to the holy Doctors and other sincere interpreters of Scripture in the manner described. Whatever doctrines and morals we find uniformly interpreted by all should be accepted by the Church. Where interpreters disagree, the interpretation of the majority and the wiser, especially the more

ancient, should take precedence, as they, being closer to the time of the Apostles, were imbued with purer doctrine. The Church recognizes a twofold interpretation of Scripture: one literal and the other mystical (whether called allegorical or tropological). The literal sense is what the author intended to signify, sometimes expressed in proper terms, sometimes tropically or metaphorically. But we need not dwell on this further.

For a better understanding of what individual Doctors say privately, one must not carelessly believe or accept the testimonies and sayings of the Fathers cited by any Scholastics, for many, if not all, are presented in a corrupted form, and sometimes entirely false, as I have learned from many years of experience. Likewise, one should not submit to any commentator theologian who distorts and violently twists the sense of the Doctors to support and establish preconceived opinions. Instead, one should read the Doctors' words most attentively and diligently, not once but two or three times, and if the same author treats the same matter in different places, all such passages should be read, and the various statements collected and compared to reveal the true sense of the author.

Care must also be taken in argumentation to avoid all confusion and sophistical deceptions, not taking statements with qualifications as if they were simple, nor those said with qualifications and conditionally as if they were absolute, unless another passage of Scripture or an author's saying clearly demands it. Nor should superfluous and unreasonable distinctions be invented to evade arguments and confuse the truth, as moderns often do. Above all, care must be taken not to beg the question in the premise, a fault frequently committed by papal arguments.

There are also certain matters in the churches pertaining to morals, such as those concerning fasts and other ceremonies, some of which are observed in common by all churches, while others are particular to certain churches. These are not defined in the Scriptures but are generally and indefinitely prescribed. The Church considers these observable, as well as other things that do not contradict the sayings of Scripture. These are useful and contribute to the understanding of divine dogmas, the comprehension and confirmation of faith, and the strengthening of praiseworthy morals, and they should not be rejected where they are established in churches.

Unwritten traditions have a different rationale and have no place in the present discussion; nor should they be admitted among sincere theologians in the manner that Papists contend for their introduction.

These are the principles that the holy and Apostolic Eastern Church has received and learned from the Apostles themselves. On these it is founded, with these it instructs its children, refuting those who contradict and those who slander. Your most reverend paternity, being a genuine son of this Church, should rely on these and defend them with all strength, caring nothing for what this or that person says. The Hebrews teach many things about the Old Testament, which we also acknowledge, but this does not make them Christians or us Hebrews. The Turks also teach their followers that Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, will come on the day of judgment to judge the living and the dead, and other things, which we should not deny lest we share in their errors. Therefore, let us not be deterred if this or that person teaches something, but consider whether it is consonant with Apostolic principles. If your most reverend paternity agrees with me on these principles, we will be in harmony on all else. For from these principles, when rightly used, it will easily become clear what should be said about each matter raised in your letter.

On Images

The Second Council of Nicaea concluded from the sacred Scriptures that the veneration of images, not only of the Savior and the immaculate Virgin but also of other saints, is permissible.

On the Eucharist

First and foremost, there are the sacred Scriptures, which speak of the Eucharist more than once. After the Scriptures, there are the holy Doctors, such as Damascene, whom your venerable paternity cited, and before him, the most learned and Apostolic Areopagite, who treats the mysteries expressly, especially the Eucharist. One who has not frequently read his treatise cannot easily discuss this mystery correctly in our Church. With him are the most holy and wise Maximus, his commentator, and Pachymeres. Almost all the other Doctors of the Church speak of this

mystery in various places, and whatever can be rightly deduced from them, the Church accepts literally, and we embrace, though it may seem most paradoxical. For we have learned to destroy every lofty thing raised against the knowledge of God and to take every thought captive to obey Christ.

On the Patriarch Cyril of Blessed Memory

We think the same way about him. We know him to be a pious and learned man. As for what his detractors say, we do not know; let them see to it.

You have, most reverend and dearest friend, in this short time what may serve your paternity. If you take this in good part, you will bind our mutual goodwill with a stronger bond and make me more ready, if I am able, to comply with your requests. Farewell, safe and sound, protected on all sides by the grace of Christ our Lord, always guarded and fortified.

Given at the Patriarchal Residence in Constantinople, August 5, 1640.

Solutions to Arguments on the Procession of the Holy Spirit

We can test the force and reason of the principles expounded above by applying them to the arguments proposed by adversaries concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Since nothing may be added or subtracted regarding dogmas, especially those concerning the Trinity, beyond the sayings of Scripture, and since the sacred Scriptures state that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but not from the Son, except insofar as He is sent by Him into the created world, all arguments to the contrary, and any others of the same kind, are deemed of no value. What is not found in the Scriptures—that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son—cannot be contended without doubt by those unwilling to do so. Nevertheless, lest we depart from the feast empty-handed, as it were, and to indulge you, let us play with those who play.

1. The proposition that the distinction of persons in the divine is only by the opposition of relations is false. This proposition, invented and introduced by Thomas in the First Part of his Theology, Question 36, to confound the truth, is nonetheless refuted by the Papists themselves, especially by Scotus. See Cajetan there.

2. Consequently, the second argument is also nullified, which denies the inference that, unless the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, the passive emanations—being generated and being spirated—would not be really distinguished from each other. The reason for the negation is clear: because being generated and being spirated are distinguished in themselves, as they are incompatible in the same subject.

3. It must be said that active spiration does not constitute the person of the Father, which is constituted by generation. It belongs to the Father as spirator insofar as He is the sole source and unique principle of the entire Trinity. However, it does not yet belong to the Son to spirate unless we grant two principles. Nor does the invented distinction of a procathartic and non-procathartic principle help them, not only because it is a modern fiction, found neither in the sacred Scriptures nor among the ancients, but also because it establishes a duality of principles rather than removes it. Nor is their claim valid that both persons spirate through the same spirative power, for such a power is either essential or personal. If essential, then the Holy Spirit would also actively produce, either spirating Himself or another Spirit, both of which are impious to say. If personal, it would either lead to confusion of the persons of the Father and Son or to a quaternity of persons in the divine essence, with a third spirator added, for there would be a subject in the divine (a spirator) if it produced a divine person, since actions belong to subjects, as is commonly said. Nor is it valid to say that the Holy Spirit is not understood as produced while the Father and Son are understood as spirating, for even with this premise, the aforementioned consequences follow. Moreover, this order they posit is a fiction, as it begs the question.

4. It must be denied that there is such an order between the Son and the Holy Spirit that one is produced from the other, as light from fire, for the opposite is held in the sacred books of the Doctors. Nazianzen compares the Father to a solar body, the Son and the Holy Spirit to a twin ray proceeding immediately from the sun. Similarly, he compares the Father to a fountain, the Son and the Holy Spirit to two streams flowing from the same fountain. Damascene likens the Father to a root, the Son and the Holy Spirit to two branches rising from the same root.

5. But let us turn to Basil, who, in his third oration against Eunomius, says: even if it were granted (but not conceded) that the Holy Spirit were third in order, it would not follow that He is of a different nature from the Father and the Son. But why do we accuse the saints? Why, abandoning the light of the sun, do we seek light in darkness? For the Doctors themselves proclaim more clearly than light in many places that the Holy Spirit sometimes proceeds from the Father alone, sometimes from the Father, not from the Son, with many positing only one principle in the divine, or one cause and two caused. See Basil himself in his Epistle to his brother Gregory on the difference between essence and hypostasis.

6. It is denied that what is inferred is absurd. In Basil's entire third oration against Eunomius, I could not find what is cited in the argument. Nor is it at all likely that Basil would say it is contrary to the divine order and alien to the faith to place the Holy Spirit before the Son, who does not admit that the Spirit is after the Son in order, unless he similarly understands that it is wrong to place the Son before the Spirit. This is concluded from the above, though the argument, even if conceded, proves nothing. But let the reader examine the author himself.

7. This is entirely frivolous, and many absurdities follow from it. Consider where it is taken from: that the Spirit is love and proceeds as love. Is this not the vanity of the Scholastics? For God is love, and thus the Father and the Son are love. If the Father loves the Son and the Son the Father, the Holy Spirit also loves the Father and the Son, and the above consequences follow.

8. It is denied that a person who sends another person externally produces that same person internally, which even the adversaries themselves deny. See Thomas, Question 83. Although the Father is never said to be sent, the Son is said to be sent by the Holy Spirit, by whom He is not generated.

9. Regarding the saying "He who does not have the Spirit of Christ" (Romans 8:9), Basil, explaining the Apostle's words, says: "As consubstantial with Him."

10. The remaining arguments are against Basil, or rather against God,

whose doctrine they refuse to accept, always inventing something by adding or subtracting. But what is the point of asking why the Son is not called the Holy Spirit? Must we therefore correct divine words through our understanding? The reason for the saying is clear: the name “Son” signifies a relation by which the Son is not referred to the Holy Spirit. But the name “Spirit” is used in many ways and also signifies the divine essence and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

11. When it is said in the Gospel that the Son has whatever the Father has, it is understood of essential attributes. The addition “except paternity” is from the Scholastics, though inadequately, for it should also be added: “and except being the principle in the divine essence and the cause of the Holy Spirit.”

12. I could not see Cyril’s saying, as I lack the book, as well as many others. Yet I see no great difficulty in it, unless in those words you mention, when it is said: “The Spirit is in the Son Himself, from Him.” It is in Him, as all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily; it is said to be from Him because we have all received from His fullness. But enough play; let us come to serious matters.

To Your Most Reverend and Most Learned Paternity,

Ever Obedient,

Coridalius.