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THE USE OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S WRITING ON THE *FILIOQUE*
AT THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA - FLORENCE (1438 – 1439)

BY

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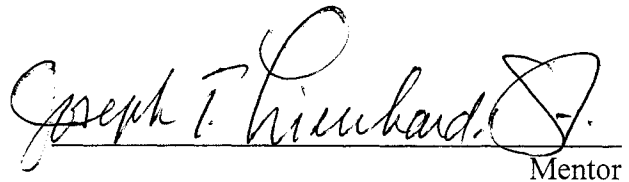
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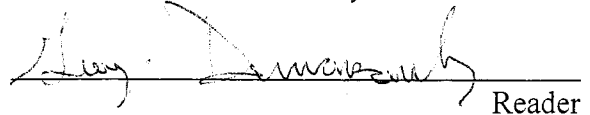
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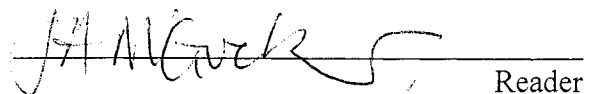
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This dissertation is dedicated
to my wife Kiev, for her patience and encouragement during its composition,
to my parents, for a lifetime of love and support,
and to the memory of all those who have striven
for the restoration of full communion between East and West.

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"A wife is her husband's richest treasure, a helpmate, a steady column."
(Sir 36:24)

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INTRODUCTION

*If there is a special circle of the inferno described by Dante reserved for historians of theology, the principal homework assigned to that subdivision of Hell for at least the first several eons of eternity may well be a thorough study of all the treatises . . . devoted to the inquiry: Does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father only, as Eastern Christendom contends, or from both the Father and the Son as the Latin Church teaches?*¹

This text, from Jaroslav Pelikan's *Melody of Theology: A Philosophical Dictionary*, lays before anyone interested in the history the *filioque*, almost by way of a warning, the daunting task that confronts them. Since the ninth century, hundreds of theologians and polemicists, including some of Christianity's brightest lights, have written treatises on the Spirit's procession, often with the sole purpose of proving the heretical nature of their Greek or Latin counterparts. That both sides of the debate saw their respective views as justified by the Scriptures and patristic tradition only strengthened their resolve and the hope that the other would eventually recant their heterodox views. As of this writing this has not yet come to pass, and the *filioque* remains an ecumenical stumbling block preventing the restoration of full communion between East and West.

Admittedly the present state of affairs is more sanguine than it was during the fifteenth century, the last time that the Christian East and West came together to resolve the issue. Ferrara-Florence, reckoned since the time of Robert Bellarmine as the seventeenth ecumenical council of the Catholic Church, was a complete failure by any standard, despite the solemn *Te Deums* sung at the promulgation of *Laetentur Caeli* in July of 1439. In the East, Florence came to be remembered as a clear

¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Melody of Theology: A Philosophical Dictionary* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 90.

demonstration of the perfidy of the Latins, who (as Syropoulus related in his *Memoirs*) starved the Greeks into submission, bribed their leaders with promises of gold, and forced the Byzantines to accept a foreign faith. Far from uniting the churches, the Council of Ferrara-Florence only succeeded in deepening the schism. The bishops of Rome and Constantinople would not meet again for another five centuries, when in 1964 Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I embraced each other on the Mount of Olives. Another seventeen years passed before the “dialogue of love” begun by these great churchmen allowed for the renewal of theological dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. Although sidetracked by developments in the former Soviet Union following the fall of its communist government, this dialogue has continued in the United States where discussion, and even consensus, on the place and theology of the *filioque* has again become possible. Theologians and hierarchs of both Churches are again sitting across the table from one another in an attempt to heal the centuries-old rift between Christian East and West.

Yet if the modern-day dialogue on the *filioque* is to avoid the pitfalls that entrapped our forbearers, effort must be made to understand this last great attempt to come to agreement. Even if there were no theological benefits to be had (and there are many), the history of the Council of Ferrara-Florence is itself a good story that deserves telling. Unfortunately, in the past it has often been told by Orthodox or Catholic writers who, despite claims to objectivity, maintained a clear denominational bias. Even Joseph Gill’s magisterial history of the council (*The Council of Florence*)

suffers from the occasional lapse in objectivity, especially in its negative assessment of Mark Eugenicus and the leading anti-unionists.

It was with this in mind that I began my own study of the Council of Florence, hoping to find in a re-examination of the evidence some “nugget” that might assist twenty-first century theologians in their study of the *filioque* and its place in modern theology. It was during this “quest” that I first became aware of Maximus the Confessor’s *Letter to Marinus*, a text put forward several times by the Byzantine delegates at Florence as a potential reunion formula:

Therefore the men of the Queen of cities (i.e., Constantinople) attacked the synodal letter of the present most holy Pope, not in all the chapters you have written about, but only two of them. One relates to the theology and makes the statement that, “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.” . . . In the first place they (i.e., the Romans) produced the unanimous evidence of the Roman Fathers, and also of Cyril of Alexandria, from the study he made of the Gospel of St. John. From this they showed that they themselves do not make the Son the cause of the Spirit, for they know that the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the one by begetting and the other by procession, but they show the progression through him and thus the unity of the essence. . . . At your request, I asked the Romans to translate what is unique to them in order to avoid such obscurities. But since the practice of writing and sending (synodal) letters has already been observed, I do not know if they will comply. Especially, they might not be able to express their thought with the same exactness in another language as they might in their mother tongue, just as we could not do.

The *Acta graeca* and the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos record two separate occasions, first at Ferrara during the debate on the addition, and then at Florence at the end of the dogmatic debates, when the Byzantines suggested that ecclesial reunion depended solely on the Latins’ willingness to embrace the theology contained in Maximus’s epistle.² An examination of both the primary and the secondary literature

² Εἰ στέργεται παρ’ ὑμῶν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή, εὐκόλως προβήσεται καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις. *Memoirs*, 6.36; Laurent 336. Καὶ εἵπομεν πάντες ὁμοῦ Ἐὰν οἱ Λατῖνοι ταύτη τῇ ἐπιστολῇ πείθωνται, ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι μὴ ζητήσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐνωθησόμεθα. *Acta graeca*, 392–93.

offered little explanation as to why their offer was never accepted by Rome, or even how the Greeks understood Maximus's theology of the procession. If ecclesial union was dependant on the simple acceptance of a patristic text, especially a Greek text put forward by the Byzantines affirming the orthodoxy of the *filioque*, why was Florence such a catastrophe?

As I studied the trinitarian theology of Maximus, the history of the *filioque* debates, and the dynamics of the council itself, the more I was convinced of the importance of this moment, and the opportunity that was missed in its passing. It was at this point that I developed what later became my thesis: *The Letter to Marinus was not simply one patristic text among the hundreds put forward at Florence, but a hermeneutical key to unlocking the richness of the tradition and resolving the ancient question of the filioque. It offered the delegates at Florence, and continues to offer today, the best way of reconciling the East and West on the issue and establishing a common understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

If at first glance this claim seems theologically or historically unjustified, it is because previous examinations of the council have concentrated solely on the dialectic established during the Middle Ages (and played out in the Florentine debates) between the position of Photius (procession from the Father alone [ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς]) and the West's understanding of the *filioque* as explicated by the Carolingians. Seen from this perspective, between the trinitarian theologies of the East and West there was an unbridgeable chasm, one widened by centuries of mutual animosity and indifference. The work of Maximus, no matter how significant, was incapable of harmonizing the theologies of Alcuin and Aquinas with that of Photius

and Cabasilas. Even if it were, the delegates at Florence were neither temperamentally nor theologically prepared to undertake such a project, and so maintaining otherwise amounted to little more than wishful thinking.

Nevertheless, I decided to undertake a full-length study of Maximus's trinitarian theology and its use at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in the hopes of proving my original instincts correct. What I discovered only deepened my conviction that the conventional views of the council were flawed, and that even in the fifteenth century the theology of Maximus the Confessor had the potential of moving both Greeks and Latins closer together in their understanding of the Spirit's procession. This is not to say that agreement on the *filioque*, in itself, would have necessarily made Florence a successful reunion council. Despite the mutual regard held by Pope Eugene and Patriarch Joseph, the developing self-understanding of the papacy following the Great Western Schism was antithetical to the Eastern tradition, and it is unlikely that the Constantinopolitans ever would have reconciled themselves to Roman ecclesiastical hegemony. Yet, as shall be demonstrated, at least on the *filioque* (which has been called the "sole dogmatic grounds for the separation of East and West")³, the writings and example of Μάξιμος ὁ θεῖος provided a "key" to change the dynamic of the debates, and thus the council itself. This being so, it is certainly legitimate to ask whether Florence would have ended so disastrously had Maximus's work been better understood and utilized correctly. Although "what if" is a dangerous game for historians (and theologians) to play, the evidence suggest that had the council grounded its deliberations and conclusions in the theology of the

³ Vladimir Lossky, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Trinitarian Doctrine," in *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 71.

Confessor, representing as it did the *consensus patrum*, the reception of Ferrara-Florence (especially in the East) might very well have been quite different.

Chapter one begins with an examination of Maximus's life and writings, providing the context for understanding the work of this extraordinary ecclesiastical figure and ecumenical example. Attention will then be given to Maximus's trinitarian vision and the important role the writings of the Cappadocians played in informing his belief in the monarchy of the Father and the indissoluble unity of the three persons both on the level of theology and economy. Particular attention will be paid to those texts (e.g., *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63) that later generations used to justify (or attack) later filioquist thinking.

A majority of the first chapter will be spent examining the *Letter to Marinus*, its historical and theological context, and the role it played in Maximus's overall trinitarian vision. This will require an investigation into the dating and composition of the text, addressing in turn those arguments that have been put forward by scholars (medieval and modern) against authenticity. Once this is done, we can turn to the text itself and the reasons why the *Letter to Marinus* stands as both a good summary of Maximus's own thinking and the trinitarian views of the ancient fathers. Of particular importance in this respect will be the distinction Maximus makes between the Spirit's procession (ἐκπόρευσις) from the Father and his progression (προϊέναι) through the Son, a distinction that (as we shall see) protects the unique role of the Father as cause within the godhead while establishing the necessary eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit.

In the second chapter we enter the “purgatory” Pelikan mentioned above, studying the history of the *filioque* debates from the ninth century to the years preceding the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Limitations of time and space will prevent a full examination of every treatise composed on the subject of the procession, so we will focus solely on those texts that shaped the arguments and attitudes of the Florentine delegates, as well as those that specifically utilized the writings of the Confessor. This brief historical survey will be enough to demonstrate that filioquism (so-called) was a post-Carolingian Western phenomenon that, while given expression by such luminaries as Alcuin, Theodolf, and Anselm of Canterbury, did not take its most sophisticated form until the thirteenth century in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. While it will be necessary to contextualize these developments within the growing political and cultural estrangement that took place between East and West (e.g., the Fourth Crusade), the primary focus will remain theological, not historical.

In looking at developments in the East, while figures like Photius and Michael Cerularius will receive their due, special attention will be given to those individuals, such as Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas, whose writings on the procession best represented Maximus’s own views. Particular focus will be given to irenic figures such as Nicetas of Nicomedia, whose twelfth-century debate with Anselm of Havelberg in 1136 demonstrated that consensus on the *filioque* (albeit strained) was still possible as late as the twelfth century. Finally, we will examine the development of three distinct “schools” of trinitarian theology that took shape in Byzantium in the years following the Council of Lyons (1274). It was this division, as we shall see,

that prevented the Greeks from coming to Florence with a unified stance on the procession, placing them at a natural disadvantage when confronting their Latin counterparts in debate.

Chapter three begins with a review of the negotiations leading up to the Council of Florence, and with a look at those individuals (e.g., Bessarion, Mark Eugenicus, George Scholarius) whose theological writings influenced the course of the council's deliberations. Before turning to the public debates on the *filioque*, some time will be spent studying the ethos of the council, and the procedural and methodological problems encountered by the Greeks and Latins as they attempted to bridge the gap that had grown up between them. While these difficulties seem to support the views of John Meyendorff and others who have written negatively on the council's chances for success, it shall also be shown that their common commitment to patristic and conciliar precedent provided Greeks and Latins with a firm basis for coming to consensus on the *filioque*. The primary sources of the council, all of which have received excellent critical editions in recent years, permit a detailed examination of the debates themselves so that it can become plain how Maximus's theology, once introduced, provided the theological, and even methodological, tools necessary to change the tenor of the debate and resolve the ancient dispute.

The fourth chapter will discuss the theology and writings of Maximus the Confessor as they were used at Ferrara-Florence, first in the *florilegia* assembled by both sides, and then during the debates themselves. This examination of Maximus's use at the council will necessitate a detailed investigation not only of the *Acta graeca* and the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos, but also of the post-conciliar writings of the leading

delegates. The Greeks' diverse interpretations of the *Letter to Marinus* will be studied in depth, especially in light of the Photian and unionist hermeneutics that colored their reading of the text. It shall be shown that while the *Letter* played a pivotal role in the final negotiations, the inability of the Byzantines to understand it outside the categories of the post-Photian dialectic prevented a genuinely constructive dialogue on Maximus's contribution to the debate. Without a viable third option, the Greeks appeared to have no alternative other than to choose "between the turban and the cardinal's hat" — either to admit the correctness of the unionist hermeneutic or to reject the Latins as heretics and accept the inevitability of Constantinople's conquest by the Turks. Neither option was theologically or ecumenically satisfactory.

However, as shall be demonstrated, there was another reading of the *Letter to Marinus* present at the council that was more attuned to Maximus's own thinking, and which offered a far better point of contact between the Greek and Latin trinitarian traditions. Although it was quickly silenced, we shall see how this "third school" of Byzantine theology (and by extension, Maximus) provided a means of uniting the Greek delegates behind a mutually acceptable understanding of the patristic witness. Maximus's theology also served as a corrective to the shortcomings of the later Byzantine and Latin traditions, neither of which had maintained the fullness of Maximus's own trinitarian vision.

The work concludes with some thoughts on modern theology's reappropriation of Maximus's unique contribution to the *filioque* debates. Recent dialogues, especially in the United States, have brought Catholics and Orthodox closer than ever before on the issue of the Spirit's procession, and the theology of the

Confessor has played no small part. A particular irony is how the Church of Rome, which rejected the *Letter to Marinus* at Florence as both ambiguous and spurious, has come to view Maximus as central to understanding the historic Roman position on the *filioque*. Perhaps, only five centuries later, both Catholics and Orthodox have learned the lesson that escaped their predecessors at Florence: that the best hope of coming to a common understanding of the trinitarian mystery is found in the example and writings of this great sixth-century saint.

*Let us, o the faithful, worthily acclaim the lover of the Trinity,
great Maximus, who clearly taught the God inspired faith:
that Christ is to be glorified in two natures, wills, and energies;
and let us cry unto him:
Rejoice O herald of the faith!*

- Kontakion for the feast of Maximus Confessor

CHAPTER 1

MAXIMUS AND THE *FILIOQUE*

LIFE AND WORK OF MAXIMUS

There are several sources for the life of Maximus; the most commonly cited is the *Vita Sancti Maximi*.¹ Although long thought to have been composed by his disciple Anastasius the Apocrisarios, it is now believed to have been put into its current form in the tenth century by the Studite monk Michael Exaboulites.² There is an earlier account called the *Syriac Life*, written by an anonymous monothelite author of the seventh century (probably George Reš'aina), but its polemical tone and purpose cast serious doubts on its reliability as a source.³ We also have some contemporary accounts of Maximus's trial and later years from the *Relatio Motionis, Disputatio Bizyae*, and letters written by his disciple Anastasius.⁴ However, the best source for understanding the life and thought of Maximus remains his own writings, especially the letters, from which we can contextualize and date many of his works.⁵

¹ PG 90, 67–100 (Eng. trans: Christopher Birchall, *The Life of Our Holy Father Maximus the Confessor Based on the Life by His Disciple Anastasius the Apocrisarios of Rome* [Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1982]).

² However, the first redaction of the work may have been done as early as 680–81. See R. Devreesse, "La Vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses révisions," *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 (1928): 5–49.

³ Sebastian Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967): 285–316. Among those scholars who accept the veracity of the Syriac Life is A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, who in his article on Maximus in the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) uses it as the basis for his biography.

⁴ Critical edition and Eng. trans: Pauline Allen, ed., *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁵ See Polycarp Sherwood, *An Annotated Date List of the Works of St. Maximus the Confessor* (Rome: Herder, 1952).

Maximus the Confessor was born in 580 to a prominent Constantinopolitan family.⁶ In the introduction to the *Mystagogia*, Maximus claimed that he was privately educated, without “experience in the power and practice of discourse,” although this is thought by most to be somewhat disingenuous.⁷ The *Vita* states that Maximus received the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, which would have been a formal training in rhetoric and grammar lasting until his twenty-first year.⁸ Also, Polycarp Sherwood, Andrew Louth, and others have recognized in his writing style the signs of a classical education, “common to all youths who looked forward to the imperial service.”⁹

Maximus did, in fact, enter the imperial service under the Emperor Heraclius, eventually becoming head of the imperial chancellery. There he remained until 613/4, when he entered the monastery in Chrysopolis in order to pursue a life of prayer (ἡσυχία). This is important to note since others (including the author of the *Vita*) have maintained that Maximus departed for the monastery only as a reaction to the rise of monothelitism within the imperial household.¹⁰ However, Lars Thunberg and others have demonstrated that this could not have been the case, since monothelitism (even in the form of monenergism) did not emerge until after 619.¹¹

⁶ This date is based upon Maximus’s claim that he was seventy-five at the time of his first trial in 655. *Relatio Motionis* §11; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 70.

⁷ *Mystagogia*, Introduction (Eng. trans: G. C. Berthold, ed., *Maximus the Confessor: Selected Writings* [Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1985], 183).

⁸ *Vita Sancti Maximi*; PG 90, 72.

⁹ Polycarp Sherwood, ed., *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, the Four Centuries on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 21 (New York: Newman Press, 1955), 6.

¹⁰ *Vita Sancti Maximi*; PG 90, 72.

¹¹ Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor* (Chicago: Open Court Press, 1995), 2.

The *Vita* notes that because of his great piety Maximus was soon chosen abbot of the monastery at Chysopolis, although there are doubts that he actually assumed the office of ἡγούμενος.¹² It was here that Maximus gained for himself his most devoted disciple, Anastasius, who would follow him throughout his life and even into exile. By 624/5 Maximus departed Chrysopolis for the monastery of St. George at Cyzicus, where he wrote both the *Liber Asceticus* and *Centuriae de Caritate*. It was also during his time in Cyzicus that Maximus, in conversation with the local bishop, began the *Ambigua* (although he did not complete it until his arrival in Africa). The *Ambigua* was originally conceived as an attempt to explain some controversial passages in the work of Gregory Nazianzus and Pseudo-Dionysius. It was also an effort to refute the errors of Origen while simultaneously reading the orthodox aspects of his teaching “within the wider context of the spiritual (i.e., Macarian) tradition.”¹³ Although the *Syriac Life* called Maximus a “wicked Origenist” and some have spoken about an “Origenist crisis” in Maximus’s theology, this charge appears to be without foundation.¹⁴ Maximus himself responded to the accusation of Origenism at his first trial by hurling his own private anathema at the long-dead Alexandrian.¹⁵

¹² Thunberg speculates that this is little more than a “pious legend” based on the fact that Maximus was often referred to as ἀββα. *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³ Juan Miguel Garrigues, *Maxime le Confesseur: La charité, avenir divin de l’homme* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), 76.

¹⁴ Hans Urs von Balthasar, who had written about this so-called crisis in the first edition of his *Kosmische Liturgie: Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenners*, would later acknowledge the validity of this criticism in the second edition and consequently omitted the term. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003), 25.

¹⁵ Ἀνάθεμα Ὠριγένει καὶ τοῖς δόγμασιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντὶ σύμφρονι αὐτοῦ. *Relatio Motionis* §5; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 58.

In 626, the advancing Persian army forced the evacuation of St. George's monastery, and Maximus and his companions traveled West, settling in North Africa sometime between 628–30.¹⁶ It was here, at the monastery of Euchratas, that Maximus came under the tutelage of Sophronius, the first great opponent of monothelitism. Although already fifty years old, Maximus was greatly influenced by Sophronius, later speaking of the διδάσκαλον κύριον ἀββᾶν Σωφρόνιον.¹⁷ When Sophronius became Patriarch of Jerusalem in 633, Maximus remained at Euchretas, writing copiously and earning for himself a reputation as both a great theologian and spiritual figure. It was at this time that he finished the *Ambigua*, the *Mystagogia*, and the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, as well his first explicitly anti-monothelite work, *Epistle 29* to Patriarch Pyrrhus of Constantinople.

It is an open question whether Maximus, during his many years in North Africa, ever came to know the works of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and the other Latin fathers whose writings shaped Western trinitarian theology. Translations of Western writers into Greek were rare, and in Greek-speaking monasteries (like Euchratas) knowledge of Latin was often limited or non-existent.¹⁸ In *Opusculum 15* Maximus does make reference to Western authors such as Ambrose of Milan and Pope Leo I (ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥωμαίων ἔξαρχος Ἐκκλησίας Λέων ὁ πανακτῆς καὶ πανίεπος) but both were

¹⁶ There remains the question of whether Maximus stopped at Crete and/or Cyprus on his way to Africa. Polycarp Sherwood points out that Maximus himself, in *Opuscula theologica et polemica* 3 (PG 91, 49), admits a stay in Crete at some point where he held a dispute with the monophysites. As for a visit to Cyprus, Sherwood claims this can only be “inferred from the fact of his correspondence with the Cypriote Marinus and from a possible acquaintance with the bishop Arcadius” Sherwood, *Annotated Date List*, 5.

¹⁷ *Epistula* 13; PG 91, 533.

¹⁸ The *Letter to Marinus* indicates that Maximus did understand enough of the Latin language to discern the problem of translating certain theological terms to and from the Greek.

already recognized in the East as great fathers of the Church.¹⁹ As for Augustine, although there is no direct evidence for a connection, the majority opinion is that his influence had, by the seventh century, become so widespread that such a connection cannot be excluded.²⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan concludes that “a *prima facie* argument (can) be made for some knowledge of Augustine . . . but that only makes the absence of Augustinian references all the more fascinating.”²¹ However, it is likely that in the *Letter to Marinus* (which we will discuss later in more depth) when Maximus speaks of the testimony of “the Roman fathers” supporting the *filioque*, he includes among them not only Hilary and Ambrose, but the Bishop of Hippo.

By 645 Maximus had already come to be viewed as a champion against the heresy of monothelitism, which Sophronius had so vehemently opposed. Monothelitism, although not explicitly formulated until 634, had its roots in the lengthy, and somewhat complicated, debates surrounding the Council of Chalcedon. Almost two centuries later the Council still divided the empire among those who accepted its legitimacy and others who believed that it violated the christology of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), who had spoken about the “one incarnate nature of God the Word” (μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη).²² Even the Chalcedonians debated among themselves the exact nature of

¹⁹ *Opusculum 15*; PG 91, 168.

²⁰ See George Berthold, “Did Maximus the Confessor Know Augustine?” *Studia Patristica* 7 (1982): 4–17.

²¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, “Maximus in the History of Christian Thought,” in Felix Heinzer and Christoph Schönborn, eds., *Maximus Confessor: Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2–5 Septembre 1980* (Fribourg-en-Suisse: Editions Universitaires, 1982), 399.

²² The Chalcedonian formula, adapted from the Tome of Pope Leo to Flavian, stated: “So, following the saintly fathers, we all with one voice teach the confession of one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ . . . acknowledged in two natures (ἐν δύο φύσεσιν) which undergo no confusion, no change, no division, no separation; at no point was the difference between the natures taken away through the union (ἔνωσιν), but rather the property of both natures is preserved and comes together into a single person and a single subsistent being (ἐν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν); he is not parted or divided into two persons (οὐκ εἰς

the hypostatic union, as they struggled to integrate the insights of Cyril, regarded by all parties as the norm for christological thinking.

These ongoing theological debates were complicated by political and military developments in the early seventh century. Engaged in an eighteen-year-long struggle with the Persians, the Emperor Heraclius (under whom Maximus had worked during his early years at Constantinople) was eager to unite the empire both religiously and politically.²³ After defeating the Persians in 627 Heraclius believed the time had come. The Constantinopolitan Patriarch Sergius (610–38), along with the Archbishop of Alexandria Cyrus, drafted a formula in 633 based the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius that spoke about the one theandric energy (μία θεανδρική ἐνέργεια) operative in the person of Christ.²⁴ The formula, supported initially by most of the Chalcedonians and looked upon by the monophysites as nothing short of total victory for their cause, appeared to be a remarkable success.

There was, however, one notable opponent to monenergism — Maximus’s spiritual father Sophronius of Jerusalem. So tenacious was his resistance that Sergius repealed his assent to the Pact of Union, issuing a *Psephos* (which has been called by some scholars the “founding charter” of monothelitism) prohibiting all talk of their being one or two activities in Christ and writing to Pope Honorius for his opinion of the

δύο πρόσωπα), but is one and the same only-begotten Son, God, Word, Lord Jesus Christ.” Norman Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1 (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 86.

²³ Heraclius had reason to worry. Already in 614 the Persians had attempted to ally themselves to the various non-Chalcedonian churches within their territories (Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians) in a hope of turning them against the Byzantines.

²⁴ The text, taken from *Epistle 4*, states, “It was not by virtue of being God that he did divine things, not by virtue of being a man that he did what was human, but rather, by the fact of being God-made-man he accomplished something new in our midst — the activity of the God-man.” Colm Luibheid, ed., *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1987), 265.

matter.²⁵ It was in his reply to Sergius that Honorius spoke of there being but one will in Christ (“unde et unam voluntatem fatemur Domini nostri Jesu Christi”), although “what the Pope probably wanted to say was that the human will of Jesus was not divided.”²⁶ The debate quickly shifted from there being one energy to the question of there being one operative will.

Several factors explain Maximus’s opposition to the monothelitism. Certainly his relationship to Sophronius accounts, in part, for his initial involvement in the debate.²⁷ Equally important was Maximus’s firm belief in the truth of Chalcedon, and his unwillingness to see that position eroded by a kind of creeping monophysitism. As he states in his *Diputatio cum Pyrrho*:

And if he has two natures, then he surely must have two natural wills, the wills and essential operations being equal in number to the natures. For just as the number of natures of the one and the same Christ correctly understood and explained, do not divide Christ but rather preserve the distinction of natures in the union, so likewise the number of essential attributes, wills, and operations attached to those two natures do not divide Christ either.²⁸

In 645, when the exiled Pyrrhus came to Carthage, Maximus publicly debated the former Patriarch on the nature of the hypostatic union. The proceedings of this encounter, preserved in *Opusculum* 28, are the clearest exposition of Maximus’s views on the wills of Christ and the necessity of refuting the monothelite position. So convincing were his

²⁵ Joseph Farrell, *Free Choice in Maximus the Confessor* (South Canaan: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1989), 70.

²⁶ Paul Verghess, “The Monothelete Controversy – A Historical Survey,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 20 (1980): 198. As for Maximus, he did not doubt that Honorius would have (had he lived) clarified his position to avoid a heterodox interpretation of his thought.

²⁷ The fall of Jerusalem in 638 to the Persians and Sophronius’s death later that year may have prompted Maximus to maintain the orthodoxy of his deceased *abba*’s position.

²⁸ *Diputatio cum Pyrrho* (Eng. trans: Joseph Farrell, *The Disputation with Pyrrhus of our Father among the Saints Maximus the Confessor* [South Canaan: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1990], 4).

arguments that Pyrrhus rejected monothelitism and traveled to Rome to have his profession of faith accepted by Pope Theodore (642–49).²⁹ Maximus too went to Rome shortly afterward, where he was asked by Theodore’s successor Martin I (649–55) to participate in the Lateran Synod convoked to settle the monothelite question.³⁰ The Synod condemned Pyrrhus and his predecessor Sergius and explicitly endorsed the dyothelite position of Maximus. Two of its canons almost certainly come from the pen of Maximus himself:

Canon 10. If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers two wills of one and the same Christ our God, united uninterruptedly, divine and human, and on this account that throughout each of his natures the same one of his own free will is the operator of our salvation, let him be condemned.

Canon 11. If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers two operations of one and the same Christ our God uninterruptedly united, divine and human, from this that through each of his natures He naturally is the same operator of our salvation, let him be condemned.³¹

The Emperor Constans, who had issued a *Typos* in 648 prohibiting all talk of the wills and operations of Christ, viewed the Lateran Synod as a direct threat to his efforts to establish religious unity within the empire. Constans ordered Olympus, the exarch of Ravenna, to enforce the *Typos*, but he refused to do so. It was only after Olympus’s death in 652 that the emperor had Pope Martin arrested and brought to Constantinople for trial. In 654 he was found guilty of conspiring with Olympus and subsequently sent into exile at Cherson, where he died as a martyr on September 16, 655. Maximus and his

²⁹ Pyrrhus would later flee to Ravenna and “like a dog returning to his vomit” again take up the monothelite cause. *Vita Sancti Maximi*; PG 90, 85.

³⁰ For a discussion of Maximus’s role at the Synod see Rudolf Riedinger, “Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximus der Bekenner,” in Heinzer and Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 111–21.

³¹ Acts of the Lateran Council (649); Mansi 10, 1151; Henry Denzinger, ed., *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* (St. Louis: Herder, 1957), 103.

disciple Anastasius were also arrested at this time and brought to the capital for trial, where they were taken off the ship, “naked and shoeless” (γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀνυποδέτους), placed in separate guard houses, and kept until their trial the following Saturday.³²

Reading the account of Maximus’s first trial, found in the *Relatio Motionis*, one discerns on the part of the imperial court an effort to condemn Maximus on political, rather than theological, grounds. He was accused of conspiring to hand over Egypt, Tripoli, and Africa to the Saracens, and of “making sounds of contempt and derision,” (μυττία ποιῶν καὶ λαϊμία) when the emperor’s name was mentioned.³³ When asked why he preferred communion with the Romans rather than with his native people (i.e., the Byzantines), he replied, “I love the Romans because we share the same faith, whereas I love the Greeks because we share the same language” (Ἀγαπῶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ὁμοπίστους, τοὺς δὲ Γραικοὺς ὡς ὁμογλώσσους).³⁴ Although under great pressure from the emperor and the monothelite hierarchy, Maximus maintained his innocence and refused to retract his views. Subsequently they exiled him to Bizya in Thrace, where the Patriarch (Peter) sent Bishop Theodosius to persuade the elderly Maximus to recant (their encounter is preserved in the *Disputatio Bizyae*).³⁵ Maximus won the day, but was then sent into exile at Perveris where he remained for six more years before being summoned

³² *Relatio Motionis* §1; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 48.

³³ *Relatio Motionis* §3; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 52.

³⁴ *Relatio Motionis* §11; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 70. Later generations of Byzantine pro-unionists would be accused of this same sort of “ethnic betrayal.”

³⁵ During the encounter Maximus persuaded Theodosius to embrace the dyothelite position and to convince the Emperor to do the same. In confirmation of his promise they kissed the sacred gospels, the cross, and icons of the Savior and *Theotokos*. However Theodosius, fearful of the emperor’s wrath, failed to keep his word, receiving a rebuke from Maximus for his cowardice. *Disputatio Bizyae* §4–11; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 100–10.

to Constantinople (with his disciples Anastasius and Anastasius the Apocrisiarios) for a second trial in 662.

At trial, Maximus, now over eighty years old and in ill health, remained steadfast in his refusal to enter into communion with the Constantinopolitan patriarch as long as the *Typos* remained in force. For his stubbornness Maximus had his tongue and right hand removed so that he could no longer spread (in word or writing) the dyothelite heresy. After being paraded through the city and mocked by the population, he was exiled to Lazica on the Black Sea, arriving there on the eighth of June.

According to *Anastasius Apocrisiarius's Epistle to Theodosius of Gangre*, Anastasius the disciple died from his wounds on the twenty-second or twenty-fourth of July while being transported from prison.³⁶ Maximus, so ill that he could only be carried on a stretcher, was taken to a fort called Schemaris where he died on August 13, 662. Anastasius Apocrisiarius wrote how Maximus's death was preceded by a divine visitation, and how even to the present day, "tres lampades luciferae per singulas noctes sanctum sancti illius martyris Maximi monumentum illustrant."³⁷ Although the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (680–81) would vindicate the cause for which he gave his life, no mention was made of Maximus for fear of embarrassing the imperial family. Despite this conciliar silence his cult continued to grow, especially around Lazica where he had met his death. Celebrated as a confessor for the orthodox faith, his

³⁶ Anastasius Apocrisiarius was eventually freed in 664. He lived at Thousoumes until his death on October 11, 666.

³⁷ *Anastasius Apocrisiarius's Epistle to Theodosius of Gangre* §5; Allen, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, 136.

feast is celebrated in both the Eastern and Western Churches, on January 21st and August 13th respectively.

MAXIMUS'S TRINITARIAN THOUGHT

Although the Trinity played an important role in Maximus's theology and trinitarian "creeds" are found in several of his works, it would be both difficult and misguided to take these writings out of context in an attempt to compose a separate dogmatic treatise *De Deo uno* or *De Deo trino*.³⁸ Maximus's work assumes that his listeners have embraced the trinitarian faith of the early councils and explicated in the writings of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzus, and Cyril of Alexandria. Maximus, unlike the above-mentioned fathers, had little need to engage in metaphysical speculation on the nature of the Trinity. Rather, his trinitarian writings need to be read in light of the goal of his overall theological program: the deification of humanity in Christ (θέωσις). What is important is not how we come to understand the inner workings of the trinitarian God, but how the Christian comes to participate in the divine life revealed in the person of the Word made flesh.

Thus if there is a hermeneutical key to understanding Maximus's trinitarian writings, indeed, his theology as a whole, it is that, θεολογίαν μὲν γὰρ διδάσκει σαρκούμενος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος.³⁹ Although an original and even speculative thinker,

³⁸ Such creeds can be found in the *Capita theologica et oeconomica* (Second Century, 1) and the *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*. Both works can be found in English translation in Berthold, ed., *Maximus the Confessor*.

³⁹ *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*; P. Van Deun, ed., *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula exegetica duo*, CCG 23 (Brepols: Turnhout, 1991), 31.

Maximus's theology of the Trinity remains firmly grounded in the mystery of the incarnation and the understanding of this mystery as revealed in Scripture and the great doctors of antiquity.⁴⁰ As Felix Heinzer notes, Maximus, more than others, "is profoundly aware of the intimate and inseparable link between what the Greek fathers called theology and economy, between the mystery of the trinitarian God and the mystery of the incarnation and redemption."⁴¹

This thinking was not new to Maximus, and clearly manifests his reliance on the Cappadocian tradition, especially Gregory of Nazianzus, whom he referred to as τὸν μέγαν διδάσκαλον.⁴² While Gregory is usually tentative about blurring the lines between economy (οἰκονομία) and theology (θεολογία) because of his polemics against the Eunomians, this does not mean he denies a certain knowledge of the trinitarian God available through contemplation.⁴³ While maintaining the necessity for apophaticism vis-à-vis God's nature, Gregory affirms that God leaves reflections of himself in the world, "shadowy reflections of the Sun in water, reflections which display to eyes too

⁴⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan, "Council or Father or Scripture: The Concept of Authority in the Theology of Maximus the Confessor," in *Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of the Very Reverend George Florovsky*, ed. David Neiman and Margaret Schatkin (Rome: Pontifical Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1973), 277–88.

⁴¹ Felix Heinzer, "L'explication trinitaire de l'économie chez Maxime le Confesseur," in Heinzer and Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 159.

⁴² *Ambiguum* 4; Bart Janssens, ed., *Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula Secunda ad Eundem*, CCG 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 15. Although Maximus was in many ways influenced by the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus, in dealing with the triune God it was largely to the Cappadocians that Maximus turned, since for Dionysius the "Trinity seems to be merely a Christian name of the superessential monad" George Berthold, "The Cappadocian Roots of Maximus the Confessor," in Heinzer and Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 56.

⁴³ "In these questions (i.e., the soul, the resurrection, the sufferings of Christ) to hit the mark is not useless, to miss it is not dangerous. But of God himself the knowledge we shall have in this life will be little, though soon after it will perhaps be more perfect, in the same Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever." *Oration 27*, 10 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ: The Five Theological Orations and Two Letters to Cledonius*, ed. and trans. Lionel Wickham and Frederick Williams [Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002], 33–34).

weak, because (we are) too impotent to gaze at it, the Sun overmastering perception in the purity of its light."⁴⁴ These allow us to affirm that God exists, but leave us unable to make affirmations about the divine nature itself (except its very incomprehensibility).⁴⁵

Maximus, writing long after Gregory's Eunomian opponents have been quieted, adopts and adapts the position of Nazianzus. For Maximus, "this distinction between theology and economy is strictly upheld . . . but at the same time he relates them intimately so that a correspondence is established."⁴⁶ While, like Gregory, hesitant to develop what later generations would call "natural theology," Maximus did allow the eyes of faith to discern certain "adumbrations" of the Trinity within the natural order.⁴⁷

As he writes in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 13:

As from beings we believe in God who is, that he exists . . . from the wise contemplation of creation receiving the idea of the Holy Trinity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For the Word of God is eternal as being the consubstantial power and the Holy Spirit is the eternal divinity.⁴⁸

Maximus even perceives these "adumbrations" in the constitution of humanity, where the Trinity is seen as the archetype of mind (νοῦς) reason (λόγος) and spirit

⁴⁴ *Oration 28*, 3 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus. *On God and Christ*: 39).

⁴⁵ *Oration 28*, 5 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ*: 40).

⁴⁶ Lars Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of Maximus the Confessor* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 40.

⁴⁷ However, this needs to be balanced against other statements in Maximus where he explicitly affirms that "the holy Godhead is by essence beyond ineffability and unknowably and countlessly raised above infinity, leaving not the slightest trace (ίχνος) of comprehension to those who are after it, nor disclosing any idea to any being as to how and how far the same is both monad and triad, since the uncreated is not naturally contained by the created, nor is the unlimited comprehended by what is limited" *Ambiguum* 10 (Eng. trans: Andrew Louth, ed., *Maximus the Confessor* [New York: Routledge, 1996], 132-33).

⁴⁸ Ὡς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ὄντων τὸν κυρίως ὄντα Θεὸν ὅτι ἔστι πιστεύομεν . . . ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν σοφῆς θεωρίας τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος πατρὸς λέγω καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, λόγον λαμβάνοντες, θεοῦ γὰρ ἰδίος ἐστὶν ὡς ὁμοούσιος δύναμις ὁ λόγος καὶ θειότης ἰδίος τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἅγιον πνεῦμα. *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 13; Carl Laga and Carlos Steel, eds., *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, CCG 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), 95.

(ψυχή), as well as in the triadic structure of the human soul.⁴⁹ Yet this perception is only possible because of the incarnation of the Word, who remains the “lynchpin” in humanity’s ability to accept the paradox that is Trinity. To utilize the language of later theology, in Maximus’s program there can be no *analogia entis* without the *analogia fidei*.

For Maximus this revelation of God in Christ is not simply an, “economic accommodation of the Godhead to the world’s condition. It is the only God himself,” revealed as Father Son and Spirit.⁵⁰ While he does not collapse the two realms (i.e., economy and theology), neither does he differentiate them in such a way that one cannot gain a knowledge of God’s trinitarian nature (i.e., θεολογία) from his revelation in history. In the *Orationis dominicae expositio* he writes:

In becoming incarnate the Word of God teaches us the mystical knowledge of God (Θεολογίαν) because he shows us in himself the Father and the Holy Spirit. For the full Father and full Holy Spirit are essentially and completely in the full Son, even the incarnate Son, without being themselves incarnate. Rather, the Father gives approval and the Spirit cooperates in the incarnation of the Son who effected it.⁵¹

He repeats this formula almost verbatim in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 60, demonstrating that the incarnation itself is an essentially trinitarian act revealing not only the Word, but also God’s mode of subsisting (τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως) in three hypostases. The fact that “no one of them (i.e., the hypostases) is able to exist or to be conceived

⁴⁹ Maximus’s thoughts on the Trinity as archetype can be found in both *Ambigua* 7 and 10. See Edward Jeanneau, ed., *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, CCG 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988). *Ambiguum* 7 in English translation can be found in Paul Blowers and Robert Wilken, eds., *The Cosmic Mystery of Jesus Christ* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), 45–78. *Ambiguum* 10 is in Louth, ed., *Maximus the Confessor*, 94–154.

⁵⁰ Aidan Nichols, *Byzantine Gospel: Maximus the Confessor in Modern Scholarship* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 68.

⁵¹ *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* (Eng. trans: Berthold, *Maximus the Confessor*, 103).

without the others,” precludes any notion that one can isolate the action of any of the persons, either on the level of economy or theology.⁵² They must always be co-indicated – always be in relation to one another. Even the “Our Father” for Maximus points to the essential unity of the three persons since

the words of the prayer point out the Father, the Father’s name and the Father’s kingdom to help us learn from the source himself to honor, to invoke, and to adore the one Trinity. For the name of God the Father who subsists essentially is the only-begotten Son, and the kingdom of God the Father who subsists essentially is the Holy Spirit.⁵³

Christ’s very being and his teachings allow humanity not only to point to the Trinity as the source of salvation, but also invite us to participate in the divine life itself (which is triune). It is here that the idea of περιχώρησις (“interpenetration”) becomes central for Maximus. Just as there was in Maximus a περιχώρησις between the divine and human natures in Christ (i.e., union without confusion), we are invited to penetrate into the divine nature, becoming one with the divinity. This is accomplished when, having retrained the gnostic will (θέλημα γνωμικόν) and rid it of self-love (φιλαυτία) through prayer, self-mastery (ἐγκράτεια), and love of neighbor (ἀγάπη), we follow the example and command of Christ. For

he who receives the Logos through the commandments also receives through Him the Father who is by nature present in him, and the Spirit who likewise is by nature in Him. . . . In this way, he who receives a commandment and carries it out receives mystically the Holy Trinity.⁵⁴

⁵² *Capita theologica et oeconomica* §1 (Eng. trans: G.E.H. Palmer and Kallistos Ware, eds., “Two Hundred Texts on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation of the Son of God,” in *The Philokalia*, vol. 2 [London: Faber and Faber, 1981], 137).

⁵³ *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* (Eng. trans: Berthold, *Maximus the Confessor*, 106).

⁵⁴ *Capita theologica et oeconomica* §71 (Eng. trans: Palmer and Ware, *The Philokalia*, vol. 2, 154–55).

In this schema not only do we come to know the *τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως* of God through Christ, but through *περιχώρησις* we come to share something of the trinitarian life itself.⁵⁵

This, of course, leads us to a discussion of the inner-trinitarian life and the relation of the three persons in Maximus's theology. Among the trinitarian writings of Gregory Nazianzus that Maximus felt bound to explain in the *Ambigua* concerned the seeming movement of the Trinity from monad into dyad and culminating in Trinity. This text, found in *Oration 29*, stated:

For this reason, a one (μονάς) eternally changes to a two (δυάδα) and stops at three (Τριάδος) — meaning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In a serene, non-temporal, incorporeal way, the Father is parent (γεννήτωρ) of the “offspring” (γέννημα) and originator (προβολεύς) of the “emanation” (πρόβλημα).⁵⁶

Certainly Maximus's chief intention was to preclude an Origenist interpretation of Gregory's work, which would have seen this as some sort of “disintegration” of the monad. For this reason Maximus places the change not within the Godhead, but within humanity, as it comes to understand the mystery of the Trinity. “For first we are illuminated with reason for its being, then we are enlightened about the mode in which it subsists, for we always understand that something is before we understand how it is.”⁵⁷ It is a change that takes place because in the incarnation God has revealed himself and his mode of subsistence as Trinity, and humanity is invited to move toward Him and accept this revelation in faith.

With an Origenist interpretation of the Trinity excluded, Maximus then addressed some of the unanswered questions that Gregory's trinitarian schema raised. For example,

⁵⁵ See Verna Harrison, “Perichoresis in the Greek Fathers,” *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991): 53–65.

⁵⁶ *Oration 29*, 2 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ*: 70).

⁵⁷ *Ambiguum* 1 (Eng. trans: Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, 170).

while Gregory's text affirms the Father as source of the Son and the Spirit, one by begetting and the other by procession, he does not adequately address the difference between the two modes of coming to be, or the eternal relationship between the Son and Spirit.⁵⁸ In the *Ambigua*, he also examined several passages from Gregory's *Orations* that could be misinterpreted in an Arian fashion. For example, if the Father (as begetter) willed the existence of the Son, does that not mean that the Son was brought forth through an act of the will and is therefore a creature? If the Father is the cause of the Son's existence, does that not mean the Son is less than the Father since that which is the cause is greater than that which is caused?

Maximus discusses the Son's generation in *Ambigua* 24, equating willer, willed, and will within the divinity (something that cannot be said of human volition, but is possible for the Godhead). The Father and Son, sharing the same nature, share a single will and thus the Father's willing presupposes the Son.

In our example the begotten Son is therefore at the same time the Father that generates, and is thus eternally, without the smallest interval being introduced between him and the begetting Father, for the Son is not the Son of a will but of the begetting Father. . . . The Son is not separated from the Father by a will . . . having from the beginning a single will simple and indivisible, therefore a single essence and nature.⁵⁹

In the next text Maximus follows Gregory in arguing that the Father, as unoriginate cause of the Son, is greater (as Father) but not by nature, since their nature is one and the same. This does not make the Son a passive subject vis-à-vis the Father (as if he were simply begotten of another's operation, like a child from a parent). Rather,

⁵⁸ Gregory's famous response to the difference between begetting and procession is contained in *Oration* 31: "What, then, is proceeding? You explain the ingeneracy of the Father and I will give you a biological account of the Son's begetting and the Spirit's proceeding — and let us go mad the pair of us for prying into God's secrets." *Oration* 31, 8 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ*: 122).

⁵⁹ *Ambiguum* 24; Jeanneau, *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 149–51.

because the Son is in eternal relation to the Father (“simultaneously with him and in him”) the Son is understood as “an essentially subsistent activity” whose relationship to the Father as only-begotten determines the hypostatic identities of both.⁶⁰

This last point becomes important in discussing the relationship of the Son and Spirit in Maximus’s thought, since the Father who spirates is always the Father of the Son (with whom he is in eternal relation). The procession of the Spirit from the Father thus presupposes the existence of the Son with whom the Father is in eternal relation. It is with this in mind that we turn to *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63, one of Maximus’s most debated texts, where he wrote of the Spirit ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι’ Ἰουῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον.⁶¹ Pierre Piret, in his book *Le Christ et la Trinité selon Maxime le Confesseur*, has examined this text in detail not only because of its significance vis-à-vis Maximus’s overall trinitarian program, but because of the role it later played in the debate over Maximus’s alleged support of filioquism.

Question 63 itself is an exegesis of Zechariah 4:2–3 and is used by Maximus as a meditation on the role of the Holy Spirit in the Church.⁶² In Zechariah’s vision:

Accordingly, the Church of God, worthy of all praise, is a lampstand wholly of gold, pure and without stain, undefiled and without blemish, receptacle of the true light that never dims. . . . The lamp above her is the true light of the Father which

⁶⁰ “The name of the Father is neither the name of the essence nor a name of the energy but rather a name of a relationship (*schesis*) and it says how the Father is towards the Son and how the Son is towards the Father.” *Ambiguum* 26; Jeanneau, *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 153. John of Damascus expressed the same reality a century later when he wrote that, “the Father could not be so called without a Son,” for the Father’s very identity *as Father* is determined by his being the one who eternally begets the Son. *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 8; John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, Hermigild Dressler, ed., FC 37 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 178.

⁶¹ *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63; Carl Laga and Carlos Steel, eds., *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, CCG 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 155.

⁶² He said to me, “What do you see?” And I said, “I see a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it; there are seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps that are on the top of it. And by it there are two olive trees, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left.” (NRSV Zech 4:2–3)

lights up every man coming into this world, our Lord Jesus Christ, become light and called such. . . . And if Christ is the head of the Church according to human understanding, then he is the one who by his nature has the Spirit and has bestowed the charisms of the Spirit on the Church. . . . For the Holy Spirit, just as he belongs to the nature of God the Father according to his essence so he also belongs to the nature of the Son according to his essence, since he proceeds inexpressibly from the Father through his begotten Son, and bestows on the lampstand — the church — his energies as through a lantern.⁶³

In this text one notes the central mediatory role of the incarnate *Logos*, who not only illumines men, but pours forth the gifts of the Spirit upon the Church so that the light of the Father can certainly be said to flow through him to humanity. This passage clearly demonstrates Maximus's debt to Gregory Nazianzus (who had used a similar image in *Oration 31*) and to another Cappadocian father, Gregory of Nyssa.⁶⁴ Both had utilized the image of light and flame to show the flow from the unoriginate source (i.e., the Father) through another (i.e., the Son) to shine forth in another (i.e., the Spirit).⁶⁵ Yet Maximus and Nazianzus are, in this context, clearly speaking of the economic

⁶³ Λυχνία τοιγαροῦν ἐστὶν ὀλόχρυσος ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ πανεύφημος ἐκκλησία, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος ἄχραντός τε καὶ ἀκίβδηλος καὶ ἀμείωτος καὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός δεκτική. . . . Τὸ δὲ λαμπάδιον τὸ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ πατρικὸν φῶς καὶ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὁ κύριος ἢ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. . . . Εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεφαλὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἄρα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δεδώρηται ὁ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς Θεός. . . . Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡσπερ φύσει κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φύσει κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι' Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τῇ λυχνίᾳ, τουτέστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθάπερ λυχνίου τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας δωρούμενον. *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63; Laga and Steel, CCG 22, 155.

⁶⁴ “‘He was the true Light that enlightens every man coming into the world’ — yes, the Father. ‘He was the true Light that enlightens every man coming into the world’ — yes, the Son. ‘He was the true Light that enlightens every man coming into the world’ — yes, the Comforter. These are three subjects and three verbs— he was and he was and he was. But a single reality *was*. There are three predicates— light and light and light. But the light is one, God is one. . . . We receive the Son’s light from the Father’s light in the light of the Spirit: that is what we ourselves have seen and what we now proclaim — it is the plain and simple explanation of the Trinity.” *Oration 31*, 3 (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ*: 118).

⁶⁵ “It is as if a man were to see a separate flame burning on three torches (and we will suppose that the third flame is caused by that of the first being transmitted to the middle, and then kindling the end torch). . . . But if there is really no hindrance to the third torch being fire, though it has been kindled from a previous flame, what is the philosophy of these men, who profanely think that they can slight the dignity of the Holy Spirit because He is named by the Divine lips after the Father and the Son?” *On the Holy Spirit against the Followers of Macedonius* (Eng. trans: NPNF 2, 5, 317).

manifestation of the Trinity and the way Christians come to experience, in time, the gifts of the Spirit.

However, Piret concentrates specifically on the meaning of, “Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς περ φύσει κατ’ οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φύσει κατ’ οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι’ Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον.” He takes this to establish (I think rightly) not merely an economic relation of the Son to the Spirit, but an eternal one. This is because, as Piret notes, “originated from the Father, the Spirit comprehends, in his relation to the Father, the relationship between the Father and the Son.”⁶⁶ Because the Father is not simply unoriginate cause of the Spirit but also Father of the Son, the Spirit proceeds from him in such a way that this relationship to the Son is not excluded. For Maximus the formula “proceeds through the Son” appears as the means by which this “comprehension” of that relationship is expressed. It manifests what Piret, Garrigues, and others have called Maximus’s differentiation between “trinitarian ordering” (τάξις) and hypostatic origination.

The idea of trinitarian ordering was not new to Maximus. Gregory of Nyssa’s *Contra Eunomium* had spoken of the Spirit, while eternally coequal with Father and Son, being third in the τάξις (although he is emphatic that this does not introduce the idea of temporality in the generation of either Son or Spirit). He writes:

Our account of the Holy Ghost will be the same also; the difference is only in the place assigned in order (τάξις). For as the Son is bound to the Father, and, while deriving existence from Him, is not substantially after Him, so again the Holy Spirit is in touch with the Only-begotten, who is conceived of as before the Spirit's subsistence only in the theoretical light of a cause.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Pierre Piret, *Le Christ et la Trinité selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 99.

⁶⁷ *Contra Eunomium* 1, 42 (Eng. trans: NPNF 2, 5, 100).

The Spirit, being third in the τάξις, proceeds from the First Cause (i.e., the Father) in such a way that he comprehends the Father's relation to the only-begotten Son. Thus while he does not derive hypostatic origination from the Son, his procession from the Father does presuppose the Son's existence. How is this eternal relationship between Spirit and Son then expressed? For Maximus (as well as Gregory) it is in speaking of the Spirit's procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. This can be seen not only in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63, but in *Quaestiones et dubia* 34, where he writes:

Just as the mind (i.e., the Father) is cause of the Word, so is he also (cause) of the Spirit through the Word. And, just as one cannot say that the Word is of the voice, so too one cannot say that the Son is of the Spirit.⁶⁸

The Father remains the sole cause of the Spirit's hypostasis (as the one who spirates him), but the Spirit, intimately aware of the Father's begetting of the Son, comes forth from the begetter through the begotten as the Spirit manifesting their common nature. As we shall discover in the next section, it is this idea that Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* expresses with such clarity.

THE LETTER TO MARINUS

Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* (preserved in *Opusculum* 10) is a problematic text in many respects. Given our lack of background information regarding its composition, there are difficulties in dating, in establishing authenticity, and even in discovering

⁶⁸ Ὡσπερ ἐστὶν αἴτιος τοῦ λόγου ὁ νοῦς, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ λόγου. καὶ ὥσπερ οὐ δυνάμεθα εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον εἶναι τῆς φωνῆς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν λέγειν τοῦ πνεύματος. *Quaestiones et dubia* 34; José Declerk, ed., *Quaestiones et dubia*, CCG 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 151.

Maximus's exact intent. Yet the centrality of the text for this study makes it necessary to answer each of these questions in turn in order to establish Maximus's views on the *filioque* and his interpretation of the tradition as he understood it.

According to Polycarp Sherwood, Maximus composed the *Letter to Marinus* in 645 or 646, sometime shortly before his journey to Rome.⁶⁹ Sherwood's dating is based on the fact that the letter was written from Carthage, and he believes it unlikely that Maximus traveled back to Africa after the Lateran Synod in 649. The problem with this dating is that the pope mentioned in the letter would not be Martin I (as has been commonly supposed) but his predecessor, Theodore I (642–49). Since there are no extant synodal letters from either pope, it is impossible to verify which one authored the epistle in question. However there is no *prima facie* reason to reject Sherwood's conclusion since, as Jean-Claude Larchet has argued, both Theodore and Martin defended the orthodox position against the monenergists and monothelites, and thus either could have been responsible for the composition of the disputed text.⁷⁰

Establishing authenticity is even more difficult, especially as the first mention of the *Letter* does not occur until Anastasius Bibliothecarius's letter to John the Deacon, written during the so-called Photian Schism (874) when the *filioque* was a hotly debated issue.⁷¹ Also, Maximus, in another epistle to Marinus, speaks of a letter that has falsely been attributed to him, which may or may not be reference to *Opusculum* 10.⁷² Vasilios

⁶⁹ Sherwood, *Annotated Date List*, 54.

⁷⁰ Jean-Claude Larchet, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1998), 11.

⁷¹ *Anastasius Ad Ioannem Diaconum*; PL 129, 567.

⁷² PG 91, 129.

Karayiannis in his book *Maxime le Confesseur: Essence et Energies de Dieu*, argues that while elements of the letter may be authentic, the section concerning Maximus's alleged support of filioquism is certainly a later Latin interpolation. For him, "the question of the *filioque* as it is treated in this text is premature for the era of Maximus inasmuch as the point of departure between Greek and Latin theology had not yet been reached."⁷³ To believe Maximus was in a position to settle a theological debate that had not yet begun, according to Karayiannis, both anachronistic and naïve. In addition, Karayiannis argues that Maximus would not have dealt with such an important trinitarian question as an afterthought in a minor epistle.⁷⁴ This, he says, adds weight to the argument that the section on the *filioque* is an interpolation added by a later editor.

However none of these arguments, individually or collectively, provides sufficient grounds for rejecting the authenticity of the *Letter to Marinus* as we have received it. While the precise terms of the *filioque* dispute would not be clarified until the ninth century during the so-called Photian Schism, there is certainly enough *prima facie* evidence to argue that even by the time of Pope Theodore the language of Western trinitarian theology would have sounded suspicious to Byzantine ears. As we shall see, many of the great Latin fathers (e.g., Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine) had, to one degree or another, spoken of the Spirit's procession from (*ex*) or through (*per*) the Son. Already in 589 we find the *filioque* formally incorporated into the Creed at the Third Synod of Toledo.⁷⁵ Thus although we do not possess Pope Theodore's synodal letter, it is certainly

⁷³ Vasilios Karayiannis, *Maxime le Confesseur: Essence et Energies de Dieu* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993), 89.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Richard Haugh points out that King Reccared of the Visigoths, who (along with Isidore of Seville's brother Leander) presided over the Synod of Toledo, had declared that the Creed should be sung "according to the custom of the eastern fathers." Thus he obviously believed, as many in the West did, that the *filioque*

possible (indeed, probable) that the *filioque* might have been included in some form.⁷⁶

Given the ninth-century Byzantine reaction to the interpolation, and to filioquism in general, there is little doubt that had they become aware of these developments two centuries earlier (especially in the synodical of a reigning pope), it would have led them to raise some serious doubts about his orthodoxy. Thus despite Karayiannis's argument to the contrary, Maximus could very well have participated in the "first round" of the *filioque* debates, even though it would be another one hundred and fifty years before that debate blossomed into schism.

It may indeed seem strange that Maximus deals with such a significant theological issue like the procession of the Holy Spirit almost as an afterthought. Yet what Karayiannis apparently fails to realize is that the procession of the Spirit was not one of the issues that Maximus (or any of the fathers) dealt with at any length ("except," as Ponsoye writes, "in a few sparse phrases").⁷⁷ Given the highly "situational" nature of much of patristic theology, it is not unusual to find the fathers, Maximus included, detailing their views on a given subject only in response to a specific charge or heresy. Simply put, on the subject of the procession Maximus did not feel the need to speak to the issue until someone had challenged what he believed to be the orthodox view.

Having presented the arguments for and against Maximus's authorship of the *Letter to Marinus*, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence for rejecting the

was in the original version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and part of the faith of the universal Church. See his *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont: Nordland Publishing Co., 1975), 28–29.

⁷⁶ The only surviving letters of Pope Theodore are to Patriarch Paul II (PL 129, 577–84) and to another bishop requesting Paul's removal from the diptychs (PL 87, 75–82).

⁷⁷ Emmanuel Ponsoye, ed., *Opuscules théologiques et polémiques*, intro. by Jean-Claude Larchet (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998), 78.

authenticity of the text. Both Polycarp Sherwood and Alexander Alexakis, who have done textual analyses of the *Letter*, conclude that “stylistic and other internal evidence exclude the possibility of a ninth-century fabrication.”⁷⁸ In fact, because the *Letter* is thoroughly consistent with Maximus’s theological program, as shall be demonstrated below, I maintain not only the authenticity of the *Letter*, but also its unique place as a summary of his trinitarian theology as a whole. The argument from theological consistency effectively trumps those put forward all those who would deny Maximus’s role as author of the text.

The historical context for the *Letter to Marinus*, and the reasons Maximus felt himself bound to speak to the issue of the *filioque* can be assumed from several passages within the letter itself. There he wrote:

Therefore the men of the Queen of cities (i.e., Constantinople) attacked the synodal letter of the present most holy Pope, not in all the chapters you have written about, but only two of them. One relates to the theology and makes the statement that, “The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son.” The other deals with the divine incarnation.⁷⁹

According to John Meyendorff, by 646 (Sherwood’s dating of the letter) Pope Theodore was already infamous in Constantinople, having signed the excommunication of the monothelite Patriarch Pyrrhus “with a pen dipped in the Eucharistic chalice.”⁸⁰ The Constantinopolitan See under his successor, Paul II (also a monothelite), would

⁷⁸ Sherwood, *Annotated Date List*, 54; Alexander Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetypes* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 76.

⁷⁹ Ἀμέλει τοι γοῦν τῶν τοῦ νῦν ἁγιοτάτου, Πάπα συνοδικῶν, οὐκ ἐν τοσοῦτοις, ὅσοις γεγράφατε, κεφαλαίοις, οἱ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων ἐπελάβοντο. δυσι δὲ μόνοις, ὧν, τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχει περὶ θεολογίας, ὅτι τέ φησὶν εἶπεν, «Ἐκπορεύεσθαι κἄκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον» τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, περὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως. *Opusculum* 10; PG 91, 136.

⁸⁰ John Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450–680 AD* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1989), 365.

certainly have looked for every opportunity to impugn Theodore's orthodoxy in order to strengthen the case against the dyothelites in the West. If, so the argument runs, Theodore expressed heretical views on the Trinity and on the incarnation, certainly his views on the wills of Christ must be equally as heterodox.

Maximus understood the logic behind this argument and knew that his own position would be weakened if the orthodoxy of "Old Rome" was put into question.⁸¹ For this reason he differentiated between the faith of the Romans, which while couched in strange language was still orthodox, and the obvious impiety of the monothelites in the imperial capital.

The latter (i.e., the Romans) were therefore accused of precisely those things of which it would be unfair to accuse them, whereas the former (i.e., the Byzantines) were accused of those things that it was quite just to accuse them (i.e., monothelism) and for which they have offered, even now, not the least defense."⁸²

Whereas monothelism was a heresy worthy of both imperial and ecclesiastical condemnation, the accusations against the Romans' trinitarian theology cannot be sustained. The attempt by "New Rome" to distract attention from their own misdeeds simply cannot be justified by the facts.

This leads Maximus to deal with the substance of the accusations made against the Pope and to the explication of the Western teaching on the procession of the Holy Spirit. First he addresses the (assumed) charge that the teaching was novel.

⁸¹ Subsequent generations of Latin polemicists and theologians (Thomas Aquinas included) would take some of these statements about the orthodoxy of the Roman See to support their arguments for the primacy. See Chapter 4, n 3.

⁸² Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, περὶ ὧν οὐκ εὐλόγως ἐνεκλήθησαν. ἐκείνοι δὲ περὶ ὧν καὶ μάλα δικαίως, οὐδεμίαν μέχρι καὶ νῦν πεποιήνται τὴν ἀπολογία. *Opusculum* 10; PG 91, 136.

In the first place they (i.e., the Romans) produced the unanimous evidence of the Roman Fathers, and also of Cyril of Alexandria, from the study he made of the gospel of St. John.⁸³

The unresolved issue raised by this statement is the exact nature of the patristic testimony that Maximus is referring to, especially as it pertains to the Latin fathers.⁸⁴ As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to determine how much of the Latin theological tradition Maximus had been exposed to during his years in Carthage. Certainly by the mid-seventh century there were more than a few Latin writers who had utilized some variant of the *procedere ex Filio* or *per Filium* formula. Tertullian had spoken of the Spirit's procession through the Son as early as the second century.⁸⁵ Ambrose, in his *De Spiritu Sancto*, had written that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father and the Son" (*procedit a Patre et a Filio*) and that "when the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son He is not separated from the Father, nor is he separated from the Son."⁸⁶ In that same work Ambrose describes the Father and the Son as the fountains of life, "that is, the fountain of the Holy Spirit, since the Spirit is Life."⁸⁷ Yet in both passages it should be noted that Ambrose is clearly speaking of the Spirit's activity in the economy of salvation and not speculating about the inner-trinitarian life.

⁸³ Καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ, συμφώνους παρήγαγον χρήσεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πατέρων ἔτι γὰρ μὴν καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐκ τῆς πονηθείσης αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην ἱερᾶς πραγματείας. Ibid.

⁸⁴ Limitations of time and space prevent a full discussion of all those texts used by subsequent generations of Latins and Greeks to justify their respective views of the *filioque*. For some background on the patristic view of the procession of the Holy Spirit see V. Rodzianko, "Filioque in Patristic Thought," *Studia Patristica* 2 (1957): 295–308.

⁸⁵ "Hoc mihi et in tertium gradum dictum sit quia Spiritum non aliunde puto, quam a Patre per Filium." *Adversus Praxeam* 4,1; PL 2, 182.

⁸⁶ *De Spiritu Sancto* 1, 11, 120 (Eng. trans: Ambrose of Milan, *Theological and Dogmatic Works*, trans. Roy Deferrari, FC 44 [Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1963], 79).

⁸⁷ *De Spiritu Sancto* 1, 15, 152 (Eng. trans: Ambrose, *Theological and Dogmatic Works*, 90).

The two Latin authors most often credited with the development of filioquism in the West are Hilary of Poitiers and Augustine of Hippo. Hilary's *De Trinitate* had spoken of the Spirit, "qui Patre et Filio auctoribus confitendus est," which has been understood by some (Thomas Aquinas included) as an endorsement of the *filioque*, although a better reading might be "confess him on the evidence of the Father and the Son."⁸⁸ Elsewhere Hilary spoke more explicitly to the issue, asserting:

Nor will I infringe upon any one's liberty of thought in this matter, whether they may regard the Paraclete Spirit as coming from the Father or from the Son (utrum ex Patre an ex Filio Spiritum paraclatum putent esse). The Lord has left nothing uncertain. . . . Consequently, He receives (accipit) from the Son who has been sent by Him and proceeds from the Father (A Filio igitur accipit qui et ab eo mittitur et a Patre procedit). . . . The Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father, but He is sent by the Son from the Father (A Patre enim procedit Spiritus veritatis, sed a Filio a Patre mittitur).⁸⁹

Here Hilary apparently draws a distinction between proceeding (*procedere*), sending (*mittere*) and receiving (*accipere*), reserving *procedere* for the activity of the Father. Perhaps, as shall be argued below, Hilary is attempting to communicate the uniqueness of the Spirit's relation to the Father by ἐκπόρευσις, differentiating procession *a Patre* from his sending/receiving *a filio*. Although he used a variant of the *per filium* formula later in his work, speaking of the Spirit, "who is from You (i.e., the Father) through the Only-begotten," Hilary does not appear as an explicit proponent of the double procession as it will later be understood.⁹⁰ Much like Maximus, Hilary seemingly

⁸⁸ *De Trinitate* 2, 29. The translation in the *Fathers of the Church* series has "Him in whom we must believe together with the Father and the Son who begot Him" (Eng. trans: Hilary of Poitiers, *The Trinity*, Stephen McKenna, ed., FC 25 [Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1954], 57–58). The English translation in the NPNF is, "we are bound to confess Him, proceeding, as he does, from Father and Son," although the attached footnote indicates the possibility of the translation above (NPNF 2, 9, 60).

⁸⁹ *De Trinitate* 8, 20 (Eng. trans: Hilary, *The Trinity*, 289–90).

⁹⁰ *De Trinitate* 12, 57 (Eng. trans: Hilary, *On the Trinity*, 543).

wanted nothing more than to affirm the unique role of the Father in the procession of the Spirit while maintaining the unity between Father and Son both on the level of the economy and the theology.

The trinitarian teaching of Augustine of Hippo, the most influential of the Western Church Fathers, moves beyond Hilary to an explicit affirmation of the Spirit's procession from both the Father and the Son. This move is, in large part, made possible by Augustine's trinitarian model, which viewed the Spirit as the bond of love existing between Father and Son.

For whether he is the unity of both the others or their holiness, or their charity, whether he is their unity because their charity and their charity because their holiness, it is clear that he is not one of the two, since he is that by which the two are joined each to the other, by which the begotten is loved by the one who begets him and in turn loves the begetter. . . . So the Holy Spirit is something common to Father and Son, whatever it is, or is their very commonness or communion, consubstantial and coeternal.⁹¹

This being the case, Augustine can affirm that, being the bond between Father and Son, "according to the Holy Scriptures this Holy Spirit is not just the Father's alone, nor the Son's alone, but the Spirit of them both." ("Qui spiritus sanctus secundum scripturas sanctas nec patris est solius nec filii solius sed amborum").⁹² Although he maintained that, "only the Father is called the one from whom the Word is born and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds (*procedit principaliter*)," he immediately clarified this statement, stating,

I added "principally," because we have found that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son (*quia et de filio spiritus sanctus procedere reperitur*) . . . He (i.e., the

⁹¹ *De Trinitate* 6, 5, 7 (Eng. trans: Augustine of Hippo, *The Trinity*, trans. Edmund Hill, The Works of St. Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century [Brooklyn: New City Press, 1991], 209).

⁹² *De Trinitate* 15, 17, 27 (Eng. trans: Augustine of Hippo, *The Trinity*, 418).

Father) so begot him then that their common gift would proceed from him too, and the Holy Spirit would be the Spirit of them both.⁹³

Augustine, in his *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, justified this position from the Scriptures, unafraid to equate (or, as later Byzantine theologians would say, confuse) the economic and immanent trinities.

Why, then, should we not believe that the Holy Spirit proceedeth also from the Son (de Filio procedat Spiritus sanctus), seeing that He is likewise the Spirit of the Son? For did He not so proceed, He could not, when showing Himself to His disciples after the resurrection, have breathed upon them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit." For what else was signified by such a breathing upon them, but that from Him also the Holy Spirit proceedeth (nisi quod procedat Spiritus sanctus et de ipso)?⁹⁴

Augustine's teaching on the Spirit's *processio* from both the Father and the Son went further than any previous Latin father in explicitly admitting the possibility of a double procession. However, like Hilary, Augustine seems to make an important distinction (expressed adverbially) between the Spirit's principal procession (*procedit principaliter*) from the Father, and his procession from both the Father and Son as the bond of love joining them together. Also, Augustine does not employ the language of causality as later Western theologians would do, unafraid as they were to use the Bishop of Hippo to support their belief that the Son was cause of the Spirit's hypostatic existence. In failing to distinguish procession from generation and temporal mission from eternal procession, it must be admitted that Augustine opened the door to this interpretation.⁹⁵ However, as shall be argued at the beginning of the second chapter,

⁹³ *De Trinitate* 15, 17, 29 (Eng. trans: Augustine of Hippo, *The Trinity*, 419).

⁹⁴ *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus* 99, 16, 7 (Eng. trans: NPNF 1, 7, 383–84).

⁹⁵ Michael Azkoul, *The Influence of Augustine of Hippo on the Orthodox Church*, Texts and Studies in Religion 56 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 148. Azkoul makes the claim that while previous Latin fathers had made these distinctions, albeit clumsily, Augustine's trinitarian theology erased them

Augustine cannot be understood as the father of filioquism (so-called) even if he eventually became the chief patristic source in support of the post-Carolingian Latin teaching.

While we cannot establish how well acquainted Maximus was with Augustine and the trinitarian theology of the Latin West, in the *Letter to Marinus* he referred also to the teaching of the Greek fathers (with whom he was more familiar), and specifically to Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*. It is certainly true that by the seventh century one could find the $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula (or some variant thereof) in any number of Greek patristic texts, although its exact meaning often varied depending on context. For example, Basil's *On the Holy Spirit* combated subordinationism by stressing the unity of the three persons, both in the economy of salvation and in our doxological confession of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. For this reason he spoke of the "natural goodness, inherent holiness and royal dignity (that) reaches from the Father through the only-begotten ($\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς) to the Spirit."⁹⁶ In this particular text Basil was not speaking about the Spirit's hypostatic origination through the Son, but to their equality of nature and our experience of God's gifts in the world.⁹⁷

Gregory of Nyssa had also spoken to the issue in his *Letter to Ablabius*, as he attempted to counter the argument that trinitarianism necessarily led to tritheism. This led him to stress the unity of nature among the three persons while differentiating their

altogether. In doing so, he argues, Augustine separated himself from the other orthodox fathers of the West in positing a trinitarian theology incompatible with the tradition of the East.

⁹⁶ *De Spiritu Sancto* 18, 47; SC 17, 197 (Eng. trans: Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, trans. David Anderson (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 75.

⁹⁷ Chapter 3 will discuss at more length Basil's *Contra Eunomium*, the most problematic patristic text debated at the Council of Florence.

mode of existence, “believing one to be a Cause, and the other from the Cause.”⁹⁸ This being the case, he then differentiated between the Son and the Spirit.

For the one is directly from the First, and the other is through the one who is directly from the First, with the result that the Only-begotten remains the Son and does not negate the Spirit’s being from the Father since the middle position of the Son both protects His distinction as Only-begotten and does not exclude the Spirit from His natural relation to the Father.⁹⁹

In this text Nyssa appears to foreshadow Maximus’s own views on the subject as he would express them in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63. While not denying the Father as unique source of the divinity (as αἰτία), Gregory allows for an eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit. This is because in the trinitarian order (τάξις), the Spirit comprehends the unique relationship between the only-begotten and the Father, recognizing that the “first cause” is always the Father of the Son. Gregory (like Maximus) expresses this reality by utilizing the idea of the Spirit’s coming διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, but not by procession proper (ἐκπόρευσις). Thus while the Spirit’s existence is not caused by the Son, the Son becomes the presupposition for the Spirit’s manifestation, not only in the economy, but in eternity.

It is not surprising that the one father specifically named by Maximus as an “apologist” for the Latin position is Cyril of Alexandria, whose writings contain several references to the procession of the Holy Spirit from or through the Son. In the centuries to follow, Cyril’s work would prove to be a rich source for proof-texts supposedly

⁹⁸ τῷ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου. *Ad Ablabium*; Fridericus Mueller, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni opera dogmatica minora*, vol 3.1, Gregorii Nysseni opera (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 56.

⁹⁹ Τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, ὥστε καὶ τὸ μονογεντὲς ἀναμφίβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μένειν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν, τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μεσιτείας καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττοῦσης καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης. Ibid.

supporting the doctrine of the *filioque*.¹⁰⁰ However, Cyril's writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit need be read in light of his christological and soteriological concerns, with his constant emphasis on the consubstantiality of Christ and the Spirit and our reception of the Spirit's gifts through the person of Jesus Christ.¹⁰¹ Thus there is no question that Cyril accepted the coming of the Holy Spirit through the Son, since the Spirit "is of the essence of the Son, existing from him according to the nature, coming through him to the creature in order to accomplish his renewal."¹⁰²

Cyril's works contain references not only to the Spirit's procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, but from (ἐκ) the Son, although these references usually speak of our reception of the Spirit in time and our ability to confess Christ as Lord.¹⁰³ However, there are other instances where Cyril appears to refer not only to the economy, but also to the theology.¹⁰⁴ Yet even in these passages Cyril retains a terminological distinction between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι (which will be discussed below), that seems to exclude a filioquist interpretation. This becomes clearest in his exegesis of Jn 15:26, where, in

¹⁰⁰ For a more detailed exposition of Cyril's views on the *filioque* see Marie-Odile Boulnois, *La paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Herméneutique, analyses philosophiques et argumentation théologique* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1994) and George Berthold, "Cyril of Alexandria and the *Filioque*," *Studia Patristica* 19 (1989): 143–47.

¹⁰¹ See A. de Halleux, "Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 74 (1979): 597–625; John Meyendorff, "La Procession du Saint-Esprit chez les Pères orientaux," *Russie et chrétienté* 2 (1950): 158–78.

¹⁰² *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali trinitate* 34; PG 75, 608.

¹⁰³ "Since the Holy Spirit when He is in us effects our being conformed to God, and He actually progresses from the Father and Son (πρόεισι δὲ καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ), it is clear that He is of the divine essence, progressing substantially in it and from it (οὐσιωδῶς πρόιον)." *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali trinitate* 34; PG 75, 585.

¹⁰⁴ "(The Holy Spirit) is the Spirit of God the Father as well as of the Son, and comes forth (προχέομενον) substantially from both (ἐξ ἀμφοῖν), that is, from the Father through the Son" *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate* 1; PG 68, 148.

language Maximus would use centuries later, a distinction appears to be made between the Spirit's procession from the Father and his progression through the Son.

Jesus calls the Paraclete "the Spirit of Truth," that is to say, his consoling Spirit, and at the same time he says that He proceeds from the Father (παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι). Thus as the Spirit is naturally proper to the Son, who exists in Him and progresses through him (δι' αὐτοῦ προϊόν), yet he is at the same time the Spirit of the Father.¹⁰⁵

Thus we see in Cyril the same dynamic operative in the work of Nyssa and Maximus, especially as contained in the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63, that there is both a temporal and eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit. For Cyril, this is because the Spirit proceeds from the Father (ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς), but "is not a stranger to the essence of the only Son because he progresses naturally from him (πρόεισι δὲ φυσικῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς)."¹⁰⁶ Although Cyril's language varies from case to case, defying easy categorization, it is this aspect of his trinitarian thinking that Maximus seems to have adopted in his own writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

This leads us back to our discussion of Maximus's explanation of the Latins' position vis-à-vis the *filioque*. After citing witnesses to the orthodoxy of Latin trinitarian theology, Maximus details their position as he understood it.

From this (i.e., the writings of the fathers) they showed that they themselves do not make the Son the cause of the Spirit for they know that the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the one by begetting and the other by procession, but they show the progression through him and thus the unity of the essence.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Commentariorum in Joannem* 10, 15, 26–27; PG 74, 417.

¹⁰⁶ *Commentariorum in Joannem* 10, 16, 12–13; PG 74, 444.

¹⁰⁷ ἐξ ὧν, οὐκ αἰτίαν τὸν Υἱὸν ποιούντας τοῦ Πνεύματος, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέδειξαν μίαν γὰρ ἴσασιν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τὸν Πατέρα αἰτίαν. τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊέναι δηλώσωσι καὶ ταύτη τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσι. *Opusculum* 10; PG 91, 136.

Maximus here affirms that the Latin teaching in no way violated the monarchy of the Father, who remained the sole cause (μία αἰτία) of the Son and the Spirit and the principle of unity within the godhead. For centuries this had been a point of emphasis in Eastern trinitarian theology, seen especially in the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus (to whom Maximus was so indebted). Gregory had written that: “The name of the one without origin is the Father, and for the origin, the Son, and for the one with the origin, the Holy Spirit.”¹⁰⁸ Similar sentiments can be found in Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, and Cyril of Alexandria, all of whom viewed the Father as the “source of divinity” (πηγή τῆς Θεότητος) and “the principle/origin of divinity” (τῆς Θεότητος ἀρχή). For Gregory Naxianzus (and the Eastern tradition) establishing the Father as source of the divinity meant locating in him the principle of unity that joined the three hypostases of the Trinity. As Gregory viewed it:

There is one nature in the three and that is God. The union is the Father from whom proceed and to whom return those who follow.¹⁰⁹

Since the Spirit and Son shared the Father’s substance and will, both being from him, one could posit in the Father the unoriginate cause of the Trinity’s essential unity. As sole cause within the godhead, one could also speak of the distinctiveness of the three persons, since the Father alone was called cause, the Spirit and Son being caused (one by begetting the other by procession). Because causality became so central in establishing both the unity and the distinctions within the godhead it was a principle that Eastern theology could not compromise.

¹⁰⁸ Ὄνομα δὲ, τῷ μὲν ἀνάρχῳ, Πατὴρ, τῇ δὲ ἀρχῇ, Υἱός, τῷ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. *Oration 42*, 15; SC 384, 82.

¹⁰⁹ Φύσις δὲ, τοῖς τρισὶ μία, Θεός. Ἐνωσις δὲ, ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἀνάγεται τὰ ἕξῃς. *Ibid.*

This does not mean that Latin theology was unconcerned with the monarchy of the Father. Augustine, despite his advocacy of the Spirit's procession from the Son, clearly affirmed it in his *De Trinitate*.¹¹⁰ Hilary of Poitiers used the Latin *auctor* to describe the Father's unique role within the Trinity.¹¹¹ Yet there is some validity to the dictum of Théodore de Régnon that Latin theologians, unlike their counterparts in the East, posited the unity of the Trinity not in the person of the Father, but in the divine essence common to all three.¹¹² While not an unimportant principle in Latin theology, the monarchy of the Father would never be as central as it was in the East, where it became the touchstone of orthodox trinitarian thought.¹¹³ This is evident from the content of the *Letter to Marinus*, where Maximus's interlocutors apparently questioned the Romans' position on this issue. As for Maximus himself, it is clear from his other writings that he was fully in agreement with the Cappadocian teaching on the matter, upholding the Father as both the source of divinity and principle of unity.

There is one God, because the Father is the begetter of the unique Son and the fount of the Holy Spirit: one without confusion and three without division. The Father is the unoriginate intellect, the unique essential Begetter of the unique

¹¹⁰ "He did not however say, "whom the Father will send from me" as he had said whom I will send from the Father, and thereby he indicated that the source of all godhead, or if you prefer it, of all deity, is the Father (videlicet ostendens quod totius divinitatis, vel, si melius dicitur, deitatis, principium Pater est). So the Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son is traced back, on both counts, to him of whom the Son is born." *De Trinitate* 4, 20, 29 (Eng. trans: Augustine of Hippo, *The Trinity*, 174).

¹¹¹ "There is one source (auctor unus) of all. God the Father is one from whom are all things (ex quo omnia); and our Lord Jesus Christ is one through whom are all things (per quem omnia); and the Holy Spirit is one, the gift in all things (donum in omnibus)." *De Trinitate* 2, 1 (Eng. trans: Hilary, *On the Trinity*, 35).

¹¹² See Théodore de Régnon, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité* (Paris: Retaux, 1892); G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: SPCK, 1952), 233–41; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1978), 252–79.

¹¹³ See Yves Congar, "Le Père, source absolue de la divinité," *Istina* 25 (1980): 237–46.

Logos, also unoriginate, and the fount of the unique everlasting life, the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁴

According to Ponsoye, the monarchical principle was one, “that for Maximus was the criterion of orthodoxy concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. If the pope considered the Son as a cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit (or that the Son was sort of a second cause, or even with the Father a unique cause) Maximus would not have considered such an opinion acceptable.”¹¹⁵ Thus one must maintain either that Maximus is here accurately describing the Romans’ position, or that:

- 1- Maximus’s knowledge Latin theology (especially Augustine) was such that he did not understand that their trinitarian thinking did, in fact, violate the Father’s monarchy.
- 2- Maximus deliberately overlooked the Latins’ heterodoxy because he needed their help against the monothelites in Constantinople.

The second scenario seems the least probable, given Maximus’s commitment (and ultimate sacrifice) for theological orthodoxy. It is unlikely that such a man would support one heresy in order to fight another. The first scenario is possible, given that Maximus’s knowledge of Western sources is still an open question. Yet the *Letter to Marinus* indicates at least some familiarity with the Latin patristic witness on this point, and it hard to imagine that he could have lived in the West for so long and not been aware had Pope Theodore and the Romans denied so central a theological point. For this reason it is logical to maintain that Maximus genuinely believed that the Latins held the Father to be the unique cause of the Son and Spirit because, in the seventh century, that is what

¹¹⁴ Ἐἷς Θεὸς ἐνὸς Υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ καὶ πατὴρ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου προβολεὺς· μόνος ἀσύγχυτος καὶ τριάς ἀδιάσπαστος, νοῦς ἀναρχος, μόνου μόνος οὐσιωδῶς ἀνάρχου λόγου γεννήτωρ καὶ μόνης αἰδίου ζωῆς ἡγουν Πνεύματος ἁγίου πηγὴ. *Diversa capita ad theologiam et oeconomiam spectantia deque virtute ac vitio*, 4; PG 90, 1180 (Eng. trans: Palmer and Ware, *The Philokalia*, vol. 2, 165).

¹¹⁵ Ponsoye, *Opuscles théologiques et polémiques*, 82.

the Latins themselves believed. Thus, as shall be demonstrated more clearly in the next chapter, the attribution of causality to the Son appears to be a post-Carolingian Western phenomenon based on a particular reading of the Augustinian witness (although, as has already been noted, Augustine's own writings lent themselves to this interpretation).

Protecting the monarchical principle did not mean that Maximus contemplated any person of the Trinity treated in isolation or envisioned without the others. One had to protect the uniqueness of the Father, yet one also had to account for both the essential unity and eternal relationship shared between the Son and the Spirit. Maximus, like Cyril and Gregory of Nyssa before him, chose to communicate this reality utilizing a terminological distinction between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι, speaking not only of the Spirit's procession from the Father, but also of his eternal progression through Son with whom the Father is in eternal relationship. Jean-Claude Larchet, in his book, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident*, summarizes this distinction. He writes:

For the most part the Greek fathers use the verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι when they want to affirm that the Spirit receives his personal existence from the Father (proceeding from him in the strict sense) and they use the verb προϊέναι in those cases when they want to affirm that the Holy Spirit comes from the Father through the Son (i.e., is manifested through him, either eternally or temporally in the world where he is sent or given).¹¹⁶

Juan Miguel Garrigues discusses the importance of this distinction in chapter two of his book, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere': Le problème du Filioque*.¹¹⁷ The verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι, Garrigues argues, is used both in Scripture (Jn 15:26) and the Greek version of the creed

¹¹⁶ Jean-Claude Larchet, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1998), 53.

¹¹⁷ See Juan Miguel Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere': Le problème du Filioque* (Paris: Tequi, 1981). The arguments here are largely based on his earlier article, "Procession et ekporèse du Saint Esprit: discernement de la tradition et reception oecuménique," *Istina* 17 (1972): 345-66.

to speak about the coming forth of the Spirit (ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται). In other contexts it is used to signify a “coming out” or even a “going away” whereby the subject of the verb appears to leave its point of origin as a distinct entity. This might apply to a word coming forth from the mouth (Pr 3: 16), demons coming out of the possessed (Acts 19: 12) or water coming forth from the temple (Ez 47: 1, 8, 12). Although in Greek patristic thought it is usually reserved to the procession of the Holy Spirit, Pseudo-Athanasius and John of Damascus also applied it to the creation of Eve, who came forth out of Adam’s rib.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, προίεναι, as distinct from ἐκπορεύεσθαι, has the force of “progression” or “advance” whereby the subject flows from its source but retains an element of continuity (or, in the case of the Trinity, consubstantiality). For example, in antiquity a river was said to advance or flow from its source (προϊούσης τῆς χώρας), or time was thought to move forward (προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου).¹¹⁹ Unlike the term ἐκπορεύεσθαι, which in patristic literature refers only to the hypostatic origin of the Holy Spirit, προίεναι is used more generally and applied both to the Spirit and the Son, not only in terms of their economic manifestation, but also of the eternal communication of the divine nature, which flows from the Father through the begotten Son to the Spirit.

This theory is supported by much of the patristic witness. Gregory of Nazianzus had differentiated between the Spirit’s unique relationship to the Father (by ἐκπόρευσις) and that enjoyed by both the Spirit and the Son (both having “progressed from” the

¹¹⁸ *Quaestiones Allae* 15 (PG 28, 785), *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 8 (PG 94, 817).

¹¹⁹ Herodotus, *Historicus* 2.15.3; 3.96. Examples are taken from Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *Greek English Lexicon*, rev. ed. with supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1145.

Father).¹²⁰ Although Cyril would, on occasion, apply ἐκπορεύεσθαι to the Son's generation from the Father, he never uses it to describe the relationship of the Spirit to the Son. As a general rule in Greek trinitarian thought, ἐκπόρευσις can only characterize one's relationship to the source of the Trinity, the Father.

Garrigues's theory cannot be applied universally, since there is still a lack of linguistic rigidity in the Greek fathers that allows them at times to use ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι synonymously. For example, several fathers (including Gregory Nazianzus and Cyril) used προϊέναι to designate the Spirit's hypostatic origination.¹²¹ Maximus's own *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 spoke of the Spirit's coming forth (ἐκπορευόμενον) from the Father through the Son. While these examples prevent an absolute differentiation between the two terms, this does not necessarily invalidate Garrigues's theory, at least as it applies to Maximus. Some, like Sergei Bulgakov, have claimed that because the patristic doctrine of the procession remained ambiguous, both in terms of content and form, there existed a fluidity of language that defied rigid categorization.¹²² Victor Rodzianko has maintained that while ἐκπόρευσις had a very specific meaning for Athanasius and the early fathers (i.e., referring to the Spirit's hypostatic origin from the Father), it soon lost its original force allowing later fathers (Maximus included) to use ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι interchangeably.¹²³ In either case both authors agree that the Church fathers, in their ongoing efforts to understand the ineffable nature of the Spirit's

¹²⁰ "The Holy Ghost is truly Spirit, coming forth (πρόϊεον) from the Father indeed, but not in the same way as the Son, for it is not by Generation but by Procession (ἐκπόρευσις)" *Oration* 39, 12; SC 358, 175.

¹²¹ Gregory Nazianzus, *Oration* 20, 11 (SC 270, 78); Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle* 4 (PG 77, 316).

¹²² Bulgakov, *The Comforter*, 75–87.

¹²³ See Rodzianko, "Filioque in Patristic Thought."

relation to both the Father and the Son, continued to search for the proper linguistic tools to express this eternal mystery. Maximus, following the lead of Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril, did this by differentiating the Spirit's unique hypostatic coming-to-be (ἐκπόρευσις) from his προϊέναι from the Father through the Son, applied here both to their relationship in the economy and in eternity (i.e., in the trinitarian τάξις).

The fact that the Latin language could not adequately reproduce this subtlety is probably what Maximus refers to when he wrote:

At your request, I asked the Romans to translate what is unique to them in order to avoid such obscurities. But since the practice of writing and sending letters has already been observed, I do not know if they will comply. Especially, they might not be able to express their thought with the same exactness in another language as they might in their mother tongue, just as we could not do.¹²⁴

Maximus appears here to recognize that Theodore's use of ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (which was apparently how the Constantinopolitans had received the Latin formula "*Spiritum sanctum etiam ex Filio procedere*"), was, if not unorthodox, a poor rendering of his intent and easily capable of misinterpretation. This misunderstanding occurred in large part because the West did not possess an exact equivalent to ἐκπορεύεσθαι. The terms *processio/procedere*, according to Garrigues, could never communicate the idea of the Spirit's "unique hypostatic coming-to-be," especially as the closest Greek equivalent to *procedere* was not ἐκπορεύεσθαι, but προϊέναι.

Juan Miguel Garrigues traces the roots of the problem back to Tertullian's writings against Praxeas, where his use of *procedere* served to translate, not the idea of

¹²⁴ Μεθερμηνεύειν δὲ τὰ οἰκεία, τοῦ τὰς ὑποκλοπὰς χάριν διαφυγῆν τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν κέλευσιν, παρεκάλεσα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Πλὴν ἔθους κεκρακηχότος οὕτω ποιῆν καὶ στέλλειν, οὐκ οἶδα τυχόν εἰ πιεσθεῖεν. Ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ μὴ οὕτως δύνασθαι διακριβοῦν ἐν ἄλλῃ λέξει τε καὶ φωνῇ τὸν ἑαυτῶν νοῦν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ θρεψαμένῃ, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν ἡμέτερον. *Opusculum* 10; PG 91, 136.

ἐκπορεύεσθαι, but the Greek notion of προβεβλήσθαι as used by Irenaeus and the other Greek fathers.¹²⁵ Jerome, in his rendition of the Gospel of John, then translated προέρχεσθαι and ἐκπορεύεσθαι with the verb *procedere*, which now came to encompass both the temporal manifestation of the Spirit as well as his hypostatic origination.¹²⁶ The uniqueness of ἐκπορεύεσθαι appeared lost in Latin translation.

However, Garrigues argues that there were those in the West, like Hilary of Poitiers, who continued to acknowledge the uniqueness of ἐκπορεύεσθαι, reserving *procedere* for the activity of the Father while using *mittere* and *accipere* to speak about the Spirit's eternal relationship to the Son.¹²⁷ According to Garrigues, even Augustine followed Hilary in recognizing the unique ἐκπόρευσις of the Spirit from the Father, choosing to express this in the Latin adverbially, writing that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but principally proceeds (*procedit principaliter*) from the Father."¹²⁸ By protecting the distinctiveness of *procedere* with the adverb *principaliter*, Augustine was deliberately attempting to ward off any idea of a "double procession" or the idea (embraced by later Latin theology) that the Spirit derived his ἐκπόρευσις from the Son.

If this is true, and the evidence suggests that it is, then Maximus can certainly make the good-faith affirmation that the Roman fathers (Hilary, Augustine, Theodore) do not teach that the Son as a cause of the Spirit, nor do they confess his ἐκπόρευσις from

¹²⁵ Juan Miguel Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere': Le problème du Filioque* (Paris: Tequi, 1981), 57–64.

¹²⁶ V. Rodzianko has also pointed to the Latin translation (or mistranslation) of the Nicene Creed, which he has called "entirely wrong" since the Greek word ἐκπορεύεσθαι, the middle voice of ἐκπορεύω, does not have any of the connotations of passivity or derivation communicated by the Latin *processio*. Rodzianko, "Filioque in Patristic Thought," 297.

¹²⁷ See above.

¹²⁸ Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere'*, 73–74. *De Trinitate* 15, 17, 29.

the Son. If Pope Theodore had written ἐκπορεύεσθαι κἀκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (*Spiritum sanctum etiam ex Filio procedere*), then this must not be understood as a denial of the Father's unique role within the godhead, but as a poor translation of their belief in the Spirit's eternal progression (προϊέναι) from the Father through the Son (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ), an idea with a long history in Byzantine thought. According to Maximus, Latins and Greeks together affirmed both the monarchy of the Father (as sole cause of the Son and the Spirit) and the Spirit's comprehension of the Father's relationship to the Son, as he flows from the begetter through the begotten, sharing the common nature of both. Thus if the Constantinopolitans perceived differences between their faith and that of Latins, these must be regarded not as substantive, but as linguistic.

THE PLACE OF THE *LETTER TO MARINUS* IN MAXIMUS'S TRINITARIAN THOUGHT

It must now be asked what place the *Letter to Marinus* has in Maximus's theology of the procession and whether it conforms to his trinitarian thought as it is presented elsewhere in his works. This is especially important if we are to counter the argument that Maximus's desire to exculpate the Romans on charges of heresy led him to embrace a theology vis-à-vis the *filioque* that betrayed his own Cappadocian heritage and an orthodox understanding of the Holy Trinity. After all, the argument for the authenticity of the *Letter* is in large part dependant on its consistency with the rest of Maximus's corpus.

From our earlier examination of Maximus's writings, we can discern several theological principles that undergirded his trinitarian thinking:

1 – There is an intimate relationship between the economy (οἰκονομία) and theology (θεολογία), which while recognizing a distinction, acknowledges that God’s very mode of subsistence as Trinity is revealed to us in Christ.

2 – The mystery of the incarnate Word both reveals God’s mode of subsistence (θεολογίαν μὲν γὰρ διδάσκει σαρκούμενος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος) and invites us into the mystery of the trinitarian communion (περιχώρησις).

3 – The Father is the source of life and unity within the Godhead and greater as the one cause (μία αἰτία) of the Son’s generation and the Spirit’s procession, but not greater by nature.

4 – Because the Father is always Father of the Son, this eternal relationship determines the hypostatic identities of both.

5 – The Holy Spirit, who comes forth (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) from the Father, comprehends this eternal relationship, and this reality is expressed by speaking of the Spirit’s flowing forth (πρoιέναι) from the Father through the Son.

6 – This progression through the Son applies not only to the level of economy, but expresses something of the theology and the place of the Spirit in the τάξις.

When these principles are placed besides the *Letter to Marinus*, there is every reason to believe that not only is the *Letter* consistent with Maximus’s trinitarian thought, but that it also contains a good summation of his thinking on the matter of the Spirit’s procession. Certainly the *Letter to Marinus* was written with an apologetic intent, with Maximus trying to translate the Latin doctrine of the *filioque* for a Greek audience in order to exclude a heterodox interpretation. For this reason he stressed the Father’s role as sole cause (μία αἰτία) within the godhead, a “non-negotiable” principle both for himself and the Eastern tradition that upheld both the unity and distinctions within the divinity.

Yet in distinguishing between the Spirit’s ἐκπορεύεσθαι from the Father and his προιέναι through the Son, Maximus is not simply defending the Latins against charges of heresy, but explicating a theological principle he believed to have been part of the

Church's faith, and which he himself held to be true. There is an eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, the latter flowing from the Father through the Son with whom he enjoys an eternal relationship as Father. This truth Maximus makes explicit not only in the *Letter to Marinus*, but in the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 written twelve to thirteen years earlier. While later generations of Byzantine theologians (e.g., Photius) would speak of the Spirit's procession through the Son *only* in the temporal or economic realm, Maximus and the Cappadocians understood this idea of progression (προϊέναι) very differently.

Maximus's understanding of the godhead as revealed by the incarnate Word, whereby the three hypostases of the Trinity were "co-indicated" in every action of each person (e.g., the incarnation of the Word), made it impossible to speak of any of them in isolation. The Father is unique among the persons of Trinity as sole cause, but he is always the Father of the Son. Thus while the procession of the Holy Spirit is a distinguishing characteristic of the Father's hypostasis, one cannot isolate the Father from the Son with whom he shares a common nature and will. Maximus, like Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril, chose to express this reality by speaking of the eternal flowing forth (προϊέναι) of the Spirit from the Father through the only-begotten Son. This applied not only to the gifts of the Spirit poured out upon the Church in the economy of salvation, but to the eternal manifestation of the Spirit as both the Spirit of God and Spirit of Christ.

While willing to accept the *filioque* as an orthodox expression of this reality, one must be careful not to read into Maximus's position an endorsement of the post-Carolingian Latin teaching. Maximus does not appear to allow for an understanding of the *filioque* that attributed a transference of the Father's hypostatic properties to the Son

making him, even in a secondary way, responsible for the Spirit's ἐκπόρευσις. While there was περιχώρησις among the three persons of the Trinity, there could never be confusion or exchange of their hypostatic properties. The Father remained the sole cause (μία αἰτία) of the Son and the Spirit, and to the extent that later Latin theology attributed causality to the Son (a unique property of the Father's hypostasis), it derivated from the tradition of the Church (both East and West) as Maximus understood it.

For this reason an interpretation of the *Letter to Marinus*, or any of Maximus's writings, that uses his acceptance of the ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον formula to support what later became known as "filioquism" must be rejected. At best one can argue that Maximus believed it merely a clumsy way of articulating a theological truism (i.e., the expression of the προϊέναι of the Spirit through the Son in the trinitarian order [τάξις]). The *filioque*, if it is understood as expressing the ἐκπόρευσις of the Spirit both from the Father and the Son (i.e., the idea of the double procession), finds no support in the trinitarian program of Maximus, whether it be in the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 or in the *Letter to Marinus*.

We do not know how the *Letter to Marinus* was received by Maximus's opponents in Constantinople. From the mid-seventh century to the reign of Charlemagne there is a silence on the issue of the procession from Byzantine sources. However, by the end of the eighth century, with the widespread acceptance of filioquism in the West and the addition of the *filioque* into the creed of several local churches, this situation changed dramatically. What had emerged in Maximus's time as a minor issue, raised in the context of a larger dispute (monothelitism), became for the Carolingians and the Byzantines a theological *casus belli*. Maximus's irenicism would go largely forgotten as

both sides turned a largely linguistic difference into a genuinely Church-dividing dogmatic dispute.

CHAPTER 2

THE *FILIOQUE* FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE POST-AUGUSTINIAN WEST

While Byzantine sources make no mention of the *filioque* until the late eighth century, by the reign of Emperor Charlemagne (742–814) in the West the procession of the Spirit from both the Father and the Son had become a normative part of the Latin faith. The Fourth Synod of Braga (675), just thirteen years after Maximus’s death, reaffirmed it as did the Councils of Toledo XI (672–76) and XVI (693).¹ In England the Council of Hatfield (680), under the presidency of the Greek-speaking Theodore of Tarsus, also stated its belief in the procession of the Spirit from Father and Son, assuming the doctrine to be genuinely apostolic. This occurred, as Jaroslav Pelikan and others have noted, because of “the equation of the Augustinian version of the trinitarian dogma with the universal faith of the church.”² As fewer Western theologians came to know the works of the Greek fathers (and the Greek language itself), Augustine’s writings became the sole interpretive lens through which the Latin Church came to understand the trinitarian mystery. And if Augustine himself was willing to acknowledge a distinction

¹ “(H)e is the Spirit of both, not however, begotten nor created, but proceeding from both (*sed ab utrisque procedentem*). . . . For neither does he proceed from the Father into the Son, nor does he proceed from the Son to sanctify the creature, but He is shown to have proceeded at the same time for both because he is acknowledged to be the love or holiness of both.” Creed of the Council of Toledo; Mansi 11, 132; Henry Denzinger, ed., *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* (St. Louis: Herder Book Co., 1957), 107.

² Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 22.

between his private opinions and the faith of the Church, the same could not be said of his Carolingian interpreters.³

However, it would be a mistake (albeit a common one) to posit Augustine as the point of division between East and West.⁴ In fact, among the erroneous presuppositions that have governed nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship surrounding the *filioque* is that, from the time of Augustine, Western and Eastern Christianity developed two distinct (and ultimately incompatible) ways of understanding the procession of the Holy Spirit. While acknowledging that it is not simply “a question of sharp contrasts, namely that Augustine is philosophical whereas the Eastern fathers are biblical,”

Theodore Stylianopoulos is among those Orthodox who maintain that,

the crucial difference seems to be that despite his own repeated reservations, Augustine seems to explain the Trinity as a metaphysical problem. . . . By contrast Athanasius and the Cappadocians . . . are concerned about defending (against the Arians) the uncreated nature of the Son and the Spirit deriving their very being from God. . . . These differences in theological approach signal, at least for many Orthodox theologians, tremendous implications regarding the way of Western theology and the way of Eastern theology.⁵

³ Augustine concluded his *De Trinitate* with this prayer: “O Lord the one God, God the Trinity, whatsoever I have said in these books that is of you, may those that are yours acknowledge; whatsoever of myself alone, do you and yours forgive. Amen.” *De Trinitate*, 15, 28, 51 (Eng. trans: Augustine of Hippo, *The Trinity*, 437).

⁴ As a result of Augustine’s alleged deviations from the “true” faith (e.g., original sin), and his role as the protogenitor of the *filioque*, his place within the Orthodox Church has remained a subject for debate. For a negative assessment of Augustine’s theology see Michael Azkoul, *The Influence of Augustine of Hippo on the Orthodox Church*, Texts and Studies in Religion 56 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990). A more positive view is presented in Seraphim Rose, *The Place of Blessed Augustine in the Orthodox Church* (Platina: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1996). For a Catholic view, see Aidan Nichols, “The Reception of St. Augustine and His Work in the Byzantine-Slav Tradition,” *Angelicum* 64 (1987): 437–52.

⁵ Theodore Stylianopoulos, “The Filioque: Dogma, Theologoumenon or Error,” in *Spirit of Truth: Ecumenical Perspectives on the Holy Spirit*, ed. Theodore Stylianopoulos and S. Mark Heim (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1986), 29–30.

Even Sergius Bulgakov, who believed that the Latin and Byzantine approaches to the *filioque* were merely *theologoumena* that later polemicists hardened into doctrines, held a similar position.⁶ He wrote:

In Augustinism we find already defined the Western type of doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son in contradistinction (but not yet in opposition) to the Eastern *dia Huiou*. The two theories exist simultaneously and in parallel, mutually ignorant of each other, so to speak, until the time comes for their mutual recognition, collision, competition, and, finally, rejection.⁷

This interpretation of history is not exclusive to Orthodoxy. Théodore de Régnon's dictum (in itself valid) that "Latin philosophy first considers the nature in itself and proceeds to the agent; Greek philosophy first considers the agent and afterwards passes through to find the nature," has been used by Catholics as well as Orthodox (e.g., Vladimir Lossky) to show the inherent incompatibility of Augustine's approach in *De Trinitate* to the thought of the Cappadocian fathers.⁸

However, our previous study of Maximus allows us to challenge (or at least modify) Augustine's role as the so-called "father of filioquism." As the earliest Eastern response to the *filioque*, the *Letter to Marinus* demonstrates that the writings of the Roman fathers, Augustine included, are perfectly capable of being read in conformity with the Greek trinitarian tradition. Augustine can even be understood as denying the possibility of a double-procession by emphasizing the monarchy of the Father and his unique role within the godhead as the one from whom the Spirit principally proceeds

⁶ Bulgakov position is similar to that held by Boris Bolotov in his famous 1898 treatise, "Theses on the Filioque." For Bolotov the papacy, not the *filioque*, was the sole dogmatic reason for the schism.

⁷ Sergius Bulgakov, *The Comforter*, trans. Boris Jakin (Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 90. Bulgakov does go on to recognize Spanish anti-Arian literature as the "true homeland of the dogmatic doctrine of the filioque" but sees this as a natural and even inevitable development of Augustine's own writings.

⁸ Théodore de Régnon, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité* (Paris: Retaux, 1892), 309.

(*procedit principaliter*). While Augustine can (and will) be read as a proponent of filioquism, he cannot be viewed as the point of division between East and West on the subject of the procession.

Therefore if there was a substantive divergence between Eastern and Western trinitarian theology, one that precluded both agreement on the subject of the Spirit's procession and the maintenance of ecclesial communion, it must be dated some time after the patristic era. In fact, the theology of the double procession only became a normative part of Western trinitarian thought during the rise of the Adoptionist heresy in Spain.⁹ To counter the heresy's Arian presuppositions, orthodox theologians stressed the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, emphasizing the scriptural truth that the Son shared all that the Father has, including a role in the procession of the Spirit. It is no accident that many of the early synods that taught the double procession occurred in Spain, or that some of its strongest advocates (e.g., Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia) wrote with an explicitly anti-adoptionist intent. For them rejection of the *filioque* not only contradicted the teaching of Augustine (who was understood to be an explicit proponent of the doctrine), but opened the door to christological heresy.

Although Pope Agatho avoided using *filioque* in his 680 synodical letter, perhaps cognizant that Theodore's inclusion of the *Spiritum sanctum etiam ex Filio procedere* formula had precipitated such consternation in the imperial capital, the theology of the double procession came to exercise an increasing influence in Rome. By the eighth

⁹ Adoptionism, usually associated with such figures as Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, is the "term used by historians of doctrine . . . to designate the idea that Jesus was a human being uniquely chosen to exercise the function or role of divine sovereignty and Sonship." Lionel Wickham, "Adoptionism," in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland, 1998), 20. See also John Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785–820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

century the alliance established between King Pippin and Pope Stephen (752–57) against the Lombards gave the papacy reason to be more open Frankish theology and their opposition to the iconoclast tendencies of the Eastern Church. Iconoclasm, which had shaken the East since the reign of Emperor Leo III (d. 741), had long been opposed in the West despite imperial pressure for Pippin to adapt himself to the prevailing Eastern view. In 767 Pippin convened the Synod of Gentilly to discuss the veneration of icons with a delegation sent from Constantinople for that purpose. It was in this context that the issue of the *filioque* was again raised, although there is no way to know which side (Latin or Greek) broached the issue. The *Acta* to the Synod are lost, and the scant references to the proceedings only tell us that the procession of the Spirit was discussed.¹⁰ The Franks had long since accepted the theology behind the *filioque*, so Pippin and his entourage could very well have brought up the issue at Gentilly.¹¹ However, it would be Pippin's son, Charles (better known to history as Charlemagne), who would turn the acceptance of the *filioque* into a criterion for orthodoxy.

Like his father, Charlemagne continued to oppose the iconoclast tendencies of the Constantinopolitan emperors, although he rejected the conclusions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (767) held at Nicea.¹² Pope Hadrian, who had supported the

¹⁰ “Facta est tunc temporis synodus, anno Incarnationis Domini septingentesimo sexagesimo septimo, et quaestio ventilata inter Graecos et Romanos de Trinitate, et utrum Spiritus sanctus sicut procedit a Patre, ita procedat a Filio, et de sanctorum imaginibus, utrumne fingendae, an pingendae essent in ecclesiis.” Adonis Viennensis, *Chronicon in Aetates Sex Divisum*; PL 123, 125.

¹¹ Richard Haugh notes that Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* (596) already included in its profession of faith a reference to the *filioque*. Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont: Nordland Publishing Co., 1975), 42.

¹² Charlemagne's objections to the Council stem from both his “serious grievances with the Empress Irene,” and the Latin translation of the Acts, which were so “utterly unintelligible” that “a bishop of the Council was made to say that the sacred images were to be adored with the same supreme worship as is paid to the Holy Trinity.” NPNF 2, 14, 577.

conclusions of the council, issued a *Responsio* to Charlemagne's objections, occasioning a formal refutation undertaken at the king's request by Theodulf of Orleans. This work, written sometime between 791 and 793, became known as the *Liber Carolini*.¹³ Among the list of so-called heresies specifically repudiated was Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople's confession that, "*Spiritum sanctum non ex Patre et Filio secundum verissimam sanctae fidei regulam, sed 'ex Patre per Filium procedentem.'*"¹⁴

Although the issue of the *filioque* only occupies a small segment of the *Liber Carolini*, Theodulf's arguments against Tarasius were incredibly influential, and were later accepted as doctrine by the Synod of Frankfurt (794). Unlike his later work *De Spiritu Sancto*, Theodulf's case for the *filioque* in the *Liber* was not based on patristic testimony (although there were references to the works of both Augustine and Isidore of Seville).¹⁵ Instead, he attacked Tarasius by explicitly denying the very argument that the Greek unionists at Florence later used to sway their delegation to union: that the formulas *ex Patre per Filium* (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) and *ex Patre et Filio* (ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ) were equivalent. According to Theodulf, it was improper to say (as Patriarch Tarasius

¹³ For a textual history of the *Liber Carolini* see Ann Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the Liber Carolini," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 663–705; idem, "Further Studies in the Liber Carolini," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 203–89; idem, "Further Studies in the Liber Carolini III," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 597–612.

¹⁴ *Liber Carolini*, 3, 3; Hubert Bastgen, ed., *Liber Carolini sive Caroli Magni capitulare de imaginibus*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio 3: Concilia Tomi 2 Supplementum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1924), 110.

¹⁵ This should not be taken to mean that the work discounted the patristic witness. On the contrary, the intent of the *Liber Carolini* was to follow the tradition laid down by the Holy Fathers that Theodulf believed had been improperly "usurped" by Tarasius and the iconodules at Nicea. Although there is a noted preference for Latin authors (esp. Augustine and Gregory the Great) and certain Greek authors (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa) are discounted completely because their works were unknown in the West, the inclusion of Athanasius and John Chrysostom among those quoted in the *Liber* demonstrates an effort toward genuine ecumenicity. See Willemien Otten, "The Texture of Tradition: The Role of the Church Fathers in Carolingian Theology," in Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1 (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 3–50.

maintained), that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *per Filium*, since this formula was both ambiguous and led one to account the Spirit as a creature (since John 1:3 had also spoken of the creation of all things δι' αὐτοῦ).

And for that reason it can be asked whether it can correctly be said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father “through the Son” while at the same time this preposition “through” is placed recklessly in the profession of the great mysteries by those, serving up their fetid cup of Arian errors, who blaspheme and claim the Holy Spirit is a creature created through the Son just like everything else and who in their baptisms do not baptize according to the gospel command, “In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but, “In the name of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit.”¹⁶

Theodulf then proposes, foreshadowing the arguments of later generations of Byzantine anti-unionists, that the *per Filium* formula is forbidden because it is not included in either the creeds of Nicea or Chalcedon, and that, “in the confession of the faith one should to be wary of all conjectures and verbal novelties.”¹⁷ Rather, one must hold firm to the original creed (which Theodulf here presumes to have included the *filioque*) and to the Scriptures as interpreted by the fathers of antiquity (especially Augustine, whose *De Trinitate* 15 is quoted at length).

Theodulf's *De Spiritu Sancto: Veterum Patrum sententiae, quod a Patre Filioque procedet*, written several years later in 808–09, was a collection of patristic texts that he understood as basis for the Carolingian teaching on the *filioque*. Although most of the quotations come from the Augustinian corpus and the post-Augustinian West, Theodulf

¹⁶ Et idcirco quaeri potest, utrum recte dici queat Spiritus sanctus a Patre ‘per Filium’ procedere, ne, dum incaute haec praepositio ‘per’ in tanti mysterii professione ponitur, Arriani illius erroris virosorum cuiquam poculum minister, qui Spiritum sanctum creaturam esse et per Filium sicut et cetera, quae creata sunt, creatum esse blasphemet, qui etiam sui baptismatis tinctionem non iuxta fidem evangelicam in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, sed ‘in nomine Patris per filium in Spiritu sancto.’” *Liber Carolini*, 3, 3; Hubert Bastgen, *Liber Carolini*, 110–11.

¹⁷“Ut in confessione fidei omnes opinationes, omnes verborum novitates caveantur.” *Liber Carolini*, 3, 3; Hubert Bastgen, *Liber Carolini*, 113.

also included several selections from the Greek fathers, including both Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁸ The pseudo-Athanasian *Quicumque Vult*, which would figure prominently in the *filioque* debates for centuries to come, provided the most impressive Eastern witness to the correctness of the Frankish position:

The Father was made by no one, neither created nor begotten. The Son is from the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, not made, neither created nor begotten, but proceeding. Therefore there is one Father, not three fathers, one Son, not three sons, one Holy Spirit, not three holy spirits.¹⁹

As Richard Haugh and others have noted, all of the quotations chosen by Theodulf support his basic working premise that the starting point for trinitarian theology is:

the idea of the absolute oneness of God. . . . (This) emphasis on the oneness of God leads to the stress on the inseparability of the nature of the Trinity . . . demand(ing) that there be no difference between the Spirit's relation to the Father and the Spirit's relation to the Son. Ultimately this leads to the conclusion that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the nature or substance of the Deity.²⁰

This can also be seen clearly in the choice of scriptural texts used to support the Western teaching on the procession. Following Augustine, there is a heavy reliance on those Johannine texts that demonstrate the unity of Father and Son and their common role in the sending the Spirit. Among the most common scriptural quotations found in *De Spiritu Sancto* (and in the work of subsequent Latin authors) are: Jn 16:14–15 (“He [the

¹⁸ A full list of the authorities quoted comprises: Athanasius, Cyril, Hilary, Ambrose, Didymus, Augustine, Vigilius, Proclus, Agnellus, Gregory the Great, Isidore, Prosper, Fulgentius, Hormisdas, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus and Prudentius.

¹⁹ “Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. Unus ergo Pater non tres patres, unus Filius non tres filii, unus Spiritus sanctus non tres spiritus sancti.” *De Spiritu Sancto: Veterum Patrum sententiae, quod a Patre Filioque procedet*, PL 105, 247.

²⁰ Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*, 70.

Spirit] will glorify me, because he will take what is mine and declare it to you. All that the Father has is mine. For this reason I said that he will take what is mine and declare it to you.”), Jn 15:26 (“When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who comes from the Father, he will testify on my behalf”) and Jn 20:22 (“Receive the Holy Spirit”). Theodulf, and Latin theology as a whole, followed Augustine both in stressing the common nature of the Father and Son, and in using these selections from John to equate (or, as later Byzantines claimed, confuse) the economic and immanent trinities.

Alcuin of York (d. 804) composed his most important work in defense of the *filioque* in 802, six years after the Council of Friuli (under the leadership of Paulinus of Aquileia) had justified its addition to the creed.²¹ Entitled *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, Alcuin intended the book to be both a summary of the faith and a means of maintaining the “Catholic peace” (*catholica pax*) throughout the newly established Frankish empire.²² Although he does not cite his sources, the work (according to John Cavadini) is “highly derivative, in which whole chapters are liable to consist of a single *verbatim* citation from an earlier source.”²³ Not surprisingly, the most quoted source is the Bishop of Hippo, with the rest of the work composed almost entirely from the writings of Fulgentius of Ruspe. In reality, Alcuin’s *De Fide sanctae et individuae*

²¹ See Paulinus’s *Concilium Forojuliense a Sancto Paulino in causa Sacrosanctae Trinitatis et Incarnationis Verbi Divini Congregatum* (PL 99, 293–96). Paulinus’s theology of interpolation and his contribution to the *filioque* debates should not be underestimated. The Latin delegates at Florence relied heavily on his arguments to counter Byzantine claims that the addition of the *filioque* was in violation of Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus.

²² See John Cavadini, “The Sources and Theology of Alcuin’s *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*,” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 123–46.

²³ *Ibid.*, 132.

Trinitatis is little more than an abridgement of, and commentary on, the trinitarian theology of Augustine's *De Trinitate* as viewed by the Carolingians.

Alcuin's trinitarian theology accepted the basic premise (taught by Augustine) that the Spirit is the bond of communion between Father and Son. While fully "equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial" (*aequalis, coaeternus, et consubstantialis*), the Spirit, "who proceeds equally from the Father and Son, is ineffably the communion between them" (*qui de Patre et Filio aequaliter procedit, ineffabilis quaedam Patris Filiique communio est*).²⁴ As in Theodulf's *Liber*, the stress in the work is on the substantial unity of the three persons, most likely as guard against the Adoptionist threat. Unlike the Cappadocian understanding, the Son and the Spirit are not distinguished by manner of their coming to be from the Father (the one being begotten while the other proceeded), but in the Son's coming from the Father *alone* while the Spirit proceeded from *both*.

One from one begotten, perfect from perfect . . . differing not all from one another because life is from the one who lives. The Son from the Father. . . . If, in fact, the Holy Spirit, is said nowhere to be either unbegotten nor begotten, this is so that if he should be called unbegotten like the Father there might not be thought that there would be two Fathers in the Holy Trinity, and in the same way if he should be called begotten like the Son there would not be judged that there were two Sons in the same Holy Trinity, but rather he alone ought to be said in safe fidelity to proceed from the Father and the Son.²⁵

The other work previously attributed to Alcuin, but now known to have been written after his death, is the *Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti*. The arguments of the *Libellus* can be divided into three parts (biblical, patristic, and conciliar), each viewed

²⁴ *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*; PL 101, 17.

²⁵ "Unus ab uno genitus, perfectus a perfecto . . . nil differens alter ab altero, quia vita a vivente est, Filius a Patre. . . . Spiritus siquidem sanctus nec ingenitus, nec genitus alicubi dicitur: ne si ingenitus diceretur sicut Pater, duo Patres in sancta Trinitate intelligerentur; aut si genitus diceretur sicut Filius, duo itidem Filii in eadem aestimarentur esse sancta Trinitate; sed tantummodo procedere de Patre et Filio, salva fide dicendus est." *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*; PL 101, 22.

through the Carolingian interpretive lens. As in Theodulf's *De Spiritu Sancto*, the Johannine texts allegedly demonstrating the Spirit's procession from the Son are heavily utilized, with quotations by the fathers (including Gregory Nazianzus and Leo the Great) supporting the premise that what can be said of temporal mission can also be applied to the eternal procession. This interpretation is even given conciliar authority by virtue of the fact that:

Blessed Augustine, whose authority and doctrine with apostolic authority Pope Gelasius and the aforementioned Synod of Constantinople decreed should be received and followed by the universal Church, taught that the same Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.²⁶

This same gathering had also declared the ecumenicity of the Council of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), which meant that their teachings (including those contained in the third letter of Cyril to Nestorius) to be part of the Church's faith. Since Cyril had written in this letter that, "The Spirit is named the Spirit of truth, and Christ is the truth, and thus the Spirit flows forth (*profluit*) from him as from God and Father," the author of the *Libellus* concluded that the Church itself had decreed the orthodoxy of the *filioque*.²⁷ Thus not only was the doctrine supported by the Scripture and the patristic witness, but the ecumenical councils themselves, accepted in both East and West as expressions of the true faith.

Although Alcuin did not author the *Libellus*, he was probably responsible for introducing the interpolated creed into the liturgy at Aachen and then at Aix-la-Chapelle.

²⁶ "Beatus . . . Augustinus, cujus auctoritatem atque doctrinam papa Gelasius apostolica auctoritate, et praefata synodus Constantinopolitana ab universali Ecclesia suscipiendam esse atque sequendam decrevit, eundem Spiritum sanctum a Patre et Filio procedere." *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*; PL 101, 75.

²⁷ As quoted by author of the *Libellus*: "Spiritus enim veritatis nominatur, et est Christus veritas, et profluit ab eo, sicut ex Deo et Patre." *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*; PL 101, 70. Cyril's original Greek uses the verb προχέται. See PG 77, 105–22.

By 799 it was heard there by Abbott Georg Egilbald, who settled on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and introduced it to his community. Soon after, in 807, a controversy erupted when some monks from St. Sabbas heard the creed in its Frankish form and protested the novelty of the addition. The Latin monks took umbrage at the accusation of heresy and wrote to Pope Leo III (795–816) to settle the dispute.²⁸ Pope Leo's response was unambiguous:

(We believe) the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son and is consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father and the Son. . . . The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and Son, is fully God.²⁹

There is little doubt that Leo accepted the Augustinian triadic model and the theology of the double procession as it had been explicated by the Carolingians. However, when asked to ratify the proceedings of the Council of Aachen (809) that had authorized the interpolation of the creed, Leo objected.³⁰ In a meeting with Smaragdus and a representation from Charlemagne in 810, the pope stated his position clearly: the *filioque* is clearly orthodox teaching, for "it is forbidden not to believe such a great doctrine of the faith," yet "we do not presume in our reading or teaching to add anything to the creed by insertion."³¹ Not only did he dispense the Franks from reciting the creed in the liturgy, but to demonstrate his point Pope Leo placed two silver shields in Rome with the un-interpolated creed in both Greek and Latin. Patriarch Photius, in his

²⁸ A full English text of the letter is found in Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*, 64–67.

²⁹ *Epistula 15 seu symbolum orthodoxae fidei Leonis papae*; PL 102, 1030–32 (Eng. trans: Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*, 68).

³⁰ For Pope Leo's motives see R. G. Heath, "Western Schism of the Franks and the *Filioque*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23 (1972): 97–113. Heath claims that Leo objected not to the content of the doctrine, but to its imposition by imperial (rather than papal) fiat.

³¹ *Acta collationis Romae, descripta a Smaragdo abate sancti Michaelis*; PL 102, 971–76 (Eng. trans: Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*, 83, 87).

Mystagogy, would later appeal to “the God-inspired foresight” of Pope Leo in producing these shields.³² However, undeterred by papal opposition, the Franks continued to recite the interpolated creed, bringing it with them during their missionary journeys into Bulgaria.

THE *FILIOQUE* IN THE EASTERN CHURCH: JOHN OF DAMASCUS AND PHOTIUS

Among the fathers that subsequent generations of Eastern polemicists and theologians used to support their understanding of the procession, few would play as central a role as John of Damascus (d. 749), whose *De fide orthodoxa* proved a rich source for proof-texts explicitly denying the Latin teaching. Utilizing the concept of *περιχώρησις* that Maximus had applied to the two natures of Christ, John spoke of the “unity without confusion” existing among the three hypostases of the Trinity, each one sharing the same essence, but each one retaining the distinctive properties of his respective person.³³ Thus “the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one in all things save in the being unbegotten (ἀγέννητος), the being begotten (γεννητός), and the procession (ἐκπορευόμενον).”³⁴ Following Nazianzus, John did not clarify the exact nature of the difference between generation and procession, saying only that procession,

³² *Mystagogia*, 88; Photius of Constantinople, *The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Astoria: Studion Publishers, 1983), 112. Photius believed that both shields had been written in Greek, thinking that Leo, like himself, knew that, “the meagerness of the (Latin) language could not match the breadth of Greek” (ibid., 110). For this reason Photius also believed that Pope Leo had commanded the recitation of the Creed only in Greek.

³³ See Verna Harrison, “Perichoresis in the Greek Fathers,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991): 53–65.

³⁴ *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 2 (Eng. trans: John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, 167).

“is another manner of existence and is just as incomprehensible and unknowable as is the begetting of the Son.”³⁵ Adhering to the Eastern tradition, John also affirmed (as Maximus had a century earlier) that “the Father alone is cause (αἴτιος)” of both the Son and the Spirit and thus, “we do not say that the Son is a cause or a father, but we do say that He is from the Father, and is the Son of the Father.”³⁶ While Christians deny the claim “that the Spirit is from the Son,” nevertheless they “call Him the Spirit of the Son” since “he was manifested and communicated to us through the Son . . . like the brightness (of the sun) is communicated to us through the rays.”³⁷

While this last quotation is clearly a reference to the Spirit’s action in the economy, John of Damascus also followed the Confessor in establishing an eternal relationship between the Son and Spirit using language similar to Maximus’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63. John wrote that the Spirit should not be thought “as being from him (i.e., the Son) but as proceeding through him from the Father (δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον) — for the Father alone is Cause.”³⁸ Thus we witness here the same dynamic that was operative in the thought of Maximus: while one cannot speak of the Son as a cause of the Spirit’s hypostatic being (the Father being the μία αἰτία), the eternal relationship between the Father and the Son demands that one upholds the Son as a condition of the Spirit’s coming forth from the Father both in time and on the level of the theology.

³⁵ *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 8 (Eng. trans: John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, 181).

³⁶ *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 8 (Eng. trans: John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, 188).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 12 (Eng. trans: John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, 196).

Photius of Constantinople (d. 895), was “one of the most prolific writers of the (ninth) century,” and an intellectual whose varied interests included “philosophy, history, mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, music, poetry, and even law.”³⁹ In 858, amidst a flurry of political intrigues within the imperial household, Photius became Patriarch, a development that exacerbated the pre-existing tensions between the Eastern and Western Roman Empires (as the Kingdom of the Franks had become known since the coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas Day in 800).⁴⁰ Although Pope Nicholas’s legates in Constantinople recognized the legitimacy of Photius’s election, Nicholas himself did not, deposing him at a Roman Synod in 863.⁴¹ Photius, for his part, responded by summoning his own council in 867 and condemning the Romans for their heretical practices, chief among them being the introduction of the *filioque*.

Photius became aware of this Latin innovation when Byzantine and Frankish missionaries, competing for the allegiance of the Bulgars under King Boris, came into contact with one another in 866. Although a man of great learning, Photius was largely

³⁹ Despina Stratoudaki White, “Patriarch Photios — A Christian Humanist,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 20 (1980): 195–96.

⁴⁰ The coronation of Charlemagne at the hands of Pope Leo III has long been recognized as the underlying source of tension between East and West. The East was loathe to acknowledge a barbarian foreigner as an equal, the Emperor Michael I only doing so in 812 in exchange for captured Byzantine territory (although it should be noted that while given the title of Βασιλεύς, Charlemagne was not called Emperor of the Romans). Charlemagne, for his part, stressed the orthodoxy of his kingdom as opposed to the Greeks, exploiting every opportunity to demonstrate their so-called heretical tendencies. As early as the thirteenth century Humbert of Romans, in preparing for the Reunion Council of Lyons (1274) listed the division of the empire as the chief cause of division between the Eastern and Western Churches. See Charles Elliott, “The Schism and Its Elimination in Humbert of Rome’s *Opusculum Tripartitum*,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34 (1989): 71–83.

⁴¹ Among the chief reasons for Nicholas’s opposition was the fact that Photius had been a layman before his elevation by Michael III, receiving over the course of five days the offices of lector, subdeacon, and priest before his episcopal ordination on Christmas Day in 858. According to Nicholas, this was uncanonical. Also, anti-Photian partisans in Rome (e.g., Theognostos) had little difficulty in convincing Nicholas that Ignatius had been unjustly denied his See and that, should the papacy restore him, a grateful Ignatius would concede to papal demands for Roman jurisdiction in Illyricum. See Chapter 4 in Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

ignorant of Latin trinitarian thinking and the works of those Western fathers (e.g., Augustine) upon whom the Carolingians based their theology. For this reason his first attack on the *filioque*, contained in his *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs*, is not a refutation of the Latins' patristic case for the *filioque* (which he presumably would not have known), but an attack on the logical consequences of the filioquism. Photius's chief arguments, which he later repeated in the *Mystagogia*, were:

1 - If, "the Father is one source of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the Son another source of the Holy Spirit, the monarchy of the Holy Trinity is transformed into a dual divinity."

2 - "If his (i.e., the Spirit's) procession from the Father is perfect and complete — and it is perfect, because he is perfect God from perfect God — then why is there also procession from the Son?"

3 - "If the Son participates in the quality or property of the Father's own person, then the Son and the Spirit lose their own personal distinctions. Here one falls into semi-Sabellianism."

4 - "Because the Father is the principle and source, not because of the nature of the divinity but because of the property of his own hypostasis . . . the Son cannot be a principle or source."

5 - "By the teaching of the procession from the Son also, the Father and the Son end up being closer to each other than the Father and the Spirit, since the Son possesses not only the Father's nature but also the property of his person (i.e., of being a principle or source of the Spirit)."

6 - The procession of the Spirit from the Son makes the Son a father of the Spirit's being, thus, "it is impossible to see why the Holy Spirit could not be called a grandson," of the Father.⁴²

Photius's accusations, even after his deposition in 867, were serious enough to provoke reaction from Pope Nicholas, who asked a new generation of Carolingian

⁴² *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs* (Eng. trans: Photius, *The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, 50–52).

This last criticism echoes Gregory Nazianzus in *Oration 31*: "If he (i.e., the Spirit) is begotten by the Son, our God apparently has a grandson, and what could be odder than that?" *Oration 31, 7* (Eng. trans: Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ*: 121).

theologians (e.g., Hincmar of Reims, Aeneas of Paris, Ratramnus of Corbie) to provide a response. Even Hincmar and Gottschalk, involved in their own acrimonious debates about trinitarian vocabulary, found common ground in their joint acceptance of the *filioque*.⁴³ Yet the most comprehensive response to Photius's arguments was the *Contra Graecorum Opposita Romanam Ecclesiam Infamantium* of Ratramnus, which addressed not only the liturgical and disciplinary differences between Constantinople and Rome (e.g., the celibacy of the Latin clergy and the fasting practices of the Western Church) but also the thorny issue of the *filioque*. The tone of the work was highly polemical, accusing the emperors Michael and Basil of heresy, blasphemy, and outright stupidity for their opposition to the teaching authority of the Roman See.⁴⁴

Ratramnus upheld the *filioque* on biblical, patristic, and conciliar grounds, maintaining that the doctrine was a defense against the Arians and their denial of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. According to Ratramnus, in the Scriptures Jesus claims to possess "all that the Father has" (Jn 16:15), so this must include the Father's ability to generate the Spirit. As in Theodulf, procession is not viewed as a property of the Father's hypostasis but of the divine substance. Thus:

The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father because he flows from his substance . . . and just as the Son received his substance from the Father by being begotten, so also he received from the Father the ability to send the Spirit of Truth from himself through proceeding. . . . For just as the Father and the Son are of one

⁴³ See George Tavard, *Trina Deitas: The Controversy between Hincmar and Gottschalk* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1996).

⁴⁴ "Opposita quibus Michael et Basilius, Graecorum imperatores, Romanam Ecclesiam infamare conantur, vel falsa, vel haeretica, vel superstitiosa, vel irreligiosa fore cognoscuntur" *Contra Graecorum Opposita Romanam Ecclesiam Infamantium* 1,1; PL 121, 226. Photius's name appears nowhere in the work, which makes it likely that Ratramnus was responding not to the *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs*, but to the charges contained in the imperial letter given to the Pope through King Boris.

substance, so too by procession from both did the Holy Spirit receive his consubstantial existence.⁴⁵

The *Contra Graecorum* also repeated Alcuin's stance in *De Fide*, maintaining that the distinction between the Son and Spirit was not, as the Greeks believed, in the manner of their coming to be from the Father (one being begotten while the other proceeded), but in the Son's coming from the Father *alone* while the Spirit proceeded from *both*. Ratramnus based this argument on the fact that the Latin translation of John 8:42 had also used the term procession to refer to the *Son* ("Ego ex Deo processi, et veni"). Thus for Ratramnus: "Therefore if the Son proceeds from God the Father and the Holy Spirit also proceeds, what will keep the Arians silent, not blaspheming that the Holy Spirit is also the Son of the Father?"⁴⁶

Ratramnus's use of the fathers (especially Augustine and Athanasius) was extensive, and included detailed commentary for many of the selections. Most surprising was his use of Gregory of Nazianzus, who (because he was thought by the Greeks to deny the Latin teaching on the double procession) was rarely quoted in Latin *florilegia*. However, because Gregory spoke of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the Son, Ratramnus believed that he supported the Spirit's procession *ex filio*. For Ratramnus and his contemporaries, scriptural (e.g., Rom 8:9) and patristic references to the Holy Spirit as

⁴⁵ "Procedit Spiritus sanctus a Patre, illius quia de substantia manat . . . et sicut accepit de Patre Filius nascendo substantiam, sic itidem accepit a Patre ut Spiritum veritatis mitteret a se procedendo . . . quia sicut sunt unius substantiae Pater et Filius, sic et de utroque procedendo Spiritus sanctus accepit consubstantialitatis existentiam" *Contra Graecorum Opposita Romanam Ecclesiam Infamantium* 1, 3; PL 121, 229.

⁴⁶ "Si ergo ex Deo Patre procedit Filius, procedit et Spiritus sanctus, quid erit quod Arianis silentium imponat, ne Spiritum sanctum Patris esse Filium blasphemet?" *Contra Graecorum Opposita Romanam Ecclesiam Infamantium* 2, 2; PL 121, 247.

“Spirit of the Son” were unambiguous affirmations of his economic and eternal procession from the Son.⁴⁷

Let us hear what Gregory Bishop of Nazianzus says, in his homily on the Holy Spirit that he gave in the Church of Constantinople on the day of Pentecost: “The Holy Spirit, he says, indeed always was, and is and will be, having neither beginning or end, but being co-eternal with the Father and Son: for it is not suitable for either the Son to have ever been absent from the Father or the Spirit to have ever been absent from the Son.”⁴⁸

While the *Contra Graecorum* did not specifically address the charges that Photius had leveled against the West, it served as a good summary of the Carolingian arguments in support of the *filioque*. Yet despite the consensus achieved by the Carolingian court theologians on the issue, at least two Western writers moved beyond mere polemics and argued for the possibility of rapprochement with the East: Anastasius Bibliothecarius and John Scotus Erigena. Not coincidentally, both Anastasius and Erigena were fluent in Greek and both were translators of the works of Maximus the Confessor.⁴⁹

John Scotus Erigena had been deeply influenced by the works of Maximus, an indebtedness he acknowledged in the preface to his translation of the *Ambigua*.⁵⁰ While a

⁴⁷ Richard Haugh believes Ratramnus’s interpretation of Rom 8:9 (“But you are not in the flesh; you are in the Spirit, since the Spirit of God dwells in you. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him”) is the hermeneutical key to the whole work. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*, 109.

⁴⁸ “Audiamus quid Gregorius episcopus Nazianzenus in sermone de Spiritu sancto, quem in Ecclesia Constantinopolitana coram populo fecit die Pentecostes, dicat: ‘Spiritus, inquit, sanctus erat quidem semper, et est, et erit, neque initium ullum, neque finem habens, sed Patri ac Filio coaeternus: neque enim dignum est aut Filium aliquando defuisse Patri, aut Spiritum Filio.’” *Contra Graecorum Opposita* 2, 3; PL 121, 248.

⁴⁹ Erigena had translated both the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* and *Ambigua* of Maximus, the latter at the specific request of Charles the Bald. Anastasius corrected some of Erigena’s earlier translations of Dionysius, adding to it Maximus’s own commentary, becoming “the basis . . . for all, or almost all, subsequent Western scholarly work on Dionysius and, thereafter, for subsequent knowledge of Maximus as well.” Deno John Geanakoplos, “Some Aspects of the Influence of the Byzantine Maximus the Confessor on the Theology of East and West,” *Church History* 38 (1969): 151.

⁵⁰ PL 122, 1193–96. See Edward Jauneau, “Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor in the Works of John Scotus Eriugena,” in *Carolingian Essays*, Uta-Renate Blumenthal, ed.

majority of Latin writers maintained that the *ex Patre per Filium* formula was both ambiguous and inadequate (echoing the argument of the *Liber Carolini*), Erigena advocated its use, believing it to have solid patristic support (specifically in the works of Maximus and Gregory of Nyssa).⁵¹ He unambiguously affirmed only one causal principle in the godhead, and demonstrated that Latin theology in no way contradicted the Greek teaching that “it is from the substance of Father that the Son is born and the Holy Spirit proceeds” (*ex substantia Patris et Filius nascitur, et Spiritus sanctus procedit*).⁵²

Anastasius Bibliothecarius had been papal librarian under Pope Nicholas and was legate to the Council of Constantinople that condemned Photius in 869.⁵³ In his *Letter to John the Deacon*, Anastasius produced the *Letter to Marinus* to justify the Roman position the *filioque* and its conformity with Eastern trinitarian thought.

Moreover, we have from the letter written by the same Saint Maximus to the priest Marinus concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, where he implies that the Greeks tried, in vain, to make a case against us, since we do not say that the Son is a cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, as they assert. But, not incognizant of the unity of substance between the Father and the Son, as he proceeds from the Father, we confess that he proceeds from the Son, understanding *processionem*, of course, as “mission.” Interpreting piously, he instructs those skilled in both languages to peace, while he teaches both us and the Greeks that in one sense the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and in another sense he does not proceed,

(Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 137–49; idem, “Jean l’Érigène et las Ambigua ad Ioannem de Maxime le Confesseur,” in Heinzer and Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 343–64.

⁵¹ See especially *De divisione naturae* 2, 31–34; PL 122, 601–14.

⁵² *De divisione naturae* 2, 34; PL 122, 613. It should be noted that Erigena, following Maximus and Nazianzus, assumes *substantia* to be the Latin equivalent of ὑπόστασις, which he differentiates from *essentia* or οὐσία.

⁵³ Anastasius had actually been “antipope” for a short time during the pontificate of Benedict III (855–58). Because of his great learning and knowledge of Greek, he was given the post of papal librarian after his rehabilitation. Aside from his literary output (which was prodigious), Anastasius also supported Cyril and Methodius in their mission among the Slavs and represented Emperor Louis II to the Byzantines in his unsuccessful attempt to unite the Eastern and Western empires through marriage. It was during this time in Constantinople that he attended the council of 869–70, which is reckoned in the West as the eighth ecumenical council.

showing the difficulty of expressing the idiosyncrasies of one language in another.⁵⁴

This explanation by Anastasius is significant for several reasons. Not only did he re-introduce the witness and theology of Maximus the Confessor, but he also repeated Maximus's explicit denial that the Son is a cause or principle (non causam vel principium) of the Spirit, refuting the charge of Photius had leveled against the Carolingians. Interestingly, Anastasius interpreted ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προίεναι δηλώσωσι καὶ ταύτη τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσι as reference to the "mission" (*missionem*) of the Spirit. If this referred only to the temporal mission of the Spirit, Anastasius's reading of the *Letter to Marinus* would certainly have been amenable to Photius and his followers. If Anastasius was aware of another interpretation of Maximus's use of προίεναι (i.e., the eternal flowing forth or emission of the Spirit) he does not indicate it here.

Upon the death of Patriarch Ignatius in 878, Photius was restored to his See and recognized by Pope Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The following year a council was held in Constantinople, attended by the papal legates and Emperor Boris, suppressing the acts of the anti-Photian synod of 869.⁵⁵ In the *Horos* of the council, the Creed (without the *filioque*) was read out and a condemnation pronounced against those who

⁵⁴ "Praeterea interpretati sumus ex epistola ejusdem sancti Maximi ad Marinum scripta presbyterum circumstantiam de Spiritus sancti processione, ubi frustra causari contra nos innuit Graecos, cum nos non causam vel principium Filium dicamus Spiritus sancti, ut autumant; sed, unitatem substantiae Patris ac Filii non nescientes, sicut procedit ex Patre, ita eum procedere fateamur ex Filio, missionem nimirum processionem intelligentes. pie interpretans, utriusque linguae gnaros ad pacem erudiens, dum scilicet et nos et Graecos edoce secundum quiddam procedere et secundum quiddam non procedere Spiritum sanctum ex Filio: difficultatem exprimenti de alterius in alterius linguae proprietatem significans." *Anastasius ad Ioannem Diaconum*; PL 129, 560–61.

⁵⁵ Francis Dvornik in the second part of his book, *The Photian Schism*, details the complicated historical reasons why, in the West, this council was never recognized as ecumenical and the acts of the earlier anti-Photian synod, by the beginning of the twelfth century, became part of the Roman canonical tradition. Chief among these reasons was the importance of Canon 22, "forbidding laymen to interfere with episcopal

impose on it their own invented phrases (ἰδίας εὐρεσιολογίαις) and put this forth as a common lesson to the faithful or to those who return from some kind of heresy, and display the audacity to falsify completely (κατακιβδηλεύσαι ἀποθρασυνθείη) the antiquity of this sacred and venerable *Horos* (Rule) with illegitimate words, or additions, or subtractions.⁵⁶

This implicit conciliar condemnation of the interpolation played a large role in later Byzantine polemics and seemed a complete vindication of the position of Photius. Despite this victory, Photius was again deposed in 886, finishing his days in exile, where, without benefit of a library or secretaries, he wrote his most detailed refutation of filioquism, the *Mystagogia*. Photius repeated the arguments he put forward in the *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs*, but now specifically addressing the Latins' theology of the procession, which he had presumably come to know through translations of Ratramnus.⁵⁷

One argument Photius added in the *Mystagogia* countered the Latin claim that the Holy Spirit proceeded not from the person of the Father, but from his substance. Photius maintained that this would then make the Holy Spirit (being consubstantial with both Father and Son), responsible for his own procession, "in part producer and in part be produced, in part the cause and in part the caused."⁵⁸ If the ability to spirate a person within the Godhead was a property of the divine nature, then the Holy Spirit would, by

elections, 'discovered' by the canonists of the Gregorian period." This gave to the Church of Rome canonical support in their ongoing struggle against lay involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, 330.

⁵⁶ Translated by George Dragas, "The Eighth Ecumenical Council: Constantinople IV (879/880) and the Condemnation of the *Filioque* Addition and Doctrine," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 (1999): 364.

⁵⁷ In both his *Letter to Aquileia* and the *Mystagogia* Photius assumed that his opponent was not the See of Rome, who he believed (given Pope John's recognition of the Council of 879) supported his position. Rather, Photius' attack is aimed at those Frankish theologians he thought both theologically unsound and disobedient to the teachings of their own Patriarch.

⁵⁸ *Mystagogia*, 6 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 72).

necessity, have to spirate a fourth person, and this person would then produce a fifth and so on, “until they would surpass even pagan polytheism.”⁵⁹

Photius then dealt with two other claims made by Ratramnus: that the biblical expression “the Spirit of the Son” referred to the eternal procession, and that the *filioque* was clearly taught by the fathers. Ratramnus had used both Rom 8:9 and Gal 4:6 (“God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts”) as support for his filioquist views, which for Photius was a perversion of the Pauline witness. According to Photius, Paul was not speaking of the Spirit’s procession from the Son, but of “his consubstantiality with each (i.e., the Father and the Son).”⁶⁰ The Frankish interpretation is confused, for:

“the Spirit of the Son” means one thing, while “the Spirit proceeding of the Father” teaches something else. Let not the similarity of the grammatical case make your case hopeless.⁶¹

Refuting the patristic testimony collected by Ratramnus was more difficult for Photius. This was due to both his ignorance of the Western fathers (Ambrose excepted) and the conciliar endorsement given to their teachings.⁶² What little Photius knew of Augustine’s theology was received largely from the Carolingians and their rather selective use of his trinitarian writings.⁶³ While he did not discount the possibility that

⁵⁹ *Mystagogia*, 37 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 86).

⁶⁰ *Mystagogia*, 53 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 92).

⁶¹ *Mystagogia*, 54 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 92).

⁶² “These fathers represented a special dilemma: on the one hand, it could not well be denied that they had actually asserted the *filioque*; on the other, it was difficult to deny that they must actually be ranked among the fathers. Thus, at one stroke both the usual expedients were eliminated.” Richard Paul Vaggione, “‘All These were Honored in Their Generation’ — The Problem of Conflicting Patristic Evidence in Photius,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 2 (1983): 277.

⁶³ Photius did demonstrate some knowledge of Augustine’s anti-Pelagian writings, although there is no evidence that he actually read them. See Bernard Altaner, “Augustinus in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Photius,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 71 (1951): 37–76.

the Latins' writings had been corrupted or interpolated, Photius accepted that Augustine and Ambrose may have spoken of the Spirit's procession from the Son, either "through ignorance or through negligence" or because "of necessity of attacking the madness of the pagans or of refuting another heretical opinion or of condescending to the weakness of their hearers."⁶⁴ Yet the Franks (whom he described as "patricides," imitating the sin of Ham) dishonored their memory by "publishing abroad the(ir) shame," treating their misstatements as dogma.⁶⁵ For Photius the overwhelming patristic consensus, including that of the bishops of Rome (e.g., Leo, Gregory, Vigilius, Agatho) supported the Eastern view, as did the ecumenical councils and John of Damascus (whose *De Fide orthodoxa* he cited as an explicit witness against the *filioque*).

The *Mystagogia* of Photius was very influential and formed the basis for subsequent Eastern reflection on the issue of the *filioque*. However, the work was intended as a polemic against the perceived heresies of the Latins, not as a complete explication of Photius's trinitarian thought. It is for this reason that Photius never explored the patristic tradition behind the $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ formula or the necessary eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, "even though it was a traditional teaching of the previous Greek fathers."⁶⁶ While this is understandable given Photius's intent, his emphasis on the Spirit procession from the Father alone ($\epsilon\kappa\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) without reference to the Son, destroyed the trinitarian synthesis that Maximus had enunciated two centuries earlier. The dialectical tension created by Photius, between procession $\epsilon\kappa$

⁶⁴ *Mystagogia*, 68, 72 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 98, 100).

⁶⁵ *Mystagogia*, 70 (Eng. trans: Photius, *Mystagogy*, 100).

⁶⁶ Markos Orpanos, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit according to Certain Later Greek Fathers," in Lukas Vischer, ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy* (London: SPCK, 1981), 25.

μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς and procession *filioque*, came to characterize dialogue between the two halves of Christendom for centuries to come.

MICHAEL CERULARIUS TO THOMAS AQUINAS

Following the resolution of the so-called Photian Schism, the Eastern and Western Churches remained in communion for over a century despite the unresolved theological differences that had been raised during the debate.⁶⁷ During the tenth century very little was said by either side about the issue of the Spirit's procession, and an uneasy peace was maintained.⁶⁸ This situation changed drastically in the eleventh century when the Church of Rome, after two centuries of opposition, finally succumbed to imperial pressure and adopted the interpolated creed.⁶⁹ Ecclesiastical tensions were exacerbated by the increasing political and cultural estrangement between Constantinople and the West, with each attempt at reconciliation only emphasizing the manifold differences that had grown up between them.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Dvornik debunked the myth of the so-called "second Photian Schism" and argued rather conclusively that Photius, despite his polemics against the *filioque*, died in communion with the Roman Church. Steven Runciman accepts the witness of Chartophylax Nicetas who claimed that the first Pope refused communion for his acceptance of the *filioque* was Christopher I (903–4). Although this has been doubted, it is certain that in 1009 Pope Sergius IV was stricken from the diptychs by Patriarch Sergius for his inclusion of the *filioque*. See Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 30–35.

⁶⁸ For most of the tenth century (904–62) Rome was governed by the pro-Byzantine Theophylact family, "whose puppet-Popes were not permitted to endanger the alliance" Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 27.

⁶⁹ This first occurred in 1014 at the insistence of Emperor Henry II. Since the imperial coronation of Otto the Great in 962 at the hands of John XII, the Popes had been bound to swear an oath of allegiance to the emperor's envoy. This subjugation of the ecclesiastical to the imperial power, added to the increasing influence of Germanic theology in Rome, and made the papacy's ultimate acceptance of the addition a foregone conclusion.

⁷⁰ The account of Bishop Liutprand of Cremona demonstrates this quite clearly. Sent to Constantinople in 968 to arrange a marriage between the emperor's son and a Byzantine princess, Liutprand was appalled by the pretensions of the Byzantine court, with their ornate clothes full of holes, the effeminate toadying of the court eunuchs, the horrible food and wine (which he claimed gave him diarrhea) and the emperor

The event that renewed the *filioque* debate and turned it into a genuinely Church-dividing issue was the exchange of anathemas between Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida and Patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1054. Humbert had come to Constantinople at the request of Pope Leo IX, who died before Humbert and his party even reached the imperial capital. Both Humbert and Cerularius were “intolerant and overbearing,” characters, neither being “the man to promote conciliation and understanding.”⁷¹ That an encounter between two such men should end acrimoniously is not surprising. When after a few fruitless exchanges Humbert finally placed the bull of excommunication against the Patriarch and his followers on the altar of Hagia Sophia, among the charges he leveled against them was the *omission* of the *filioque* from the creed.⁷²

For as Pneumatomachians or Theoumachians (they) have deleted from the creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. . . . (Therefore) may Michael, false neophyte patriarch, who only out of human fear assumed the monastic habit, now known notoriously to many because of his extremely wicked crimes . . . be anathematized.⁷³

Nicephorus himself, a dwarflike creature “one would not want to meet in the middle of the night.” Ultimately Liutprand returned to the West empty-handed since the Byzantines were unwilling to marry a “woman born in the purple” to a barbarian and imperial pretender. See Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. and trans. Brian Scott (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993).

⁷¹ J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 133. Cerularius’s volatile nature had even been noted by his fellow Byzantines, who criticized his insolence toward the emperor. Cerularius believed, among other things, that since “the priesthood was probably even greater and more estimable” than the imperial authority, the Patriarch had the right not only to wear the purple, but to depose the emperor should he see fit to do so. See John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historion*; PG 122, 368–72.

⁷² Other complaints against the Greeks included their practice of using leavened bread (and consequently referring to the Latins as *azymites*), allowing the lower clergy to marry, forbidding menstruating women to receive communion, and refusing to shave.

⁷³ *Excommunicatio qua feriuntur Michael Caerularius atque ejus sectatores*; Cornelius Will, ed., *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant* (Leipzig, 1861; Frankfurt: Minerva, 1963), 153–54 (Eng. trans: Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984], 208–9).

Cerularius's response was swift and just as damning, taking up Photius's arguments against the Latin theology of the addition.

Unlike them we do not wish to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son — O what artifice of the devil! — but rather we say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. . . . For the origin from the Father himself is common to both the Spirit and the Son. . . . (Yet) they do not wish at all to accept that what is not common to the omnipotent and consubstantial triad, belongs to only one of the three. Bu the procession of the Holy Spirit is not common to all three. Thus it is the property of one of the three.⁷⁴

Cerularius, following the Eastern tradition, maintained that proceeding was an act of the Father alone, and that He alone was principle or cause within the Trinity.

O Latin, cease and desist from saying that there are many principles and many causes, and acknowledge that the Father is the one cause.⁷⁵

Subsequent Byzantine polemicists used the writings of Cerularius against the Franks in their own “lists” of Latin errors, almost all of which contained arguments against the *filioque*. However, as Tia Kolbaba has demonstrated, these lists were in large part addressed to uneducated Greek audiences who had little understanding of the theological subtleties involved.⁷⁶ For this reason it was the Frankish practice of using the interpolated creed that became the centerpiece of Byzantine polemics, not necessarily the theology behind the addition.⁷⁷ Thus although useful for understanding popular attitudes

⁷⁴ *Edictum Synodi Constantinopolitanae*; Will, *Acta et scripta*, 155–58 (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 209–12).

⁷⁵ Cerularius, *Panoply* 62.1; Anton Michel, *Humbert und Kerularios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1924), 274 (Eng. trans: Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition 2: The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974], 197).

⁷⁶ See Tia Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 23–31.

⁷⁷ Kolbaba notes, however, that for the Byzantines heterodoxy and heteropraxis were often synonymous. If the Latins had different liturgical and disciplinary practices, so the argument goes, this denoted a substantively different faith. While some, like Peter of Antioch, were willing to distinguish between the theological and disciplinary/liturgical issues separating East and West, this attitude does not appear to have been shared by the majority of Eastern Christians. See *ibid.*, 88–101.

towards the Latins, most of these writings added little to the theological dialogue between East and West, especially as it pertained to the procession of the Holy Spirit.

There were, however, continued efforts on the part of some Byzantines to move beyond polemics and examine the deeper theological questions separating the two halves of Christendom. One such figure was Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid, who maintained that the so-called “errors” of the Latins (e.g., wearing silk vestments instead of wool) were few and insignificant, and that even the *filioque*, properly understood, need not be a Church-dividing issue.⁷⁸

Theophylact himself certainly believed the *filioque* to be theologically incorrect and its introduction into the creed an unauthorized Frankish “innovation” (καινοτομία). He argued that the Latins (following Augustine) had confused procession (τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι) with economic manifestation and mission (τὸ πέμπεσθαι). However, Theophylact was willing to grant that this was due to the poverty of the Latin language and its inability to convey the necessary theological subtleties. Latin, he claimed, only had the verb *procedere* to translate four different Greek terms: ἐκπορεύεσθαι, χεῖσθαι, διαδίδοσθαι, and προβάλλειν.⁷⁹ Since their error was due “less to wickedness than to ignorance,” he urged his fellow Byzantines to charity and to allow the Latins to express the faith in their own way — as long as they accepted the uninterpolated creed.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Dimitri Obolensky, “Theophylact of Ohrid,” in *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 34–82; Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2 (London: Variorum, 1997).

⁷⁹ *De Iis in quibus Latini Accusantur*; PG 126, 228–29.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* (Eng. trans: David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky, *The Middle Ages, The Christian Centuries 2* [New York, McGraw Hill, 1968], 323).

With the advent of the crusades, increased contact between East and West occasioned several colloquia between Greeks and Latins at which the procession of the Holy Spirit was discussed. Of particular interest was the Council of Bari in 1098, attended by Anselm of Canterbury, whose *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* is a summary of the arguments he presented.⁸¹ Unlike earlier Carolingian efforts, Anselm's work is not a collection of proof-texts for the validity of the *filioque*, but rather an attempt to argue the logic of the Latin position given the shared assumptions of both Greeks and Latins on the subject of the Trinity. Although his *De Processione* was non-polemical in tone, Anselm clearly believed the Greeks to be in error, maintaining that the *filioque* was a logical necessity if one was to hold simultaneously both the unity of substance within God and the distinctiveness of the persons, each of whom can only be understood in terms of their "relational opposition."⁸² Either the Son was from the Holy Spirit (which neither Greeks nor Latins maintained) or the Holy Spirit was from the Son.

The most intriguing aspect of Anselm's work was his answer to the Greek charge (undoubtedly encountered at Bari) that in speaking of the Spirit's procession from the Father and the Son the Latins necessarily posited two causes or sources within the Godhead. Anselm argued that just as Christians say that God is the one cause of creation although there are three persons (Father, Son and Holy Spirit),

when we say that he is from the Father and the Son, (it) is not from two sources but one, which is the Father and the Son, as the Spirit is from God, who is Father

⁸¹ *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*; F. S. Schmitt, ed., *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1938), 2:175–219 (Eng. trans: Anselm of Canterbury, "On the Procession of the Holy Spirit," in *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Davies [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998], 390–434.

⁸² *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* 1 (Eng. trans: Brian Davies, *Anselm of Canterbury*, 393).

and Son — if it is notwithstanding proper for us to say that God has a source or cause.⁸³

Thus while Anselm did not hold the Son to be *a* separate cause of the Holy Spirit, he did maintain that, with the Father, he is *the* single cause or source. This did not introduce two causes within the Godhead (i.e., the Father as cause of the Son, the Father and Son as cause of the Holy Spirit), “but one cause, just as there are not two Gods but one God, from whom the Son and Holy Spirit are.”⁸⁴ Here Anselm accepted the Latin premise that procession was not a property of the Father’s hypostasis, but came from the divine substance shared by all three persons, and here applied only to the Father and the Son (since the Spirit was not the cause of his own existence).

Another important colloquium took place in 1136 when Emperor John II invited Bishop Anselm of Havelberg (who was in Constantinople on a diplomatic mission) to debate Nicetas of Nicomedia on the most controversial issues of the day: the use of unleavened bread, the primacy of Rome, and the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁵ In his account of the debate, Anselm detailed not only his position, but that of Nicetas (whom he consistently refers to as *frater charissime*) and his specific objections to the Latin doctrine of the *filioque*.⁸⁶

⁸³ *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* 10 (Eng. trans: Brian Davies, *Anselm of Canterbury*, 420).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Anselm was hoping to persuade the Byzantines to join Lothair III in his campaign against Roger II of Sicily.

⁸⁶ Unlike earlier gatherings (e.g., the disastrous 1112 lecture of Peter Grossolanus to the people of Constantinople) the proceedings were carried out in an atmosphere of genuine ecumenical understanding. Although both parties were convinced of the truth of their own position, there was a genuine willingness to avoid “pride and eagerness for victory” and to engage in a genuine search for truth. Nicetas himself was impressed by Anselm’s cordiality and his willingness to embrace the witness of the Greek fathers, something that many of his Latin co-religionists failed to do. See Norman Russell, “Anselm of Havelberg and the Union of the Churches,” *Sobornost* 1 (1979): 19–41.

Nicetas's chief complaint was that this doctrine was proposed by the Latins "while no rational thought, no authority of the canonical Scriptures, and finally no general council says or teaches it."⁸⁷ Taking up the argument of Photius, Nicetas argued that the *filioque* was contrary to reason because it introduced many principles (πολυαρχία or *multa principia*) into the godhead.

For if we were to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, then the Father would be a principle of the Holy Spirit and similarly the Son would be a principle of the Holy Spirit, it would immediately follow for us that there are two principles, and we would fall into πολυαρχίαν, that is, many principles; which is against all reason. Therefore we believe and teach that the Father is the principle of the Son whom he begot, and the same Father alone is the principle of the Holy Spirit, who from himself alone proceeds.⁸⁸

Anselm was well aware of this objection to the Latin position, and went to great lengths to convince Nicetas that the *filioque* did not necessarily create two principles in God. Anselm believed *principium* was a relative term, difficult to apply univocally. Thus, in one sense, while the Father alone was without principle (*sine principio*), the Son and the Spirit were also without principle since they were consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and thus did not have a beginning. However, in another sense, the Son and Holy Spirit were both *de principio* — one by begetting from the Father the other from procession from the Father and Son. In a similar manner, while the Trinity was "a simple omnipotent *principatus*," "the Father is the principle of the Son as cause, and the

⁸⁷ "Praesertim cum nulla ratio, nulla auctoritas canonicarum Scripturarum, nullum denique generale concilium hoc dicat vel doceat." *Dialogi*, 2, 1; PL 188, 1165.

⁸⁸ "Nam si a Patre et a Filio Spiritum sanctum procedere diceremus, cum Pater esset principium Spiritus sancti, et similiter Filius esset principium Spiritus sancti, statim consequenter accurreret nobis duo esse principia, et incideremus in πολυαρχίαν, id est *multa principia*; quod est contra omnem rationem. Credimus ergo et docemus Patrem esse principium Filii quem genuit, eundem Patrem solum esse principium Spiritus sancti, qui ab ipso solo procedit." Ibid.

Father simultaneously with the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit as cause.”⁸⁹ This did not, in Anselm’s thinking, lead to there being simultaneous principles, or co-principles, in the Trinity but one principle, who is God. Nicetas then asked,

What, or rather, what sort of thing do you think is that procession of which we speak? Does it seem true to you that the Holy Spirit should be said to proceed according to the common substance or according to a separate and individual person?⁹⁰

Anselm realized that this question was something of a trap. If he said that procession was from the divine substance, he would have to address the critique of Photius (i.e., that the Spirit, being consubstantial with the Father and the Son, must then cause not only his own existence but the procession of another person). If he claimed that procession was the property of a hypostasis, he then excluded the possibility of both the Father and the Son being involved without falling into the error of Sabellius. Anselm (basing himself on the Augustinian trinitarian model) claimed that as the bond of love between Father and Son, the Spirit proceeded not from their persons or substance, but according to their mutual relation “and is the one sent by both sending, a gift from both giving, a love from both loving.”⁹¹

Nicetas recognized that some of the Greek fathers had spoken of procession from or through the Son, but gave his own interpretation of their meaning:

The wisest of the Greeks ascribe the first cause of procession properly to the Father, from whom the Son is properly by generation, and from whom the Holy Spirit is by procession. They moreover ascribe the procession of the same Holy

⁸⁹ “Est itaque Pater principium Filii ut causa, et est Pater simul et Filius principium Spiritus sancti ut causa” *Dialogi*, 2, 3; PL 188, 1168.

⁹⁰ “Quae vel qualis, putas, est ista Spiritus sancti processio de qua loquimur? Verumne videtur tibi quod secundum communem substantiam, an secundum discretam et propriam personam dicendum sit Spiritum sanctum procedere?” *Dialogi*, 2, 4; PL 188, 1171.

⁹¹ “(E)t missus ab utroque mittente, donum ab utroque donante, amor ab utroque amante” *Dialogi*, 2, 10; PL 188, 1179.

Spirit to the Son, but not properly, because the Son is neither from his own self, nor is he the cause of his own self. . . nor is he the primary cause of the Holy Spirit . . . and therefore I concede that the Holy Spirit proceeds properly from the Father, who is from no one; from the Son, however, because the Son is also from the Father, he does not proceed properly.⁹²

Anselm agreed completely, claiming that the Latins also affirmed that the Father is “principal author and causal principle both of the generation in relation to the Son and of the procession in relation to the Holy Spirit.”⁹³ The encounter ended on this note of agreement, Nicetas allowing that the Son had a role in the procession of the Spirit, Anselm affirming that the Father remained the principal source (ἀρχή) of the divinity. Despite the significance of the gathering, events conspired against future exchanges building upon the consensus reached. The widening cultural, political, and theological divide between East and West was about to become an unbridgeable crevice.

If any event typified the “estrangement” that had grown up between East and West, it was the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the subsequent sack of Constantinople by the Latins.⁹⁴ Although Pope Innocent III immediately condemned the actions of the

⁹² “Sapientissimi Graecorum ascribentes proprie Patri primam causam processionis, a quo proprie est et Filius generatione, et a quo Spiritus sanctus est processione. Filio autem ascribentes ejusdem Spiritus sancti processionem, non tam proprie, quoniam ipse Filius non est a semetipso, nec est causa suimetipsius . . . nec prima causa est Spiritus sancti . . . et ita concedo Spiritum sanctum a Patre, qui a nullo est, proprie procedere; a Filio autem, quia et ipse a Patre est, non ita proprie procedere” *Dialogi*, 2, 24; PL 188, 1204–5.

⁹³ “Est itaque Pater principalis auctor et causale principium tam generationis ad Filium, quam processionis ad Spiritum sanctum” *Dialogi*, 2, 25; PL 188, 1206.

⁹⁴ The siege of Constantinople by the Latins was not as much a political or religious decision as an economic one. The crusaders, who had agreed to pay the Venetians 85,000 marks for ships and supplies, were 35,000 marks short of their goal when the crusade began. The capture of Zara (which earned the crusaders a papal excommunication) was supposed to be partial payment of this debt, although the Venetians themselves (who had fronted the money for the whole affair) were still in financial straights. Thus both the Venetians and the crusaders had reason to accept the offer of the young Byzantine prince Alexius to reclaim the throne in exchange for money and supplies. After his restoration, Emperor Alexius was hesitant about rewarding his former allies, whose continued loitering in and around Constantinople fostered anti-Latin feelings among the inhabitants. Eager for payment and urged on by Dandolo, the blind Doge of Venice, the crusaders laid siege to the city and on April 13th the sack of Constantinople began. In

crusaders, with the imperial coronation of Baldwin of Flanders and the election of a Venetian patriarch he soon reconciled himself to the situation, seeing it as a God-given opportunity to end the schism and re-establish the authority of the Roman See.⁹⁵ During the half-century of occupation, the Latin hierarchy forced the Greeks to accept various Western ecclesial practices, including the recitation of the interpolated creed, an act that would forever cause the Byzantines to equate acceptance of the *filioque* with the imposition of a foreign rite and culture.⁹⁶ According to Aristeides Papadakis, “Byzantine xenophobia, anti-Latin sentiment, and hostility,” received new impetus, and were only compounded by the proselytizing of Western priests and monks responding to Innocent’s 1205 call for the *reductio Graecorum*.⁹⁷ And yet, only two years after recovering the Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258–82) was willing to discuss the possibility of ecclesiastical reunion with Pope Urban IV in the

violation of their crusader oaths, drunken soldiers violated the women of the capital while others defaced and destroyed ecclesiastical properties. Constantinople’s storehouse of relics was looted, jewels pried from the altars of churches and a prostitute seated on the patriarch’s throne, where she sang bawdy songs to the cheers of her Latin audience. See Geoffrey de Villehardouin, “Chronicles of the Fourth Crusade and the Conquest of Constantinople,” in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Margaret Shaw (New York: Penguin, 1972), 29–162; Alfred Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, Medieval Mediterranean 29 (London: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3: *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Donald Queller and Thomas Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

⁹⁵ Innocent had, on several occasions, warned the crusaders against attacking the imperial capital and using the Byzantine’s disobedience to the Holy See as a religious pretext for their greed.

⁹⁶ George Metochites, one of the delegates returning from the Council of Lyon remarked, “Instead of refutative proof, instead of arguments from the Scriptures, what we envoys constantly hear is φράγκος καθέσθηκας (You have become a Frank). Should we who are pro-unionists, simply because we favor union with Rome, be subjected to being called supporters of a foreign nation (άλλοεθνείς) and not Byzantine patriots?” George Metochites, *De ProceSSIONe Spiritus Sancti* (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 219). In this same work Metochites cites Maximus’s *Letter to Marinus* as a proof-text for the Latins’ orthodoxy. See PG 141:1405–17.

⁹⁷ Aristeides Papadakis, “Byzantine Perceptions of the Latin West,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991): 234.

hope of thwarting the ambitions of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily and technically a papal vassal.

In 1264, in preparation for this union, Pope Urban asked the famous Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) to prepare a statement on the beliefs of the Latin Church concerning both the primacy and the *filioque*.⁹⁸ This work became known as the *Contra Errores Graecorum*, although Thomas cannot be credited with its polemical title.⁹⁹ The work is flawed on many levels, especially in its citations from the Greek fathers, most of which have since proved to be either corrupted or spurious.¹⁰⁰ And yet there is in Thomas's writings a genuine effort towards both ecumenicity and conciliation, demonstrated not only by his ample use of Greek patristic literature, but also by his recognition that the Greeks' use of certain theological concepts, while unfamiliar and even suspicious to his fellow Latins, did not denote a substantially different faith.¹⁰¹ In the prologue to his *Contra Errores Graecorum*, Aquinas warned:

Many things which sound well enough in Greek do not perhaps sound well in Latin. Hence, Latins and Greeks professing the same faith do so with different

⁹⁸ For an assessment of Thomas's views on the *filioque* see Reinhard Simon, *Das Filioque bei Thomas von Aquin: Eine Untersuchung zur dogmengeschichtlichen Stellung, theologischen Struktur und ökumenischen Perspektive der thomanischen Gotteslehre* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994).

⁹⁹ The *Contra Errores Graecorum* was actually a response to the *Libellus de fide ss. Trinitatis* of Nicholas of Cotrone, a statement of the Latin position written for Michael Palaeologos. Most of the patristic quotations employed by Thomas in the work are taken verbatim from the *Libellus*. See Mark Jordan, "Theological Exegesis and Aquinas' Treatise 'Against the Greeks,'" *Church History* 56 (1987): 445–56.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas made ample use of the pseudo-Athanasian corpus and especially the *Quicumque Vult*. See Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Doctrine of the *Filioque* in Thomas Aquinas and its Patristic Antecedents" in *St. Thomas Aquinas Commemorative Studies* 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974), 1:321–22.

¹⁰¹ Leo Elders's examination of patristic references in Thomas notes that in the *Contra Errores Graecorum* the three most cited authorities are Athanasius (60), Cyril of Alexandria (32) and Basil of Caesarea (24) with only 17 citations from Augustine of Hippo. Leo Elders, "Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers of the Church" in Backus, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 347.

words. . . . (I)t will (thus) be no surprise if perplexity concerning the meaning of the original sometimes occurs.¹⁰²

This was especially true of the Greeks' use of αἰτία or *causa*. Thomas and the Latin tradition were reluctant to employ the language of causality (*causa*) to speak about the Trinity, preferring instead the broader term, *principium*. Thomas maintained that using *causa* to describe the role of the Father within the godhead might imply that the Son and Spirit were created beings (i.e., the “effects” of the “first cause”). For this reason Aquinas preferred the Latin *principium*, while recognizing the validity of the Greek use of αἰτία because of its use by Gregory of Nyssa and the other fathers.

Unlike the Carolingians who had protested that the διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula was heretical, or at best imprecise, Thomas believed it to be substantially equivalent to the Latin doctrine of procession *ex Filio*. Yet Thomas's main argument for the *filioque*, found detailed in Question 36 of the *Summa Theologica*, remained the argument from relations that Anselm had employed centuries earlier. Since all three persons of the Trinity enjoyed a common essence, the only distinction was in their relations, and these were necessarily opposite relations (i.e., one being a principle and the other from a principle). If both the Son and Spirit proceeded from the Father alone, Thomas argued, they would lose their identifying hypostatic characteristics, since Spirit and Son would both have the same relationship of origin to the Father. Also, between the Son and the Spirit there must also be an eternal relation, and this necessitated an opposition in their origin.

Therefore it must be said that the divine persons are distinguished from each other only by the relations. Now the relations cannot distinguish the persons except forasmuch as they are opposite relations. . . . Therefore the Son and the Holy

¹⁰² *Contra Errores Graecorum* prologue (Eng. trans: James Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 126).

Ghost must be related to each other by opposite relations. Now there cannot be in God any relations opposed to each other, except relations of origin, as proved above (Q28, A44). And opposite relations of origin are to be understood as of a principle, and of what is from the principle. Therefore we must conclude that it is necessary to say that either the Son is from the Holy Ghost; which no one says; or that the Holy Ghost is from the Son, as we confess.¹⁰³

Within the godhead, Thomas unambiguously affirmed the Father as *principium totius deitatis* since he alone was the principle without principle.¹⁰⁴ Yet he also maintained that the Son has “the same spirative power (that) belongs to the Father . . . therefore the Holy Ghost proceeds equally from both, although sometimes He is said to proceed principally or properly from the Father because the Son has this power from the Father.”¹⁰⁵ Thomas even went further than many of his predecessors in explicitly affirming the Son as *auctor* (author), *principium* (principle), and *fons* (source) of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁶ Thomas countered the Greek argument that this necessitated two principles because he maintained that there was only a single spiration and a single spirative power (i.e., the Father and Son). For this reason it was better to say that “the Father and Son are two spirating . . . but not two spirators;” not two principles or causes, but one.¹⁰⁷

Among the patristic quotations Aquinas included in the *Contra Errores Graecorum* as support for his position was Maximus’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63,

¹⁰³ *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.36, Art.2 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 5 vols [Westminster: Christian Classics, 1981], 184).

¹⁰⁴ *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.33, Art.1 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 173).

¹⁰⁵ *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.36, Art.3 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 186).

¹⁰⁶ *Contra Errores Graecorum* 2, 13–15 (Eng. trans: James Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 172–73).

¹⁰⁷ *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.36, Art.4 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 188).

where the Holy Spirit is said to “exist by God the Father according to his essence . . . (and) by the Son according to his nature and essence, as it were proceeding as God from the Father through the Son.”¹⁰⁸ Thomas used this text as proof that for the fathers “to flow from” (προϊέναι) and “to proceed” (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) were synonymous, which seems to go against Maximus’s own understanding of the terms.

Thomas, however, was not being disingenuous. As Theophylact of Ohrid had noted two centuries earlier, Latin theology used *procedere* to translate a host of Greek verbs (προβεβλῆσθαι, προέρχομαι, προϊέναι and ἐκπορεύεσθαι) denoting origin.

According to Aquinas, in the Latin tradition:

the word procession (*processio*) is the one most commonly applied to all (terms) that denote origin of any kind. For we use the term to describe any kind of origin; as when we say a line proceeds from a point, a ray from the sun, a stream from a source, and likewise in everything else. Hence, granted that the Holy Ghost originates in any way from the Son, we can conclude that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son.¹⁰⁹

For this reason, Thomas argued that if the Greeks admitted progression (προϊέναι) through the Son they must, as a consequence, also admit the *filioque*, “for, if anything is in any way at all from something we say it proceeds from that thing.”¹¹⁰ What Thomas could not understand given his inability to understand Greek, was that, “while it may be true that the Latin ‘*procedere*’ refers to originating ‘in any way at all’ this is just what ἐκπορεύω does not mean in Greek!”¹¹¹ Because he received most of his proof-texts in

¹⁰⁸ *Contra Errores Graecorum* 2, 16 (Eng. trans: James Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 175).

¹⁰⁹ ST *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.36, Art.2 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 186).

¹¹⁰ *Summa Contra Gentiles* 4, 24 (Eng. trans: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, trans. Charles O’Neil, 5 vols. [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975], 5:136).

¹¹¹ Michael Torre, “St. John Damascene and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Eternal Procession of the Holy Spirit,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 38 (1994): 312.

translation from the *Libellus* of Nicholas of Cotrone, Thomas would almost certainly have been unaware of how he was distorting the intent of Maximus and the Eastern fathers, all of whom used ἐκπορεύεσθαι with more care.

THE COUNCIL OF LYONS AND THE BYZANTINE REACTION

Thomas Aquinas was on his way to the Council of Lyons when he died, for reasons still unexplained, on the seventh of March.¹¹² Although the West would be represented by such luminaries as Bonaventure and Albertus Magnus, neither played a large part in the conciliar deliberations since there were, in fact, no formal discussions.¹¹³ The council was already in progress when the Greek delegates arrived, and the Byzantines who were in attendance were not theologians or ecclesiastics authorized to negotiate disputed theological issues.¹¹⁴ Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus simply planned to submit himself, through his representative George Acropolites, to the Decree of Union prepared by the Latins without any debate on the key issues involved (i.e., the *filioque*, the use of azymes, the papal primacy).¹¹⁵ His only request was that, in order to

¹¹² Thomas may have died of an internal hemorrhage caused by a blow he received from a tree branch while on the road from Teano. Another possibility is that Thomas died from physical/mental exhaustion that began to effect him in early December of 1273, when he told his friend Reginald of Piperno that he was incapable of proceeding any further with work on the *Summa*. A popular rumor of the time even suggested that Thomas had been poisoned by agents of Charles of Anjou, longtime nemesis of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. See Jean-Pierre Torrell, *St. Thomas Aquinas 1: The Person and His Work*, trans. Robert Royal (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 289–95.

¹¹³ See Deno John Geanakoplos, “Bonaventura, Two Mendicant Orders and the Council of Lyons,” in *Constantinople and the West* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 195–223.

¹¹⁴ The Council was opened on May 4, 1274 and the Greeks did not arrive until the twenty-fourth of June. The Greeks were late, in part, because of a storm that had destroyed one of their ships sending all but a few of its passengers to their deaths. Aboard was not only the official translator Berroiotos, but the gift that had been especially chosen for the pope — the altar cloth taken by the emperor himself from *Hagia Sophia*.

¹¹⁵ Believing that matters of the faith already decided by Rome were not subject to discussion, the pope was not prepared to reopen the debate over the *filioque* or the primacy. Instead he had sent tutors to Constantinople (including the bilingual and very popular Franciscan John Parastron) to instruct the emperor

keep his pledge to the Constantinopolitan clergy that union would not affect Church life and practice, “the Greek Church be permitted to recite the creed as it had been before the schism up to our time.”¹¹⁶ While Pope Gregory understood the request, it is significant that after reading the emperor’s oath of fidelity the Greek delegates were not only forced to recite the creed with the interpolation, but to repeat the *filioque* clause twice.¹¹⁷

The council’s final decree was a clear statement of the Latin position as it had been explicated in the West since the time of Anselm.

We profess faithfully and devotedly that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle (*tantum ab uno principio*); not by two spirations, but by one single spiration . . . this is the unchangeable and true belief of the orthodox fathers and doctors, Latin and Greek alike. . . . (W)ith the approval of the sacred council, (we) condemn and reprove all who presume to deny that the holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, or rashly to assert that the holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and not as from one.¹¹⁸

Although union was proclaimed and the solemn *Te Deum* sung by the Pope, the council still needed to be received by the Greek populace. Immediately upon their return to Constantinople, Acropolites and the other delegates knew that theirs would not be an easy task.¹¹⁹ The city quickly divided into unionist and anti-unionist camps, each led by

in the Latin faith. As for the Byzantine hierarchy, Patriarch Joseph I stayed aloof, maintaining that union could only be achieved at a truly ecumenical council (with representatives from all the patriarchates) during which there was open discussion of all the disputed theological and canonical issues. See Burkhard Roberg, *Das Zweite Konzil von Lyon* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1990).

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Geanakoplos, “Bonaventura and the Council of Lyons,” 203.

¹¹⁷ Several days earlier, at a solemn mass on June twenty-ninth, the delegates had been made to repeat the *filioque* no less than three times (*ter cantaverunt*). Antonio Franchi, ed., *Il Concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la ordinatio concilii generalis Lugdunensis*, Studi e Testi Francescani 33 (Rome: Edizioni Francescane, 1965), 83.

¹¹⁸ Constitutions of the Second Council of Lyons; Mansi 24, 81; Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 314.

¹¹⁹ See n. 96 above.

two of the most important theologians of the era: John XI Beccus (1275–82) and Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–89).

John Beccus was at first against union with Rome, but in 1273–74 (while in prison for his views) he underwent something of a conversion while studying the work of Nicephorus Blemmydes. Blemmydes himself had never accepted the orthodoxy of the *filioque* (having rejected the ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula at disputations held with the Latins in 1234 and 1250), although his later works acknowledged that “proceeds through the Son” described not merely the temporal procession of the Spirit, but also his indispensable mediatory role in the Spirit’s coming to be.¹²⁰ Beccus drew upon this insight but went beyond Blemmydes, concluding that because the prepositions διὰ (“through”) and ἐκ (“from”) were often used synonymously in the trinitarian language of the fathers, procession ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι’ Υἱοῦ was substantively equivalent to procession *ex Patre filioque*.¹²¹ Beccus’s work on the subject, especially the collection of patristic citations proving his position (the *Epigraphae*), shaped generations of Byzantine unionists and became an important source for the Florentine delegates.¹²² However, as J. M. Hussey has noted, “to call (Beccus) a ‘Latinophron,’ pro-Latin, would be a misnomer. He was in fact passionately attached to the Byzantine way of life.”¹²³ In fact, Beccus’s works

¹²⁰ Blemmydes’s *De Processione Spiritus sancti orationes duae* (PG 142, 533–84) is the clearest exposition of his later trinitarian views. See also V. Grumel, “Nicéphore Blemmyde et la procession du Saint-Esprit,” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 18 (1929): 636–56.

¹²¹ See Joseph Gill, “John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople,” in *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204–1453* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979).

¹²² Beccus’s works are found in PG 141, 9–1032. Aside from the *Epigraphae* they include: *De unione Ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae*, *De Processione Spiritus sancti*, *Refutatio libri Photii de processione Spiritus sancti*, and *Refutatio libri Georgii Cyprii*.

¹²³ Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 236.

demonstrate an almost exclusive reliance on Greek patristic texts and express little sympathy for the insights of Western scholastic theology.

The emperor was delighted with Beccus's change of heart and arranged for his election to the patriarchal throne in May of 1275. However, Beccus soon found himself at odds with the anti-unionists at Constantinople, and following the death of Emperor Michael in 1282 he was forced to resign.¹²⁴ During his exile he continued to write in his defense, firmly convinced that the fathers supported his interpretation.

The man who replaced Beccus was Gregory of Cyprus, originally a supporter of the emperor's unionist policy.¹²⁵ Gregory was convinced that Beccus had misread the patristic witness, especially those writers (like John of Damascus and Maximus) who had spoken of the Spirit's procession ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ. This formula did not, as Beccus held, express the Spirit's hypostatic origin through (or from) the Son, but neither could it simply be relegated to the temporal manifestation of the Spirit. For this reason Gregory attempted to move beyond a simple repetition of the Photian formula (ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς) and take into account the Spirit's eternal relationship to the Son. Although his *Tomus* of 1285 was a clear refutation of Beccus and the unionists ("men . . . so corrupt that they held beliefs both strange and alien to our traditions"), it was also an

¹²⁴ For his attempts at reunion Emperor Michael was not only denied the usual imperial funerary rites by his son Andronicus (for having betrayed the Orthodox faith), but also excommunicated by Pope Martin IV in 1281 for his failure to enforce the union.

¹²⁵ For a full portrait of Patriarch Gregory and his contributions to the *filioque* debate see Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Press, 1996); Bernhard Schultze, "Patriarch Gregorios von Cyprem über das Filioque," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 51 (1985): 163–87.

opportunity to express his views on the procession and on his interpretation of the διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula.¹²⁶

In the *Tomos* and his other works (such as his *Apologia pro tomo suo* and *De Processione Spiritus sancti*), Gregory differentiated three “modes” of the Spirit’s procession, and the role the Son played in each.¹²⁷

- 1- Eternal existence: the hypostatic existence of the Spirit is from the Father *alone*, who is the θεογόνος θεότης.¹²⁸
- 2- Eternal manifestation: the Spirit’s eternal illumination or manifestation (ἄιδιον ἔκφανσιν) is *through* the Son, but NOT his hypostatic existence.
- 3- Temporal manifestation: in the economy of salvation, the Spirit can be said to proceed from the Father *and* the Son.

For Papadakis, Gregory’s interpretation is possible because while

the Spirit exists from or through the Son (this) did not mean, however, that it also had its existence from or through him. A distinction had to be made between existing (ὕπαρχει) and having existence (ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν).¹²⁹

The Spirit thus obtained his hypostatic existence immediately from the Father alone, but eternally manifested this existence through the Son with whom he is consubstantial.¹³⁰ In this way, Gregory demonstrated an eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit without making the Son a cause (either immediate or proximate) of the

¹²⁶ *Expositio fidei contra Veccum*; PG 142, 233–46 (Eng. trans: Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, 209–29). The *Tomos*, written for the Synod of Blachernae, formally condemned the Council of Lyons and the writings of the Byzantine unionists. Although never rescinded, Papadakis notes that by the Council of Florence the rejection of Lyons was such a “given” that only a handful of the Greek prelates (including Scholarius, who later claimed it as “ecumenical”) even knew of Blachernae and its refutation of Beccus.

¹²⁷ These works are found in PG 142, 251–300.

¹²⁸ *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, PG 142, 272.

¹²⁹ Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, 123.

¹³⁰ Gregory’s theology in many ways foreshadowed the work of Gregory Palamas and the distinction between the essence and energies of God. See Andrew Sopko, “Palamism before Palamas’ and the Theology of Gregory of Cyprus,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 23 (1979) 139–47.

Spirit's being. He is thus able to uphold the monarchy of the Father (as source and cause of the divinity) while simultaneously integrating the insights of those fathers like Maximus who spoke of the Spirit's eternal manifestation through the Son. The *Tomos* sums up his position:

According the common mind of the Church and the aforementioned saints, the Father is the foundation and the source of the Son and Spirit, and the only source of divinity, and the only cause. If, in fact, it is also said by some of the saints that the Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) through the Son, what is meant here is the eternal manifestation (ἐκφανσιν) of the Spirit by the Son, not the purely personal emanation (πρόοδον) into being of the Spirit, which has existence (ὑπαρξιν ἔχοντος) from the Father alone.¹³¹

Of particular interest is Gregory's interpretation of Maximus's writings. Beccus had used Maximus (along with John of Damascus, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria) to provide patristic support for the equivalence of διά and ἐκ. Gregory attempted to rescue Maximus from this misinterpretation, utilizing the distinctions that Maximus himself had employed in the *Letter to Marinus* between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι. In his *Apologia* he wrote:

The great Maximus, the holy Tarasius, and even the saintly John knew that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, from whom it subsists with respect to both its hypostasis and cause of its being. And at the same time, they acknowledge that the Spirit flows forth, is manifested, shines forth, appears, and is made known through the Son.¹³²

While Gregory's *Tomos* was accepted at Blachernae, it was soon criticized by more conservative churchmen unwilling to compromise a strict Photian understanding of the Spirit's procession from the Father alone. Gregory's name was eventually omitted

¹³¹ *Expositio fidei contra Veccum*; PG 142, 241 (Eng. trans: Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, 220).

¹³² ἤδεσαν μὲν καὶ Μάξιμος ὁ μέγας, καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ταράσιος, ἔτι καὶ ὁ ἱερός Ἰωάννης, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐξ οὐπερ ὑφέστηκε, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ τὴν τοῦ εἶναι αἰτίαν. Ἦιδεσαν δὲ τοῦτο ἅμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προϊὼν καὶ φανερούμενον καὶ ἐκλάμπων, καὶ πεφηνός, καὶ ἦκον, καὶ γνωριζόμενον. *Apologia pro tomo suo*; PG 142, 262.

from the list of patriarchs remembered in the *Synodicon* and his writings on the Spirit's procession rejected as *Latinophron* innovations. After resigning in 1289, he died a year later after continued efforts to establish the orthodoxy of his position ended in failure. For many, including his former disciple Mark, Gregory's position seemed little more than a tacit acceptance of Beccus and the Latin doctrine.¹³³

The Byzantine intellectual renaissance that ushered in the fourteenth century begot a renewed interest in Western learning and the scholastic retrieval of Greek philosophy.¹³⁴ It was during this time that the first Greek translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate* became available thanks to the work of Maximus Planudes (1255–1305). A few years later Demetrius Cydones (1324–97) translated both the *Summa Theologica* and *Summa contra Gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas, becoming so enamored with the work of the great scholastic that he entered into communion with Rome.¹³⁵ For many of these so-called Latinophiles acceptance of the *filioque* accompanied their admiration for Western learning, keeping the legacy of Beccus and the unionists very much alive in Constantinople.

Although usually associated with the Latinophiles, Barlaam of Calabria (d. 1350) had little sympathy for the syllogisms of scholastic theology. In fact, early in his career Barlaam wrote his own anti-Latin tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit that later

¹³³ See Aristeides Papadakis, "Gregory of Cyprus and Mark's Report Again," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21(1976): 147–57.

¹³⁴ See Constantine Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Forerunners of the Italian Renaissance: Plethon, Bessarion, George of Trebizond, John Argyropoulos, Manuel Chrysoloras, Demetrios Cydones, Barlaam of Calabria," *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 15 (1996/7): 23–57.

¹³⁵ In his later years Cydones wrote an apology for his conversion as well as a "Defense of St. Thomas Aquinas against Nilus Cabasilas." English translation of the *Apology* in Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 125–89.

authors (including Nilus Cabasilas) utilized in their own works.¹³⁶ Yet Barlaam believed that because all theological discourse was limited by the apophatic principle, both the Latin case for the *filioque* and the Byzantine defense were, in the end, pointless.¹³⁷ Thus, as John Meyendorff described it, “Barlaam’s theological agnosticism ended in dogmatic relativism.”¹³⁸ Although his writings were certainly not an endorsement of the Latin position, neither were they deemed an adequate defense of the orthodox stance by Barlaam’s chief opponent, Gregory Palamas.¹³⁹

Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) had originally come into conflict with Barlaam over hesychasm, a form of prayer that claimed to give the practitioner a direct experience of the divine light of Tabor. Barlaam criticized the hesychast monks — whom he derisively referred to as ὀμφαλόψωχοι (“men with their souls in their navel”) — and their claim to know and experience the unknowable God, an assertion that violated his own highly apophatic sensibilities. For Palamas, the issues raised by Barlaam touched

¹³⁶ Critical edition in Antonis Fyrigos, ed., *Barlaam Calabro: Opere contro I Latini: introduzione, storia dei testi, edizione critica, traduzione e indici*, 2 vols., Studi e testi 347–48 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1998). Interestingly, one of the authorities Barlaam cited against the *filioque* was Augustine, whom he had come to know through the translations of Planudes. For Barlaam, the terms “principally” and “properly” (which he believed Augustine to have used many times) were an explicit affirmation of the Father’s monarchy and a denial of filioquism. See Reinhard Flogaus, “Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998): 1–32.

¹³⁷ In 1339 Barlaam addressed Pope Benedict XII stating that the only way to guarantee popular support for union was to convoke an ecumenical council at which all the patriarchates would be represented. He maintained that achieving agreement with the scholars on the *filioque* would be easy, but that the populace would too easily be convinced by the words of men, “who, either from jealousy or from vainglory . . . will say to the Greeks, ‘Do not let yourselves be seduced by these men who have sold themselves for gold and are swelled up with pride.’” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 1332ff. (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 221).

¹³⁸ John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998), 43.

¹³⁹ For a full bibliography on Palamas and recent survey of secondary works on his contributions to Eastern theology see Robert Sinkewicz, “Gregory Palamas,” in *La théologie Byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, Caremlo Conticello and Vassa Conticello eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 131–88.

the very heart of orthodox life and spirituality. While accepting the basic premise that God (in His essence) was unknowable, Palamas felt that the doctrine of θέωσις (divinization) demanded a real participation in the Divine. Gregory's unique contribution was to clarify what had long been implicit in Eastern thought: that there was a distinction between the divine *essence* (which was unknowable) and the divine, uncreated *energies*, which were manifested and experienced in various ways, and uniquely through ἡσυχία.¹⁴⁰ This insight greatly influenced Palamas's writings on the Trinity and, subsequently, on the question of the *filioque*.

According to Meyendorff's dating, Gregory Palamas wrote his first work on the procession of the Holy Spirit (*Logoi Apodeiktikoi*) as early as 1336. Here Palamas repeated the common Byzantine argument that Western trinitarian teaching introduced two principles or causes into the godhead. Because procession was the property of a hypostasis, and not the act of the divine nature, attributing procession to two distinct hypostases (Father and Son) logically forced one to admit two principles. The other alternative, just as dangerous for Palamas, was to allow a distinct hypostatic property of the Father (i.e., causality) to be given to the Son, therefore confusing their persons and making them, in the manner of Sabellius, ὁμοπόστατος.¹⁴¹

For Palamas, the unity of the Trinity was founded upon the person of the Father because (paraphrasing Nazianzus in *Oration 42*) "God is one not only because there is a

¹⁴⁰ For patristic antecedents to Palamas's theology see L. C. Contos, "The Essence-Energies Structure of St. Gregory Palamas with a Brief Examination of its Patristic Foundations," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12 (1967): 283–94. Vasilios Karayiannis argues in his book *Maxime le Confesseur: Essence et Energies de Dieu* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993) that this distinction between essence and energy is pivotal for understanding the theological and ascetical program of Palamas's great influence, Maximus the Confessor.

¹⁴¹ *Logos Apodeiktikos* 2, 67; Boris Bobrinsky, ed., *Logoi Apodeiktikoi*, in *Gregoriou tou Palama Syggrammata* vol.1, ed. Panagiotes Chrestou (Thessalonica, 1962), 138.

single nature, but also because what is from his person (i.e., the Father) returns to him as cause and sole principle.”¹⁴² The Latins, in positing procession as an act of the divine essence, not only destroyed the monarchical principle upon which the unity of the Trinity was established, but (echoing Photius) made the Holy Spirit, who is consubstantial with the Father and Son, responsible for his own being. For these reasons Palamas vehemently maintained that the Latin teaching on the *filioque* was in error.

However, the essence/energy distinction allowed Palamas, like Gregory of Cyprus before him, to move beyond a simple repetition of Photius’s critique. Recognizing that many of the fathers (including Cyril and Maximus) had used “through the Son” and even “from the Son” to talk about the procession, Palamas argued that this applied to the energies of the Spirit, not to his hypostatic existence (essence). In a passage examining Maximus’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* Palamas wrote,

whenever you hear him say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, because it comes from the Father essentially through the Son, understand reverently that he is teaching that the natural powers and energies of God are poured forth but not the Spirit’s divine hypostasis.¹⁴³

Elsewhere he summarized his argument:

Thus the Holy Spirit is of Christ, as of God, both in essence and in energy. According to essence and hypostasis he is of him, but not from him; according to energy, he is both of him and from him.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅτι μία φύσις εἶς θεός, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς ἓν αἴτιον καὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρεται. *Logos Apodeiktikos* 1, 37; Bobrinsky, *Logoi Apodeiktikoi*, 68.

¹⁴³ “Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀμφῶν, ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι’ υἱοῦ προχέομενον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγοντα, τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν τούτων δυνάμεων τε καὶ ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μετάδοσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν θείαν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑπόστασιν προχέισθαι διδάσκειν, εὐσεβῶς νόμισον. *Logos Apodeiktikos* 2, 20; Brobrinsky, *Logoi Apodeiktikoi*, 96.

¹⁴⁴ Οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν ὡς θεοῦ καὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν καὶ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. *Logos Apodeiktikos* 2, 30; Brobrinsky, *Logoi Apodeiktikoi*, 105.

Palamas's trinitarian theology even found a place for Augustine's "love" analogy, which had described the Spirit as the bond of love between Father and Son. Palamas, however, applied this not to the hypostasis of the Spirit, but rather to "common energy which is the love of the Triune God."¹⁴⁵ It was this same love, eternally coming forth from the Father through the Son, which drew the believer closer to the Trinity in communion and allowed him/her an experience of the uncreated energies in the depths of ἡσυχία. Because there was both an eternal and a temporal relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Son, Palamas even spoke of the Spirit being "from him" (ἐξ αὐτοῦ) as long as it was properly applied to the uncreated energies. While he certainly held the *filioque* to be heterodox (understood as an expression of the Spirit's hypostatic procession), Palamas offered the Byzantines a constructive alternative to the prevailing unionist and conservative tendencies of his contemporaries. However, despite its potential, it was an alternative that was never fully explored.¹⁴⁶

Nilus Cabasilas (1298–1363), who like Demetrius Cydones was a great admirer of Thomas Aquinas, succeeded Palamas as Bishop of Thessalonica.¹⁴⁷ Yet Cabasilas later broke with the unionists and wrote several treatises against the Latins, including a point-

¹⁴⁵ Markos Orpanos, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit According to Certain Later Greek Fathers," in Lukas Vischer, ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy* (London: SPCK, 1981), 34. Palamas's reliance on Augustine for this and other trinitarian images is still a debated question, although Reinhard Flogaus clearly believes that Palamas had not only read Planudes's translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, but lifted sections of it for his own work. See Flogaus, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited.,"; idem, "Die Theologie des Gregorios Palamas — Hindernis oder Hilfe für die ökumenische Verständigung?" *Ostkirchlichen Studien* 47 (1998):105–23.

¹⁴⁶ While Gregory's theology was accepted by no fewer than three local councils (often referred to as the Palamite councils of 1341, 1347 and 1351), it remained controversial enough that the Emperor at Florence prohibited its introduction for fear of re-opening the inter-Byzantine debate and of exacerbating the theological divide between East and West. See next chapter.

¹⁴⁷ Very often he has been confused with his more famous nephew Nicholas Cabasilas, the author of *The Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*.

by-point refutation of fifteen Thomistic syllogisms used to support the *filioque*.¹⁴⁸

Cabasilas attacked not the views of Aquinas and the Latins, but those of his predecessor Palamas, whose use of the Augustinian love analogy he rejected outright. He borrowed heavily from the anti-Latin tracts of Barlaam the Calabrian, rejecting the scholastic syllogisms that claimed to prove from reason truths that were explicitly denied by both Scripture and patristic tradition.

In Cabasilas's *Five Discourses against the Conclusions of the Latins on the Matter of the Holy Spirit* he quoted Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* at length, which he interpreted as a clear refutation of filioquism (so-called).¹⁴⁹ Cabasilas conceded the fact that during the time of Maximus East and West were of one mind on the matter of the Spirit's procession. As the *Letter to Marinus* attested, the Romans once agreed with the teachings of Cyril and the Eastern fathers, acknowledging only one cause within the Trinity.

He (i.e., Maximus) fittingly believed this explanation, one common both to Cyril of Alexandria and the Roman Fathers . . . that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit, one by generation, the other by procession, but that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit. . . . Moreover, if formerly some heard the Roman fathers say that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, one must not believe that the Son is the cause, but rather that they are expressing his flowing forth through the Son.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ *Nilus Cabasilas et Theologia s. Thomae de Processione Spiritus Sancti*, ed. Emmanuel Candel, (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945).

¹⁴⁹ Critical edition with French translation: Théophile Kislas, ed., *Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ Ταύτην τὴν ἐξήγησιν, κοινὴν τινα νομίζειν προσήκει, καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ῥωμαίων πατέρων . . . ὡς τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ γέννησιν, τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἰδιότητα, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ, μὴ ἔχοντος τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος. . . . Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε τις ἀκούσειε τινος τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πατέρων, λέγοντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι, μὴ τὸν Υἱὸν ἡγεῖσθαι αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον βούλεσθαι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προίεναι. *Five Discourses against the Conclusions of the Latins on the Matter of the Holy Spirit* 5, 6–7; Kislas, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 379–381.

The fact that the Latins currently maintained that the Son *was* a cause of the Spirit clearly demonstrated for Cabasilas how far they had strayed from the patristic teaching. Beccus and the unionists were thus wrong to claim that Photius caused the current schism, since the Latins had so obviously deviated from Maximus's teaching, and now (to protect themselves) cast aspersions on the authenticity of the *Letter to Marinus*.

But it is completely ridiculous for the Latins to be at war against themselves, sometimes not being ashamed to bring it forth against us and declaring that this letter of the divine Maximus is genuine. . . and other times, when we defend ourselves from this letter in a way that seems best to us, they maintain the opposite, ashamed to agree with their earlier position.¹⁵¹

Cabasilas believed that denying the *Letter's* authenticity was easier for the Latins than reconciling its teaching with current Western belief and practice. For if the Latins affirmed both the Father and Son as cause of the Spirit, they could not help but recognize that, contrary to Maximus's teaching, they introduced two principles (Father and Son) into the Godhead.¹⁵² Even if one differentiated the Father's role as first principle from that of the Son, Maximus had clearly acknowledged only μία αίτία within the godhead (i.e., the Father), excluding the Son from any causal role within the divinity. For his part, Cabasilas had no doubts about the authenticity of the *Letter*, "preserving the ancient constructions and same style as the other writings of the divine Maximus, his stay in Rome, and his association with Marinus, as well as his just reproof against our

¹⁵¹ Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα καταγελαστότατον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς Λατίνους συρρήγνυσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴν νῦν μὲν γνησίαν ὁμολογεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ Μαξίμου καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ταύτην προφέρειν . . . νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀπολογουμένων ἡμῶν ἅ γε ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, τὴν ἐναντίαν ψῆφον ἐκφέρειν ὥσπερ αἰσχυνομένους συμβαίνειν γοῦν ἑαυτοῖς. *Five Discourses* 5, 13; Kislak, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 385.

¹⁵² Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ λέγειν ταύτην μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ ἔχει τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὴν πρώτην δηλαδή, ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς Μάξιμος ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν Υἱόν, ἐκείνην δὲ ἔχει, ἦν ἂν Λατῖνοι φαίεν, οὐκ ἦδει σαφῶς δύο τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀρχὰς ἀναπλάττουσιν, ἅμα καὶ πόλεμον ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγοντες ἀρνούμενοις, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν δύο τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀρχὰς ἀξιοῦν. *Five Discourses* 5, 17. Kislak, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 387.

Church.”¹⁵³ It was, both for Cabasilas and subsequent generations of anti-unionists, the perfect “proof-text” for the position of Photius.

GREEKS AND LATINS ON THE EVE OF THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

This brief history of the *filioque* debates between the eighth and fourteenth centuries allows us to contextualize the Florentine debates and the arguments presented by both Greeks and Latins at the council. The Latin West, although divided by the Great Schism (1378–1417) and the ensuing conciliarist debates, nevertheless came to Ferrara-Florence with a unified voice on the matter of the Spirit’s procession from both the Father and the Son. Despite early voices raised in opposition (e.g., John Scotus Erigena and Anastasius Bibliothecarius), by the ninth century the theology of the double procession had achieved widespread acceptance, even among the popes of Rome.

As was demonstrated earlier, the rise of filioquism did not occur because Augustine himself was an unambiguous supporter of the doctrine, or because the Western view of the Trinity was inherently incompatible with its Cappadocian counterpart. On the contrary, the real point of division between East and West on the procession came only in the eighth century with the Arian and Adoptionist threats from Spain. Although non-theological factors certainly played a role (e.g., Charlemagne’s rivalry with the Byzantines) the Carolingian stress on the consubstantiality of the Father and Son led them to the natural conclusion that the Son must share all that the Father has, including

¹⁵³ Τό τε τῆς συνθήκης ἀρχαῖον καί πρὸς τὰλλα τὰ τοῦ θείου Μαξίμου τὴν αὐτὴν σφῶζον ἰδέαν καὶ ἢ ἐν τῇ ‘Ρώμῃ τούτου διατριβὴ καὶ πρὸς Μαρίνον συνήθεια καὶ ἡ δικαία κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας μέμψις ἐκείνου. *Five Discourses* 5, 12; Kislas, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 385.

the ability to bring forth the Holy Spirit. To avoid any hint of Sabellianism, the Western triadic model then differentiated the persons of the Trinity using the principle of relational opposition, an opposition that could only be in terms of their origin. The Father was distinct as principle of both the Son and the Spirit, the Holy Spirit distinct from the Son because of his procession (i.e., hypostatic origin) from him and the Father. As a necessary defense against both Arianism and modalism, the *filioque* was a principle that Latin theology could not and would not surrender.

To defend against the Eastern charge that this doctrine introduced two causes or principles into the divinity, the Latins emphasized that the Father and Son were (in Aquinas's words) "a single spirative power" who acted, by virtue of their consubstantiality and relation as a single cause or principle. Thus Latin theology spoke of the Son as cause, but only in terms of his being a cause with the Father, from whom the Spirit proceeded *tantum ab uno principio*. To speak of two causes or two spirations, dividing the work of the Father and Son, was anathema to the Latin position.

Unlike the Latins, the Greeks did not possess a unified position on the procession of the Spirit. In fact, one can discern three distinct "schools" of thought operative in Byzantium at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The first was the unionist position of Beccus, which accepted the premise that procession $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\hat{\nu}\ \Upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\hat{\nu}$ was substantially the same as procession $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\hat{\nu}\ \Upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\hat{\nu}$. Since the former formula had been used by so many of the Greek fathers (including Maximus), the orthodoxy of the Latin position appeared clear. Although few Byzantines actually held the unionist position, the growing influence of the so-called Latinphrons and the increased Turkish menace gave their argument a

certain credibility, especially given the sheer number of patristic texts that allegedly proved their case.

The second was the position of Photius, whose belief in procession from the Father alone (ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς) was an attempt to defend the Cappadocian trinitarian model against the perceived Sabellianism of the Latins. Upholding the traditional emphasis on the monarchy of the Father, Photius argued that the Latins had introduced two causes into the divinity and confused the individual hypostatic properties of Father and Son (i.e., the ability to spirate the Spirit being a unique property of the Father's hypostasis). Photius also maintained that the *filioque* made the Holy Spirit less than the Father and the Son, since he alone in the Trinity did not share in this attribute of the divine substance of bringing forth another person.

The third school, seen in figures like Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas, never achieved widespread acceptance in Greek ecclesiastical circles, either in the period before Ferrara-Florence or at the council itself. While both Gregories denied that the Son had any causal role in the Spirit's hypostatic origin, they nevertheless attempted to move beyond the position of Photius in order to establish an eternal (not merely economic) relationship between them. Recognizing that many Greek fathers had spoken of the Spirit's procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, both Gregory of Cyprus and Palamas applied this to his eternal manifestation (or energetic manifestation) from the Father through the Son. They thus rejected the theology of the double procession as incompatible with the tradition, yet affirmed a possible orthodox interpretation of the *filioque* as an expression of the Spirit's eternal "flowing forth" through or from the Son.

What is the most fascinating about this so-called “third school” is its continuity with the trinitarian thought of Maximus the Confessor and the Cappadocian tradition as he understood it. This is not accidental. In his *Apologia* Gregory of Cyprus testified to his belief that his distinction between hypostatic existence and eternal manifestation was prefigured by Maximus’s own use of ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι in the *Letter to Marinus*. Palamas used *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 as support for his own views on the energetic manifestation of the Spirit through or from the Son. Thus both Gregories made a deliberate attempt to ground themselves in the Confessor’s understanding of the trinitarian mystery, and in doing so preserved the fullness of the tradition as Maximus had elaborated it centuries earlier.

For reasons that shall be made clear in our discussion of the council, the so-called “third school” of Byzantine trinitarian thought was never permitted a hearing at Florence. That is why the Greeks, desperate for aid against the Turks, arrived in the West at a natural disadvantage. Despite the veneer of a united front, the historic divisions between the unionist and anti-unionist (i.e., Photian) positions soon manifested themselves at Florence. Without a constructive alternative able to present the Eastern trinitarian model in a form capable of acceptance by the West (i.e., Maximus’s *Letter to Marinus* as interpreted by “the third school”), the Byzantines were left with only two options:

- 1- Reject the union and return home without Western aid, effectively resigning themselves to Constantinople’s conquest by the Turks.
- 2- Agree to union with the Latins on their terms, accepting not only of the equivalence between the prepositions διὰ and ἐκ, but also the Son as αἰτία of the Spirit’s hypostasis, something Byzantine theology had historically denied.

The Latin delegates, unhindered by such division, were well-positioned to ensure that the Greeks who came to Ferrara-Florence eventually chose the latter.

CHAPTER 3
 THE *FILIOQUE* AND THE PUBLIC DEBATES AT THE
 COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39)

THE ROAD TO FERRARA-FLORENCE

There are three main sources for our knowledge about the Council of Ferrara-Florence: the *Acta graeca* (authored in large part by Dorotheus of Mitylene), the account of the Latin consistory, Andrew da Santa Croce (generally referred to as the *Acta latina*), and the *Memoirs* of the Byzantine Ecclesiarch and Dikeophylax, Sylvester Syropoulos.¹ The last of these, the *Memoirs*, was written by Syropoulos several years after the conclusion of the Council (ca. 1445) and its anti-unionist tone has led many scholars (especially in the West) to read it with a degree of skepticism.² However, recent studies have recognized both the general accuracy of the *Memoirs* and their importance in

¹ Critical edition of the *Acta graeca*: Joseph Gill, ed., *Quae supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini: Res Ferrariae gestae*, CF 5.1.1 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1953) and idem, *Quae supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini: Res Florentinae gestae*, CF 5.2.2 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1953) The account of Andrew da Santa Croce is found in George Hoffman, ed., CF 6: *Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis, Acta Latina Concilii Florentini* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1955). A critical text and French translation of Syropoulos's *Memoirs* is in V. Laurent, ed., *Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, CF 9 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1971). All subsequent references to these works will be to the page numbers of these editions.

² For this older view of Syropoulos's trustworthiness (or lack thereof) see C. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. 7.2 (Paris, 1916), 958–59. Although few today hold this position, there is certainly reason to question the overall objectivity of the account. Syropoulos, a staunch anti-unionist, had himself been a signatory to the union. His description of the Council, emphasizing as it does the imperial desire for union (maintained, on occasion, by the emperor's interference in dogmatic disputes), the financial hardships imposed on the Byzantines, and the general homesickness of the Greek delegates, may, in fact, be something of an apology for his own actions.

providing our only “behind-the-scenes” look at the deliberations and attitudes of the delegates themselves.³

Syropoulos begins his account with the reign of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425), two decades before the Byzantines’ arrival in Italy. Manuel, like many of his predecessors, was keenly aware both of the need for Western aid against the growing Turkish threat to Constantinople and the price for such assistance — willingness to negotiate religious union with Rome.⁴ However, negotiation with the Latin Church was difficult given the confused ecclesiastical situation in the West following the election of two popes in 1378 (Urban VI and Clement VII), and then a third (Alexander V) following the Council of Pisa in 1409. When the Great Schism finally ended in November of 1417 with the election of Pope Martin V, the Byzantine representative, Eudaimonioannes, was already in Rome prepared to negotiate on the emperor’s behalf. By 1420 both parties agreed to hold a council in Constantinople, although in 1422 the advancing Turkish armies made this impossible, and by then Pope Martin was unwilling to have a council (especially one held in the East where the Latins would be outnumbered) discuss matters of faith. Martin then suggested that Byzantines should travel to Italy, believing that since Rome was the mother church, it was more appropriate for the child (i.e., the East) to

³ See Joseph Gill, “The Sources of the ‘Acta’ of the Council of Florence,” and “The ‘Acta’ and the Memoirs of Syropoulos as History,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), 131–77; Deno Geanakoplos, “A New Reading of the *Acta*, especially Syropoulos,” in Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/9* (Louvain: University Press, 1991), 325–51.

⁴ Manuel, as recorded by the Byzantine historian, Sphrantzes, revealed to his son John the best strategy for dealing with the West: “Or last resource against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins. . . . As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of the assembly. . . . The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempts at perfect union will confirm the schism and alienate the churches.” Quoted in Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 6 (New York: Bigelow, Brown & Co., 1845), 422.

come to the parent.⁵ The pope expressed his willingness to provide transport and pay for the delegation, but the patriarch chafed at the idea, claiming that this would make the Greeks his “hireling slaves.”⁶ However, while exact terms were still being prepared (e.g., the location of the meeting) Pope Martin died, leaving all hopes for reunion in the hands of his successor, Eugene IV.

Pope Eugene IV (1431–47) had his own reasons for achieving union with the East. Aside from a genuine desire to end the schism, Eugene knew that a successful reunion council under his presidency would consolidate his position over both the conciliarists and all those (Latin and Greek) who questioned the universal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.⁷ Eugene’s ongoing struggle with the Council of Basel for supremacy in the Western Church only complicated his task, as the Byzantines weighed separate offers from both the pope and the conciliarists, each hoping to strengthen their own position through a union with the East. The fathers at Basel initially had the upper hand, as they were originally supported by the Western emperor (Sigismund) and the secular powers (the very people that the Byzantines needed in their battle against the Turks).⁸ In addition, Basel’s vision of Church governance, stressing as it did the supreme

⁵ *Memoirs*, 2.13; Laurent, 114.

⁶ “To be paid by the Pope means to recognize his authority over myself. And how shall a hireling slave refuse obedience to his master? Think, also, what state we shall be in if, once in a strange land, we meet with a refusal to pay our expenses or the means of returning home.” *Memoirs*, 2.18; Laurent, 120 (Eng. trans: Ivan Ostroumoff, *The History of the Council of Florence* [Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1971], 18).

⁷ For Eugene’s motives see Joseph Gill, “Pope Eugenius IV,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 35–44; idem, *Eugene IV: Pope of Christian Unity* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1961).

⁸ Emperor Sigismund and the other kings of Europe, terrified by the threat of another prolonged schism in the Western Church, eventually abandoned their overt support of Basel (especially as its stance vis-à-vis the pope became more confrontational). Sigismund himself, who might have played a greater role in unifying the Western powers against the growing Turkish threat, died in December of 1437 while the Greeks were still en route to Ferrara (prompting Emperor John to consider the possibility of abandoning the

authority of an ecumenical council was more in keeping with the Greek model. Yet the Byzantines remained undecided. When the papal and conciliarist fleets docked in Constantinople hoping to escort the Greeks to the proposed reunion council, only the emperor's personal intervention prevented them from firing upon one another. Finally, after much discussion, the Emperor and the Patriarch left with Eugene's representatives (who included Antonio Condulmer, Christoph Gavatori, and Nicholas of Cusa), although the Greeks did not exclude the possibility of future contact with the fathers at Basel.⁹

The decision to leave with the papal envoys can be explained, in part, by the mistakes of the conciliarists at Basel.¹⁰ In the preamble to their 1434 decree *Sicut pia mater*, the council declared its intent "to put an end straightaway the recent schism of the Bohemians (i.e., the Hussites) and the ancient one of the dissident Greeks," which the Byzantines immediately took as an insult since it seemingly equated them with a group they knew to be notorious heretics.¹¹ The locations chosen by the conciliarists for the proposed council (Avignon, Basel, or Savoy) were all rejected by the Greeks as being too

whole project and returning to Constantinople). See Joachim Steiber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

⁹ Cusanus, although not present for most of the Council of Florence, played a pivotal role in its development, since many of the ancient manuscripts he had collected in the East (including a copy of Basil's *Adversus Eunomium*) were used by the Latins to support the authenticity of their own codices. Some of the manuscripts he copied had actually been borrowed from Mark Eugenicus of Ephesus, with whom he enjoyed cordial relations. This adds weight to the argument that Mark's hostility to the Latins prior to the Council has been exaggerated.

¹⁰ See Joachim Steiber, "Unity from the Perspectives of the Council Fathers at Basel," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 57–73.

¹¹ "Quamobrem huius sancta synodi ab initio suae congregationis praecipua cura fuit, recens illud Bohemorum antiquumque Graecorum dissidium prorsus extinguere." *Sicut pia mater*. Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Concilium Basileense Scriptorum: Tomus Secundus (1873), 752. For the Byzantine reaction see *Memoirs*, 2.37; Laurent, 142–44.

distant. However, the preeminent reason for the Greeks' choice of the papal fleet was, in the end, the papacy itself. As Joseph Gill has noted:

In spite of Latin conciliar theory, they (i.e., the Greeks) had no doubt that the head of the Latin Church was the Pope; their tradition of negotiation with the West had been with popes; and Eugenius promised the fulfillment of the agreement arrived at with Basel.¹²

Before leaving with the papal envoys in November of 1437, the Byzantines had certain preparations to make for the council. The first was to ensure its ecumenicity, and this meant securing the participation of the other patriarchal sees (Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) and the representatives of the various Slavic churches. Although none of the patriarchs could attend because of the Turkish occupation, they did appoint proxies to act in their stead: Anthony of Heraclea and Mark Eugenicus for Alexandria, Joasaph of Ephesus and Gregory (the emperor's confessor) for Antioch, and Dionysius of Sardis and Isidore for Jerusalem.¹³ Isidore was soon made Archbishop of Kiev, while Dionysius and Bessarion were named Metropolitans (and chosen, along with Mark Eugenicus, as πρόκριτοι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ).

Two of these figures, Bessarion of Nicea and Mark Eugenicus, played pivotal (yet diverse) roles during the council. Bessarion (1403–72) was generally considered among the best orators and most learned of the Byzantine delegates, having been schooled by the great humanist and Platonist, George Gemistus (Pletho).¹⁴ For this reason he was chosen

¹² Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 84.

¹³ The original letters (γράμματα) given to these proxies (ἐπίτροποι) was deemed too limiting, so the emperor sent another envoy insisting that they be given more freedom of action (which they were). Joasaph of Ephesus died soon afterward, so Mark Eugenicus was chosen as both the Antiochene procurator and Metropolitan of Ephesus in his place. Only later, upon the death of Dionysius after the Greeks' arrival in Italy, did Mark become the representative of Jerusalem as well.

¹⁴ Pletho was also present at the Council of Florence and acted as one of the six orators for the Byzantine delegation. A lay philosopher, Pletho's lectures attracted a great deal of interest among the humanists of

(along with Eugenicus) as the Greeks' chief spokesmen both at Ferrara and at Florence. Following the public debates on the *filioque*, Bessarion became the leading advocate for communion with the Latins and the most eloquent apologist for the Florentine union in the wake of its rejection by the East. Bessarion's pre-conciliar allegiance to the theology of the Eastern church (especially Palamism) was questioned in the twentieth century by both Joseph Gill and Emmanuel Candal, although André Halleux has more recently challenged this conclusion.¹⁵ In fact, the evidence suggests that Bessarion journeyed to Italy firmly convinced of the Byzantine position and his actions during the early stages of the council attest to the strength of these convictions.¹⁶ Although Syropoulos and the other anti-unionists later attributed Bessarion's change of heart to jealousy, ambition, or desire for reward (since he, like Isidore, was named a cardinal of the Roman Church),

Florence although his contributions to the *filioque* debates were of little significance. See Constantine Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Forerunners of the Italian Renaissance: Plethon, Bessarion, George of Trebizond, John Argyropoulos, Manuel Chrysoloras, Demetrios Cydones, Barlaam of Calabria," *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 15 (1996/7): 23–57; John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés: Selected Essays* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1995).

¹⁵ See Ludwig Mohler, ed., *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist, und Staatsmann. Funde und Forschungen*, 3 vols. (Paderborn 1923–42; repr.: Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1967); Joseph Gill, "Cardinal Bessarion," in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 45–54; idem, "The Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist," *Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1975): 377–92; idem, "Was Bessarion a Conciliarist or Unionist before the Council of Florence?" in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 204 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1977), 201–19; André Halleux, "Bessarion et le palamisme au concile de Florence," *Irenikon* 62 (1989): 307–32.

¹⁶ For example, Bessarion ably defended Mark Eugenicus (who he referred to as "the holy and most blessed exarch of this holy assembly, the most truly wise and foremost theologian, and our teacher, the Archbishop of Ephesus" [τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ μακαριώτατον ἔξαρχον τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης συγκλήτου, τὸν ὄντως σοφώτατον καὶ θεολόγον ἀκρότατον τουτονὶ τὸν Ἐφέσου ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἡμέτερον διδάσκαλον. *Acta graeca*, 46]) when, early in the proceedings, he came under threat of imperial censure for his imprudent language. Also, it was Bessarion who argued that the Byzantines should directly challenge the Latins on the theology of the *filioque*, believing that, "we can say much about the doctrine, and say it well, and need not cower before the Latins. Cabasilas wrote only four pages on the subject of the addition, yet the speeches we ourselves have made are enough for a book. On the subject of the doctrine he wrote a whole book, and so surely we shall be able to say a great deal." ("Ἐχομεν γὰρ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ περὶ τῆς δόξης, καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ὑποπτήσσειν τοὺς Λατίνους. ὅμως εἰς τὸ περὶ τῆς προσθήκης λέγει ὁ Καβάσιλας φύλλα τέσσαρα, καὶ οἱ λόγοι, οὓς εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτό, εἰσι βιβλίον ἓν. εἰς δὲ τὸ περὶ τῆς δόξης ἔνθα γράφει ἐκεῖνος βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον, οὐ δυνήσομεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ. *Memoirs*, 7.12; Laurent, 362).

this charge too appears groundless.¹⁷ However, Gill proposed a more credible explanation, that “the more the Metropolitan of Nicea studied the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the deeper was his understanding of the Latin doctrine and the firmer his conviction of its orthodoxy.”¹⁸ Especially powerful were the arguments of the Dominican John Montenero, which (as shall be shown later) finally persuaded Bessarion that the Photian position was untenable in light of the patristic witness.¹⁹

Unpersuaded by the Latin case, and leader of the anti-unionists at the council, was Bessarion’s counterpart, Mark Eugenicus of Ephesus (1392–1445).²⁰ Mark had also been a student of Pletho’s before taking the monastic habit and becoming a disciple of the great Palamite and anti-unionist teacher, Joseph Bryennius. Although Bryennius’s influence and Mark’s monastic background explain, in part, his theological conservatism, this should not be taken to mean that he was instinctually anti-Latin. In fact, Mark came to Ferrara-Florence with a genuine hope of reestablishing ecclesial communion, his only condition being the removal of the *filioque* from the creed. As Mark stated in his opening address to Pope Eugene:

¹⁷ Eugenicus himself claimed Bessarion had made himself a servant, paid off with papal gold and cardinal red: “Σύ ὑπάρχεις κοπέλιν καὶ ἐποίησας καὶ ὡς κοπέλιν.” *Memoirs*, 9.11; Laurent, 446.

¹⁸ Gill, “The Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist,” 391.

¹⁹ For more on Bessarion and the fathers see Francis X. Murphy, “Bessarion’s Patristic Heritage,” *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989): 250–55.

²⁰ Views of Mark Eugenicus, like those of Bessarion, have largely divided along denominational lines. For the Orthodox view see Constantine Tsirpanlis, ed., “St. Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 10 (1991): 104–92; idem; *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence: An Historical Re-evaluation of his Personality* (New York: Κεντρον Βυζαντινων Ερευνων, 1979); Alexander Schmemmann, “St. Mark of Ephesus and the Theological Conflicts in Byzantium,” *St. Vladimir’s Seminary Quarterly* 1 (1957): 11–24. A more critical view of Mark’s personality and theological acumen can be found in Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. 7.2; Gill, “Mark Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Ephesus,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 55–64. The most recent, and perhaps most balanced, study of Mark (with a complete review of the primary and secondary literature) is Nicholas Conostas, “Mark Eugenicus,” in Conticello and Conticello, eds., *La théologie Byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, 411–75.

This Symbol, this noble heritage of our Fathers, we demand back from you. Restore it then as you received it. . . . The addition of a word seems to you a small matter and of no great consequence. So then to remove it would cost you nothing; indeed it would be of the greatest profit, for it would bind together all Christians. . . . It [i.e., the *filioque*] was added in the exercise of mercy; in the exercise of mercy remove it again so that you may receive to your bosoms brethren torn apart who value fraternal love so highly.²¹

When it became apparent that the Latins had no intention of altering their creed, Mark increasingly became an outright opponent to union with the West. He claimed that the Latins were both schismatics and heretics who used corrupted and spurious texts to prove their case.²² Both during the public sessions and after Mark remained the strongest advocate for the Photian understanding of the Spirit's procession ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, unwilling to see the orthodox faith sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. For this reason he alone among the Greek delegates refused to sign the decree of union, allegedly prompting Pope Eugene to comment: "Then we accomplished nothing" (Λοιπὸν ἐποιήσαμεν οὐδέν).²³

²¹ *Acta graeca*, 216 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 163).

²² Mark, alone among the Byzantines, was unafraid to say that "the Latins are not only schismatics, but heretics," (προσθεὶς ὅτι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶν οἱ Λατῖνοι σχισματικοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰρετικοί) and if previous generations of Greeks had been silent about this it was only because the Latins were so many in number or because of hopes of converting them. *Acta graeca*, 400. Mark's intemperate language angered the unionists, especially the Bishops of Mitylene and Lacedaemon, "who could barely restrain themselves from rushing upon him to tear him to pieces with their teeth and hands." They then threatened to tell the pope, so that Mark could receive his just punishment. *Memoirs*, 9.10; Laurent, 444 (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization*, 224).

²³ *Memoirs*, 10.15; Laurent, 496. Pope Eugene later referred to "that wretched Ephesian, spewing out his poisonous thought everywhere. If only the emperor had consented to his being punished as he deserved, in the same way that Constantine permitted the punishment of Arius — that poison of the Church — . . . both time and money would not have been wasted." George Hoffman, ed., CF 1.3: *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes cum indicibus ad partes 1–3* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1946), 17–18 (Eng. trans: Constan, "Mark Eugenicus," in Conticello and Conticello, eds., *La théologie Byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, 420).

One other delegate worthy of special mention is George (Gennadius) Scholarius (1405–72), originally a staunch advocate of the Florentine union.²⁴ Despite his early studies under Mark Eugenicus, Scholarius became a committed Thomist and translator of Aquinas’s works into Greek, and was thus familiar with (and sympathetic to) the arguments presented by the scholastics at the council.²⁵ At Florence he berated his fellow delegates for their lack of learning and their inability to effectively counter the more reasoned arguments of the Latins.²⁶ Although, as a layman, he was not extremely active in the Council’s deliberations, Scholarius’s interventions following the public sessions (especially his *On the Need for Aiding Constantinople*) were pivotal in convincing the Greeks of the necessity of union.

With the delegation set, the theological preparation for the Council began in earnest. The most important question to be decided was the focus of the upcoming

²⁴ See Michael Azkoul, “St. George Scholarius and the Latin Theological Tradition,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 10 (1991): 167–72; C. J. G. Turner, “George-Gennadius Scholarius and the Union of Florence,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967): 83–103; Gill, “George Scholarius,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 79–94. A full biography and review of secondary literature is found in Franz Tinnefeld, “George Gennadios Scholarius,” in Conticello and Conticello, eds., *La théologie Byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, 477–549.

²⁵ In his introduction to Thomas’s *De ente at essentia* (ca. 1444–50) Scholarius wrote, “I doubt that Thomas has any more fervent disciple than me. The man who has attached himself to him will have no need of any other Muse, and if he manages thoroughly to understand him, he can think himself happy indeed.” L. Petit and M. Jugie, eds., *Oeuvres complètes* vol. 7 (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1928–36), 3 (Eng trans: Gill, “George Scholarius,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 81). Scholarius’s rejection of the union following the death of Mark Eugenicus did not end his admiration for Aquinas. He wrote: “O excellent Thomas, why did heaven give you birth in the West? (If you had been born in the East) you would not have defended the deviations of the Western Church on the procession of the Holy Spirit and on the distinction between the essence of God and His energy, and you would be our impeccable master in doctrine, just as you still are in the field of ethics.” Petit and Jugie, *Oeuvres complètes* vol. 6, 1 (Eng. trans: John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* [New York: Fordham University Press, 1974], 112). It is thus not surprising that among the first recorded uses of transubstantiation in its Greek form (μετουσίωσις) was in Scholarius’s (or Patriarch Gennadius II, as he was then known) 1453 “Homily on the Sacramental Body of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

²⁶ See, for example, his *De pace deque adiuvanda patria adhortatio*; Joseph Gill, ed., CF 8.1: *Orationes Georgii Scholarii in Concilio Florentino habitae* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1964), 5–20.

conciliar debate: should the Greeks first discuss the legitimacy of the addition or the theology behind the dogma? The majority, led by Cantacuzene and supported by Mark Eugenicus, maintained that the first subject discussed must be the interpolation as it was the primary cause of the schism.²⁷ This position was generally accepted, although Scholarius and Eugenicus were assigned the task of studying the works of Nilus Cabasilas (including his refutation of the syllogisms of Aquinas) in preparation for the dogmatic discussions, should they become necessary.²⁸

As they left Constantinople, both Patriarch Joseph II and the emperor were optimistic that a face-to-face meeting with the pope would end the sad division of the churches and bring needed military aid to their besieged city. The elderly patriarch was particularly keen to meet the pope, which is why, despite the obvious risks to his health, he boarded the ship for a prolonged journey to the west. Many of the delegates were equally as optimistic, believing that the Latin case would quickly collapse under the weight of the patristic evidence, and convinced that the council itself would last only a few short weeks. Events, however, would prove that their collective optimism was completely unjustified.

²⁷ *Memoirs*, 3.8; Laurent, 168.

²⁸ *Memoirs*, 3.10; Laurent, 170. According to Gill, Bessarion was also “thoroughly conversant” with the work of Cabasilas, although he later showed a preference for the more patristically grounded *Epigraphae* of John Beccus. Gill, “Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist,” 385. In addition to Cabasilas, Eugenicus seems to have collected his own *florilegia* in support of the Greek position. These texts can be found in Ludivico Petit, ed., *CF 10.2: Marci Eugenici, metropolitae Ephesi, opera antiunionistica* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1977), 34–59. This collection will be discussed at length in the following chapter, especially Mark’s use of Maximus the Confessor.

THE ETHOS OF THE COUNCIL

Christian East and West were about to come together in council to discuss the restoration of full ecclesial communion, and yet the reality was that after centuries of estrangement the two halves of Christendom knew very little about the theological ethos of the other and neither was particularly eager to change the situation.²⁹ While the Latins had made at least some effort to study the Eastern fathers, there was a woeful ignorance of Augustine and the Western fathers among the Greeks.³⁰ The Byzantines' inability to read Latin and the paucity of good translations explains this in part, but a more significant reason for the Greeks' decision to ignore the West was their centuries-long suspicion of the Roman Church and of all things considered "Frankish."³¹ According to John Meyendorff,

the intellectual and spiritual estrangement had gone too far for them (i.e., the Byzantines) to become aware of what was really happening intellectually, spiritually, theologically in the Western Church. Of the great mass of

²⁹ As Yves Congar wrote: "In substance it (i.e., the schism) consisted in the acceptance of the situation of non-rapport. . . . Not that the schism is of itself the estrangement . . . it was the acceptance of the estrangement." Yves Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years: The Background of the Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1959), 88–89.

³⁰ Aquinas's *Contra Errores Graecorum*, for example, made ample use of Greek patristic literature, as has already been noted. See Chapter 2, n. 100–101. Among the Byzantines, Palamas appears as that rare exception who made a genuine effort to incorporate at least some insights from the Bishop of Hippo into his trinitarian vision. See Flogaus, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited"; idem, "Die Theologie des Gregorios Palamas — Hindernis oder Hilfe für die ökumenische Verständigung?" *Ostkirchliche Studien* 47 (1998):105–23. As for the majority of the delegates, they several time admitted their total ignorance of the Latin tradition: "If we cannot discern in certain of our own manuscripts of Chrysostom, which we read from infancy to old age, the false or true, what will it be regarding the Western saints, of which we have never known or read the writings?" *Memoirs*, 9.7; Laurent, 440.

³¹ See especially the work of Deno Geanakoplos: *Constantinople and the West* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); *Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); "The Council of Florence (1438-1439) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," *Church History* 24 (1955): 324-46; *Byzantine East and Latin West* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966); "An Orthodox View of the Councils of Basel (1431–49) and Florence (1438-39) as Paradigm for the Study of Modern Ecumenical Councils," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985): 311–34.

contemporary Latin writings . . . nothing was translated into Greek. Those few Greek intellectuals who knew Latin seemed to have been impressed with the basically positive approach of Latin Scholasticism towards Greek philosophy, but never understood the institutional implications of Western theological developments of their time.³²

The Latins, however, were hardly guiltless in this matter. While there was an effort to translate and study the Greek fathers, the West had long since lost the ability to understand them on their own terms.³³ According to John Erickson, “the Latins were oblivious to the basic intuitions and concerns of the Greek patristic tradition. . . . Misjudging the weight and consistency of their sometimes questionable sources, they sought to fit the theology of others into their own narrow system.”³⁴ For the Romans, Ferrara-Florence was not going to be a “meeting of brothers” but the first stage in the *reductio Graecorum* so that ultimately the Byzantines could be incorporated in the Roman Church in terms determined by the Pope and his supporters.

John Meyendorff and others have asked whether or not, given this lack of a shared *sensus ecclesiae*, real discussion about the issues dividing East and West was ever possible at Ferrara-Florence.³⁵ There is certainly enough *prima facie* evidence to support

³² John Meyendorff, “Was There an Encounter between East and West at Florence?” in *Rome Constantinople and Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998), 99..

³³ Aquinas, for example, was particularly enamored with the work of John Chrysostom, whose commentaries on Matthew he once claimed were preferable to the glories of Paris. Although he could not read the Greek fathers in their own language, he obtained many works in Latin translations and utilized them throughout his writings. See Leo Elders, “Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers of the Church” in Backus, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 337–66.

³⁴ John Erickson, “*Filioque* and the Fathers at the Council of Florence,” in *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1991), 163.

³⁵ See John Meyendorff, “Was There an Encounter between East and West at Florence?” 87–111. Josef Macha has argued that while the Byzantine elite was more open to union with Rome (having the most to lose by a Turkish occupation and having the flexibility of mind to appreciate the issues at hand), Florence was “pre-mature” in that the Greek populace was still not prepared to accept the orthodoxy of their Latin counterparts. Although Macha believes that the populace could have been converted to unionism, the Turkish occupation and the subsequent destruction of the unionist hierarchy made this

Meyendorff's argument, even if one leaves aside (for the moment) the tone and tenor of the theological debates. The long-simmering cultural and ecclesiastical differences that had separated the two halves of Christendom for over four centuries immediately manifested themselves upon the Greeks' arrival in the West, quickly dispelling any hopes either side might have had for a speedy reconciliation.

Syropoulos's *Memoirs* vividly describe the Byzantines' arrival in Venice after several weeks at sea and their mixed feelings about their Latin hosts.³⁶ Immediately the Venetians welcomed their Byzantine guests with a lavishly prepared banquet, with meats and birds of all descriptions, apparently unaware the Greeks had already started their pre-Lenten fast.³⁷ While the Greeks were awed by the impressive display of Venetian pomp and wealth, they could not help but notice (with great sadness) that many of the icons and artifacts on display at St. Mark's had been appropriated from Hagia Sofia during the Fourth Crusade.³⁸ The Patriarch offended many of his Venetian hosts by referring to Eugene as his "brother," and was genuinely shocked when, in a not-so-fraternal gesture, the papal envoys informed him that he was expected to conform to the Latin custom of

impossible. See Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 198 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1974).

³⁶ For a description of the voyage see *Memoirs* 4.1–15; Laurent, 196–212.

³⁷ *Memoirs*, 4.19; Laurent, 216. Gill questions Syropoulos's accuracy on this point, as the week of preparation in 1438 began not on the eighth of February (when the Venetian feast allegedly took place), but on the seventeenth. See Gill, *Council of Florence*, 99 n. 1. If Syropoulos is correct, it certainly would have reinforced the Byzantine perception (expressed in so many anti-Latin tracts) that Western fasting practices were too lax.

³⁸ *Memoirs* 4.25; Laurent, 222–224.

kissing the pope's foot.³⁹ Joseph immediately rejected the proposal and threatened to return immediately to Constantinople if the protocol was not changed.

Whence has the pope this right? Which synod gave it to him? Show me from what source he derives this privilege and where it is written? The pope claims that he is the successor of St. Peter. But if he is the successor of Peter, then we too are the successors of the rest of the apostles. Did they kiss the foot of St. Peter? . . . This is an innovation and I will not follow it. . . . If the pope wants a brotherly embrace in accordance with ancient ecclesiastical custom, I will be happy to embrace him, but if he refuses, I will abandon everything and return to Constantinople.⁴⁰

While Eugene consented to dispense with the custom (as long as the welcoming ceremony was done privately), other matters of protocol soon caused consternation among the Greeks.⁴¹ Seating arrangements in the council hall originally placed the pope in the center of the church (so that he could preside over the debates), with Latins and Greeks on either side of him. When the Greeks refused, the pope's throne was placed on the right side of the church, with thrones for the Eastern emperor, Patriarch Joseph, and the rest of the Byzantines on the left.⁴² However, the Patriarch's representatives

³⁹ For his part, the patriarch believed his relationship to the pope (which he always intended to be familial) would be determined by their age, not by their respective rank within the pentarchy. While in Venice he confided to one of Eugene's representatives: "If the pope is older than I am, I will consider him as my father; if my equal in age, I will consider him as my brother; if younger, I will consider my son" ("ἵνα εἰ μὲν ὁ πάπας πρωτεύῃ μου κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, ἔχω αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα μου, εἰ δὲ ἰσότης ἡμῖν ἔνεστι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, ἔχω αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφόν μου, εἰ δὲ νεώτερός μου τυγχάνει, ἔχω αὐτὸν ὡς υἱόν μου.) *Memoirs*, 4.31; Laurent, 230. As a matter of record, Joseph was (by Traversari's guess) almost eighty at the time of the council, while Eugene was only fifty-five.

⁴⁰ *Memoirs*, 4.33; Laurent, 232–34 (Eng. trans: Deno Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence [1438-1439] and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," in *Constantinople and the West* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989], 235).

⁴¹ Gill suggests that these disagreements were minor in nature and should not be exaggerated. However, Constantina Scourtis-Gaddis, in her unpublished dissertation from UCLA, *Tradition and Innovation in Conciliar Procedure: The Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39)*, has demonstrated how these procedural debates manifested very diverse interpretations of both the nature of the Church and the respective roles of both the pope and an ecumenical council.

⁴² A throne was also prepared adjacent to the pope's for the Western emperor, although it remained vacant in light of Sigismund's death and the continued absence of his successor, Albert II.

complained because the papal throne was elevated and more ornately decorated, with no spaces near Joseph allotted for the *Staurophoroi*.⁴³ There was even debate about the method of voting, since the Byzantine hierarchs were greatly outnumbered by their Latin counterparts.⁴⁴ Adding to the atmosphere of distrust that had begun to take shape, the Bishop of Ferrara refused permission for the Greek clergy to use his churches for the divine liturgy.⁴⁵ Simply put, Greeks and Latins no longer recognized each other as members of the same church.⁴⁶ A poignant reminder of this reality is found in the words of an anonymous Greek prelate:

When I enter a Latin church, I do not revere any of the (images of the) saints that are there because I do not recognize them. At the most I may recognize Christ, but I do not revere him either since I do not know in what terms he is inscribed. So I make the sign of the cross and I revere the sign that I have made myself and not anything that I see there.⁴⁷

These anecdotes, considered collectively, certainly support Meyendorff's view of the council, although they should not be taken to mean that the theological debates, which began shortly after its formal opening on April 9, 1438, were destined to failure.⁴⁸ While

⁴³ Among the *Staurophoroi*, whom the Latins likened to the Roman cardinals, were John Eugenicus (Mark's brother) and Syropoulos himself. The Patriarch's throne (whose dimensions were precisely measured) was equal in height to that of the Roman cardinals, but lower than both the imperial thrones. *Acta latina*, 28–29.

⁴⁴ There is some discrepancy about the number of Latin bishops. The *Acta graeca* counts 150 Latin hierarchs (*Acta graeca*, 10), but elsewhere 200 (*Acta graeca*, 13). The *Acta latina* records 160, including the pope, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, archbishops, bishops and abbots. *Acta latina*, 29.

⁴⁵ *Memoirs*, 4.46–47; Laurent, 251–53.

⁴⁶ See G. R. Evans, "The Council of Florence and the Problem of Ecclesial Identity," in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 177–85.

⁴⁷ *Memoirs*, 4.46; Laurent, 250 (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization*, 380–81).

⁴⁸ The emperor pushed for a four month delay before formal debate began (as he was still hoping for representatives from the Western powers to come to Ferrara), but the pope requested that informal discussions take place between small delegations from each side. This was probably done, as Gill suggests, for financial reasons, since the cost of maintaining over 700 Greek delegates was quickly emptying the

the theological style of the Latins relied heavily on syllogistic reasoning and the scholastic method, both Latins and Greeks knew that the questions under discussion must ultimately be decided by patristic/conciliar authority.⁴⁹ If there was one generally admitted principle serving as the point of departure for the theological dialogue it was that, since all held firm to the testimony of Sacred Scripture and the holy fathers, their witness was enough to settle all disputes and put an end to the debate.⁵⁰ The shared patristic heritage became the “glue” that held the council together despite differences in language, culture and theological temperament.⁵¹

There was, of course, the question over which fathers to follow, since the Greeks’ knowledge of the Western fathers (and the Latins’ knowledge of the East) was, on the whole, rather poor. Most of what each side understood of the other’s tradition was gained through *florilegia* in translations, not by firsthand knowledge of the sources themselves. This made understanding the referenced patristic quotations extremely

papal treasury. See Gill, “The Cost of the Council of Florence,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 186–203. By May a committee of ten delegates from each side (or sixteen, if the *Acta latina* are to be believed) was appointed to discuss one of the contested issues. The Greek spokesmen were Bessarion and Mark Eugenicus, while the Latins were represented by Cardinal Julian Cesarini, Andrew of Rhodes, and John of Torquemada, all of whom would play pivotal roles in the council’s public sessions. While the emperor prohibited his delegates from bringing up the *filioque* in these initial meetings, the Latins (led by Cesarini) kept pushing the importance of tackling the dogmatic questions. Eventually, of the four major issues under debate (*filioque*, azymes, primacy, and purgatory), the Latins finally settled upon purgatory.

⁴⁹ This is why, in part, Mark of Ephesus insisted that the canons of the first seven councils be read out in open session. The Latins, eager to move on with the debate, initially objected to this request claiming that the Greeks could, if they wished, read them privately. Yet despite these objections the pope grudgingly allowed Mark to read out, and comment upon, the canons of the early councils.

⁵⁰ As enunciated by Montenero: “Propterea videtur illud inter nos constare debere, Sacrae Scripturae testimonia, sanctorumque patrum quos secundo loco ecclesia sancta recipit, sententias in his disputationibus afferendas, habenda esse veluti quosdam terminus nostrae disceptationis, quos transgredi non licet aut augumentanti aut respodenti.” *Acta graeca*, 252.

⁵¹ See Vlassios Phidas, “Herméneutique et Patristique au Concile de Florence,” in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 303–23.

difficult, since they were always read outside of the context of the original work and the author's corpus as a whole). As John Erickson has written:

All agreed that we must look to the fathers, but in the absence of a common living tradition, this meant looking to the words of the fathers rather than to their message. . . . At the council both sides relied on assembling proof-texts, claiming for these isolated words the full message and authority of the fathers. This hardly is the mark of success.⁵²

The fathers simply became “weapons” in the hands of two adversaries, each hoping to beat the other into submission with the weight of the patristic evidence. As G. R. Evans characterized the Florentine debates:

The purpose was to prove the other side in error and thus win agreement to their side's view. The notion that there might be no need for concession or compromise if the teaching of each side is examined in search of common doctrine, that it might prove to be the case that both were right and had merely misunderstood one another's drift, is harder to find. . . . The difference is significant. The first approach is adversarial, the second convergent.⁵³

In this battle the Latins had the advantage, often presenting unfamiliar patristic texts to the Greeks that either explicitly or implicitly endorsed the Western position on the disputed points.⁵⁴ This often put the Greek anti-unionists in a difficult position, since it was a universally accepted principle that there existed a “symphony of the saints”

⁵² John Erickson, “*Filioque* and the Fathers at the Council of Florence,” in *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1991), 162, 166.

⁵³ G. R. Evans, “The Council of Florence and the Problem of Ecclesial Identity,” in Alberigo, *Christian Unity*, 183.

⁵⁴ It was particularly embarrassing to the Byzantines when the texts presented were from the Greek fathers. For example, in the debates over purgatory the Latins put forward citations from Gregory of Nyssa that seemingly endorsed the Latin view of a “purgative fire” (*De mortuis*, PG 46, 524–25). Responding to the Latins, Mark repeated the argument that Photius had used centuries earlier concerning the place of Augustine: an individual father may have spoken incorrectly about a particular subject, but this did not negate his overall sanctity. In the case of Nyssa, Mark believed him to have been tainted with the Origenist heresy (i.e., apokatastasis), but since this was not condemned until the sixth century it was impossible to apply this judgment to a father long dead and unable to defend his views. See James Jorgenson, “The Debate over Patristic Texts on Purgatory at the Council of Ferrara-Florence,” *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 30 (1986): 309–34.

making it impossible for the Western and Eastern fathers (who were inspired by the same Spirit), to teach two substantially different faiths. This axiom was enunciated several times throughout the council, and was the lynchpin of Bessarion's argument for union in chapter two of his *Oratio dogmatica*.⁵⁵ There was one Christ, one faith, and one Spirit — if some fathers spoke of procession “from the Son” and others of procession “through the Son” they must, by necessity, have been referring to the same reality.

However, there were certain methodological difficulties in utilizing the patristic witness, as the record of the debates clearly demonstrates.⁵⁶ The first, and most problematic, was the authenticity of the texts themselves. Both Greeks and Latins possessed their own sets of codices (which the other could borrow upon request), but often there were significant discrepancies in their respective texts. Although this problem became particularly acute during the *filioque* debates, it can be seen much earlier during the first sessions on the addition. After the reading of the decrees of the earlier ecumenical councils, Cardinal Cesarini produced an allegedly ancient codex containing the acts of the seventh council, but with the phrase *et ex Filio* added to the creed.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁵ Emmanuel Candal, ed., *Bessarion Nicaenus, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Oratio dogmatica de unione*, CF 7.1 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1958), 10–15. These arguments are summarized in Gill, *Council of Florence*, 240–1.

⁵⁶ John Erikson once suggested that the Council of Florence might have been more productive if only the delegates had access to a reliable copy of Migne's *Patrologia Latina et Graeca*. Erickson, “*Filioque* and the Fathers at Florence,” 163.

⁵⁷ Cesarini was not being disingenuous. He claimed to have knowledge of an edition of the acts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh councils (brought from Constantinople by Nicholas of Cusa) that also contained the phrase *et ex Filio*, but so badly erased that the words remained visible. See Gill, *Council of Florence*, 149 n.1.

Greeks knew that this text had been interpolated, and it was Pletho who happily pointed out this fact to the Latins.⁵⁸

If the testimonies of your copy and your historian were just, or at least had been known long ago to the Church of Rome, then no doubt your Thomas Aquinas and divines preceding would not have made use of so many other arguments to prove the validity of the addition. Instead of this, they might have simply referred to the addition made to the creed by the seventh ecumenical council. But your divines are silent about this.⁵⁹

There is no doubt that this early encounter strengthened the conviction of those (like Mark Eugenicus) who believed that many of the Latin texts had either been corrupted or interpolated by supporters of *filioque*. While he accepted the principle of the “symphony of the saints,” Mark did not necessarily accept that every purported utterance in support of the Latin doctrine had to be genuine, or that later supporters of the *filioque* had not added to the authentic writings of the fathers. This was especially true of those Latin works that the Greeks were encountering for the first time.⁶⁰ As the debates continued, Mark increasingly relied upon this argument to support his rejection of the union, earning him the scorn of Bessarion and Scholarius, who called his position the height of stupidity.⁶¹

⁵⁸ It was, after all, Tarasius’s confession of procession “through the Son” that had occasioned Theodulf’s attack in the *Liber Carolini*. See page 63.

⁵⁹ *Memoirs*, 6.31; Laurent, 330–32 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *The History of the Council of Florence*, 72).

⁶⁰ When the emperor later asked their opinion on the authenticity of the Latin writers, the majority of the Greeks declared: “Till now we have never known the Latin saints nor read them. Now however we have come to know them, have read them, and receive them.” Mark, however, disagreed: “I am not even certain whether these words really are those of the holy Fathers. We have none of their writings.” *Acta graeca*, 427; *Memoirs*, 9.7; Laurent, 440. Eugenicus, like many of the Greek delegates, knew no Latin.

⁶¹ According to John Erickson, while “Mark’s theory of wholesale fabrication is rather farfetched . . . spurious texts did play a certain role in the ‘success’ of the council, particularly in the way in which the crucial problem of the procession of the Holy Spirit was addressed.” Erickson, “*Filioque* and the Fathers at the Council of Florence,” 160.

Who would dare suggest such a thing — complete homilies, commentaries on the gospels, whole theological treatises — why, if we remove these from their books, nothing would remain but blank pages!⁶²

The second methodological concern was the proper translation of patristic texts. Very few of the delegates were bi-lingual, which is why the interpreters and translators (like Ambrogio Traversari) played such a central role. During the discussions at Ferrara about purgatory and the addition, the Byzantines objected to way the Latins had translated certain Greek patristic texts. One exchange, of particular interest for our study, occurred between Andrew of Rhodes and the Greek interpreter, Nicholas Secundinus on the proper translation of Maximus's *Letter to Marinus*. According to the *Acta graeca*, while the letter was being read in Greek (with Andrew translating for the Latins), Nicholas interrupted and claimed that he had not understood the text correctly:

Father, you did not interpret well the statement in which the saint says that the Romans acknowledge one source of the Spirit. For Saint Maximus does not say this, but rather that they do not make the Son the cause of the Holy Spirit. Then he goes on, "For they acknowledge one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father."⁶³

As with the authenticity issue, it is likely that this episode only deepened the Byzantines' suspicions that that Latins were willfully trying to deceive them through manipulation of the patristic witnesses. The fact that Andrew was a native Greek-speaker and thus could not be acquitted by virtue of his ignorance of the language gave credence to this charge. Regardless of the cause, the incident demonstrated the problems associated with the translation of patristic texts, especially when neither party appeared

⁶² *Acta graeca*, 401 (Eng. trans: Gill, "The Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist," 387).

⁶³ Οὐ καλῶς ἠρμήνευσας, πάτερ, τὸ ρητόν, ἐν οἷς λέγεις τὸν ἅγιον λέγοντα, μίαν εἶδέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος: οὐχ οὕτω γὰρ φησιν ὁ ἅγιος Μάξιμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Υἱὸν οὐ ποιοῦσιν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος: εἶτα ἐπάγει: Μίαν γὰρ ἴσασιν αἰτίαν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τὸν Πατέρα. *Acta graeca*, 132

particularly eager to understand the deeper meaning of what was being said. Writing in the first half of the twentieth century about this issue, V. Grumel observed:

What was above all required, but no one thought of doing it, was for each side frankly and loyally to explain the terms that it used and for this to be followed by a mutual tolerance, leaving each Church free to retain its traditional way of expressing dogma, leaving intact the unity of the faith in a diversity of languages and formulae.⁶⁴

Yet the methodological question that was the most vexing, and also the most divisive, was the hermeneutical one: should the Greek fathers, who wrote ambiguously of the Spirit's procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, be interpreted in light of the Western fathers (as interpreted by the Carolingians and their heirs), or should the Latin patristic witness be read through the Photian lens (i.e., that procession takes place ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς)? The working premise of the Greek unionists was that the former option was logically sounder, an argument that a majority of the delegation eventually came to embrace.

It is logical that the words of those who spoke more obscurely should be interpreted by the clearer utterances of the others, which in the present case means to explain the Greek fathers by the Latin. Still for the Easterns the eastern fathers have more weight, so the task is to prove from these that they agree with the western saints.⁶⁵

This meant, in the case of the *filioque*, advancing the argument that John Beccus had advocated two centuries earlier in the *Epigraphae*: that the prepositions διὰ (“through”) and ἐκ (“from”) were often used synonymously by the fathers, and thus when the Greeks had spoken of procession ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ Υἱοῦ they actually were agreeing with the substance of the Roman formula. Bessarion thus believed that the orthodoxy of

⁶⁴ V. Grumel, “S. Thomas et la doctrine des Grecs sur la procession du Saint-Esprit,” *Echos d'Orient* 25 (1926): 279.

⁶⁵ Candal, ed., *Bessarion Nicaenus : Oratio dogmatica de unione*, 18–19 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 240).

the *filioque* was clearly demonstrable from the patristic witness, and that the Greeks had no other alternative than to accept the Latin teaching as their own.

The anti-unionists, led by Mark of Ephesus, clearly rejected this argument. They believed that the Latin writers should be both explained and judged by the Greek fathers, who were not only the “teachers” of the Western saints, but also the key figures in the fourth- and fifth-century trinitarian debates from which much of the debated literature had originated.⁶⁶ For this reason the only Latin fathers whose writings Mark would ultimately recognize as orthodox were those that conformed to the Eastern teaching as found in Maximus’s *Letter to Marinus*, the works of Cyril of Alexandria, and the creeds of the great councils.⁶⁷ This led him to reject many of the Latin texts as spurious or interpolated since they appeared to contradict the patristic consensus by teaching the double procession and attributing causality to the Son.

THE *FILIOQUE* DEBATES

Debate on the *filioque* did not begin until March 2, 1438 (the second session at Florence) after the council had left Ferrara because of an outbreak of plague (and, just as importantly, because of the Florentine offer to assist the pope with his financial

⁶⁶ This approach certainly has some merit, especially if one maintains that Augustine had read the Cappadocian fathers. According to Lewis Ayres, “The specific question of Cappadocian influence on Augustine has been the subject of debate throughout the century. T. De Regnon rejected the influence of Nazianzen’s account of ‘relationship’ on Augustine while I. Chevalier argued strongly in favor of this influence via the translation of some of Gregory’s *Orations* by Rufinus of Aquileia. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence of this translation in Augustine’s corpus . . . Hilary or even Augustine may have read Basil’s *Against Eunomius* . . . (yet) it has proved difficult to find any compelling textual evidence.” Lewis Ayres, “Cappadocians” in Allan Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans Publishing, 1999), 121–24.

⁶⁷ *Memoirs*, 8.6, 9.7; Laurent 394, 440–42.

obligations to the Byzantine delegates).⁶⁸ After sixteen months in the West the Greeks were tired, homesick, and wearied by the prolonged debates that had marked both the discussions on purgatory and on the addition to the creed.⁶⁹ Frustrated by the seemingly endless public sessions, they began to express their desire to return home.

Therefore we Greeks began to get irritated, not only the hierarchs, but also all the clerics, the nobles, and the whole assembly, saying: What are we doing speaking and listening to empty words? They will not persuade us, nor we them; for this reason we ought to turn back to our city.⁷⁰

The debate on the addition was particularly aggravating for the Greeks, as the Latins (led by Andrew of Rhodes) consistently resorted to syllogistic reasoning to prove that the *filioque* was not an addition, but rather a clarification permitted by the canons as long as the orthodoxy of the proposition was proved.⁷¹ For the Latin delegation the

⁶⁸ See Gill, “The Cost of the Council of Florence,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 186–203. One of the stipulations made by the Greeks for the council’s transference was that while at Florence “the payment of their allowances should be direct and not dependant on his (i.e., the pope’s) Camera.” Ibid, 200. However, the length of the council and the increasing cost of supporting such a large undertaking still made payment irregular, prompting Syropoulos’s continued references to the poverty of the Greek delegation.

⁶⁹ Discussion on purgatory lasted from June 4 to July 17. Public debates on the addition held at Ferrara lasted sixteen sessions, from October 8 to January 10.

⁷⁰ Οἱ Γραικοὶ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἠρξάμεθα ἀγανακτεῖν, οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ κληρικοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συγκλητικοὶ καὶ ὅσον ἄθροισμα τούτων ἐστὶ, λέγοντες: Τί ποιῶμεν λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ἐπὶ κενοῖς ῥήμασιν; οὔτε αὐτοὶ μέλλουσι πείσαι ἡμᾶς, οὔτε ἡμεῖς αὐτούς: διὰ τοῦτο πρέπει ἡμῖν ἐπιστραφῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. *Acta graeca*, 217.

⁷¹ Andrew’s argument, based on Aristotle’s *De generatione et corruptione*, was as follows: “An exposition or development is not an addition; but the *filioque* is a development being contained in *ex Patre*—therefore it is not an addition. . . . Every addition is from without . . . but development or clarification is not from without—therefore it is not an addition.” *Acta graeca*, 92–93 (Eng. trans: Gill, Council of Florence, 151). Even the pro-unionist Isidore of Kiev claimed that these Latin syllogisms and reliance upon pagan philosophers had only deepened the schism and made theological dialogue more difficult (See his *Exhortatoria oratio ad concilium*; George Hoffman and Emmanuele Candal, eds., *Isidorus Arch. Kioviensis et totius Russiae, Sermones inter Concilium Florentinum conscripti et Card. Iuliani Cesarini Memoria de additione ad symbolum* CF 10.1 [Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1971], 54–80). One Byzantine delegate, frustrated by the tenor of the debate exclaimed, “Why Aristotle, Aristotle? Aristotle is no good. . . . What is good? St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Basil, Gregory the Theologian, Chrysostom — not Aristotle, Aristotle!” (Τί Ἀριστότελ, Ἀριστότελε νὲ καλὸ Ἀριστότελε . . . τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ καλόν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἰδὴρ: ἅγιο Πέτρο, ἅγιο Παῦλο, ἅγιο Βασίλιο, θεολόγο Γρηγόριο, Χρυσόστομο, νὲ Ἀριστότελ Ἀριστότελε. *Memoirs*, 9.28; Laurent, 464).

argument was simple: the interpolation was perfectly legitimate as long as the orthodoxy of the *filioque* was proved.⁷² The Greek case against the addition was based upon Canon 7 of Ephesus (431), which forbade anyone “to produce or write or compose any other creed except the one which was defined by the holy fathers who were gathered together in the Holy Spirit at Nicea.”⁷³ This prohibition, in the opinion of Bessarion, applied not only to the pope, but even to an ecumenical council:

We wish your Reverence to know that we withhold this permission from every Church and synod even oecumenical and not from the Roman Church alone, since no matter how great is the Roman Church, it is notwithstanding less than an Oecumenical Synod and the universal Church: and we withhold it from the whole Church, much more so then from the Roman Church do we withhold it. But we withhold it not as by ourselves, but we consider that this has been forbidden by the decrees of the Fathers.⁷⁴

The Latins, for their part, maintained that the prohibitions of Ephesus had only meant to exclude heterodox teaching, and so as long as the orthodoxy of the *filioque* was established there was no reason to protest its inclusion. Therefore Cesarini argued

that if you can show that the Holy Spirit does not proceed also from the Son, I will say that in no way was it permitted for the Roman Church to add it to the symbol. If you cannot do this, but instead the contrary is demonstrated, then I am persuaded that you will make no controversy about it.⁷⁵

⁷² The arguments used to support this assertion were largely derived from the work of Paulinus of Aquileia centuries earlier. See Chapter 2, n. 21.

⁷³ *Canons of the Council of Ephesus*; Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 65. Peter L’Huillier acknowledges this as the basis for Orthodox objections against the *filioque*, but cautions that “it is materially impossible to base this condemnation (against the addition of the *filioque*) on Canon 7 of Ephesus, which did not directly envision some addition but rather the composition of another formula of faith and furthermore concerned the definition of Nicaea.” Peter L’Huillier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils: The Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1996), 163.

⁷⁴ *Acta graeca*, 159 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 155).

⁷⁵ ὅτι εἰν δυναθῆτε ἀποδειξαι ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐρῶ ὅτι κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξῆν προσθεῖναι τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦτο ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ δυναθῆτε, ἀλλὰ μάλλον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐναντίον δειχθήσεται, τότε πεπεισμένος εἰμι ὡς οὐδεμίαν περὶ τούτου ποιήσετε ἀμφισβήτησιν. *Acta graeca*, 207.

Although Mark of Ephesus was not ready to concede the point, the Byzantines (under imperial pressure and urged on by Bessarion), reluctantly acceded to discussing the theology behind the addition, with Mark Eugenicus acting as their chief spokesman.⁷⁶

John of Montenero began the presentation of the Latin case with an attempt to clarify the terms of the debate. He asked the Byzantines to explain the meaning of the Greek word ἐκπόρευσις since the Vulgate of Jerome had applied the Latin *processio/procedere* to both to the Holy Spirit and to the Son.⁷⁷ Mark then differentiated between the Spirit's "going forth" (πρόοδος) and his ἐκπόρευσις, a term used exclusively to express the hypostatic coming to be of the Spirit, and distinguished in Greek theology from the generation (γέννησις) of the Son. As proof of his position Mark cited the *De Fide orthodoxa* of John of Damascus, where he made the distinction between the Spirit's manner of existence (τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως) and the generation of the Son, a difference whose nature "is beyond understanding."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ For Bessarion's argument in favor of discussing the theology of the *filioque* see n. 16 above. The Emperor did make it clear that the Greeks reserved the right to return to the liceity of the addition, despite the Latins' belief that their point had already been won. *Acta graeca*, 224–46.

⁷⁷ *Acta graeca*, 253, *Acta latina*, 136. It is not sure which text John cited since there is a discrepancy in the Greek and Latin *Acta*. It was either Jn 8:42 (Ego enim ex Deo processi et veni) or Jn 16:28 (Exivi a Patre et veni in mundum). However in neither case does the Greek use ἐκπόρευσις or its variants to refer to the Son.

⁷⁸ *Acta graeca*, 254. *De Fide orthodoxa* 1, 8 (Eng. trans: John of Damascus, *John of Damascus: Writings*, 181). The witness of John of Damascus was particularly vexing for the unionists, in so much as he seemingly provided the clearest denial of the Latin position. For this reason they decided to follow the advice of Scholarius, who had argued that "if indeed there were a saint who contradicted them (i.e., the patristic consensus) he should in some fashion or manner be made to harmonize with the majority much more justly than that the multitude of the Teachers should be forced into his mould." Gill, *Orationes Georgii Scholarii in Concilio Florentino habitae*, 7-8 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 226).

Montenero, who understood *processio/procedere* more generically, equated the idea of procession with the notion of “receiving existence” (λαμβάνει τὸ εἶναι), which permitted him to maintain that

the Holy Spirit’s receiving being from the Father is the same as proceeding from him. . . . but it is said that the Spirit receives being from the Son. Therefore, the Spirit goes forward from the Son according to the proper meaning of procession, as you agreed. That the Spirit receives being from the Son, this can be demonstrated from many testimonies. From whom he receives being, from him he also proceeds. Therefore, he proceeds also from the Son.⁷⁹

He then employed a text by Epiphanius of Salamis, translated by Ambrogio Traversari, to support this conclusion, maintaining that the expressions “to be from” (εἰμί παρὰ) and “receiving” (λαμβάνει) also meant “receiving existence” (λαμβάνει τὸ εἶναι) (and thus also “procession” [ἐκπόρευσις]):

And just as no one has seen the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, so I dare to say that neither has anyone seen the Holy Spirit, except the Father and the Son, from whom he receives and proceeds. Nor has anyone seen the Son and the Father, except the Holy Spirit . . . who is from the Father and the Son.”⁸⁰

Therefore from this statement, St. Epiphanius, concerning the same thing says that he receives his being from the Father and the Son.⁸¹

Mark Eugenicus did not accept Montenero’s logic, claiming that in the Greek tradition the verbs “to be,” “to receive,” and “to receive existence” were not equivalent

⁷⁹ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ταῦτόν ἐστι τῶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι . . . ἀλλὰ λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ: ἄρα τὸ Πνεῦμα πρόεισιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σημασίᾳ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως, καθὼς ὑμεῖς συνεχωρήσατε. ὅτι δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα λαμβάνει τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦτο δυνατόν ἀποδειχθῆναι πολλαῖς μαρτυρίαις: ἀφ’ οὗ λαμβάνει τὸ εἶναι, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου ἐκπορεύεται. ἄρα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται. ” *Acta graeca*, 255–56.

⁸⁰ Καὶ καθάπερ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ, οὕτω τολμῶ λέγειν ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οἶδέ τις, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἀφ’ οὗ λαμβάνει καὶ ἐκπορεύεται. οὔτε τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον . . . ὅπερ ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. *Acta graeca*, 256. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 71; PG 43, 153.

⁸¹ ἀπὸ τούτου οὖν τοῦ ῥητοῦ ὁ ἅγιος Ἐπιφάνιος περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει τὸ εἶναι, φησί, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. *Acta graeca*, 256.

with the verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι. He supported his argument by disputing the Latin translation of St. Epiphanius, since the original Greek text did not include the verb “to be.”⁸² He argued:

The statement which you brought forward from Saint Epiphanius does not support your argument, but is even evidently opposed to it. For the blessed Epiphanius did not say that the Holy Spirit receives being from the Son, but simply that he receives. . . . (Rather) he shows something other than to intend “to proceed” from λαμβάνειν: ἐκπορεύεσθαι displays the existence of the Holy Spirit from the Father, while λαμβάνειν displays the agreement and concord of the Holy Spirit in regard to the Father and the Son according to which the Holy Spirit announces to the disciples the things that are necessary to teach them, receiving the subject matter from the Son himself.⁸³

Mark then asked the Latins the question Nicetas of Nicodemia had posed to Anselm of Havelberg centuries earlier: when they said the Holy Spirit had his being (τὸ εἶναι) from the Father and the Son, did they mean that he came from the individual hypostases (ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως) or from the substance common to both.⁸⁴ Montenero explained that:

we speak in such a way that the Spirit is from one principle because the procession of the Holy Spirit is in common from the Father and is in the Son. . . . as many times as we say “to be from the Father,” we say from his hypostasis; and as often [as we say] “from the Son,” we mean from his hypostasis. Since the substance of the Father and the Son is the same, and he comes out of the Father, he also comes out of the Son, the Holy Spirit comes out as from one.⁸⁵

⁸² The delegates examined the text a short while later and found that Mark was substantively correct, although Montenero claimed that the “is” was grammatically implied, even if not explicitly included.

⁸³ ὁ δὲ ἐπήγαγες ῥητὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου οὐ μόνον [οὐ] συνηγορεῖ τῷ σω λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδήλως ἐναντιοῦται. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Ἐπιφάνιος ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ὅτι λαμβάνει. . . . δηλοῖ ἄλλο τι νοεῖν τὸ Ἐκπορεύεσθαι παρὰ τὸ Λαμβάνειν: ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκπορεύεσθαι δηλοῖ τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς: τὸ δὲ λαμβάνειν, τὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καθ’ ἣν ἀπαγγέλλει τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἃ δεῖ μαθεῖν αὐτοῦς, παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαμβάνον. *Acta graeca*, 257.

⁸⁴ *Acta graeca*, 260.

⁸⁵ οὕτω λέγομεν, ὥστε τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι ἀπὸ μίας ἀρχῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κοινοποιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Υἱόν ἐστιν. . . . ὡσάκις λέγομεν εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, λέγομεν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ: καὶ ὡσάκις ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, νοοῦμεν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ: ἐπειδὴ ἡ

Mark maintained that the fathers had always taught procession to be a hypostatic property of the Father alone, introducing a selection from Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* to prove his point:

Making an argument concerning the going forth of the Holy Spirit from the Father, [Basil] says the following: "God begets, not as a man does, but he begets truly: and the one having been begotten from himself . . . he sends forth Spirit through a mouth, not in a human way, since God does not have a bodily mouth, but the Spirit is from himself, and not from elsewhere."⁸⁶

After some debate about the meaning of Basil's text, Montenero quoted Athanasius's *Contra Arianos*, claiming that the Greek fathers did speak of the Spirit's coming forth (i.e., procession) from the hypostasis of the Son.⁸⁷ Mark reiterated that this was not the Byzantine understanding of the patristic tradition, which differentiated the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father alone and his temporal manifestation through or from the Son. According to Mark: "On the one hand, the Spirit proceeds from the Father, that is, has existence (from him) but on the other hand he is given from the Son and is received by those who believe in him."⁸⁸ Echoing the critique of Theophylact of Ohrid, Mark held that the Latins had failed to make the necessary distinction between the eternal and temporal missions, which accounted for their misreading of the patristic witness.

αὐτὴ ἐστὶν οὐσία Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, ἔστι δὲ τὸ προβάλλειν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ἀφ' ἐνὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προβάλλεσθαι. *Acta graeca*, 260–61.

⁸⁶ περὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς προόδου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος, τοιαύτε φησί: Γεννᾷ θεός, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, γεννᾷ δὲ ἀληθῶς: καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ . . . ἐκπέμπει Πνεῦμα διὰ στόματος, οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἀνθρώπιον, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ στόμα θεοῦ σωματικῶς: ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν. *Acta graeca*, 261–62. *Adversus Eunomium* 5; PG 29, 736.

⁸⁷ *Acta graeca*, 271. *Contra Arianos* 3; PG 26, 376.

⁸⁸ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὡς μὲν παρὰ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, τουτέστι τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχον: παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων. *Acta graeca*, 271.

The second session (March 5) renewed the debate over the meaning of Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium*. Mark continued to maintain that "the Spirit is from the Father himself and not from elsewhere" (ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρωθεν) must be seen as an affirmation that the Spirit did not come forth from another hypostasis, but from the Father alone.⁸⁹ Other references to the Spirit being from the Father and the Son in Greek patristic literature were merely affirmations of the consubstantiality of the three persons, just as Genesis had spoken of Jacob and Esau being of the same nature.⁹⁰ Despite their claims to the contrary, if Montenero and the Latins claimed that the Spirit came forth from the substance of the Father (ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ), they must then accept that he comes from the divine substance shared also by the consubstantial Son. "Therefore you are saying that the substance of the Father and of the Son (and not their individual hypostases) is the cause of the Holy Spirit."⁹¹

John denied that this was his view, beginning a prolonged, and ultimately fruitless, discussion on the patristic use of the term substance (*substantia*), especially among the Latin fathers. John first made a distinction between the divine substance, which could be said to be the ἀρχὴ of the Spirit, and the hypostases that together are the one αἰτία or cause:

We said in the preceding (debate) that for the divine substance there is neither begetting nor spirating. So it follows that the cause of the Spirit himself is the hypostasis and not the substance. But since the hypostasis of the Father which generates the Son gives a part to the Son, the cause is the same through which the

⁸⁹ *Acta graeca*, 278.

⁹⁰ *Acta graeca*, 278–79.

⁹¹ λέγεις οὖν ὅτι ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶν αἰτία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Acta graeca*, 279.

teachers say that the Son is from the substance of the Father and the Holy Spirit from the substance of the Father and the Son.⁹²

Eugenicus thought this illogical, for Montenero claimed that the Spirit was from the substance of the Father and the Son, and yet he was saying that the substance was not the cause of his divine hypostasis.⁹³ Montenero explained how the substance, communicated to the Son, is the principle through which the Father begets, but that “the substance (itself) does not generate but, and I have said this many times and I say it again, whenever we hear that the Spirit (is) from the substance of the Father, we understand him as from the one underlying person, and from the Son as the underlying person.”⁹⁴

Mark concluded from this argument that there must therefore be two substances within the godhead, the substance that causes (i.e., the common nature of the Father and Son) and that which is caused (i.e., the Holy Spirit).⁹⁵ He asked the Latins “if it is true to say that the Holy Spirit comes forth hypostatically from the common substance of the three Persons?”⁹⁶ In other words, he wanted to know whether the Latins understood the

⁹² καὶ ἐν τῇ προλαβούσῃ [εἵπομεν] ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν θείων οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ γεννώσα ἢ πνέουσα οὐσία, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις αἱ γεννώσαι καὶ πνέουσαι. ὥστε ἔπεται τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἶναι ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐκ οὐσίαν. ἔπει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπόστασις ἡ γεννώσα τὸν Υἱὸν μεταδίδωσι τῷ Υἱῷ, αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν οἱ διδάσκαλοι φασιν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ. *Acta graeca*, 281.

⁹³ *Acta graeca*, 281.

⁹⁴ ἡ οὐσία οὐ γεννᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πολλάκις εἶπον, καὶ πάλιν λέγω, ὅτι ὡς ἀκούωμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, νοοῦμεν ὡς ἐξ ὑποκειμένου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ὑποκειμένου. *Acta graeca*, 283.

⁹⁵ Ὅτι τὴν κοινὴν οὐσίαν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, ἣτις ἔστι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀριθμῷ, λέγεις αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καθ' ἣν πρόεισιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα: φαίνεται τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἰτιατὴν εἶναι, κἀντεῦθεν δύο οὐσίας ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι συνάγεσθαι καὶ ἀντικειμένας ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸ αἰτίον καὶ αἰτιατόν. τοῦτο δὲ πόρρω τῆς τοῦ χριστιανῶν θεολογίας καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλότριον, καὶ παρ' οὐδενὸς τῶν διδασκάλων οὐδέποτε εἰρημένον. *Acta graeca*, 287–88.

⁹⁶ εἰ ἀληθὲς ἔστι λέγειν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς οὐσίας τῶν τριῶν προσώπων πρόεισιν ὑποστατικῶς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. *Acta graeca*, 292.

common substance of the Godhead as distinct from the substance shared by the Father and the Son. Even Bessarion asked the Latins how they understood the phrase “(the) substance of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.”⁹⁷ Frustrated by the lack of progress, Cardinal Cesarini simply ended the session before the terms of the debate could be clarified.

The next session (March 7), and the three that followed (March 10, 11, and 14) were concerned, almost exclusively, with the authenticity and meaning of the third book of Basil’s *Adversus Eunomium*. Montenero had wanted to examine this book during the previous session only to have Mark Eugenicus demand that the debate over the meaning of “substance” be concluded first.⁹⁸ Montenero kept insisting that since the work of the fathers and the ancient councils was accepted by both Greeks and Latins as normative, it would be more productive (and less time-consuming) to return to the patristic witness. Although in favor of continuing the debate from the third session, Eugenicus reluctantly assented.⁹⁹

During the second session significant textual variations had been discovered in the codices of Basil’s *Adversus Eunomium*. The differences, reconstructed by Joseph Gill, are seen below:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ἐρωτῶμεν πῶς νοεῖτε ὑμεῖς, ὅταν λέγωμεν οὐσίαν, οὐσίαν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Acta graeca*, 294.

⁹⁸ Ἐξετασομεν τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ῥητὸν ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, συμπερανάτες πρότερον τὰ παρὰ σοῦ εἰρημένα. *Acta graeca*, 287.

⁹⁹ It should be noted that although the intellectual weakness of the Greek delegation has often been emphasized, especially in the face of the Latin syllogisms (See Gill, *Council of Florence*, 227–30), Eugenicus believed that up to this point the Byzantines had ably defended the logic of their position. That it was Montenero who demanded a return to the patristic witness may, in fact, testify that the Latins were of the same opinion.

¹⁰⁰ *Acta graeca*, 262, n. 12 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 199, n. 1).

Latin version

Even if the Spirit is third in dignity and order, why need he also be third in nature? For that he is second *to the Son, having his being from him and receiving from him and announcing to us and being completely dependent upon him,* pious tradition recounts; but that his nature is third we are not taught by the saints nor can we conclude *logically* from what has been said.

so that, although the Holy Spirit is behind the Son in order and dignity, all the same he would not be considered as of another nature,

so, namely although the Holy Spirit is below in dignity and order, for we have received

Greek version

Even if the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order, why need he also be third in nature? For that he is second

pious tradition *perhaps* recounts; but that his nature is third we are not taught by the saints nor can we conclude from what has been said.

so that, although he is subordinated to the Son, *let us make this supposition,* still it does not follow that he is of another nature.

so, therefore, although the Holy Spirit is below in dignity and order, *as they say,* for we have received and hold

Eugenicus admitted that four or five codices in Constantinople had the Latin reading, but that there were a thousand others, including the most ancient, that did not.¹⁰¹ He speculated that Montenero's codex had probably been interpolated by some later supporter of the Latin doctrine.¹⁰² The Latin text, written on parchment rather than paper and obviously ancient, had recently been brought from Constantinople by Nicholas of

¹⁰¹ *Acta graeca*, 296.

¹⁰² In fact, modern patristic scholarship has proved Eugenicus substantially correct as to his reading of the text, but wrong as to the reason. Although both versions were in circulation, even before the schism, the Greek text appears to have been Basil's own work, the addition in the Latin text apparently being an excerpt of Eunomius's added later. "On this point we can conclude that there was diversity of ancient texts of Basil's *Contra Eunomium*, and that this divergence was not a case of fraudulent manipulation of texts." Bernard Sesboüé, ed., *Basile de Césarée: Contre Eunome*, SC 305 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983), 146–47, n. 1. See also M. Van Pays, "Quelques remarques à propos d'un texte controversé de Saint Basile au Concile de Florence," *Irenikon* 40 (1967): 6–14.

Cusa and showed no signs of having been amended.¹⁰³ Montenero, in an attempt to demonstrate that Mark's text had been altered, quoted St. Cyril of Alexandria's warning about the interpolation and corruption of texts in the Eastern Church.¹⁰⁴ Mark responded that the corruption of texts was not a uniquely Eastern phenomenon, citing the case of Pope Zosimus to prove his point.¹⁰⁵

Debate then turned to the meaning of the text in the context of Eunomius's teaching and Basil's other writings. Mark insisted that Basil was making a concession for the sake of argument: even if one were to admit Eunomius's premise that the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order (which Basil did not), one need not admit the conclusion that he is third in nature.¹⁰⁶ Montenero held that Basil, like Eunomius, did admit that the Spirit was third both in order and in dignity, but that he challenged Eunomius's conclusion that he was also third in nature.¹⁰⁷ According to the Latin interpretation, the Son was second in order and dignity and the Holy Spirit third — this order being also the order of their procession. The Son comes after the Father because the Father is the cause of the Son; likewise the Holy Spirit third as he is caused by the Father

¹⁰³ *Acta graeca*, 297. Later in the debate Montenero would produce another ancient copy provided by Dorotheus of Mitylene that agreed with his own.

¹⁰⁴ *Acta graeca*, 298–99. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistula* 39; PG 77, 181. *Epistula* 40; PG 77, 200–201.

¹⁰⁵ *Acta graeca*, 300–301. According to Mark, Zosimus had sent to the Council of Carthage a purported canon of the Council of Nicea, which he claimed granted the papacy universal jurisdiction as a court of appeal. Montenero protested that Mark had no evidence that Zosimus had done this, and that both Cyril and Athanasius had, in fact, recognized Rome as a court of appeal against their enemies in the East.

¹⁰⁶ He compared this form of argumentation to that employed by the Greeks at Ferrara, who had maintained that “even if the *filioque* were true it should not be added. . . . We did not accept the truth of the proposition, but taking it as a concession as agreed, we use it to prove the truth of the conclusion and that truth is therefore not doubtful but absolute. I am surprised that this has escaped a man of your intelligence.” *Acta graeca*, 386–87 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 211).

¹⁰⁷ *Acta graeca*, 314.

and the Son and thus proceeds from both. “Therefore if there is an order of nature of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son, it must follow that the Spirit has his being and receives nature from the Son.”¹⁰⁸

In the exchange that followed, Mark challenged John to show where Basil or any of the saints held the opinion that the Spirit was third in order and dignity. This, he suggested, was the teaching of the Pneumatomachi against which the fathers had struggled, not the teaching of the Church. Montenero produced several quotations from Athanasius that he believed supported his position, but Eugenicus and the Greeks remained unconvinced.¹⁰⁹

Mark then brought forward Basil’s letter to his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in order to deny the Latin interpretation:

Whereas the Holy Ghost, from whom all good gifts are distributed among created beings, depends upon the Son with whom he is inseparably received and has his existence from the Father, as from the cause from whom he proceeds, then in this He has a distinguishing attribute of His difference in person, namely, that he is known by the Son and with him and is from the Father.¹¹⁰

For Eugenicus this was explicit testimony that Basil, like the rest of the fathers, taught the procession of the Spirit from the Father alone, something that Basil would not have contradicted later in his *Contra Eunomium*. Basil also taught that the Spirit

¹⁰⁸ εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶ τάξις φύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Υἱόν, ἄρα ἀναγκαίως ἔπεται τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔχειν τὸ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ λαμβάνειν τὴν φύσιν. *Acta graeca*, 314.

¹⁰⁹ In his *Epistula ad Serapionem* (PG 26, 580) Athanasius had written that “if, therefore, the Spirit has such an order and nature in relation to the Son as the Son has to the Father, whoever calls him a creature will think the same of the Son” (εἰ τοίνυν τοιαύτην τάξιν καὶ φύσιν ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸν Υἱόν οἷον ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, πῶς ὁ τοῦτο κτίσμα λέγων [οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ] καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φρονήσει). *Acta graeca*, 317–18. Montenero also quoted Pseudo-Athanasius, *Disp. contra Arium* 38; PG 28, 489.

¹¹⁰ Ἐπειδὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀφ’ οὗ παῖσα ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία πηγάζει, τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἥρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται, τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ιδιότητος ἔχει, τὸ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι. *Acta graeca*, 303–304. *Epistula ad fratrem*; PG 32, 329.

“depends” upon the Son only in the sense that he is made known “through him and with him” — not because he is caused by him.¹¹¹ Following the example of Photius, references to the Spirit being “through the Son” were applied only to the economic manifestation of the Spirit’s gifts, not to the Spirit’s hypostatic coming to be.

It was at this point that Montenero asked whether the gifts of the Spirit were created or uncreated (i.e., whether we receive the Spirit himself or something else).¹¹² Here Mark might naturally have explained the position of Gregory Palamas on the distinction between God’s essence and the uncreated energies, but he was prevented from doing so by a direct command from the emperor.¹¹³ Prior to their departure from Byzantium, afraid of widening the division between East and West, John Palaeologus had strictly forbidden mention of Palamas or his theology. He may have done so simply to maintain harmony within the delegation, afraid of re-introducing a debate that had torn the empire apart only a century earlier. Although there is no indication, perhaps the emperor was aware that the scholastic teaching on knowledge of the divine essence (a teaching later dogmatized in 1336 by Pope Benedict XII), contradicted Palamas’s own views on the subject.¹¹⁴ Eugenius, in obedience to the imperial will, simply refused to

¹¹¹ *Acta graeca*, 304–305.

¹¹² Ἐρωτῶ σε, πάτερ αἰδέσιμε, τὸ χορηγούμενον τοῦτο Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, κτίστης ἐστὶν ἢ κτίσμα; δύο γὰρ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ παντί, κτίστης καὶ κτίσματα: καὶ ἔστι κτίστης τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, αἱ ἐνέργειαι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσι κτίσματα. ἄρα κτίσμα ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἐξέχεεν ὁ θεὸς πλουσίως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Acta graeca*, 345.

¹¹³ During the earlier debates on purgatory Mark had refused to answer a similar question posed by Andrew of Rhodes. *Memoirs*, 5, 38; Laurent, 292.

¹¹⁴ For Thomas’s views see *Summa Theologica* Pt.I, Q.12, Art.1. According to Pope Benedict, “The saints in heaven . . . have seen and see the divine essence by intuitive vision, and even face to face, with no mediating creature . . . but the divine essence immediately revealing itself plainly, clearly, and openly to them and seeing thus they enjoy the same divine essence.” “*Benedictus Deus*” in Henry Denzinger, ed., *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* (St. Louis: Herder, 1957), 198. It should be noted that this was originally not intended as an attack upon Palamism, but upon certain ideas that had already been condemned by the

answer Montenero's question and remained silent.¹¹⁵ Although they continued to press Mark for an answer, it was the emperor himself who finally intervened, twice reminding the Latins that the created/uncreated distinction was both off the topic and closed to discussion.

By imposing silence upon the Greeks on this matter, the emperor unknowingly widened the chasm between the Churches, as the essence-energy distinction, in itself, became another theological issue dividing East and West.¹¹⁶ More damaging to the council's chances for success, however, was the loss of Palamas's contribution to the trinitarian debate, which (as was seen earlier) went beyond the Photian ἐκ μόνου τοῦ

Archbishop of Paris in the thirteenth century. The final union decree later affirmed, *contra* Palamas, that the blessed "clearly behold the triune God as he is." *Leatentur Caeli*; Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 528.

¹¹⁵ *Acta graeca*, 346.

¹¹⁶ Reinhard Flogaus and others have pointed out that the Palamite distinctions took to a firm place in the anti-Roman polemic only after the Council of Florence. See Reinhard Flogaus, "Die Theologie des Gregorios Palamas — Hindernis oder Hilfe für die ökumenische Verständigung?" *Ostkirchliche Studien* 47 (1998): 105–23. It is improbable, however, that a productive discussion of the issue could have occurred at Florence given the highly contentious tenor of the deliberations. Even twentieth-century theology, far removed from the polemical fervor of the past, remained divided on the role of Palamite theology. Among the Orthodox themselves, theologians such as George Florovsky, Vladimir Lossky, and John Meyendorff maintained the theology of Palamas as a normative and necessary part of Eastern thought, granting the teaching of the Synods held in 1341, 1347, and 1351 the *de facto* rank of dogma. Others, such as John Zizioulas, have more recently questioned this position, preferring instead to speak of the theology of communion. Yet the most damning critiques of Palamite theology have historically come from the West and can be seen most clearly in the works of Assumptionist Martin Jugie. He believed, for example, that palamism, in distinguishing between God's essence and uncreated energies, introduced a duality into God that violated the doctrine of "divine simplicity." For others, such as Russian religious philosopher Pavel Florenskij, the differentiation between the unknown 'Holy Spirit as Hypostasis' and the Spirit encountered by individuals in history (i.e., his energies) meant that humanity is incapable of encountering the divine in the world, since we experience something inherently subordinate to God as he is. For a history of the debate see Kallistos Ware, "The Debate over Palamism," *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977): 45–63. More recently there has been an effort to reconcile the Thomist and Palamite positions and in order to see them not as contradictory but as complementary. See A. N. Wilson, *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); John Meyendorff and Michael Fahey, *Trinitarian Theology East and West: St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Gregory Palamas* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977); Bruce Marshall, "Action and Person: Do Palamas and Aquinas Agree about the Spirit?" *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 39 (1995): 379–408.

Πατρὸς to allow for an orthodox interpretation of the *filioque* formula.¹¹⁷ It was one of the rare moments when the fathers at Florence had the opportunity to explore the insights of the “third school” of Byzantine trinitarian theology, but it was all too quickly squelched by imperial fiat. As Robert Haddad has quite accurately noted, while:

Palamas’s teaching at least held out hope of resolving the question that had bedeviled relations between the two Churches since the ninth century . . . (and yet it was) intentionally avoided at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Theologically, this deliberate evasion of Palamite teaching may have represented the point of no return.¹¹⁸

By the sixth session (March 17) Eugenius and the Greeks (including the emperor) had become frustrated over the lack of progress and decided to abandon the “question and answer format” in favor of a complete explication of their position. When the Latins objected, Eugenius complained that five days had been wasted debating a few dubious or corrupted texts and that the time had come to demonstrate, from the authentic and undisputed works of the fathers, the truth of the Greek position.¹¹⁹ After some grumbling, the Latins reluctantly consented.

Beginning with the Scripture, Mark explained how Christ himself taught procession from the Father alone when he said, “When the advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who comes from the Father, he will testify on my behalf.” (Jn 15:26). According to Eugenius:

¹¹⁷ See pages 103–106.

¹¹⁸ Haddad, “Stations of the *Filioque*,” 257–58.

¹¹⁹ “All the previous sessions passed in the examination of two or three passages from the fathers. This way of conducting the dispute must not last forever and we have therefore agreed to offer our arguments concretely, extracting them not from spurious or little known sources, not from doubtful and corrupted places, but from the Holy Scriptures and by all received passages from the fathers. If we continue to dwell upon one and the same subject there will be no end of our refutations of your words and answers.” *Acta graeca*, 373 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 114–15).

For when he says “who proceeds from the Father” he shows the cause of the Spirit from which he takes his existence. . . . He undoubtedly would have said “who proceeds from us” if he had avowed the procession of the Holy Spirit from himself also.¹²⁰

St. Paul agreed when he called the Holy Spirit “the Spirit which is of God” (1 Cor 2:12), the term “God” used here to refer exclusively to the Father (“for otherwise he would not have said, ‘and appearing to men through the Son’”).¹²¹

Mark then cited both Dionysius and Athanasius, who had both called the Father “the one source of the pre-essential godhead . . . (and) the only source of the Divinity.”¹²²

The first and second ecumenical councils had taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, for

if the Council had admitted the Spirit’s procession from the Father and the Son, why then did it not in speaking of the Father and Son say, “who proceeds from the Father and the Son?” . . . (Because) they were showing the cause of the procession.¹²³

Gregory Nazianzus had spoken clearly enough when he said: “Everything the Father has belongs to the Son with the exception of causality.”¹²⁴ The council of Ephesus had approved certain portions of the Nestorian creed presented by the priest Charisius, including the statement that “the Holy Spirit is not the Son neither does he take his existence through the Son.”¹²⁵ Cyril of Alexandria clearly rejected the accusation, once thrown at him by Theodoret, that he taught that “the Spirit receives his existence from the

¹²⁰ *Acta graeca*, 365–66 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 108–109).

¹²¹ *Acta graeca*, 367 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 109).

¹²² *Acta graeca*, 368–69. *De divinis nomine* 2; PG 3, 641. *Contra Sabellianos*; PG 28, 97.

¹²³ *Acta graeca*, 376–77 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 111).

¹²⁴ *Acta graeca*, 377. *Oration* 34; PG 36, 252.

¹²⁵ *Acta graeca*, 378 Acts of the Council of Ephesus; Mansi 4, 1364.

Son or through the Son” (ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι’ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον).¹²⁶ Upon receipt of this denial, Theodoret had even confirmed the orthodoxy of Cyril’s trinitarian theology, since the Church had always taught that “the Holy Spirit does not receive existence from or through the Son, but proceeds from the Father and is proper to the Son.”¹²⁷ Mark concluded his presentation with the hope that, now that the unadulterated teaching of the fathers had been made clear, his Latin counterparts would neither “recite nor receive in the Church anything beyond what they have said.”¹²⁸

Montenero concluded the session by trying to assuage any fears the Byzantines might have had about the Latin teaching on causality within the godhead:

We follow the apostolic see and affirm one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father. . . . it does not confess two principles or two causes but one principle and one cause. We anathematize all those who assert two principles or two causes.¹²⁹

This affirmation, more than the six sessions of debate that preceded it, made a deep impression on the Greeks.¹³⁰ Although the Byzantines wanted an end to the public debate, meeting in camera two days later they reluctantly agreed to another session so that Montenero could answer Mark’s presentation.¹³¹ Mark himself was absent for the

¹²⁶ *Acta graeca*, 379. *Apologeticus contra Theodoretum*; PG 76, 391–452.

¹²⁷ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι’ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὀνομαζόμενον. *Acta graeca*, 381. Theodoret, *Epistula* 172; PG 83, 1484.

¹²⁸ *Acta graeca*, 382 (Eng. trans: Gill, *Council of Florence*, 211).

¹²⁹ Ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας ὁπαδοὶ μίαν ἐγνωμεν τὸν Πατέρα αἰτίαν Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος. . . . διὸ καὶ οὐδὲ δοξάζει δύο ἀρχάς οὐδὲ δύο αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μίαν αἰτίαν. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας δύο ἀρχάς, ἢ δύο αἰτίας, ἀναθεματίζομεν. *Acta graeca*, 390. In this same speech Montenero quoted Maximus’s *Epistola Romae scripta* (PG 91, 140) to demonstrate the primacy and orthodoxy of the Roman see. See next chapter.

¹³⁰ The emperor asked Montenero for a written copy of his teaching on this matter, presumably as a means of convincing the Greeks of the sincerity and orthodoxy of the Latin position. *Acta graeca*, 390–93.

¹³¹ It was at this meeting that Maximus’s *Letter to Marinus* was again put forward by the Greeks as a reunion formula. See next chapter.

next two sessions (March 21 and 24) during which Montenero was able to present the Latin case for the *filioque* without interruption.¹³²

John of Montenero, like Mark of Ephesus, began his presentation with the Scriptures, utilizing the same Johannine texts (e.g., Jn 14: 26, 15:26, 16:14–15) that the Carolingians had employed centuries earlier. Like the Carolingians, John wanted to prove from these texts that the sending of the Spirit was an act of both the Father and the Son.¹³³ Countering the historical Byzantine criticism that the Latin understanding of these passages confused temporal mission with eternal procession, Montenero maintained that:

Because this temporal mission necessarily presupposes origin from a person . . . and that this is according to reason, founded on the text of Scripture and many testimonies of the holy doctors, both Greek and Latin.¹³⁴

The Romans nevertheless affirmed that the Father is still the “first principle and source of all divinity” since Augustine was clear that the Spirit still “proceeds principally” from him. Yet the Latins recognized that this spirative power is received by the consubstantial Son who, with the Father, is the one cause and principle of the Spirit’s being.

Montenero then mustered the witness of the Latin fathers, especially those whose orthodoxy was well established in the East (e.g. Leo, Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose), in order

¹³² The *Acta* records that the emperor commanded Mark, along with the other staunch anti-unionist, Metropolitan Anthony of Heraclea, not to appear in order not to prolong the debate (*Acta graeca*, 394). Eugenius himself, in his *Relatio de rebus a se gestis*, says that he was absent due to ill-health (*Relatio de rebus a se gestis*; Ludivico Petit, ed., *Marci Eugenici, metropolitae Ephesi, opera antiunionistica*, CF 10.2 [Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1977], 138).

¹³³ See pages 65–66.

¹³⁴ “Quod hec temporalis missio de necessitate presupponat originem ab illa persona . . . et hec est secunda ratio, fundata in hoc textu scripture et super hac ratione multa testimonia sanctorum doctorum ponuntur Grecorum et Latinorum” *Acta latina*, 198.

to demonstrate that the *filioque* was taught for centuries before the schism.¹³⁵ Of course the most explicit testimony to the *filioque*'s orthodoxy came from Augustine, whose *De Trinitate* and *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus* provided a firm patristic basis for the Roman teaching.¹³⁶ Next came the testimony of Pope Hormisdas, whose confession of faith (which had been accepted in the East), taught that "it is characteristic of the Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son in one substance of deity" ("proprium est Spiritus, ut de patre et filio procederet sub una substantia deitatis").¹³⁷ Gregory the Great, long admired in the East, clearly taught that the Spirit was "neither begotten nor unbegotten, but co-eternal, proceeding from the Father and the Son" ("nec genitum nec ingenitum, sed coeternum de patre et filio procedentem").¹³⁸ Aside from the many local councils in the West that had also confessed the *filioque*, there were numerous other witnesses, but Montenero decided the time had come to introduce the writings of the Eastern fathers, "who declare this truth like bolts of lightning" ("qui ut fulmina hanc veritatem declarant").¹³⁹

Montenero began his presentation of the Greek fathers on the 24th of March with the two fathers whose works had been the subject of so much earlier debate, Basil of Caesarea and Epiphanius. Epiphanius had written that the Spirit was breathed from both Father and Son ("et spiritus sanctus ex patre et filio spiratus"), clearly denoting the order

¹³⁵ *Acta latina*, 202–204. Jerome, *Epistola* 141 (PL 22, 1180); Hilary, *De Trinitate* 3.29 (PL 10, 69–70); 12.57 (PL 10, 471–72); Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto* 1.11 (PL 16, 732); 2.12 (PL 16, 771); 2.15 (PL 16, 739).

¹³⁶ *Acta latina*, 205–206. *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus* 99, 16, 7 (PL 35, 1889); *De Trinitate* 4.20 (PL 42, 908); 5. 14 (PL 42, 921); 15.25 (PL 42, 1092).

¹³⁷ *Acta latina*, 206. *Epistula* 79; PL 63, 514.

¹³⁸ *Acta latina*, 206. *Vita Gregorii Magni* 2.2; PL 75, 87–88.

¹³⁹ *Acta latina*, 208.

of the eternal procession.¹⁴⁰ Didymus the Blind and Athanasius had both taught that the Spirit comes from the substance of the Son, again a clear reference to his eternal procession *ex filio*.¹⁴¹

In presenting the witness of Cyril of Alexandria (the most quoted Greek authority employed by Montenero) the Dominican provincial followed the Latin tradition of (erroneously) applying the verb *procedere* to a host of Greek terms denoting origin. For this reason Montenero believed that when Cyril wrote in his epistle *Salvatore nostro* that “the Spirit flows from (*profluit/προχέιται*) from him (i.e., the Son) as from God the Father” he intentionally meant to speak of the Spirit’s eternal procession.¹⁴² John maintained that Cyril himself equated these terms when elsewhere he wrote that “the Spirit is consubstantial and flows forth (*profluit/προχέιται*), that is, proceeds (*procedit/ἐκπορεύεται*), as from a source from God and Father.”¹⁴³ According to Montenero:

Therefore he (i.e., Cyril) declares that to proceed and to flow from are the same and that when he says ‘to flow from the Son’ it is necessary to say according to the opinion in *Salvatoris*, which was received at the third synod and at Chalcedon, that the Spirit proceeds from the Son just as he does from the Father.¹⁴⁴

The fourth part of Montenero’s presentation was a direct refutation of Eugenius and his use of the patristic witness. Mark, he argued, misrepresented the mind of the

¹⁴⁰ *Acta latina*, 209. *Ancoratus*; PG 43, 153.

¹⁴¹ *Acta latina*, 210–11. Didymus, *De Spiritu Sancto* 37 (PG 39, 1065–66); Athanasius, *Oratio I contra arianos*, 50 (PG 26, 118); *Oratio III contra arianos*, 22 (PG 26, 376).

¹⁴² *Acta latina*, 214. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistula* 17; PG 77, 117.

¹⁴³ *Acta latina*, 214. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistula* 55; PG 77, 316.

¹⁴⁴ “Declarat ergo procedere et profluere idem est et hic dicat profluere a filio, necessario oportet dicere secundum hanc opinionem *Salvatoris*, que fuit a 3^a synodo recepta et Calcedonensi, quod spiritus ita procedat a filio sicut a patre.” *Acta latina*, 214.

fathers by teaching that Nicea's creedal affirmation necessarily excluded the possibility of procession from the Son as well, something "not one Greek or Latin ever dared to say" ("quin ymmo nullus nec Grecus nec Latinus ausus est dicere").¹⁴⁵ While Eugenius was correct to maintain the Father as the source and principle of the divinity, the Church had also taught that the spirative power was given to the Son, so that together Father and Son "are not two fonts (of the Holy Spirit) but one" ("nec sunt duo fontes, sed unus").¹⁴⁶ Eight hours after he began, Montenero finished his presentation, concluding both the Latin case and the last of the public sessions held at Florence. Although most of the gatherings had been spent in heated (and ultimately fruitless) debate, two solid days of patristic testimony had a significant effect on the Byzantine delegation. Most importantly, Bessarion of Nicea, Isidore of Kiev, and George Scholarius all came to accept the orthodoxy of the *filioque*, becoming the strongest advocates for the union among the Greeks. As Bessarion later wrote in his *De Spiritus Sancti processione ad Alexium Lascarin Philanthropinum*:

It was not the syllogisms . . . or the force of arguments that lead me to believe this (i.e., the Latin position), but the plain words of the doctors. For when I saw and heard them, straightway I put aside all contention and controversy and yielded to the authority of those whose words they were. . . . For I judged that the holy fathers, speaking as they did in the Holy Spirit, could not have departed from the truth and I was grieved that I had not heard their words before.¹⁴⁷

The Greek delegation was now bitterly divided. The only thing they could agree upon was the futility of further public sessions — the unionists claiming that the Latins

¹⁴⁵ *Acta latina*, 218.

¹⁴⁶ *Acta latina*, 219.

¹⁴⁷ Emmanuel Candal, ed., *CF 7.2: Bessarion Nicaenus, S.R.E. Cardinalis, De Spiritus Sancti processione ad Alexium Lascarin Philanthropinum* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1961), 40–41 (Eng. trans: Erickson, "Filioque and the Fathers at the Council of Florence," 159).

had adequately proved their case, the anti-unionists convinced that continued disputation with the “heretics” was pointless.¹⁴⁸ The time had come to either unite with the West or return home to Constantinople, where a Turkish attack was now rumored to be imminent. Dositheus of Monembasia, voicing the sentiments of the anti-unionist majority, claimed that he would rather die than Latinize (ἐγὼ φησί, βούλομαι ἀποθανεῖν ἢ λατινίσαι ποτέ).¹⁴⁹ The unionists argued that, lacking an effective response to Montenero’s presentation (except to say that their quotations were false, which was unreasonable, or to reply with lies, which was unbecoming), the union must be consummated.¹⁵⁰ Although the emperor was eager for Western aid, he was unwilling to silence Mark of Ephesus and Anthony of Heraclea for fear that he, like Michael VIII before him, would die excommunicate for enforcing an unpopular union.¹⁵¹ It appeared that an impasse had been reached, and that the months of debate had all been for nothing.

THE *FILIOQUE* DEBATES IN HINDSIGHT

Did the Greek and Latin delegates at Florence ever have a legitimate chance of resolving the issue of the *filioque* and ending the centuries-long schism that had divided them? Meyendorff’s negative assessment of the council’s chances certainly appears warranted in light of the days wasted quibbling over the authenticity of texts and the

¹⁴⁸ For Mark’s use of the term “heretic” and the unionist reaction see n. 22 above.

¹⁴⁹ *Acta graeca*, 400.

¹⁵⁰ *Acta graeca*, 406.

¹⁵¹ See chapter 2, n. 124. There was, however, a heated exchange between the emperor and Heraclea during which the emperor upbraided him for his lack of learning and “rustic” upbringing (*Memoirs*, 8.14–15; Laurent, 402–404).

appalling lack of Christian charity exhibited by both sides. This was not “ecumenical dialogue” as it is currently understood, but rather (in the words of James Jorgenson):

The meeting of two brothers who had lived together and grown up together, and moved apart and went their separate ways. When after many years they met again they neither recognized each other nor could they agree upon the manner of their former life together. Although they had met and had determined to resume fraternal relations, they separated and found themselves even greater strangers than before.¹⁵²

This position is contrasted with that of Joseph Gill, who maintained that Florence had all the necessary ingredients for a successful reunion council: substantive debate, freedom of expression, and (unlike Lyons) full representation of the Eastern patriarchates.¹⁵³ The sole stumbling block to union was the stubbornness of Mark of Ephesus, who simply refused to bow to the superior arguments of the Latins and accept the orthodoxy of the *filioque*. Had Eugenius been silenced by the emperor, or punished for refusing to accept the decisions of an ecumenical council, the history of Christendom might well have been different.

However, the evidence suggests that both views fail to do justice to the complexity of the council’s dynamic. While Meyendorff is undoubtedly right that a host of factors (theological, ecclesiological, and cultural) made genuine ecumenical dialogue difficult, that does not necessarily mean that the council was doomed to fail. Unlike

¹⁵² Jorgenson, “The Debate Over Patristic Texts on Purgatory,” 333–34.

¹⁵³ While Gill had an overly sanguine view of the council, he did successfully challenge the position of Syropoulos, whose account had been uncritically accepted throughout most of the Orthodox world. If Syropoulos is to be believed, the Greeks were starved into submission and only signed the union decree under a combination of imperial, financial, and psychological pressure (except for those apostates, like Bessarion and Isidore, whose orthodoxy was simply bought). Gill’s work clearly proved that the anti-unionists enjoyed full freedom of speech (witnessed by the fact that Mark remained the Greeks’ spokesman until the very end) and that the privations endured by the Greeks (which were genuine) were not part of a plot to extort them, but rather caused by the pope’s inability to meet the ever-increasing costs of indefinitely maintaining the Byzantine delegates. See Gill, “The Council of Florence: A Success that Failed,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 1–14; idem, “The Freedom of the Greeks in the Council of Florence,” in *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204-1453* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979).

Lyons, Florence was not an imposed union accomplished by imperial or papal fiat, but rather a council whose ecumenicity was universally recognized.¹⁵⁴ Although a great deal of time was wasted discussing questions of protocol and procedure, both sides knew themselves to be bound to the precedents of the great councils and to the conciliar witness itself. Both Latins and Greeks accepted that any teaching concerning the Spirit's procession must conform to the patristic testimony, and that the saints of both East and West were, by the gift of that same Spirit, inspired witnesses to the Church's beliefs. Although a great deal of time was wasted debating the authenticity and meaning of texts, occasionally during the public sessions more central theological issues were raised (even if they were never fully explored): the meaning of ἐκπόρευσις in the Greek tradition, the created/uncreated nature of the Spirit's gifts, and the unique role of the Father as source of the divinity. The relevant issues were all brought forward, the tools for resolving them at the delegates' disposal.

Yet Gill's optimism seems equally out of place. Although Greeks and Latins were equally bound to the patristic witness, the methodological problems in utilizing them (e.g., authenticity, translation, and hermeneutical principle) demonstrated how far the two sides had grown apart. While the Latins might have bested the Byzantines in public debate (and even this is disputable), this was only true if one accepted their underlying premise: that the Greek fathers, when speaking of the Spirit's progression (προϊέναι) or flowing forth (προχέισθαι) through the Son, were in substantive agreement with the Latin teaching that the Spirit had his hypostatic origin from both the Father and the Son. As was suggested in the first chapter, this does not appear to have been the view of the fathers.

¹⁵⁴ Even Mark Eugenius recognized the ecumenicity of the council until the final deliberations.

In fact, the Latin's reading of Greek trinitarian theology was based in large part on an extremely poor understanding of the meaning of ἐκπορεύεσθαι in Greek patristic literature, a problem exacerbated by their broad application of the verb *procedere* to translate a host of terms denoting origin. Montenero's interpretation of Cyril of Alexandria, for example, demonstrates how little the West understood the specific meaning of ἐκπορεύεσθαι and its relation to those other terms used by the Greeks to speak about the temporal and eternal relationship existing between the Son and Spirit. While one cannot accuse Montenero and the Latins of being duplicitous in this regard, neither can one uphold their interpretation as entirely accurate. Thus the union failed not because of Mark Eugenicus's "pig-headedness" but because the Latin argument was built upon a poor understanding of Greek trinitarian language and thought, read solely in terms of the post-Carolingian theological tradition — a reading that could never achieve widespread acceptance in the East.

The Byzantine anti-unionists, however, offered their Latin counterparts little to help them achieve a better understanding of the Greek tradition. Rather, they retreated into the ultimately counterproductive position Photius had taken centuries earlier, unwilling to admit any interpretation of the Greek fathers that deviated from the ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς formula. Because he could not read the tradition (Latin or Greek) outside the Photian lens, nor could he imagine the Latin fathers teaching heresy, Eugenicus was eventually forced to reject the entire Latin trinitarian tradition as heterodox or corrupt. Bessarion and the unionists, incapable of disputing the Latins' premise or of admitting that the fathers could have erred so egregiously, saw no choice but to accept the

orthodoxy of the *filioque* despite its obvious incompatibility with the traditional Eastern view.

Two centuries earlier a similar dynamic had occurred in Constantinople following the Council of Lyons — unionists and anti-unionists arguing the orthodoxy of the *filioque* and the virtues of union with Rome. The only difference was that at Florence there was no “third voice” like Gregory of Cyprus offering a constructive alternative to this irresolvable dialectic. Thus the fathers at Florence had only the positions of Beccus and Photius, neither of which was capable of genuinely engaging the fullness of the Greek tradition. The absence of a third hermeneutical paradigm capable of overcoming this division goes a long way toward explaining the ultimate failure of the Florentine union and the inability of the Greeks to engage in productive ecumenical exchange with their Latin counterparts.

It is with this understanding of the council’s dynamic that we turn to the use of Maximus at Florence, and to the contention that the writings of the Confessor were that “third voice” necessary to change the dynamic and outcome of the Florentine debates.

CHAPTER 4
THE USE OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S WRITINGS AT THE
COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39)

MAXIMUS'S WRITINGS IN THE FLORILEGIA

Both the Latin and Byzantine delegates to the Council of Florence were well aware of the life and work of Maximus the Confessor, who they referred to with the greatest respect as “the divine Maximus” (Μάξιμος ὁ θεῖος) or “holy Maximus” (ὁ ἅγιος Μάξιμος).¹ As Deno Geanakoplos demonstrated in his study of Maximus’s influence during the Middle Ages, he was revered among the Greeks for his dogmatic and spiritual works, while he was better known in the West for his commentaries on the Dionysian corpus (i.e., the *Ambigua* and *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* that had been translated by John Scotus Erigena and Anastasius Bibliothecarius).² From the time of Photius both Latins and Byzantines had used Maximus to support not only their views on the *filioque*, but the position of Rome within the pentarchy.³ It is thus not surprising that Maximus

¹ Post-schism theologians, regardless of their stature among the delegates, were rarely mentioned during the public sessions. Photius’s name came up on only a few occasions, and then only in the context of the so-called eighth ecumenical council. The only post-schism Greek theologian cited by the Latins was Gregory Palamas, who was quoted by Andrew of Rhodes as a witness against pointless squabbling over words. *Acta graeca*, 102–103. Thomas Aquinas, although called ὁ μακάριος Θωμᾶς by the Cesarini and the Latins, was referred to by Mark and the Greeks as simply Θωμᾶς ὁ τῶν Λατίνων διδάσκαλος.

² Deno John Geanakoplos, “Some Aspects of the Influence of the Byzantine Maximus the Confessor on the Theology of East and West,” *Church History* 38 (1969): 150–63.

³ See chapter two. Thomas Aquinas had quoted Maximus’s *Epistola Romae scripta* (PG 91, 136–40) twice in the *Contra Errores Graecorum* in support of the Roman primacy. “All the ends of the earth . . . and Catholics everywhere possessing the true faith, look to the Church of the Romans as to the sun and receive from it the light of the Catholic and apostolic faith.” *Contra Errores Graecorum* 2, 36 (Eng. trans: James Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 184).

found a place in the Latin and Greek *florilegia* used at the council, the two sides often using the same texts to prove diametrically opposing positions. Maximus, they discovered, was a sword that could cut both ways.

Before departing Constantinople, Mark Eugenicus and George Scholarius were assigned the task of studying the work of Nilus Cabasilas, who had written at length about the proper meaning of Maximus's *Letter to Marinus*, a text that (to his mind) denied the Son any causal role in the Spirit's procession.⁴ Cabasilas's work, which "was most often the 'formal source' of their (i.e., the Greeks') arguments and patristic proof-texts," sustained the long-standing belief that the *Letter to Marinus* was an unambiguous statement of the orthodox faith as the fathers had understood it.⁵

Yet Cabasilas's work was not the only collection of patristic proof-texts possessed by the anti-unionists. Mark of Ephesus, for example, had compiled his own *florilegia* in which Maximus's writings played no small part.⁶ Three of the quotations were from texts that we have already encountered: *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63, the *Diversa capita ad theologiam et oeconomiam*, and, of course, the *Letter to Marinus*.

Although long utilized by the unionists as a proof-text for their own position, Mark maintained that *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 was nothing more than a restatement of the classical belief in the Trinity's consubstantiality. As Mark wrote later in the *Capita Syllogistica*, a post-conciliar work in which he explained his objections to

⁴ See pages 106–109.

⁵ John Erickson, "Filioque and the Fathers at the Council of Florence," in *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1991), 165.

⁶ These texts can be found in Ludivico Petit, ed., *Marci Eugenici, metropolitae Ephesi, opera antiunionistica*, CF 10.2 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1977), 34–59. Five of the one hundred and twenty-one texts contained in Mark's collection are attributed to Maximus the Confessor.

the union, when Maximus and the fathers employed the formula ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον it was not to imply cause (“Away with such absurdities!”) but only to express the consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit (“that he [i.e., the Spirit] is neither without the Son nor different [in nature] from the Son”).⁷ This is why, according to Eugenicus, Maximus wrote that:

[the Holy Spirit] substantially proceeds through the Son who was begotten, for he would not have added “who was begotten” unless he intended to. This was also his intention in his *Letter to Marinus* when he says that the Romans of that time witnessed to the same (truth), saying that they did not make the Son the cause of the Spirit . . . but that they show the procession through him so that they might establish the unity and unchangeability of the essence.⁸

Mark’s next selection from Maximus, was from the *Diversa capita ad theologiam et oeconomiam*, testified to Maximus’s belief in the Father’s monarchy.⁹

There is one God, because the Father is the begetter of the unique Son and the fount of the Holy Spirit: one without confusion and three without division. The Father is the unoriginate intellect, the unique essential Begetter of the unique Logos, also unoriginate, and the fount of the unique everlasting life, the Holy Spirit.¹⁰

There was another selection from the authentic works of Maximus, taken from the *Orationis dominicae expositio*, which stated that: “The Son and Spirit always coexisted in essence with the Father. They are by nature from him and in him beyond cause and

⁷ Οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐχ ἑτεροφυῶς παρὰ τὸν Υἱόν. *Capita Syllogistica*; Petit, *Marci Eugenicici opera antiunionistica*, 98.

⁸ δι' Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον οὐκ ἂν προσθεῖς τὸ γεννηθέντος, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο νοεῖν ἠβούλετο. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦτο νοοῦσι, μάρτυς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαρῖνον ἐπιστολῇ τοῦς τότε Ῥωμαίους λέγων: οὐκ αἰτίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱὸν ποιεῖν. . . ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προΐεναι δηλώσωσι καὶ ταύτη τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσιν. *Ibid.*

⁹ See pages 46–47.

¹⁰ Ἐἷς Θεὸς ἐνὸς Υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ καὶ πατὴρ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου προβολεύς· μόνος ἀσύγχυτος καὶ τριάς ἀδιαίρετος, νοῦς ἀναρχος, μόνου μόνος οὐσιωδῶς ἀναρχοῦ λόγου γεννήτωρ καὶ μόνης αἰδίου ζωῆς ἡγουσ Πνεύματος ἁγίου πηγὴ. *Diversa capita ad theologiam et oeconomiam spectantia deque virtute ac vitio*, 4; PG 90, 1180 (Eng. trans: Palmer and Ware, *The Philokalia*, vol. 2, 165).

understanding.”¹¹ Mark understood this selection as a clear witness to the Spirit’s procession ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς. While a Photian interpretation of this text is possible, Mark never advanced it during or after the public debates, probably aware that the *Letter to Marinus* was a far better argument against the Latin position.

Eugenicus possessed two other quotations attributed to Maximus that we now know to be either of dubious authenticity or altogether spurious. The first was from the *Dialogus cum Macedoniano*, a work usually included in the Pseudo-Athanasian corpus but considered by many of the medievals (including both Mark and John Beccus) as the work of Maximus.¹²

For indeed the Son has been born from the substance of the Father (and therefore is the only-begotten Son); the Holy Spirit proceeds from the substance of the Father.¹³

The second selection was from the scholia on *De divinis nominibus* of Dionysius. Although Maximus cannot be totally excluded as a source for some of the texts, modern scholars now believe the scholia was largely the work of the sixth-century writer, John of Scythopolis.¹⁴ Mark’s quotation read:

¹¹ Ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐσιωδῶς τῷ Πατρὶ συνυφεστήκασιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ φυσικῶς ὑπὲρ αἰτίαν καὶ λόγον. *Orationis dominicae expositio* (PG 90, 884); Petit, *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 54 (Eng. trans: Berthold, *Maximus the Confessor*, 106).

¹² A note in PG 28, 1114–16 gives a brief history of the attribution of this work.

¹³ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγέννηται (διὰ τοῦτο μονογενής) καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. *Dialogo cum Macedoniano* (PG 28, 1208); Petit, *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 53.

¹⁴ See von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy*, 359–87; Beate Regina Suchla, “Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Skythopolis zu den areopagitischen Traktaten in seiner philosophie- und theologieggeschichtlichen Bedeutung,” in *Denys l’Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident*, (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 155–65; idem, “Wahrheit über jeder Wahrheit: Zur philosophischen Absicht der Schrift ‘De divinis nominibus’ des Dionysius Areopagita,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 176 (1996): 205–17; idem, “Zur geplanten Neuedition der Scholia ad Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum,” *Studia Patristica* 27 (1993): 209–12; idem, “Die Überlieferung von Prolog und Scholien des Johannes von Skythopolis zum griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum,” *Studia Patristica* 18 (1989): 79–83.

For the very reason that God and Father moved timelessly and lovingly, without division or diminution, coming forth into a distinction of persons totally above the mode of unity and above the mode of simplicity, with the Radiance (of His glory) coming forth into existence, as the living image, and the most Holy Spirit proceeding worshipfully and overabundantly from the Father as the Lord teaches.¹⁵

The *Epigraphae* of John Beccus, the chief source for Bessarion and the unionists, also contained several spurious quotations, including three from the *Dialogus de Sancta Trinitate in quo colloquuntur orthodoxus et anomoeus arianista*, a work, like the *Dialogus cum Macedoniano*, that is usually included in the Pseudo-Athanasian corpus although its authorship is still uncertain.¹⁶ These quotations, on their own, contributed little to Beccus's case, but when coupled with *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 (the only authentic selection from Maximus in the *Epigraphae*) they supported the unionist argument that the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son necessitated the Spirit's procession from both.¹⁷ The first concerned the substantial unity of the three persons within the Trinity.

¹⁵ "Οτιπερ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ κινηθεὶς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς προῆλθεν εἰς διάκρισιν ὑποστάσεων ἀμερῶς τε καὶ ἀμειώτως μείνας ἐν τῇ (οἰκείᾳ) δλόττηι ὑπερηνωμένος καὶ ὑπερηπλωμένος, τοῦ οἰκείου Ἀπαυγάσματος εἰς ὑπαρξίν προελθόντος ὡς εἰκόνας ζώσης καὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος προσκυνητῶς καὶ ὑπεραεννάως ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς μυσταγωγεὶ ὁ Κύριος (PG 4, 221); Petit, *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 53–54.

¹⁶ According to Bernhard Neuschäfer, although these works were later attributed to Didymus the Blind, modern scholarship has put this into question. See Bernhard Neuschäfer, "Didymus the Blind," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmund Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1998), 172–74.

¹⁷ It should be remembered that Beccus's alleged misinterpretation of Maximus's *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 had occasioned Gregory of Cyprus's clarification that while the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, "at the same time, they (i.e., Maximus and Tarsius) acknowledge that that the Spirit is given, revealed and manifested, flows forth and is known through the Son." (Ἦδσαν δὲ τοῦτο ἅμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προϊὼν καὶ φανερούμενον καὶ ἐκλάμπον, καὶ πεφηνὸς, καὶ ἦκον, καὶ γνωριζόμενον) *Apologia pro tomo suo*; PG 142, 262.

Anomoeus: Is there not, therefore, a difference between the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit?

Orthodoxus: In nature, no; in will, no; in begetting and being begotten and proceeding and having proceeded, yes.

Anomoeus: What is begetting and being begotten, proceeding and having proceeded?

Orthodoxus: What the Father begets, that is certainly begotten. The Son is begotten: that is, has been begotten. And when the Father himself sends forth the Spirit, that is sending forth. And the Spirit proceeded, that is, was proceeded.¹⁸

A second quotation also spoke to the consubstantiality of the Trinity, with particular emphasis on the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

Anomoeus: And therefore do you say that the Spirit is of the divine nature?

Orthodoxus: The Spirit is not simply of divine nature, but the divine. For the Father himself said: "In the last days I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh" (Acts 2:17). And the Son: "It is not you who will be speaking but the Spirit of my Father speaking in you" (Mk 13:11). And Job spoke of the divine Spirit thus: "The Lord lives, who has judged me thus, and the Almighty, who has made my soul sad, as long as breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my nostrils, my mouth will not speak what is unjust" (Job 27: 2–4). Do you see how he mentions the Holy Trinity? The Lord lives, he means, in the Son, and the Almighty, who makes my soul sad, is the Father, the Spirit of God who is in my nostrils is the Holy Spirit.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ἀνόμοιος: Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν διαφορὰ Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; Ὁρθόδοξος: Ἐν τῇ φύσει οὐ . ἐν τῷ θελήματι, οὐ . ἐν τῷ γεννᾶν, καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ναί. Ἀνόμοιος: Τί ἐστι γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐκπέμπειν καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ὁρθόδοξος: Ὅτι ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ γεννᾷ, τουτέστιν ἐγέννησέ . ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται, τουτέστιν γεγέννηται. Καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἐκπέμπει τὸ Πνεῦμα, τουτέστιν ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται, τουτέστιν ἐκπεπόρευεται. *Epigraphae* (PG 141, 672).

¹⁹ Ἀνόμοιος: Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὖν λέγεις θείας εἶναι φύσεως; Ὁρθόδοξος: Οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶναι θείας φύσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας. Αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Πατὴρ: Ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα. ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς: Οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρός μου τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν. Καὶ ὁ Ἰωβ θεῖον εἶπε τὸ Πνεῦμα οὕτω: Ζῆ Κύριος, ὅς οὕτω με κέκρικε, καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πικράνας μου τὴν ψυχὴν, ἣν μὴν ἔτι τῆς πνοῆς ἐν ῥισίν οὕσης. Πνεῦμα θεῖον δὲ τὸ περιόν μοι ἐν ῥισί, μὴ λαλήσαι τὸ στόμα μου ἄδικα. Ὁρᾶς πῶς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος μέμνηται: Ζῆ Κύριος, λέγων τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ ὁ πάντοκράτωρ ὁ πικράνας μου τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸν Πατέρα, Πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ περιόν μοι ἐν ῥισί, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. *Epigraphae* (PG 141, 693).

Even when coupled with the third selection, which held the unbegotten nature of the Holy Spirit, (“for the Spirit does not have a Father for he was not begotten”) these quotations did little but support the teaching that the three persons of the Trinity were consubstantial (which was, after all, the chief concern of the *Dialogus*).²⁰ However, Beccus and the unionists (following the Carolingian logic) believed that the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son necessitated the Spirit’s procession from both. Maximus and the Greek fathers knew this to be true, which is why they spoke of procession *through* the Son (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι’ Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον) while the Latins expressed this same reality by writing of procession *from* him (*processio ex Patre filioque*). *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 thus became for Beccus and the unionists a central proof text for the substantive equivalence of the prepositions *διὰ* and *ἐκ* and for the orthodoxy of the Latin teaching on the *filioque*. That this interpretation did not adequately convey Maximus’s own intent never occurred to either Beccus or Bessarion, handicapped as they were by the inability to read the patristic witness outside the categories of the Carolingian-Photian dialectic.

John of Montenero and the Latins possessed their own sources, most of which had been translated from the Greek by Ambrogio Traversari, but these contained no further references to the works of Maximus.²¹ Maximus’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 was certainly well known to the Latins, not only as part of the *Epigraphae*, but from its inclusion in the *Contra Errores Graecorum* of Thomas Aquinas as justification for

²⁰ Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα Πατέρα οὐκ ἔχει · οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγεννήθη. *Epigraphae* (PG 141, 721).

²¹ For a detailed study of the composition of this collection see Ortiz de Urbina, “Un codice fiorentino di raccolte patristiche,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938): 423–40.

equating *procedere* with both ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι.²² The Latins also knew of the *Letter to Marinus* and of its apology for the *filioque*, although judging from the writings of Nilus Cabasilas, its authenticity had long been in question.²³ The question must then be asked: Why would Maximus fail to be included in the Latin *florilegia* despite his alleged support of the Roman teaching?

The answer, quite simply, was that Western theology had long since embraced the very teaching that the *Letter to Marinus* had meant to exclude in its interpretation of the *filioque*: that the Son was, with the Father, cause of the Spirit's hypostasis. It is thus not surprising that Montenero would have been hesitant to produce as testimony an explicit patristic refutation of the very position he had been entrusted to defend. Although the *Letter to Marinus* was a Greek witness to the orthodoxy of the *filioque*, the Latins already had enough evidence to prove their case without including Maximus, whose writings the Byzantines viewed as an endorsement of the Photian position. While Maximus's writings (such as *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63) would be cited several times by the Greek unionists, Montenero and the Latins remained wary of introducing him. This was especially true of the *Letter to Marinus*, which so clearly challenged the orthodoxy of the Roman teaching on causality. When both the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 and the *Letter to Marinus* were brought forward by Andrew of Rhodes during the early debates on the addition, the Byzantine reaction proved how correct their instincts were.

²² See pages 94–95.

²³ See page 108.

MAXIMUS'S WRITINGS IN THE PUBLIC DEBATES

Although included in the Byzantine *florilegia* as a witness to the Photian understanding of the procession, there is also reason to believe that the Greeks arrived in Ferrara with the intention of using the *Letter to Marinus* as a means to reunion. In his book, *Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf dem Florentinum*, Hans-Jürgen Marx claims that:

It is very likely the Greeks came to the council with the intention of giving the *Letter to Marinus* of Maximus to the Latins as a formula for union. It would have conceded the orthodoxy of the *filioque*, but would have simultaneously allowed dogmatic adherence to the Photian interpretation of the $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula.²⁴

This contention is supported by the fact that the Greeks first introduced the *Letter* as a possible reunion formula during the meetings on the addition, long before the dogmatic discussions had even begun. This occurred on October twenty-eight, during the sixth session, after a prolonged exposition by Andrew of Rhodes on the legality of the addition. During that discourse, in which a host of patristic witnesses were introduced to support the orthodoxy of the Latin teaching (including *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63), Andrew read out the *Letter to Marinus*.²⁵ His purpose, according to Marx, was threefold.

First, (to prove) that the addition (i.e., the *filioque*) was already in the Latin version of the Constantinopolitan Creed by the time of the sixth ecumenical council. Second, the Greeks had known about it. And third, that Maximus had used the Latin addition in his vehement defense against the monothelite polemicists.²⁶

²⁴ Hans-Jürgen Marx, *Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf dem Florentinum: zum Pluralismus in dogmatischen Formeln* (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1977), 122.

²⁵ *Acta graeca*, 132. *Memoirs*, 6.35; Laurent 334–36.

²⁶ Marx, *Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf dem Florentinum*, 223.

Among the Latins, the Archbishop of Rhodes was alone in maintaining the authenticity of the *Letter* and the belief that it testified to the ancient nature of the addition, which he presumed Maximus to have known.²⁷ According to Syropoulos, by demonstrating that Maximus accepted the interpolation Andrew “wanted to prove that the addition was not the cause of the schism, but that it occurred for other reasons.”²⁸ The Greeks, as was noted in the last chapter, disputed both Andrew’s translation of the *Letter* and his contention that it attested to the early nature of the addition.²⁹ However, now that the Latins had introduced Maximus’s *Letter* (a text they had formerly rejected), the Byzantines realized that a “window of opportunity” had opened and that it could (and should) immediately be exploited.

According to Syropoulos, it was immediately following Andrew’s speech that a private conference took place in the sacristy of St. Francis at which the Greeks formally proposed the *Letter to Marinus* as a means to reunion. “If this letter is accepted gladly on your part,” the Byzantines told the Romans, “the union will happily proceed.”³⁰ The rest of the Latin delegates, unwilling at this point to compromise or surrender, were forced to publicly repudiate Andrew’s use and interpretation of Maximus’s text. According to the *Memoirs* they claimed, “We (i.e., the Latins) chided the Bishop of Rhodes on this account, that contrary to our will he has produced it. We do not admit it, because it is not

²⁷ Given that Rome did not embrace the addition until the eleventh century, this claim is impossible to maintain. As Marx writes, “While Maximus can possibly be seen as defending the orthodoxy of the Latin doctrine, this is not the case for the legitimacy of the addition to the symbol; for on this subject Maximus does not say a word.” *Ibid.*, 223.

²⁸ Ὅμως ἡ ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἠνωμένη ἦν μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦσα τὴν δυτικὴν, καὶ ἔσπευδεν ἀποδείξει ὅτι οὐ διὰ τὴν προσθήκην τὸ σχίσμα γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἄλλας αἰτίας. *Memoirs*, 6.35; Laurent 334.

²⁹ It was the translation of this text that occasioned the rebuke of Nicholas Secundinus. See page 132.

³⁰ Εἰ στέργεται παρ’ ὑμῶν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή, εὐκόλως προβήσεται καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις. *Memoirs*, 6.36; Laurent 336.

found to be complete.”³¹ While Andrew’s introduction of the *Letter to Marinus* might have proved his point vis-à-vis the ancient nature of the addition, his co-religionists were aware that Maximus’s testimony cut both ways. Even if their doubts about the *Letter*’s authenticity were genuine, theologically the position of Maximus was too far removed from the fifteenth-century Western understanding to serve as the starting point for negotiation.³² It was, they believed, still too early to surrender the position of Anselm and Aquinas — that the Father and the Son are the one spirating principle and thus together the one cause of the Spirit’s procession.

The Latin view of Maximus’s *Letter* should not have surprised the Greeks, as they were already aware of how the West had responded to Cabasilas on the matter. Yet now that the Latins had made it abundantly clear that they would not accept the authenticity of the text, there appeared little reason for the Byzantines to reintroduce it in support of their position. Thus throughout the Florentine debates on the theology of the procession the writings of Maximus are conspicuously absent. Eugenius, in his exposition of the Greek position during the sixth session, did not include a reference to the *Letter*, although he believed it to be the criterion *sine qua non* for orthodox trinitarian theology.³³ The Latins too, having learned from the mistakes of Andrew of Rhodes, refrained from reintroducing

³¹ ‘Ἡμεῖς ἐσκώψαμεν καὶ τὸν Ῥόδου ἕνεκεν αὐτῆς, ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην ἡμῶν προκεκόμικε ταύτην. οὐ γὰρ στέργομεν αὐτήν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρος εὐρίσκεται. Ibid.

³² Cabasilas assumed that the Latins rejected the authenticity of the *Letter to Marinus* solely because its witness conflicted with their own theology. While this may, in part, be true, it should be recognized that some modern scholars still regard the authenticity of the *Letter* as an open question. Yet, as was demonstrated in the first chapter, the arguments for authenticity, especially the argument from theological consistency, far outweigh the objections. See pages 32–35.

³³ “I will admit as authentic all the citations from the Western saints in the measure that they are in accord with the Letter of St. Maximus to Marinus. All that are divergent from it, I will not accept.” Ὅσα τῶν δυτικῶν ἁγίων ῥητά εἰσι σύμφωνα τῇ πρὸς Μαρίνον ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου, δέξομαι ὡς γνήσια . ὅσα δὲ διαφωνοῦσιν, οὐ παραδέξομαι. *Memoirs*, 8.6; Laurent 394.

the testimony of Maximus. Even Montenero's prolonged exposition on the position of the Greek fathers, which might have logically included *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 as patristic endorsement for the idea of procession through (or from) the Son, did not have a single quotation from the Confessor.

It was not until Montenero's "confession" at the end of the sixth session that Maximus's name reappears in the *Acta*. After making a brief reference to Maximus's *Epistola Romae scripta* ("All Christian churches consider this Church of Rome to be the one base and foundation"³⁴), Montenero reaffirmed the position that Maximus's *Letter* had explicated centuries earlier — the Latins accepted only one cause and principle of the Son and the Spirit, and anathematized all those who asserted the contrary.³⁵

As mentioned in the last chapter, Montenero's statement made a great impression on the Greeks, who were eager to put an end to the public debates and return home. The emperor, desirous of consummating the union, was ready to believe that if the Latins confessed the Father as the *μία αἴτια* then they would have no hesitation in accepting the testimony of Maximus as a basis for reunion, regardless of their doubts about the text's authenticity. Thus at a meeting of the Greek delegation immediately following Montenero's presentation, he again put forward the *Letter to Marinus* as a reunion formula. Both the *Acta graeca* and the *Memoirs* are clear that this was an imperial initiative, although they diverge on its reception among the Greeks. The *Acta* describe how, after the reading of the *Letter*, the delegation expressed their desire that the text

³⁴ Μόνην γὰρ κρηπίδα καὶ θεμέλιον ἔξουσι ταύτην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαι τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίαι. *Acta graeca*, 390; *Epistola Romae scripta* (PG 91, 140).

³⁵ Ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας ὁπαδοὶ μίαν ἔγνωμεν τὸν Πατέρα αἰτίαν Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος. . . διὸ καὶ οὐδὲ δοξάζει δύο ἀρχάς οὐδὲ δύο αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μίαν αἰτίαν. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας δύο ἀρχάς, ἢ δύο αἰτίας, ἀναθεματίζομεν. *Acta graeca*, 390.

immediately be brought to the pope, nothing more being required for union than his acceptance of Maximus's testimony.

And everyone together said, "If the Latins are persuaded by this epistle, then nothing else is required for us to unite with them." . . . Therefore the synod designated the emperor to go to the pope and ask if he received the epistle and confession of Saint Maximus.³⁶

However, the *Memoirs* (in a more likely scenario given the tension that would characterize intra-Byzantine debates for the remainder of the council) present the reintroduction of the *Letter* as a cause of division among the Greeks. According to Syropoulos, once the elderly Patriarch absented himself from the room, the emperor polled the remaining delegates:

If we should discover that the Latins gladly accept whatever Holy Maximus relates in his *Letter to Marinus* on the subject of the Holy Spirit, does it not seem good to you that we should unite through it?³⁷

Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev quickly voted in the affirmative, although they were opposed by Mark of Ephesus and Anthony of Heraclea, who claimed that it would mean little if the Latins accepted the testimony of Maximus yet twisted his words in such a way that they contradicted the orthodox position. Eugenicus's objections are recorded by Syropoulos:

How can we unite with them when they accept, in word alone, the statement of Holy Maximus while among themselves they opine the opposite, even proclaiming it openly in their churches! No, they must first confess our teaching

³⁶ Καὶ εἶπομεν πάντες ὁμοῦ Ἐὰν οἱ Λατῖνοι ταύτη τῇ ἐπιστολῇ πείθωνται, ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι μὴ ζητήσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐνωθησόμεθα. . . . καὶ ἐπρότρεψεν ἡ σύνοδος τὸν βασιλεῖα μνηῦσαι τῷ πάπᾳ σὺν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἶπερ στέργωσι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου, καὶ τοῦτο μαθὼν ἀναγγεῖλαι ἡμῖν. *Acta graeca*, 392–93.

³⁷ Εἰ εὔροιμεν τοὺς Λατίνους στέργοντας ὅπερ διέξεισιν ὁ ἅγιος Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαρίνον ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐ δόξει ὑμῖν καλόν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνωθῶμεν. *Memoirs*, 8.12; Laurent 400.

— clearly and without ambiguity. Only in this way will we consummate the union with them.³⁸

The emperor told Eugenius that he was asking the impossible — monitoring not only what the Latins confessed in their churches, but also the contents of their hearts.³⁹ Mark responded that if there were substantive differences in how the two sides thought about the faith, then reunion was indeed impossible.⁴⁰ Both Mark and Anthony continued to argue against a union based solely on the text of Maximus unless the Latins were willing to make the necessary clarifications. The emperor, supported by the majority (who voted with Bessarion), thus brought the *Letter to Marinus* to the pope as a means to reunion.

The pope, however, insisted that it was not yet possible to settle the issue, since the Latins had not yet been given the opportunity to respond to Mark's presentation. No mention is made of how seriously Eugene considered the *Letter* as a reunion formula, although it is unlikely that the Latins would have considered or conceded anything before having an opportunity to bring the weight of their own patristic evidence into the debate. Their belief (which was later proved substantively correct) was that Montenero's presentation would be powerful enough to sway the Greeks into the unionist camp. Once this was accomplished, Rome would be in a better position to negotiate (or dictate) the terms of union. The chances of the Latins accepting anything short of total capitulation had never been great and now, as the public debates came to an end, they were about to disappear completely.

³⁸ Πῶς οὖν ἐνωθησόμεθα μετ' αὐτῶν λόγῳ μόνῳ εἰπόντων ἀπλῶς στέργειν τὸ ρήτον τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ τὸναντίον δοξαζόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας κηρυττόντων Ἄλλὰ χρὴ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁμολογήσαι δόξαν σαφῶς καὶ ἀνεκδοιάστως καὶ οὕτως ἐνωθῆναι ἡμῖν. Ibid.

³⁹ Τὴν διὰ γλώττης ὁμολογίαν ὀφείλομεν ἀπαιτεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι ταύτῃ, οὐ μὴν δ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν διανοίας. Ibid.

⁴⁰ Εἰ κατὰ τὰς διανοίας διαφερόμεθα περὶ τὴν πίστιν, οὐδὲ ἐνωθῆναι δυνασόμεθα. Ibid.

MAXIMUS'S WRITINGS DURING THE FINAL NEGOTIATIONS

With the public sessions at an end and the delegations seemingly at an impasse, Bessarion and George Scholarius decided to address the Greek delegation.⁴¹ The first to speak was Bessarion, who was now firmly committed to the unionist cause. His argument, found in the *Oratio Dogmatica*, was both simple and persuasive:⁴²

- 1- *The fathers East and West, inspired by the same Spirit, could not contradict one another. This was the universally accepted principle, mentioned in the previous chapter, that there existed a "symphony of the saints."*⁴³
- 2- *Methodologically, one had to interpret the more obscure passages in the fathers in light of the clearer. While Eugenius did not accept this hermeneutical principle, preferring to interpret the more recent writings (i.e., the Latin fathers) in light of the older (i.e., the Greeks), Bessarion's stance was widely accepted among the Byzantines.*⁴⁴
- 3- *If the Latin fathers unanimously taught procession ex patre et filio (which Montenero had demonstrated quite clearly), then passages in the Greek fathers where they spoke of procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (which were also plentiful) must have referred to this same truth.*
- 4- *This "flowing forth" or "coming forth" of the Spirit referred to by the fathers concerned not merely the economy but the theology. Here it is obvious that Bessarion followed Beccus in accepting not only the equivalence between διὰ and ἐκ, but between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι.*
- 5- *This teaching neither denies the monarchy of the Father (who remains principal cause) nor does it imply two causes, since the Latins affirmed that the Son is, with the Father, a single spirating principle.*

⁴¹ This was some time between April twelfth and the fifteenth.

⁴² While both simple and persuasive, Bessarion's arguments were hardly original. In both his selection of texts and content Bessarion relied heavily on the work of John Beccus. According to Gill, "His (i.e., Bessarion's) dependence on Beccus is clear because occasionally he even includes the short phrases by which Beccus linked some of his quotations." Gill, "The Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist," 386.

⁴³ See pages 129–30.

⁴⁴ See pages 133–34.

- 6- *Since the weight of the patristic evidence clearly supported this position, the Greeks had no legitimate reason to withhold their consent to the union.*

In order to prove this last point, Bessarion found it necessary to deal with two fathers that the Greeks had traditionally used to counter the Latin understanding of the Spirit's procession: John of Damascus and Maximus the Confessor. Bessarion produced *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 as proof that that the Confessor did not intend to deny all causality to the Son, since he clearly taught there that the Spirit's eternal procession (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) took place through him. If the eternal procession took place through (or from) the Son, then a strictly Photian understanding of the *Letter to Marinus* (in which the Son was granted only a role in the temporal manifestation) could not be maintained.

For, as he says, the Spirit is substantially of the Son, not newly acquired and from without, nor has the Son received it temporally, but rather he possesses it eternally and substantially just like the Father. And thus he is the cause, because the Spirit proceeds substantially from the Father through him.⁴⁵

Basil the Great spoke of the same reality when he wrote of the Spirit's manifestation through the Son (δι' αὐτοῦ πεφηνέναι), which Bessarion interpreted as a reference to his eternal manifestation.⁴⁶ Thus, according to Bessarion's reading of the fathers, the Son must be a cause of the Spirit, since the Spirit's eternal manifestation, procession, and hypostatic existence all took place δι' αὐτοῦ.⁴⁷ For this reason Bessarion claimed that Basil and Maximus substantively agreed with the Western doctrine, since all spoke of the

⁴⁵ Τοῦ υἱοῦ γάρ, φησίν, οὐσιωδῶς ἐστὶν τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἐπίκτητον αὐτὸ καὶ ἔξωθεν, οὐδὲ χρονικῶς εἰληφότος ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰδίου καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτὸ κεκτημένου, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ πατήρ. Καὶ ἡ αἰτία, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' αὐτοῦ οὐσιωδῶς ἐκπορεύεται. Emmanuel Candal, ed., *Bessarion Nicaenus, Oratio dogmatica de unione*, CF 7.1 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1958), 29–30.

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Basilus, *Liber V contra Eunomium* (PG 29, 733).

⁴⁷ Εἰ δὲ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πεφηνέναι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν παράστησιν. καὶ αἰτίαν ἢ “διά” ἐξανάγκης ἐνταῦθα δηλοῖ, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως λαμβάνεσθαι δύναται. *Ibid.*, 30.

same reality (i.e., the procession of the Spirit from or through the Son) with only subtle differences in language.

It signifies nothing other than that he is manifested through the Son according to Basil the Great, and proceeds through the Son according to Maximus, and proceeds from the Son and has essence from Him according to the Western doctors . . . here it is seen that the three terms are equivalent.⁴⁸

Bessarion knew that the Greeks would never accept the Western teaching unless it could be reconciled with the affirmation, found in both John of Damascus and the *Letter to Marinus*, that Μόνος γὰρ αἴτος ὁ πατήρ.⁴⁹ Like his Latin hosts, Bessarion was not convinced of the authenticity of Maximus's *Letter*, "since it was not found in the ancient codices nor discovered among his works."⁵⁰ Yet even if one conceded its authenticity (as he did here for the sake of argument), Bessarion believed that the *Letter to Marinus* was not the clear condemnation of the Latin position that Mark and the anti-unionists had supposed.

Bessarion explained that, following the Greek usage, John of Damascus and Maximus were hesitant about using the preposition ἐκ to speak about the Spirit's procession from the Son, since ἐκ (more often than not) denoted a relation to the first and principal cause (i.e., the Father).⁵¹ For this reason both chose instead to speak of procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, recognizing that this signified not merely the Spirit's temporal

⁴⁸ Οὐδὲν ἕτερον σημαίνει ἢ τὸ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πεφηγῆναι, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, αὐθις κατὰ τὸν Μάξιμον, κατὰ δέ γε τοὺς Δυτικούς, τὸ ἐξ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν. . . εἰς ἴσον τοῖς τρισὶν ἔρχεται τούτοις. Ibid, 37–38.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 42.

⁵⁰ Οὔτε ἐν ἀρχαίοις βιβλίοις, οὔτε τοῖς ἐκείνου συγγράμμασιν ἐγγεγραμμένην εὕρισκεσθαι. Ibid, 43.

⁵¹ Ἡ γὰρ κοινὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρῆσις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχοειδοῦς καὶ προκαταρκτικῆς αἰτίας κυρίως χρωμένη τῇ "ἐκ" τὸν τε Δαμασκηνὸν ἠνάγκασε μὴ ἐξ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ δι' υἱοῦ φάναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸν τε Μάξιμον ἔπεισε τὸ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λεγόμενον ἐξ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸ δι' υἱοῦ προϊέναι μεταλαβεῖν. Ibid.

manifestation (i.e., the position of Photius) but also his hypostatic existence. In this way Maximus allowed the Son to be a cause of the Spirit, although not in a primordial way since this role was reserved to the Father alone, who (as Maximus rightly claimed) was μία αίτία. To deny that Maximus or John intended to reject the attribution of all causality to the Son was to misunderstand their thought and the Greek theological tradition as a whole.

For Bessarion, the key to interpreting the *Letter* was understanding how the Greek fathers understood causality, distinguishing between the Father, “who alone is the first and principal cause” and the Son, who is neither the first nor the principal cause and yet is still cause or principle of the Spirit, one and the same with the Father.⁵² When he denied in the *Letter to Marinus* that the Son was also a cause of the Spirit, Maximus (recognizing this distinction) merely wanted to affirm that the Spirit’s procession through him did not contradict the teaching that the Father alone was first cause within the divinity. Thus Bessarion accepted Maximus’s teaching as contained in the *Letter*, writing in his post-conciliar work, *Refutatio Caputum Syllogisticorum Marci Ephesii*:

That the Son is not the cause of the Spirit we can also say, for we understand the meaning of cause in the strictest sense, as used in the Greek idiom, whereby cause always is understood as the primordial first cause.⁵³

Bessarion’s presentation was significant for two reasons. First, Bessarion was a member of the Greek delegation (in fact, one of its chief spokesman and brightest intellects) expressing his belief that six centuries of Byzantine trinitarian theology,

⁵² Ός έστι μόνος άρχοειδής αίτία και πρώτη. Ibid, 45.

⁵³ Αίτία γάρ μη είναι τον Υιόν του Πνεύματος και αυτοί φαίμεν άν, την αίτιαν στενώτερον κατά την Έλλήνων φωνήν εκλάμβανοντες, ή παρ’ αυτοίς δεί την άρχοειδη αίτιαν σημαίνει. *Refutatio Caputum Syllogisticorum Marci Ephesii* (PG 161, 240).

including the works of Photius and Cabasilas, had all been in error. Bessarion was neither a Latin nor a *Latinophron*, and had proved his commitment to orthodoxy during the public sessions. While Montenero's arguments were logically sound, they were now being advocated by a Greek metropolitan, not by an azymite cardinal speaking a barbarian tongue.

Second, Bessarion's presentation went beyond Montenero's in employing a plethora of quotations (from such works as Gregory of Nyssa's *Letter to Ablabius* and the *Confession* of Patriarch Tarsius) to support the premise that *διὰ* and *ἐκ* were substantially equivalent. These quotations were not unfamiliar to the Byzantines, having been drawn largely from the *Epigraphae* of John Beccus, but when coupled with the testimony of the Latin fathers produced by Montenero (which the Latins happily made available in writing) the anti-unionist opposition began to crumble under the weight of the patristic evidence.⁵⁴

Scholarius's presentation, unlike Bessarion's, was not an elaborate theological treatise (which he certainly would have been capable of undertaking) but a heartfelt appeal to his listeners' emotions. At once a critique of his fellow delegates' inability to muster a defense against the Latins and an impassioned plea for Christian unity against the Turkish foe, Scholarius's *On the Need for Aiding Constantinople* played both to the patriotism of the Byzantines and their deep longing to return home. If the Greeks could muster no defense against the Latins except to claim that their sources were corrupt (which he called the "height of stupidity"), then the bonds of friendship should be

⁵⁴ See n. 42 above.

renewed so that the emperor could return home and undertake the defense of the Great City.⁵⁵

The cumulative effect of these two addresses was enough to persuade the Greeks to return to the negotiating table, where ten members from each side were chosen to discuss the possibility of union.⁵⁶ Mark was still insistent that any reunion scheme must include the removal of the *filioque*, although this was for the Latins a non-starter.⁵⁷ It was Bessarion, according to Syropoulos, who at the very first gathering suggested the *Letter to Marinus* as a formula for reunion.⁵⁸ While the *Memoirs* simply say that the Latins rejected this offer (οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι οὐδόλως κατεδέξαντο τοῦτο), the *Acta* detail the Latin response:

For even we ourselves would say that the Son is not the primary cause of the Spirit: we assert one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, the one according to generation and the other according to procession; but in order to signify the communion and the equality of the essence we also assert the procession through the Son and clearly confess the inseparability of the substance. For the Son is

⁵⁵ There remains scholarly debate as to the sincerity of Scholarius's unionist leanings. Some have chosen to interpret *On the Need for Aiding Constantinople* as a plea for an "economic" union (i.e., merely to obtain Western aid against the Turk) while others (including Gill) believe Scholarius was firmly convinced of the Latins' orthodoxy. Scholarius himself, upon assuming the anti-unionist leadership in 1444, had difficulty explaining his advocacy of Florence and exactly what had occurred to him in its aftermath. Perhaps the most convincing argument is put forward by C. J. G. Turner, who claims that Scholarius embraced Florence as both a "dogmatic" and "economic" union, but that for a combination of political, psychological, theological, and personal reasons he slowly began to regret his decision. Turner, "George-Gennadius Scholarius and the Union of Florence," *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967): 83–103.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that the emperor, even at this late stage, chose Mark of Ephesus, Dositheos of Monembasia and Anthony of Heraclea as members of the delegation despite his own desire to consummate the union. This would seem to cast further doubt upon Syropoulos's claim that the emperor, having decided on union, forcibly silenced the anti-unionists. Others chosen included Bessarion, Isidore, and Dorotheus of Mytilene

⁵⁷ While the addition to the creed had been treated as a separate canonical issue at the council (i.e., whether it was licitly added in the first place), both Mark Eugenicus and the Latins believed that the removal of the *filioque* would also have been a *de facto* admission of its heterodoxy.

⁵⁸ Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξετάσαντες, ἐμάθομεν ὅπως ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ συνελύσει κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Νικαίας πολλοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι χρὴ δέξασθαι ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ὅπερ φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος Μάξιμος περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαρίνον ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἐνωθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ ῥητοῦ ἐκείνου. *Memoirs*, 8.27; Laurent 414.

substantially the Son of the Father and the Holy Spirit substantially is of the Father and the Son. Since he is substantially of the Father and the Son, and the substance of the hypostasis is inseparable, therefore the Holy Spirit is also from the hypostasis of the Son. Maximus states that the pronouncements of the holy Roman fathers do not say otherwise, not only Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose but the rest whose books manifestly assert the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son.⁵⁹

The Latins here repeated the understanding of the *Letter* that Bessarion had given only days earlier — Maximus had only intended to deny the Son's role as principal cause of the Spirit, not to deny the procession from the Father and the Son *ab tantum uno principio*. They maintained, as the West had for centuries, that there were not two causes of the Spirit (Father and Son), but they did not hesitate to attribute some causal role to the Son, since he was (with the Father) the one spirating principle. Thus they could affirm (as Montenero had done) with Maximus that the Son is not *the* cause (i.e., the primordial first cause) of the Spirit, as the Spirit still principally proceeded from the Father, yet they could not affirm that the Son in no way constitutes *a* cause of the Spirit's procession. While Bessarion in the *Oratio Dogmatica* had said that the *Letter to Marinus* could and should be interpreted along these lines, the Latins were afraid that the affirmation that the Father was the *μία αἰτία* might allow some of the Greeks to interpret this text as a denial of the Latin teaching. Given their desire that the Byzantines clearly recognize and affirm the Roman doctrine, it was not surprising that the Latins rejected Bessarion's re-introduction of Maximus as a reunion formula.

⁵⁹ Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν προκαταρκτικὴν αἰτίαν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος. μίαν γὰρ λέγομεν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τὸν Πατέρα αἰτίαν, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν. ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ συναφές καὶ ταῦτόν τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἡμεῖς δηλώσωμεν, καὶ τὸ προΐεναι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγομεν καὶ τὸ ἀχώριστον τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ὑποστάσεων σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦμεν. ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν οὐσιωδῶς Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐστὶν οὐσιωδῶς Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐσιωδῶς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶν, ἔστι δὲ ἀχώριστος ἡ οὐσία τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ἔστιν ἄρα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς λέγει ὁ Μάξιμος χρήσεις 'Ρωμαίων ἁγίων πατέρων, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλαι εἰ μὴ Αὐγουστίνου, Ἰερωνύμου, Ἀμβροσίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὧν αἱ βίβλοι σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ. *Acta graeca*, 412.

After five sessions with no result, the Latins sent the Greeks a formula they believed (or more precisely, hoped) summarized the position of both Churches:

In the name of the Holy Trinity . . . we profess that the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and proceeds eternally from both as from one principle and one spiration declaring that what the holy doctors and fathers say, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son is directed to this sense that by it is meant that the Son like the Father is according to the Greeks the cause, but according to the Latins the principle, of the subsistence of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰

This formula immediately split the Greek delegation once again. While Bessarion, Isidore, and the unionists urged the delegates to accept the Latin formula, Mark insisted that the statement was utterly contrary to the Greek patristic tradition as he understood it. Particularly upsetting to the anti-unionist majority was the explicit affirmation that the Son was also a cause of the Spirit, something that both John of Damascus and Maximus had explicitly denied. When Mark tried to bring forward the *Letter to Marinus* as testimony on his behalf, Bessarion (who had suggested the *Letter* as a reunion formula only a few days before) simply refused to accept its authenticity. “We do not accept it,” he said, “because we do not possess the letter in its entirety.”⁶¹ If Eugenius refused to read Maximus correctly, (i.e., as supporting the Latin position), Bessarion, following the example of his Latin hosts, simply denied it a hearing. This left the Damascene as the only father who had explicitly denied causality to the Son. Bessarion, echoing the position of Scholarius, expressed the view that one witness could not (and should not)

⁶⁰ *Memoirs*, 8.30; Laurent 416–18 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 248).

⁶¹ Οὐ δεχόμεθα αὐτό, ἐπεὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκεται τελεία ἡ ἐπιστολή. *Memoirs*, 8.34; Laurent 420. For Scholarius’s view see chapter 3, n. 78.

stand against the weight of the patristic consensus.⁶² If there was an apparent contradiction, John's writings should simply be made to conform.

Charged with responding to the Roman proposal was Scholarius, who composed a statement of faith that both Latins and Greeks considered vague and inadequate. It stated:

We Greeks confess and believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) from the Father, is proper to the Son and gushes forth (ἀναβλύζειν) from him, and we affirm and believe that he flows forth (προχέισθαι) substantially from both, namely from the Father through the Son.⁶³

While Scholarius's purpose may, in fact, have been to present an equivocal statement open to various interpretations, knowingly or unknowingly he was also representing the language and theology of the "third school" of Byzantine trinitarian thought represented by Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas. Since Scholarius himself was one of the few delegates who knew of and appreciated the works of the Council of Blachernae, there is a good *prima facie* case to be made for a deliberate allusion to the Cypriot's theology of "eternal manifestation" and the substantive difference between procession (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) and eternal progression (προϊέναι, ἀναβλύζειν, προχέισθαι).⁶⁴ Scholarius himself greatly admired Gregory of Cyprus, a figure he had called "in no way inferior to the greatest of the ancient writers on the subject of the procession".⁶⁵ Later, after his conversion to anti-unionism, Scholarius

⁶² Ἐἷς ἐστίν, ὁ λέγων αὐτὸ καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοποιούμεθα ἀπὸ μαρτυρίας ἐνός. προκόμισον καὶ ἐτέρων, εἰ ἔχεις. Ibid.

⁶³ *Memoirs*, 8.40; Laurent 426 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 250).

⁶⁴ See chapter 2, n. 116. During the private discussions Anthony of Heraclea had also attempted to introduce the *Tomos* as a conciliar witness against the Latin doctrine, but (according to Syropoulos) was prevented from doing so, "because the evildoer who was shown to be our enemy (i.e., the emperor's confessor), used all his zeal to prevent us from knowing of this work." (Διὸ ἐσπούδασεν ὁ δηλωθεὶς κακεργάτης καὶ πολέμιος ἡμῶν ἵνα καὶ τότε κωλύσῃ ἡμᾶς τῆς τούτου εἰδήσεως) *Memoirs*, 9.9; Laurent 442–44.

⁶⁵ L. Petit and M. Jugie, eds., *Oeuvres complètes* vol. 3 (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1930), 127.

even referred to Blachernae as a *de facto* ecumenical gathering, since its condemnation of Beccus's unionist theology was so completely in sync with the trinitarian faith of the early councils.⁶⁶

While the emperor later insisted to the pope that verbs like “gush forth” (ἀναβλύζειν), ‘flows forth’ (προχέισθαι), and the rest attribute causality to the Son, Scholarius carefully differentiated them in his statement, aware that ἐκπορεύεσθαι alone had that force in Eastern trinitarian thought.⁶⁷ Like Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus, Gregory of Cyprus, and Palamas before him, Scholarius here established an *eternal* relation between the Son and Spirit without denying the traditional Byzantine teaching that procession is a hypostatic act of the Father alone. The Spirit eternally flowed forth and was made manifest through the consubstantial Son, and yet the Father alone was cause of his hypostatic existence. This teaching permitted Scholarius an orthodox interpretation of the Latin formula while avoiding both the unionist conclusion (i.e., that the Son was cause of the Spirit) and its Photian counterpart (i.e., that the *filioque* could only be applied on the level of the economy). Scholarius's statement of faith, thus understood, was certainly in keeping with the theology of Maximus and the “third school” of Byzantine theology, especially the *Tomos* of Gregory of Cyprus. And yet, like the work of Gregory himself, Scholarius's statement of faith was rejected by both sides of the argument — Eugenius believing it too vague and capable of misinterpretation (“like an actor's boot”), the Latins afraid that verbs like προχέισθαι and ἀναβλύζειν would be understood by the Greeks as reference to the Spirit's temporal procession alone.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 173.

⁶⁷ See n. 69 below.

Although approved by the Byzantine delegation by a vote of 21–12 with the consent of the aging Patriarch (whose physical condition began to deteriorate rapidly) the Latins refused to accept it. Once again an understanding of the patristic tradition that transcended the Photian-Carolingian dialectic was offered. Once again the voice of Maximus and the third school was quickly silenced.

Following their rejection of the Scholarius's statement, the Latins presented the Greeks with twelve questions in the hopes of clarifying their position, especially how they understood terms like ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἀναβλύζειν and διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ in terms of causality.⁶⁸ When the Byzantines failed to respond, the Latins continued their demands for a clearer statement of the Greeks' trinitarian theology, one that explicitly affirmed the orthodoxy of the Latin teaching.

By May of 1439 the Byzantine delegates, increasingly frustrated both with the progress of the discussions and with their irregular payments from the papal treasury, renewed their demands to return home. Even the emperor, who was unambiguously in favor of union, began to feel dissatisfied with the continued Latin demands and poured out his frustrations to the pope:

(Verbs like) 'gush forth' (ἀναβλύζειν) 'pour forth' (προχέεισθαι) and the rest attribute cause to the Son even if they (i.e., the writers) do not state it clearly owing to the ignorance of individuals. You profess the Son is a cause of the Spirit; we do not deny it; what else do you want?⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Memoirs*, 8.40; Laurent 426

⁶⁹ *Acta graeca*, 418 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 252–53).

On the twenty-first the emperor finally told Cesarini that the Latins could either accept Scholarius's original statement or simply let the Greeks go home.⁷⁰

Pope Eugene, now fearful that his efforts had all been in vain, called together the Greeks for a solemn session (May 27) so that he could make one last urgent plea for unity. Although certainly a heartfelt appeal for the unity of the Church, Eugene also dangled before the Byzantines the promise of Western aid against the Turks, which would only be forthcoming if the union were consummated.⁷¹ So powerful was his presentation that Bessarion, Isidore, and some of the other unionists told the emperor that they were prepared to unite with Rome even if the rest of the delegation were not. The emperor, now under tremendous pressure from both the Latins and the unionists within his own ranks, began a "forced march" towards union that eventually brought the Byzantines, however reluctantly, back to the negotiating table. Those, like Mark Eugenicus and Anthony of Heraclea, who continued to stand in the way were now labeled by the increasingly unionist delegation as "traitors and Judases" who were preventing both the unity of Christ's Church and the salvation of the Great City. With no "third option" apparently available to them, the Greeks had only the choice between the theologies of Photius and Beccus. The *Letter to Marinus*, despite its continued influence

⁷⁰ When pressed for a definitive statement of faith a few days later by Cesarini the emperor pleaded: "Of course we ought to have given an explanation of our confession of faith, but the most part of our bishops are in doubt as to what is demanded of them, some through ignorance, others because they cannot reject the doctrine received by the Fathers. . . . I am not the master of the Greek synod, nor do I want to use my authority to force it into any statement." *Acta graeca*, 421 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 253).

⁷¹ "What am I to say? I see division everywhere before my eyes and I wonder what use to you division will be. Still if it shall be, how are the western princes going to look on it? And what grief will you yourselves have; indeed how are you to return home? Union however once achieved, both the western princes and all of us will be greatly rejoiced and will provide generous help for you." *Acta graeca*, 424 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 254).

in the final stages of the council, no longer presented an opportunity for conciliation or further understanding. Maximus was now firmly in the hands of the polemicists.

MAXIMUS'S WRITINGS AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF UNION

With the emperor now in the unionist camp, Eugenicus and his followers were increasingly placed on the defensive, forced to justify their continued rejection of the Roman teaching and the testimony of the Latin fathers. The unionist position was simple enough (as Bessarion's *Oratio* had made clear a month earlier) — the Western writers clearly taught procession from the Son (*ex filio*), the Greeks had often spoken of procession through the Son (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ). Inspired by the same Spirit, the fathers could not contradict one another or teach different truths and so therefore the orthodoxy of the Latin teaching was proved. However, Eugenicus remained unmoved by this logic, especially as he had continued doubts about the authenticity of the codices employed by the Romans. The emperor, in an effort to end the intra-Byzantine debate about the legitimacy of the Latin texts, polled the delegates for their opinion of the Western saints and the authenticity of their writings. According to Mark's account, while most of the Greeks accepted the Latin codices, they continued to reject the teaching that the Son was cause of the Spirit. Both of these positions, he says, were based on their adherence to the testimony of Maximus.

Adducing passages from the works of the Western teachers and the great St. Cyril, apparently favorable to Latinism, and after having before this attacked me one by one with their sophistries, they then asked the members present at the council what they thought of the adduced passages, and whether they avow the Son as a cause of the Holy Ghost. The members answered that they did not doubt the authenticity of these passages, relying on the Epistle of the divine Maximus;

but most of the members refused to admit the Son as a cause of the Spirit according to these passages because the wise Maximus also gives the same opinion of these passages.⁷²

As for Mark himself, he had little doubt that the Latin codices had been falsified by upholders of the Roman doctrine. Citing several examples from the public debates (including the introduction of the falsified version of the seventh ecumenical council) Mark demonstrated how the Latins had continually attempted to use spurious or corrupted texts to prove their argument.⁷³ Which writings did Mark accept? “I receive as authentic only those texts that are in accord with the Letter of the divine Maximus and the writings of St. Cyril. All those that are contrary I reject as false.”⁷⁴

When a vote on the orthodoxy of the *filioque* was taken the next day (May 30) the Latin teaching was rejected by a 17-10 majority. Patriarch Joseph, now close to death, invited members of the delegation for private meetings at which he asked them to support the union, reminding them both of their collective theological ignorance and of their debt to him personally.⁷⁵

Why do you not listen to me? Was it not from my cell that you came out? Was it not I who raised you to the rank of bishop? Why then do you betray me? Why did you not second my opinion? Think you, then, that you can judge better than others about dogmas? I know as well as anybody else what the Fathers taught.⁷⁶

⁷² Petit, “*Marci Ephesii: Relatio de rebus a se in synodo Florentina gestis*,” *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 140. (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 140).

⁷³ See pages 130–31.

⁷⁴ λέγω ὅτι ὅσα τῶν τοιούτων ῥητῶν εἰσι σύμφωνα τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ θείου Μαξίμου καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου, ὡς γνήσια δέχομαι ταῦτα. *Memoirs*, 9.7; Laurent 440–42.

⁷⁵ The patriarch’s own vote, according to Syropoulos, was vague and capable of misinterpretation. For this reason during his meetings with the bishops he was forced to clarify his position and make his case for union with the Latins. *Memoirs*, 9.16; Laurent 450.

⁷⁶ *Memoirs*, 9.17; Laurent 450–52. (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 136).

Three days later, on the third of June, when a second vote was taken, Patriarch Joseph unambiguously embraced the position of the unionists and accepted the argument that the Son was, in fact, a cause of the Holy Spirit (according to Ephesus “an idea not even mentioned in the Latin quotations”).⁷⁷ The other delegates, following his example, did the same.⁷⁸ Eugenicus later claimed that he kept his own opinion hidden, for fear that he “should fall into danger by provoking their (i.e., the unionists’) anger.”⁷⁹ Although increasingly isolated in his support of the Photian understanding of the procession, Mark felt that his position alone was capable of conforming to the witness of Maximus and the Eastern saints.

But I boldly explained my opinion in words, and showed that the words of the Eastern and Western fathers can only be reconciled to each other by means of the explanation given them in the Epistle of Maximus, that is, that the Son must not be thought to be the cause of the Spirit.⁸⁰

Yet the rest of the delegation had accepted the argument of Bessarion and the unionists and were prepared to accept that the Son was, with the Father, cause of the Spirit (albeit not the principal cause). The Byzantines then drafted a confession to be sent to Latins as a basis for reunion. It stated, in part:

⁷⁷ Petit, “*Marci Ephesii: Relatio de rebus a se in synodo Florentina gestis*,” *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 140. (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 140). The patriarch’s statement read: “I will never change or vary the doctrine handed down from our fathers but will abide in it till my last breath. But since the Latins, not of themselves but from the Holy Scriptures, explain the procession of the Holy Spirit as being from the Son, I agree with them and I give my judgment that this ‘through’ gives to the Son to be cause of the Holy Spirit. I both unite with them and am in communion with them.” *Acta graeca 432. Memoirs*, 9.19; Laurent 452–54 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 260).

⁷⁸ The only exceptions were Eugenicus, Anthony of Heraclea, Dositheus of Monemvasia, and Sophronius of Anchiaus.

⁷⁹ Petit, “*Marci Ephesii: Relatio de rebus a se in synodo Florentina gestis*,” *Marci Eugenici opera antiunionistica*, 140 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 140).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

(the Holy Spirit) proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and one substance. He proceeds through the Son as connatural and consubstantial; proceeding from the Father and from the Son as from one spiration and procession.⁸¹

While Mark viewed the statement as a complete capitulation to the Latins and a betrayal of the true faith, the Romans still remained unsatisfied. According to Cesarini, nothing short of complete acceptance of both the Latin doctrine and language (i.e., the *ex filio* formula) would do, believing (as he did) that any reference to procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ might be open to misinterpretation. Besides, “the delegates of our most Holy Father and of your paternities always stood fast that the question should be defined in accordance with the dogmas of the Holy Roman Church.”⁸² When the Greeks finally conceded the point two days later, a new statement was drawn up and translated into Latin. On the morning of June eighth, when the parties gathered to hear the statement read out publicly, there was such joy over the impending union that the delegates embraced one another, exchanging the kiss of peace.⁸³

The Byzantines had hoped that agreement on the *filioque* would be enough to satisfy the Romans and bring an end to the schism, but the pope insisted that the other disputed points (i.e., purgatory, the use of azymes, the consecratory formula, and [most importantly] the primacy of Rome) needed to be settled first. The situation of the Greeks worsened two days later when Patriarch Joseph died leaving the Greeks without an

⁸¹ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας. ἐκπορεύεται διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ὁμοφυσοῦς καὶ ὁμοουσίου. ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς πνεύσεως καὶ ἐκπορεύσεως. *Acta graeca*, 438.

⁸² *Acta latina*, 254 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 265).

⁸³ *Acta graeca*, 440.

ecclesiastical leader.⁸⁴ The emperor, although desirous that the union should be consummated as soon as possible, was outraged by the continued Latin demands:

The Greeks have already conceded to the Latins more than what is right. The Latins ought to be contented and accomplish the Union of the Churches. But they care very little about peace and only increase the number of their demands. If the Pope will not rest contented with what we have already agreed to, then we have only to hire ships from the Florentines and go home.⁸⁵

Despite the emperor's reluctance to provide the West with an unqualified victory, the statements on the remaining issues, very much like the one on the *filioque*, were little more than summaries of the Latin positions with some concessions made to Greek sensibilities.⁸⁶ According to Syropoulos, the only subject that occasioned intense debate was the order of the signatures on the union decree — the Latins demanding that the pope should go first and the emperor insisting that, following the example of the ancient councils, his name should be prefixed.⁸⁷ Although it was hoped that the decree might be

⁸⁴ Patriarch Joseph allegedly left a will and last testament that recognized “everything . . . that the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the elder Rome understands and teaches. . . further the most blessed Father of Fathers and supreme Pontiff and vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Pope of elder Rome I confess for the security of all.” *Acta graeca*, 444–45 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 267). Gill accepts the authenticity of the will based largely on its mention by Greek sources as early as 1442. However a stronger case can be made against the will's authenticity, as it is never mentioned by Syropoulos or any of the other Greeks (e.g., Pletho, Eugenicus) in their accounts of the council, nor is it ever utilized by the Latin or Byzantine delegates during the council's final deliberations. Also, the letter is dated June eleventh despite the fact the Patriarch clearly died the day before. The will's authenticity aside, the Latins were convinced enough of the Patriarch's commitment to communion to permit him burial (with honors) in the Church of Santa Maria Novella where he remains to this day. See Gill, “Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople,” in *Personalities of the Council of Florence*, 15–34.

⁸⁵ *Memoirs*, 10.7; Laurent 480–82 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 150).

⁸⁶ The statement about papal primacy, for example, while recognizing the ancient prerogatives of the other patriarchates, was a clear declaration of the Roman faith. “We also define that the holy apostolic see and the Roman pontiff holds the primacy over the whole world and the Roman pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter prince of the apostles, and that he is the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole church and the father and teacher of all Christians, and to him was committed in blessed Peter the full power of tending, ruling and governing the whole church, as is contained also in the acts of ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons.” *Laetentur Caeli*; Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1 (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 528.

⁸⁷ The compromise was that the pope's name should be listed first, with the words, “with the emperor's consent” immediately following.

ready for the feast of Peter and Paul (June 29), continued bickering postponed the ceremony for another week.

Finally, on July fifth, the union decree (*Laetentur Caeli*) was sent to the delegates for their signature. The following day, amidst the pomp and pageantry of a pontifical liturgy, it was publicly proclaimed, first in Latin by Cardinal Cesarini and then in Greek by Bessarion.⁸⁸ Both Latins and Greeks expressed their consent (“*Placet!*”), and the ceremony concluded with a solemn *Te Deum* sung by Pope Eugene himself. According to Syropoulos, despite the pretense of unity not a single Greek ecclesiastic took an active part in the liturgy (which was celebrated according to the Latin rite) or accepted the unleavened host.⁸⁹

Concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, the chief theological issue dividing the two Churches, the union decree stated that:

The Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and has his essence and his subsistent being from the Father together with the Son, and proceeds from both eternally as from one principle and a single spiration. We declare that when holy doctors and fathers say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, this bears the sense that thereby also the Son should be signified, according to the Greeks indeed as cause, and according to the Latins as principle of the subsistence of the holy Spirit, just like the Father.

We define also that the explanation of those words "and from the Son" was licitly and reasonably added to the creed for the sake of declaring the truth and from imminent need."⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Acta graeca*, 467.

⁸⁹ *Memoirs*, 10.16; Laurent 496–500. A few days later the Pope was invited by the emperor to celebrate the liturgy in Greek, but, pleading ignorance of the rite, he asked that some his representatives might first view the liturgy so that its suitability could be assessed. The emperor, insulted at the suggestion that the Eastern liturgy might somehow be found lacking or inappropriate, immediately withdrew the proposal. *Memoirs*, 10.17; Laurent 500–502.

⁹⁰ *Laetentur Caeli*; Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 526.

It must immediately be admitted that this teaching, while an accurate statement of the Latin faith from the time of Aquinas, was utterly foreign to the Greek understanding of the Trinity or even with Maximus's understanding of the Roman position in the seventh century. For this reason it is hard to maintain that anything akin to "dogmatic pluralism" or "ecumenical dialogue" (as the term is now understood) occurred at Ferrara-Florence.⁹¹ Despite the arguments of some Roman Catholic scholars (e.g., Emmanuel Candal, H. Mühlen, G. Dejaifve) that the Florentine decree recognized the complementarity of the Eastern and Western approaches, the historical evidence clearly argues against it.⁹² *Laetentur Caeli* was a complete (if brief) victory for the Latins.

The one notable absence from the proceedings was Mark of Ephesus, who, later detailed the reasons for his refusal to sign in an interview with the Pope:

I express not my own opinions, I introduce nothing new into the Church, neither do I defend any errors. But I steadfastly preserve the doctrine which the Church, having received from Christ the Savior, has ever kept and keeps. This doctrine was also adhered to by the Church of Rome unanimously with that of the East until the beginning of the division.⁹³

This reference to the Roman teaching prior to Photius is a clear allusion to the position of Maximus in the *Letter to Marinus*, whose testimony Mark regarded as a defense for his refusal to bow to the "novelties" of the Latins. Rome had once clearly denied all causality to the Son, affirming with Maximus and the Eastern tradition that the father was the *μία αἰτία*. Now that the Roman faith had changed, was it just for Eugene

⁹¹ See Mary Ann Fatula, "The Council of Florence and Pluralism in Dogma," *One in Christ* 19 (1983): 14-27.

⁹² Candal, *Bessarion Nicaenus, Oratio dogmatica de unione*, lxii; H. Mühlen, "Das Konzil von Florenz (1439) als vorläufiges Modell eines kommenden Unionskonzils," *Theologie und Glaube* 63 (1973): 192, 195; G. Dejaifve, "Diversité dogmatique et unité de la Révélation," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 89 (1967): 16-25.

⁹³ *Memoirs*, 10.23; Laurent 508-10 (Eng. trans: Ostroumoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, 159-60).

and the Latins to condemn him for defending their former (and genuinely orthodox) opinion? The pope, after having failed to convince Mark to sign, demanded that he be punished for his obstinacy. The emperor claimed that he had already guaranteed Mark safe passage back to Constantinople, and that, as an Eastern metropolitan, he would not allow Mark to be judged in Rome.⁹⁴

Within days of the signing the Byzantine delegation began their preparations to leave Florence and begin the journey back to Constantinople. The emperor and Eugenius were among the last to leave (August twenty-sixth), traveling through Italy with great pomp and celebration. While the rest of the delegates waited in Venice for the emperor's arrival, the Doge invited them to serve the Byzantine liturgy at St. Mark's, but the Greeks were hesitant. According to Syropoulos, when Anthony of Heraclea and the Greeks finally acquiesced, they used their own antimensia and vessels, omitted the pope's name from the diptychs, and recited the Creed without the *filioque*.⁹⁵ After two years of prolonged debate and the solemn proclamation of ecclesiastical union, absolutely nothing had changed.

By the time the Greeks finally arrived back in Constantinople in February of 1440, their rejection of the union was complete. As the chronicler Doukas explained:

As soon as the hierarchs came ashore, the Constantinopolitans, as was customary, embraced them and asked, "How are you? What news do you bring from the synod? Have we gained the victory?" They replied, "No, we have betrayed our faith. We have exchanged piety for impiety. We have renounced the pure

⁹⁴ The emperor did tell the pope that appropriate steps would be taken to silence Mark unless he subscribed to the union at some point after his return East. Andrew of Rhodes records that Ephesus had promised to accept the decrees once an ecumenical patriarch was elected in Constantinople (since the Byzantines also refused the papal request that the election be held in Florence so that a patriarch could be chosen from among the unionist delegates). See Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 297.

⁹⁵ *Memoirs*, 11.9; Laurent 530.

sacrifice and become azymites.” These and even more awful statements were heard.⁹⁶

Popular reaction was strongly against the few hierarchs who remained loyal to the Florentine union. The unionist Patriarch Metrophanes, who was chosen by lot after both Eugenicus and Anthony of Heraclea withdrew their names from consideration, was immediately denounced when, at the Pentecost liturgy, he included Pope Eugene’s name in the diptychs. His successor, Gregory Mammias (Melissenus), was equally unsuccessful, retreating to Rome in 1451 when Emperor Constantine XI opened a dialogue with the anti-unionist leadership. Bessarion, made a cardinal in December of 1439, returned to Italy in 1440 where he spent the remaining thirty years of his life embroiled in the affairs of the papal court. He wrote several works in defense of the Florentine union, aided Greek refugees following the fall of Constantinople, and was even appointed patriarch by the pope in 1463.⁹⁷ Isidore of Kiev (also made a cardinal) was imprisoned in 1441 after an unsuccessful attempt to promulgate the union in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia.⁹⁸ After his escape, Isidore was made papal envoy to

⁹⁶ Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina of Doukas*, crit. ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 315. There is no doubt that the union was universally unpopular. Gill blames this on the anti-unionist propaganda of Mark Eugenicus and his monastic followers, whose “word of mouth” campaign painted a skewed portrait of the Florentine proceedings. This was compounded by the emperor’s unwillingness to enforce the union through imperial pressure. Josef Macha has written that Florence was simply a “top-down” union that never achieved (and never could achieve) popular support. Deno Geanakoplos speculates that nothing could have convinced the Byzantines of the benefits of union given their longstanding hatred of the Latins and the fear of Latinization. George Demacopoulos attributes the popular rejection to a combination of all these factors, to which should be added the fact that people simply could not recognize their faith in the “foreign” teachings of the Florentine council. See George Demacopoulos, “The Popular Reception of the Council of Florence in Constantinople (1439-1453),” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 43 (1999): 37-53.

⁹⁷ Bessarion’s contributions to the revival of Greek learning in the West have long been a subject of interest among scholars. Although best remembered for his intellectual and humanitarian legacy, Bessarion’s political activity (e.g., attempting to unite the Western powers for the relief of Constantinople) was also considerable. He was so respected for his achievements that in the conclave of 1455 he was considered by many as the leading candidate to replace Nicholas V.

⁹⁸ Isidore allegedly entered Moscow on March nineteenth behind a Latin cross, with the anti-unionist monk Symeon in chains before him. Immediately he went to the Church of the Ascension where he included the

Constantinople, where he witnessed the formal proclamation of the union in December of 1452, only five months before the city was taken by Sultan Mehmet II. The last Christian liturgy in Hagia Sofia, at which Isidore was present, was the union's last (perhaps only) bright shining moment. As described by the historian Phrantzes:

For the past five months no pious Greek had stepped through its (i.e., *Hagia Sophia*) portals to hear the Sacred Liturgy defiled by the Latins and by renegades. But on that evening the bitterness was ended. . . . Priests who held union with Rome to be a mortal sin came to serve at the altar with their Unionist brethren. The Cardinal was there, and beside him bishops who would never acknowledge his authority; all the people came to make confession and take communion, not caring whether Catholic or Orthodox administered it. . . . At that moment there was union in the Church of Constantinople.⁹⁹

George Scholarius, who accepted leadership of the anti-unionist cause after the death of Mark Eugenius in 1445, became the first patriarch under the Turkish rule (under the name of Gennadius II), convinced that the Greeks' betrayal of the faith at Florence had been the cause of the city's misfortunes.¹⁰⁰ It was he who convoked the synod in 1454 that formally repudiated the Florentine union, bringing the story of the council to a sad, but not inevitable, conclusion.

popes' name in the commemorations and formally proclaimed the union. Within four days he was in prison on charges of heresy.

⁹⁹ Georgius Phrantzes, *Chronicon*, ed. E. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1838), 271–9 (Eng. trans: Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965], 131).

¹⁰⁰ The same author who had berated his fellow delegates for their ignorance and implored them to union in order to save the Great City now wrote: "Wretched Romans, how you have gone astray! You have rejected the hope of God trusted in the strength of the Franks; you have lost your piety along with your city which is about to be destroyed. Lord have mercy on me. I testify before you that I am innocent of such transgression. Know, wretched citizens, what you are doing. Along with your impending captivity you have forsaken the faith handed down from your fathers and assented to impiety. Woe unto you when you are judged!" Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina of Doukas*, crit. ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 317 (Eng. trans: Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization*, 388).

MAXIMUS AT FLORENCE: FLAWED UNDERSTANDINGS

Considering the amount of patristic evidence that was brought forward at Ferrara-Florence, Maximus's contribution to the debate might appear insignificant. The writings of Basil of Caesarea and Epiphanius, which were the center of over five days of heated debate during the public sessions, and the works of Cyril of Alexandria, which figured so prominently in the florilegia of John of Montenero, occupy far more space in the *Acta* of the council. In contrast, the name of Maximus does not appear at all in the Latin *Acta*, and references to his authentic works (e.g., the *Letter to Marinus* or the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*) in the *Acta graeca* are few and occur mostly after the public sessions.

However, the writings of the Confessor and their use (or, more correctly, misuse) by the delegates, both Latin and Greek, provide a key to understanding why the Council of Florence ultimately did not succeed. In turn, our study of these writings in the context of the *filioque* debates allow us to maintain that Maximus's theology, properly understood, had the potential to change the dynamic of this otherwise unsuccessful reunion council.

Our study of the use of Maximus at Ferrara-Florence has enabled us to piece together at least twelve different (and often diametrically opposing) interpretations of Maximus's work by the delegates. For the sake of clarity, I have divided these various understandings of the Confessor's writings according to their use by the three delegates whose readings best reflect the diverse ways Maximus was employed at the council: Andrew of Rhodes (the only Latin who accepted the authenticity of the *Letter to Marinus*), Mark Eugenicus of Ephesus, and Bessarion of Nicea.

Andrew of Rhodes

- 1- The *Letter to Marinus* demonstrated that that the addition of the *filioque* occurred in the West centuries before Photius and thus cannot be called “novel.”
- 2- The *Letter to Marinus* also demonstrated that the Greeks had known about the addition of the *filioque* and that the schism was not a result of its insertion.

Mark Eugenicus of Ephesus

- 3- The *Letter to Marinus* was explicit testimony that orthodox trinitarian theology necessitated the affirmation that the Father is the μία αἰτία.
- 4- The *Letter to Marinus* affirmed that Maximus differentiated procession (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) from the Father alone and his temporal manifestation (πρόϊέναι) through the Son.
- 5- The *Letter to Marinus* affirmed that until the seventh century the Latin fathers did not attribute causality to the Son and that this was a later Latin innovation.
- 6- The *Letter to Marinus* can be used as a test for the authenticity of the Latin fathers who allegedly supported the *filioque*. If Maximus affirmed that the Latin fathers did not attribute causality to the Son, then any quotation that contradicted this truth must be from a corrupt or spurious source.
- 7- *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 affirmed that Maximus utilized the διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula only to affirm the consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity, not to speak of the procession proper.
- 8- The *Letter to Marinus*, understood as an affirmation of the Photian position, can serve as a reunion formula but only in conjunction with the *filioque*'s removal from the creed (in order to ensure that the Latins do not continue to confess the double procession).

Bessarion of Nicea

- 9- *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 was explicit testimony to the orthodoxy of procession διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, which was substantively equivalent to the Latin teaching of procession *ex filio*.
- 10- The *Letter to Marinus*, testified that the Western fathers did teach procession *per filium* or *ex filio*, so that one could not deny the authenticity of the writings brought forward by the Latins.

- 11- The *Letter to Marinus*, if authentic, simply denied that the Son was primordial cause within the Godhead (since it is from the Father that the Spirit principally proceeds), but it did not deny that the Son was, with the Father and by a gift from Him, cause.
- 12- The *Letter to Marinus*, because it affirmed the orthodoxy of the Latin teaching on the *filioque* but yet denied the historic Eastern charge that there are two causes within the godhead, can and should serve as the formula for reunion.

Immediately apparent is the fact that many of these interpretations are substantively incorrect and cannot be reconciled with a proper understanding of Maximus's trinitarian theology or the history of the *filioque* debates. The easiest to dismiss are the two interpretations offered by Andrew of Rhodes, who erroneously believed that in the *Letter to Marinus* Maximus was justifying the addition of the *filioque* into the Roman liturgical creed. As was noted in chapter two, the insertion of the *filioque* into the creed at Rome did not take place until the eleventh century, and then only after two centuries of resistance by the popes.¹⁰¹ As Pope Leo III had noted centuries earlier, there was a substantive difference between acceptance of the *filioque* as a theological truth and the unilateral interpolation of the Church's creed, composed as it was by an ecumenical council.¹⁰² Andrew of Rhodes's reading of the *Letter* did not recognize this distinction and simply assumed Maximus to have approved of both.

Bessarion's reading of Maximus, although ultimately accepted by the majority of the Greeks, was also substantively incorrect. While it is true that Maximus can be used to support the historical claim (against Mark of Ephesus) that the Latin fathers did employ terms like *per filium* or *ex filio*, it is a mistake to assume that this automatically made

¹⁰¹ See chapter 2, n. 69.

¹⁰² See page 69.

them advocates of the double procession. In fact, Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* can (and should) be read as a defense of Augustine, Hilary, and the rest of the Western fathers against this very charge. Maximus believed that the Latin fathers, like the Cappadocians, maintained the Father as unique cause within the godhead, and that this claim was solidly grounded on a legitimate interpretation of their writings as he understood them.¹⁰³

Because he was unable to disentangle the writings of the Latin fathers from their Carolingian interpreters, Bessarion mistakenly assumed Maximus to have known and supported the later filioquist reading of the Western patristic witness.

Bessarion, following John Beccus, also understood *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 as support for the *filioque*, since in this text Maximus had (allegedly) taught the procession of the Spirit *διὰ* or *ἐκ* the Son. Maximus, like Cyril and Gregory of Nyssa before him, spoke in the *Letter to Marinus* of the Holy Spirit's eternal progression (*πρόιέναι*) from the Father *διὰ* τοῦ Υἱοῦ, emphasizing both the consubstantiality of the Trinity and the Spirit's comprehension of the Father's eternal relationship to the Son. As was noted in the first chapter, Maximus expressed this same reality in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 using the expression *ἐκπορεύεσθαι διὰ* τοῦ Υἱοῦ, even though the Greek fathers usually reserve *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* for the hypostatic origin of the Spirit from the Father alone.¹⁰⁴ Thus in *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 when *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* is used in conjunction with the *διὰ* τοῦ Υἱοῦ formula it is not intended to express the hypostatic origin of the Spirit from the Father through the Son, but rather to express the Spirit's consubstantiality and eternal relationship to the Son, from whom he "flows forth" both in

¹⁰³ See pages 47–48.

¹⁰⁴ See pages 30–31. The occasional use of these two terms synonymously is explained on pages 50–51.

terms of the economy and the theology. Bessarion, having long since forgotten this important theological insight, and forced to choose between two equally flawed interpretations of the text (Photian and Latinophron), simply chose the latter.

Bessarion's understanding of Maximus's teaching on causality appears just as faulty. The Eastern trinitarian model, developed by the Cappadocians and followed by Maximus, depended on the unique role of the Father as cause in order to establish both the unity and the distinctions among the persons of the Trinity.¹⁰⁵ Because of its centrality, causality was a principle that could not be compromised. Bessarion's interpretation of Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* on this point did not account for this reality, as he allowed himself to embrace the later Latin teaching on the distinctions in the godhead — i.e., that the difference between the Son and Spirit was not in the manner of their coming to be from the Father (one by begetting the other by procession), but in the Son's coming from the Father *alone* while the Spirit proceeded from *both*. While this teaching may be valid within the context of later Latin trinitarian theology, it certainly cannot be said to be a legitimate interpretation of Maximus or the Cappadocian fathers. For them, the Father was, and must be, the one and only cause (μία αἰτία) within the divinity, which is why the *Letter to Marinus* stated this principle so clearly.

While Bessarion's reading of Maximus was seriously flawed, Mark of Ephesus's understanding was shortsighted, and his attempted use of the *Letter to Marinus* as a “touchstone” of orthodox thought misguided. Unable or unwilling to surrender the Photian position (i.e., procession ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς), Eugenius could not accept the testimony of those who claimed *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 was a proof-text for

¹⁰⁵ See page 45.

filioquism, or that Maximus's denial of causality to the Son was merely an attempt to avoid confusing his role with that of the Father (i.e., the primordial principle). In these denials (as we have seen) Mark was substantially correct. However Eugenicus's adherence to the theology of Photius prohibited him from offering a constructive alternative to the unionist interpretation. Unable to explore the Palamite option, and (rightly) unwilling to embrace the claim that all terms denoting origin (e.g., προβεβλῆσθαι, προέρχομαι, προϊέναι, and ἐκπορεύεσθαι) were synonymous, Mark saw no option but to interpret all allusions to the Spirit's progression through the Son as references to the Spirit's *temporal* manifestation alone.¹⁰⁶ For this reason, Mark was incapable of understanding the deeper insights of the Greek tradition regarding the necessary eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, a teaching explicated so clearly in the writings of Maximus (especially in the *Letter to Marinus*). Although Mark had a better intuitive grasp of the importance of the Father's monarchy and the teaching of the Confessor regarding causality within the godhead, he could hardly be called an authentic interpreter of Maximus's legacy.

More unsatisfactory was the tactic, pursued to absurd lengths by Eugenicus and the anti-unionists, to use the *Letter to Marinus* as reason to reject the Latin theological tradition altogether. Although the Latin fathers had long used terms like *per filium* or *ex filio*, Mark was unable to disentangle this language from the hermeneutical lens provided by the Carolingians. Since these texts were often brought forward to support the attribution of causality to the Son, an idea that Maximus had explicitly denied centuries

¹⁰⁶ It should be remembered that even Anastasius the Librarian (who had first brought forward the text six centuries earlier) had also understood the *Letter* in this way, interpreting the phrase ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊέναι δηλώσωσι καὶ ταύτη τὸ συναφές τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσι as reference to the "mission" (*missionem*) of the Spirit. See pages 77–78.

earlier, Mark felt bound to reject any Latin text that even hinted at filioquist language. Mark was blinded to the possibility that the writings of the Latin fathers might be authentic but capable of another interpretation, leading him to the shortsighted and ultimately erroneous conclusion that the Latin codices had been entirely corrupted by supporters of the interpolation.¹⁰⁷ Mark's chief mistake was to accept the premise that the Carolingian hermeneutic was the only valid way to understand the writings of the Latin fathers, forgetting that Maximus himself offered a different (and more productive) option.

While wrong to deny the authenticity of the entire Latin theological tradition, Mark was correct when he suggested to Pope Eugene that the *Letter to Marinus* was proof that the Latin and Greek churches were once of one mind regarding the notion of causality within the godhead. Maximus was a witness that the Church of Rome in the seventh century clearly denied that the Son was, in any way, cause of the Spirit. Now, in what could only be called bitter irony, Rome was demanding that the Greeks accept, in very clear terms, the Son as cause or principle of the Spirit's hypostasis (despite Maximus's assurances that this teaching had never been part of the Latin tradition). Mark, like most of the Byzantines, knew little of the development of Western theology, yet the *Letter to Marinus* was enough to convince him that the teaching of the Romans had changed, and that the language of *Laetentur Caeli* was not the language of Maximus.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ As already noted, this does not mean that Mark's charges about the corruption of texts were without merit. See chapter 3, n. 61.

¹⁰⁸ Our earlier study of the *filioque* debates allows us to date the point of division at some time during the eighth or ninth centuries when the "double procession" became a necessary defense against the Adoptionist threat. See pages 59–61.

Despite their differences, Bessarion and Eugenius did agree that Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* might serve as the basis for a reunion formula. Bessarion believed that it would give the Romans what they wanted most (i.e., recognition of the *filioque*'s orthodoxy) while subsequently denying the Photian charge that there were two causes within the godhead. The Latins could thus continue to maintain that the Son was cause of the Spirit, and with the Father the one spirating principle responsible for the procession, as long as they did not deny the Father's role as primordial principle within the divinity. Mark thought that Rome's acceptance of the *Letter to Marinus* would be a complete victory for the orthodox faith, since he understood the *Letter* solely in Photian terms (i.e., the Father as μία ἀτία was alone responsible for the procession, interpreting δι' αὐτοῦ προϊέναι as reference to the temporal mission alone).¹⁰⁹ Both suggested the *Letter* as a reunion formula, but neither saw it as a compromise.

The Latins, who continued to cast doubt on the authenticity of the text itself, never seriously considered the *Letter to Marinus* as the basis for reunion, believing it ambiguous and capable of misinterpretation. Even Scholarius's formula, which was similar in language and content to Maximus's *Letter* ("that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, is proper to the Son and gushes forth from him, and . . . that he flows forth substantially from both"), was found insufficient.¹¹⁰ The Latins were simply incapable of imagining a trinitarian model other than their own, and unwilling to re-examine their own fathers using a different hermeneutical key (i.e., Maximus instead of the Carolingians).

¹⁰⁹ Mark continued to demand that any formula must be coupled with the removal of the *filioque* from the creed. Only in this way could unorthodox interpretations of the Maximus's *Letter* (e.g., the one offered by Bessarion) be excluded.

¹¹⁰ *Memoirs*, 8.40; Laurent 426 (Eng. trans: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 250).

Instead, the West continued to maintain that reunion demanded submission to the Roman faith as they understood it, even if that faith was totally alien to the Eastern theological consciousness in both content and form. For this reason *Laetentur Caeli* was imposed upon a weary Greek delegation with little consideration ever given to its reception by the Byzantine population at large. It should not have surprised anyone that the Constantinopolitans, when confronted with such a “foreign” faith, ultimately decided to repudiate it. The Latins, in their desire for the *reductio Graecorum*, had sowed the seeds of their ultimate defeat.

MAXIMUS AT FLORENCE: A NEW UNDERSTANDING

Could a proper understanding of the *Letter to Marinus* have changed the tenor or the outcome of Florentine debates and brought the two Churches closer to their goal of full communion? As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the council failed, in large part, because the historic division between Photians and unionists prevented the Greeks from coming to Florence with a theology of the procession able to dialogue with the West while maintaining the integrity of Eastern trinitarian thought. The theologies of Beccus and Photius were equally incapable of performing this role, neither having maintained the fullness of vision required for constructive dialogue. Once the veneer of unity was lifted, and the Greek delegates resumed the debate that had torn Byzantium apart two centuries earlier, their ability to engage the West was irrevocably compromised. What was required for success was a third hermeneutic capable offering an alternative to the Photian-unionist dialectic, of reading the patristic witness (Maximus included) properly,

and of demonstrating to those gathered that irenicism was possible without surrender. The *Letter to Marinus* provided all that, and more.

The *Letter to Marinus* was itself testimony to the possibility of theological rapprochement, originally composed to prove that East and West were of one mind on the subject of the Spirit's procession even if differences in language and approach made that fact difficult to see. While not sacrificing the principles that sustained Eastern trinitarian thinking (e.g., the Father as $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \alpha\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and principle of the divinity) Maximus entreated his listeners to charity and fraternal understanding, asking them to see the faith of the undivided Church in the foreign speech and strange expressions of their Latin counterparts. Among its other lessons, the *Letter* showed that there can be agreement without surrender, ecclesial union without the stigma attached to "unionism."

The problem was that the Byzantine delegates were incapable of understanding the *Letter* irenically as long as they remained mired in the categories of the post-Photian dialectic. Like the rest of the quotations found in the conciliar *florilegia*, the *Letter to Marinus* was little more than a weapon in the hands of two opposing combatants — both Eugenius and Bessarion using it to support their respective understandings of the Spirit's procession. Tia Kolbaba, who has made a study of Byzantine anti-Latin writings, commented that:

To say that Maximus the Confessor provides a way of reconciling Greek and Latin positions regarding the Holy Spirit AS A THEOLOGIAN seems to me incontrovertible. To say somehow that his work OUGHT to have been seen as such a bridge in the fifteenth century seems to me unsupportable. It would have required that the Greeks completely change their method of theologizing. . . . To ask them to do something else (i.e., other than using the fathers as proof texts for their own position) seems to me asking them to do something beyond the possibility of their age.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ E-mail to the author. 10.27.2003

As long as the only possible readings of the patristic witness remained those provided by Photius and Beccus, Kolbaba's position remains valid. And yet, as has been shown, there was another "school" of Byzantine trinitarian theology that offered a very different reading of Maximus and the Greek tradition. The theology of the so-called "third school" (e.g., Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas), which emerged on at least two occasions at the council, offered the delegates their best hope for coming to a common understanding of the trinitarian mystery.¹¹² This tradition offered a genuinely constructive alternative to the positions of Photius and Beccus — upholding the traditional Eastern emphasis on monarchy of the Father while allowing for an eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit. As has already been argued, it was this teaching that best represented Maximus's own thinking on the subject of the Spirit's procession and the *consensus patrum* as it existed in the seventh century.¹¹³ This is not to say that the Latins would have embraced the theology of Palamas or Gregory of Cyprus any more than that of Photius, unwilling as they were to accept anything but the *reductio Graecorum*. However, given the ultimately counterproductive nature of this approach, it certainly would have been worthwhile to examine the theology of the third school in more depth.¹¹⁴ The reading of Maximus's *Letter* provided by the third school would have offered both Greeks and Latins a means of moving beyond polemics to a dialogue about

¹¹² The first was during the public debates when John asked the Greeks whether the gifts of the spirit were created or uncreated. See pages 147–49. Scholarius's statement of faith, with its clear allusions to the theology of Gregory of Cyprus, was the second. See pages 183–85.

¹¹³ See pages 111–12.

¹¹⁴ After all, Maximus offered an explicit recognition of the *filioque*'s orthodoxy, and both Palamas and Gregory of Cyprus taught the joint participation of both the Father and Son in the eternal manifestation (ἄιδιος ἔκφανσις, ἀναβλύζειν, προχέισθαι, προϊέναι) of the Holy Spirit — far more than subsequent Greek polemicists would be willing to grant.

the meaning of this important text and the pivotal issues it raised vis-à-vis the *filioque*: the distinction between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι, establishing the necessary eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, the problem of translating theological language, and the centrality of affirming the Father as unique cause within the godhead.

Another advantage of Maximus's *Letter to Marinus* is found in its application of a third hermeneutical paradigm for harmonizing the writings of the Latin and Greek fathers on the subject of the procession.¹¹⁵ Rather than following the unionists in interpreting the “obscurity” of the Greeks in light of the Roman teaching (making them closet filioquists), or repeating Mark's rejection the Latin fathers because of their perceived filioquism, there was the method employed by Maximus— using the Cappadocian tradition as an interpretive lens through which to read and interpret the ambiguous language of the Latin fathers. This hermeneutic was infinitely preferable to the alternatives presented by either Bessarion and Eugenius, as it alone was capable of integrating the insights of the Western fathers without the wholesale abandonment of those principles that had sustained Eastern trinitarian thought since the fourth century.

In some ways this methodology was similar to the one employed by Mark Eugenius, in so much as it gave a certain hermeneutical priority to the Greek tradition.¹¹⁶ The difference, it seems, is that Maximus was familiar enough with the teachings of the Latin fathers to understanding their intent and reconcile it with the Cappadocian trinitarian model. What little knowledge Mark had of Latin theology had been given him by his adversaries, each selection from the fathers carefully chosen and interpreted

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the hermeneutical problem see pages 133–34.

¹¹⁶ Chapter 3, n. 66 details why giving hermeneutical priority to the Greek tradition has some distinct advantages.

through the Carolingian lens in order to support the Western teaching. This inability to read the Latin fathers without the Carolingian interpretation was compounded by Mark's unwillingness to read his own Greek tradition outside the confines of the Photian hermeneutic. Thus despite his claims that the authenticity of the Latin writers must be judged in accord with the *Letter to Marinus*, Mark's real criterion for trinitarian orthodoxy was not the theology of Maximus and the Cappadocians, but the more limited view of Photius.

A final benefit of utilizing the hermeneutic of Maximus was its ability to expand the trinitarian theologies of both the Latins and the Greeks, putting each back into contact with long-forgotten elements of patristic tradition. Although it is unlikely that either the Latins or Byzantines at Florence would have ever admitted an ignorance of the fathers, both were severely handicapped by the inability to understand the patristic witness outside of the narrow categories imposed by the Photian-Carolingian dialectic. Maximus's *Letter*, indeed, his theology as a whole, stood as evidence that there was once a fuller trinitarian vision that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had preserved in its entirety and that the patristic tradition, especially as it pertained to the trinitarian mystery, was wider than either side at Florence was willing to admit.

CONCLUSION

The Council of Ferrara-Florence accomplished exactly what Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus had foreseen — instead of bringing the Greeks and Latins closer together, the attempted reunion council merely confirmed the schism and alienated the churches for the next several centuries.¹ Although the Reformation soon split the Latin-speaking world into a host of competing churches and ecclesial communities, the *filioque* was never challenged by the Protestant critique and remained an integral part of Western belief.² Among Roman Catholics, Ferrara-Florence was embraced as an ecumenical gathering, giving the teachings of *Laetentur Caeli* on the *filioque* (and the primacy of the pope) the force of dogma. The Christian East, isolated by the Turkish occupation, became increasingly suspicious of Latin encroachments into traditionally Orthodox territories, especially after the Synod of Brest (1596) brought several local churches in the Ukraine into communion with Rome.³ Although Latin scholasticism increasingly influenced the methodology of Eastern theology (the so-

¹ For Manuel's eerily prescient assessment see chapter 3, n. 4.

² In an early exchange between Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople (1572–79) and several Lutheran theologians from Tübingen, the *filioque* remained a particularly contentious issue. The Tübingen theologians affirmed the traditional Latin teaching using some of the same proof-texts that were presented at Florence (e.g., Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius) while Patriarch Jeremiah brought forward the arguments and texts that Mark Eugenicus had employed centuries earlier: the difference between procession and sending, the distinction between *διὰ* and *ἐκ*, the pronouncements of the ecumenical councils. See George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence Between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982).

³ See Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 198 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1974); Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Oscar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)* (Rome: Sacrum Poloniae Millennium, 1958).

called “Babylonian captivity” of Orthodox thought), the Photian understanding of the procession remained an unassailable part of the Eastern consciousness. In many ways East and West were farther apart theologically and ecclesiologically in the centuries following Florence than at any other point in their respective histories.⁴ When Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras finally embraced on the Mount of Olives in 1964, their meeting, after five centuries of estrangement, signaled a new era in (and a new opportunity for) Catholic-Orthodox relations.⁵

It is perhaps providential that the mid-twentieth century, a period of intense ecumenical activity, also saw a renewed interest in the works of Maximus the Confessor. This was especially true in the Western world, where Maximus’s writings received scant academic attention until the 1941 publication of Hans Urs von Balthasar’s *Kosmische Liturgie: Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenner’s*.⁶ Since that time, critical editions and translations of Maximus’s works have proliferated, complimented by hundreds of books and articles on the Confessor’s unique

⁴ Despite the tension that characterized the relationship between Rome and Constantinople from Photius and Florence, during this period contacts (theological and diplomatic) between the two Sees were regular and efforts at reunification ongoing. See Joseph Gill, “Eleven Emperors of Byzantium Seek Union with the Church of Rome,” *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977): 72–84.

⁵ Rome’s renewed commitment to ecumenism, fostered by the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), focused particular attention on the Church’s unique relationship to the Orthodox. For this reason the meeting in Jerusalem was considered an important ecumenical moment that emphasized the idea that Rome and Constantinople were indeed “sister churches.” Having learned their lesson from the disastrous first meeting of pope and patriarch in 1438, the Roman party never broached the possibility of Athenagoras kissing the pope’s foot. In fact, eleven years later in Rome (12.14.75), when Metropolitan Meliton (representing Patriarch Dimitrios I) announced the renewal of theological dialogue between the two churches, Paul VI knelt down to kiss *his* foot, proclaiming, “Blessed are the feet of those who bring good news.”

⁶ English translation: Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Cosmic Liturgy: The Universe According to Maximus the Confessor*, trans. Brian Daley (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003). Lars Thunberg divides modern Maximus studies into five periods (pre-1930, 1930–41, 1941–70, 1970–85, 1985–present), a division largely accepted by scholars. See Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor* (Chicago: Open Court Press, 1995), 12–20.

contributions to theology and the spiritual life.⁷ Of particular interest have been the studies written by French Roman Catholics on Maximus's theology of the Trinity and his teaching on the *filioque* as contained in the *Letter to Marinus*.⁸ The writings of Maximus, overlooked by Rome at the Council of Florence, have increasingly become Catholicism's chief hermeneutical tool for understanding the mind of the fathers, East and West, on the subject of the procession.

Although he wrote little on the *filioque* itself, Karl Rahner's advocacy of a revival of trinitarian studies, based on a renewed appreciation of the Trinity's activity in the world, has been particularly influential among Western Christians.⁹ His *grundaxiom*, that "the 'economic' Trinity is the 'immanent' Trinity and the 'immanent' Trinity is the 'economic' Trinity," was originally conceived as an attempt to recapture the experiential aspect of trinitarian theology.¹⁰ Rahner was afraid that for most Christians, theologians included, the Trinity had become little more than a footnote following the treatise *De Deo Uno* in the handbooks of dogma.¹¹ Rahner's

⁷ For a review of the recent literature on Maximus the Confessor see Polycarp Sherwood, "Survey of Recent Work on Maximus the Confessor," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 428–37; Andrew Louth, "Recent Research on St. Maximus the Confessor: A Survey," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998): 67–84.

⁸ These works include: Juan Miguel Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere': Le Problème du Filioque* (Paris: Tequi, 1981); Jean-Claude Larchet, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1998); Pierre Piret, *Le Christ et la Trinité selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983).

⁹ See, for example, Karl Rahner, "Oneness and Threefoldness of God in Discussion with Islam," *Theological Investigations* 18, trans. Edward Quinn (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 105–21; idem, "Remarks on the Dogmatic Treatise *De Trinitate*," *Theological Investigations* 4, trans. Kevin Smyth (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1966), 77–102; idem, *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

¹⁰ Rahner, *The Trinity*, 22.

¹¹ Rahner had complained that "Christians are, in their practical life, almost mere monotheists. We must be willing to admit that, should the doctrine of the Trinity have to be dropped as false, the major part of religious literature could well remain virtually unchanged." *Ibid.*, 10–11.

dictum, as has already been shown, echoes to some degree Maximus's own view of the close relation between the theology and the economy.¹² According to Catherine LaCugna:

Even though Maximus inherited the Nicene problematic, he stands in a certain discontinuity with the post-Nicene tendency to separate *theologia* from *oikonomia* and assimilate the three divine persons to one *ousia* that acts *ad extra* as one. Maximus departed also from the apophatic theology of Pseudo-Dionysius that further separated *theologia* from *oikonomia* by relegating the hypostatic structure of the divine *ousia* to a region entirely beyond our capacity to perceive it.¹³

However, others have looked less favorably on Rahner's *grundaxiom*, accusing him of oversimplifying and distorting the complex relationship between theology and economy as found in the fathers.¹⁴ Given the historic Byzantine critique (seen in Photius and Theophylact of Ohrid) that Latin theology confused the Spirit's eternal procession (τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι) with his economic manifestation and mission (τὸ πέμπεσθαι), it is certainly easy to understand why Orthodox theology might be wary of Rahner's work. However, John Zizioulas and others have looked quite favorably on other aspects of Rahner's thought, including his decision to ground the understanding of God on the person of the Father (as opposed to the unity of the

¹² See pages 23–25.

¹³ Catherine Mowry LaCugna, *God for Us: The Trinity and Christian Life* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1973), 170.

¹⁴ Although he credits Rahner with a renaissance in trinitarian studies, John Behr has questioned the usefulness of his famous dictum. "It is not enough simply to assert the identity of the 'economic' Trinity and the 'immanent' Trinity, or to emphasize the 'economic' basis of our knowledge of the Trinity. . . . It is doubtful that the distinction, drawn in the manner, between 'immanent' and 'economic' trinitarian theology really corresponds, as is often asserted, to the patristic usage of '*theologia*' and '*economia*.'" John Behr, *The Formation of Christian Theology 2: The Nicene Faith*, vol. 1 (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2004), 7. See also Gregory Havrilak, "Karl Rahner and the Greek Trinity," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 34 (1990): 61–77.

divine substance).¹⁵ Although (as Gregory Havrilak makes clear) “one would search long and hard for direct references to Eastern luminaries in Rahner’s trinitarian works,” there is an obvious sympathy with the insights of Cappadocian theology, and by extension, with the teaching of Maximus himself.¹⁶

The writings of Yves Congar on the Trinity, and especially those relating to the question of the *filioque*, show an even clearer reliance on the work of Maximus and on the twentieth-century scholars (like Garrigues, Larchet, and Piret) who studied the trinitarian thought of the Confessor. The third volume of Congar’s magisterial *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* deals almost exclusively with the history and theology of the *filioque*, concluding with some proposals for an agreement on the issue.

Recognizing that “Florence was too great a victory for the Latins — and the papacy — for it to be a full council of union,” Congar followed André Halleux in suggesting a more productive hermeneutic of the patristic tradition than was followed at the council:

After having affirmed for such a long time that the $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ was the equivalent of the *filioque*, would it not be possible to agree in return that the *filioque* goes back to the $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, in other words, to recognize the fundamental authenticity of monopatrism?¹⁷

¹⁵ Zizioulas believes Rahner admirably captured the Biblical and Greek patristic notion that “the unity of God, the one God, and the ontological ‘principle’ or ‘cause’ of the being and life of God does not consist in the substance of God but in the hypostasis, that is, the person of the Father.” John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1985), 40.

¹⁶ Havrilak, “Karl Rahner and the Greek Trinity,” 77.

¹⁷ Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* 3, trans. David Smith (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1997), 187. Halleux’s proposal for reunion is found in André Halleux, “Orthodoxie et Catholicisme: du personnalisme en pneumatologie,” *Revue théologique de Louvain* 6 (1975): 3–30.

Although he did not state it in these terms, Congar was suggesting the hermeneutic of Maximus the Confessor's *Letter to Marinus* (i.e., reading the Latin tradition through the Cappadocian lens). Congar quoted the *Letter* several times throughout his work, especially in relation to the proposal, put forward by Juan Miguel Garrigues, that a necessary distinction needs to be recognized in Greek theology between the Spirit's hypostatic existence (which he receives from the Father alone) and his consubstantial existence (which flows forth from the Father through the Son).¹⁸ Garrigues, it should be remembered, had argued that this distinction had often been expressed by the Greeks (Maximus included) using the verbs ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προϊέναι, which is why this language (i.e., the language of the *Letter to Marinus*) played such a central role in his proposed formula for reunion.¹⁹

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord the giver of life, who issued forth from the Father (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον), and proceeds from the Father and the Son (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προϊόν).²⁰

While Congar recognized the validity of disguising ἐκπορεύεσθαι from προϊέναι, he did not believe that Latin theology could accept the differentiation between hypostatic existence and consubstantial existence as formulated by Maximus, Gregory of Cyprus, and Palamas. Although he accepted the legitimacy of this paradigm within the Greek trinitarian system, Congar did not think it was

¹⁸ See Juan Miguel Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Pere': Le problème du Filioque* (Paris: Tequi, 1981); idem, "Procession et ekporèse du Saint Esprit: discernement de la tradition et reception oecuménique," *Istina* 17 (1972): 345–66; idem, "Le sens de la procession du Saint-Esprit dans la tradition latine du premier millénaire," *Contacts* 3 (1971): 283–309.

¹⁹ See pages 48–52 for a discussion of Garrigues's thesis vis-à-vis Maximus.

²⁰ Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* 3, 200.

possible to transpose this teaching onto the Latin model.²¹ Greeks and Latins simply had to recognize that, despite a legitimate diversity in trinitarian thinking, both sides confessed the same central truths: the consubstantiality of the third person within the Trinity, the monarchy of the Father (who remains “Principle without principle or beginning of the whole divinity”), and the notion that the Son was “not unrelated” to the Father in the production of the Spirit.²²

The Orthodox world in the twenty-first century remains, in many ways, as divided about the place of the *filioque* as it was following the Council of Lyons. While there is no longer a viable unionist movement within Orthodoxy, tension remains between those who uphold a strict Photian interpretation of the procession and those who argue in favor of the Palamite understanding. This latter group, increasingly a majority among Orthodox theologians, traces their intellectual roots back to Maximus the Confessor, whose *Letter to Marinus* remains a pivotal text for their interpretation of the patristic witness.

The best known proponent of the Palamite understanding in the twentieth century was Vladimir Lossky, whose critiques of post-Carolingian filioquism were particularly damning.²³ And yet Lossky recognized that Orthodoxy could not follow

²¹ Congar accepted the orthodoxy of Palamas’s writings on the Trinity, believing that the essence-energy distinction need not be perceived as antithetical to the Catholic system despite the claims of earlier Catholic theologians. *Ibid.*, 61–71. For more on Palamas’s place in Catholic theology see chapter 3, n. 116.

²² Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* 3, 201.

²³ “By the dogma of the *filioque*, the God of the philosophers and savants is introduced into the heart of the Living God, taking the place of the *Deus absconditus, qui posuit tenebras latibulum suum*. The unknowable essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit receives positive qualifications. It becomes the object of natural theology: we get ‘God in general,’ who could be the god of Descartes, or the god of Leibnitz, or even perhaps, to some extent, the god of Voltaire and of the dechristianized Deists of the eighteenth century.” Vladimir Lossky, “The Procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Trinitarian Doctrine,” in *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1985), 88.

Photius and apply the *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* formula to the temporal mission alone. On the contrary, Eastern theology knew there to be an important distinction between

the hypostatic procession of the Holy Spirit — His personal existence *ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς* — and the manifesting natural procession of the common Godhead *ad extra* in the Holy Spirit through the Son — *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*. . . . The Father reveals his nature through the Son and the divinity of the Son is manifested in the Holy Spirit. This is why, in the realm of divine manifestation, it is possible to establish an order of persons (*τάξις*).²⁴

This teaching, although framed in the language of Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas, drew heavily on Maximus's grasp of the trinitarian mystery and on his reading of the Greek fathers. This link is made even more explicit in the writings of Dimitru Staniloae, who (following Palamas) accepted Augustine's understanding of the Spirit as "the Life creating a bond between the two Living Ones, and hence also as Love."²⁵ However, Staniloae grounded this teaching, not in the works of Augustine, but in the writings of Maximus, who had described the Spirit as "incomprehensible Life . . . springing up wholly from that which, while itself without beginning, is nevertheless the beginning of all, the Father."²⁶ For this reason, Staniloae maintained that the Spirit came forth as a person (i.e., received his hypostatic existence) from the Father as the incomprehensible love of the Father for the Son, but comes to rest on the Son and abide in him (thus creating an eternal relationship between the Word and the Spirit). The eternal "shining forth" of the Spirit, found in the works of Gregory of Cyprus and Palamas, reflected nothing more

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 91–92.

²⁵ Dimitru Staniloae, *Theology and the Church*, trans. Robert Barringer (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 96.

²⁶ *Ibid.* *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 13; Laga and Steel, CCG 7, 97.

than “the joyful response of the Son’s love when confronted with this loving initiative of the Father.”²⁷

Oliver Clément, a student of Lossky’s, went beyond his mentor’s critique of the West in order to discover what he called “the authentic intuitions of filioquism.”²⁸

Following Maximus, Clément recognized that the inseparability of the three persons within the divinity made it impossible to isolate the activities of any one of them.²⁹

Therefore he asked

whether the subsequent controversies (about the procession) did not arise because people partly forgot the divine “logic” which is always simultaneously one and threefold. . . . To say that the Spirit “proceeds” from the Father is necessarily to name the Son, since from all eternity the Father puts his Other in unity; so when he causes the Spirit to “proceed” he remains Father *of the Son*.³⁰

Distinguishing between the person/essence of the Spirit (τό Πνεῦμα) and his energy (πνεῦμα), Clément utilized the Palamite model in an attempt to “go beyond filioquism by integrating it.”³¹ Thus

as person, on the level of essence, one might say, the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, since the Father is the one “cause” in the Trinity. He proceeds

²⁷ Ibid., 103.

²⁸ Oliver Clément, *Essor du christianisme oriental* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 18.

²⁹ For Maximus’s teaching on the subject see pages 24–25.

³⁰ Oliver Clément, *The Roots of Christian Mysticism*, trans. Theodore Berkeley (London: New City, 1993), 72. This teaching has a direct connection both to Maximus and John of Damascus. See chapter 1, n. 60.

³¹ Oliver Clément, *Byzance et le christianisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 47 (Eng. trans: Boris Bobrinskoy, *The Mystery of the Trinity: Trinitarian Experience and Vision in the Biblical and Patristic Tradition*, trans. Anthony Gythiel [Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1999], 290). Bobrinskoy himself seems to favor Clément’s reading of the Eastern tradition and echoed his willingness to integrate the *filioque* as expression of the Spirit being the mutual love and common gift of both the Father and the Son.

“conjointly” with the Son on whom he rests. But the “spirit” as divine energy pours forth from the Father through the Son, or, if one prefers, from the Son.³²

While individual theologians, Catholic and Orthodox, have made great progress in coming to a common understanding of the *filioque*'s place in modern theology, official dialogues have come even further in “bridging the unbridgeable gap” between East and West. The first significant attempt at a semi-official dialogue was the 1875 Bonn Conference that brought Old Catholics, Anglicans, and Orthodox together to discuss the place and theology of the *filioque*. At that gathering the position of John of Damascus was used as the basis for agreement, all accepting that the Spirit came forth from the Father, who was the one cause or principle within the godhead, but that he also processed through the Son, but *not* as from a cause.³³ It was also at this conference that Boris Bolotov put forward his famous twenty-seven theses on the *filioque*, arguing that neither the Photian nor the Carolingian understandings of the procession can be received as dogmas of the Church given their theological one-sidedness.³⁴ Rather, he believed that both East and West must recognize the teachings of the other as legitimate *theologoumena* that cannot be imposed upon the other or inserted into the creed of the Church. Although Bolotov (I believe

³² Ibid.

³³ See H. Reusch, *Bericht über die vom 10. bis 16. August 1875 zu Bonn gehaltenen Unionskonferenz* (Bonn, 1875); E. Pusey, *On the Clause “And the Son” in regard to the Eastern Church and the Bonn Conference* (Oxford, 1876); E. Michaud, “L'état de la question du ‘Filioque’ après la Conférence de Bonn de 1875,” *Revue internationale de Théologie* 3 (1895), 89–99.

³⁴ Basil Bolotov, “Thesen über das *Filioque* von einem russischen Theologen,” *Revue internationale de Théologie* 6 (1898): 681–712. Bolotov criticized the Photian understanding of the *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* formula as a distortion of the patristic witness (e.g., Patriarch Tarasius, Maximus, John of Damascus), which saw the Son as an active participant in the eternal shining forth or manifestation of the Spirit. And yet Bolotov was readily prepared to admit with Photius that the Spirit proceeded from the Father alone, procession here understood in its strictest sense of *ἐκπόρευσις*. Similar conclusions were reached in the World Council of Churches' 1979 “Klingenthal Memorandum.” See Lukas Vischer ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy* (London: SPCK, 1981).

incorrectly) saw the views of Augustine and the Eastern fathers as incompatible, he did not believe their diverse understandings of the procession created an irresolvable impediment to the unity of the Churches *provided that the Latin interpolation was removed*.

The promising theological exchange begun by the Orthodox and the Church of Rome following the Second Vatican Council was unfortunately sidetracked in 1989 by the resurgence of the Eastern Catholic churches in the Ukraine.³⁵ Six years later, perhaps as a way of revitalizing the stalled dialogue, the Vatican issued “The Greek and Latin Traditions Regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit,” a document aimed at clarifying the Roman position on the *filioque* vis-à-vis the historic Orthodox critique.³⁶ In a supreme irony, after having rejected the witness of Maximus at Florence as both spurious and ambiguous, the Roman Catholic Church used the *Letter to Marinus* as the hermeneutical key to understanding its teaching on the procession, quoting the works of the Confessor no less than three times in the document.³⁷ The Roman Catholic Church affirmed that it upheld the position outlined in the *Letter*,

³⁵ For a history of these churches, many of which had entered into communion with Rome at the Synod of Brest in 1596, see Serge Keleher, *Passion and Resurrection: The Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine 1939–1989* (L’viv: Stauropegion, 1993). In 1946, eager to consolidate his control over the Church, Stalin had arranged for the Eastern Catholic hierarchy to be forcibly incorporated into the Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow at the Synod of L’viv. Eastern Catholic churches were either closed or given over to Orthodox control, and dissenting clergy sent to prison (e.g., Josyf Cardinal Slipyj) or forced to minister underground. When in 1989 these churches were once again given the right to exist, disagreement (sometimes violent) over the ownership of church properties forced the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchies to address the issue of uniatism and the possibility for a peaceful resolution to these tensions. Although the Joint International Commission issued a document in 1993 to address the problem (“Uniatism, Method of Union of the Past, and the Present Search for Full Communion,” better known as the “Balamand Statement”) it remains, as of this writing, unresolved.

³⁶ English translation found in: “The Greek and Latin Traditions Regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit,” *Catholic International* 7 (1996): 36–43.

³⁷ The other two references are to *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 63 and *Quaestiones et dubia* 34.

that “the doctrine of the *filioque* must be understood . . . in such a way that it cannot appear to contradict the monarchy of the Father nor the fact that he is the sole origin (μία αἰτία) of the ἐκπόρευσις of the Spirit.”³⁸ Problems of translation had once made the Roman teaching difficult to communicate, which is why Maximus explained to his Constantinopolitan interlocutors:

(that) the *filioque* does not concern the ἐκπόρευσις of the Spirit issued from the Father as source of the Trinity, but manifests his προϊέναι (*processio*) in the consubstantial communion of the Father and the Son.³⁹

Explaining this teaching further (using the idea of the trinitarian τάξις found in *Quaestiones et dubia* 34), the document goes on to say that because “the Son characterizes as Father the Father from whom the Spirit takes his origin, according to the Trinitarian order” “the spiration of the Spirit from the Father takes place by and through . . . the generation of the Son.”⁴⁰

Given that the 1995 Vatican statement, like the *Letter to Marinus*, was an attempt to exegete the Roman teaching for an Eastern audience, it is not surprising that the theology and language of Maximus found so central a place in the document. For the most part, Orthodox theologians applauded the Vatican’s attempt at a clarification, urging Rome to move even closer to Maximus’s position as outlined in the *Letter*. For example, John Zizioulas believed the “single cause” principle enunciated by Maximus should be the basis for further discussion on the *filioque*, writing that:

³⁸ “The Greek and Latin Traditions Regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit,” 39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

As St. Maximus the Confessor insisted . . . the decisive thing . . . lies precisely in the point that in using the *filioque* the Romans do not imply a “cause” other than the Father. . . . If Roman Catholic theology would be ready to admit that the Son in no way constitutes a “cause” (αίτια) in the procession of the Spirit, this would bring the two traditions much closer to each other with regard to the *filioque*.⁴¹

Zizioulas applauded Rome’s recognition of the distinction between ἐκπορεύεσθαι and προίεναι as made in the *Letter to Marinus*; acknowledging the unique purpose of προίεναι in the Greek tradition, where it

was used to denote the Holy Spirit's dependence on the Son owing to the common substance or οὐσία which the Spirit in deriving from the Father alone as Person or ὑπόστασις receives from the Son, too, as οὐσιῶδως, that is, with regard to the one οὐσία common to all three persons. . . . For him (i.e., Maximus) the *filioque* was not heretical because its intention was to denote not the ἐκπορεύεσθαι but the προίεναι of the Spirit.⁴²

Building upon the Vatican’s 1995 clarification, the North American Orthodox-Catholic Theological Consultation began its own dialogue in 1999 to address the question of the *filioque*, issuing an agreed statement in October of 2003.⁴³ Maximus is only mentioned briefly in the document, and then only in relation to the historic Latin mistranslation of ἐκπορεύεσθαι. More significant, however, was the recognition of the contributions of the “third school” of Byzantine trinitarian theology (i.e., Gregory of Cyprus and Palamas) to the debate, especially in terms of the eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit.

In the thirteenth century, the Council of Blachernae (1285), under the leadership of Constantinopolitan Patriarch Gregory II . . . proposed in its

⁴¹ John Zizioulas, “One Single Source: An Orthodox Response to the Clarification on the Filioque,” <http://agrino.org/cyberdesert/zizioulas.htm>.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “The *Filioque*: A Church-Dividing Issue? An Agreed Statement of the North American Orthodox-Catholic Theological Consultation (October 25, 2003),” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 48 (2004): 93–123.

Tomos that although Christian faith must maintain that the Holy Spirit receives his existence and hypostatic identity solely from the Father, who is the single cause of the divine Being, he “shines from and is manifested eternally through the Son, in the way that light shines forth and is manifest through the intermediary of the sun’s rays.” In the following century, Gregory Palamas proposed a similar interpretation . . . (that) in terms of the transcendent divine energy, although not in terms of substance or hypostatic being, “the Spirit pours itself out from the Father through the Son, and, if you like, from the Son over all those worthy of it,” a communication which may even be broadly called “procession” (ἐκπόρευσις).⁴⁴

After almost a millennium of estrangement, Catholics and Orthodox in the twentieth century expressed a renewed desire to heal the schism that divided them for centuries. Pope John Paul II made it a particular theme of his pontificate, especially as he prepared the Roman Catholic Church for the jubilee year with his landmark encyclicals *Ut Unum Sint* and *Oriente Lumen*. In many ways Rome and Constantinople enjoy a more cordial relationship today than in those centuries preceding the schism, when East and West were technically in communion.⁴⁵ The era of estrangement is over. The era of dialogue has begun.

The *filioque*, which was once believed to be the chief dogmatic reason for the schism, remains unresolved despite the level of consensus reached in recent years over its meaning. Although most theologians no longer regard the theology of the *filioque* as an insurmountable obstacle to unity, its presence in the creed remains a stumbling block to unity.⁴⁶ Five centuries ago, at the Council of Ferrara-Florence,

⁴⁴ Ibid., 117–18.

⁴⁵ Aside from the several face-to-face meetings between pope and patriarch since 1964, the many written exchanges between Rome and Constantinople have been collected in the *Tomos Agapis* (“Book of Love”). English translation in: E. J. Stormon, ed., *Towards the Healing of the Schism: The Sees of Rome and Constantinople*, Ecumenical Documents 3 (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).

⁴⁶ There is, however, reason to be optimistic that the interpolation may (some day) be removed. In 1987, when Patriarch Dimitrios I visited Pope John Paul II, and then again in 1995 during Patriarch Bartholomew’s visit, the pope celebrated the Eucharist at St. Peter’s and proclaimed with them (in

Greeks and Latins could not appreciate the possibilities for rapprochement because they were unable to read the patristic witness outside of the limited categories imposed by their respective histories (i.e., the Photian and the Carolingian). Because the Florentine delegates could not give the *Letter to Marinus* a proper reading, broadening their view of the trinitarian mystery, the council ultimately failed in its purpose. It appears that modern theology, especially Roman Catholic theology, has come a long way in correcting this mistake. Having rejected the witness of the *Letter to Marinus* once before at Florence, Rome has chosen a different path, using the writings of Maximus the Confessor to bring the two halves of Christendom ever closer to a common understanding of the trinitarian mystery.

Greek) the creed without the *filioque*. The CDF's 2000 document *Dominus Iesus* began with a consideration of the creed, using the unaltered text of 381 as the basis for its teaching.

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ACW = Ancient Christian Writers

CCG = Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca

CCL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CF = Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores

FC = Fathers of the Church

NPNF = Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

PG = Patrologia Graeca

PL = Patrologia Latina

SC = Sources chrétiennes

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*The Use of Maximus the Confessor's Writing on the Filioque at the Council of
Ferrara - Florence (1438 – 1439)*

Dissertation directed by Rev. Joseph Lienhard, S.J. and
George Demacopoulos, PhD

Since the ninth century the *filioque* has been the most contentious theological issue dividing the Western and Eastern Churches. All attempts at resolving the dispute, including the ill-fated Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), ultimately failed because by the eleventh century (if not earlier) the two halves of Christendom had developed theologies of the procession that appeared to be diametrically opposed: either the Spirit proceeded from the Father alone (as the Greeks held) or from the Father and the Son (as the Latins maintained). Yet there was one Church father whose writings offered a way out of this impasse: Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662).

In his *Letter to Marinus* (PG 91, 136), Maximus claimed that in using the *filioque* the Romans, “do not make the Son the cause of the Spirit, for they know that the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the one by begetting and the other by procession, but they show the progression through him and thus the unity of the essence.” This seemingly irenic text was brought forward at Florence several

times, but, read solely within the context of the Photian–Carolingian dialectic, the *Letter to Marinus* remained merely another proof-text — the Greek anti-unionists viewing it as a clear demonstration of the Latins’ heresy (since *Laetentur Caeli* did attribute causality to the Son), the unionists believing it an apology for filioquism.

Yet I maintain that the *Letter to Marinus*, properly understood, provided the hermeneutical key to resolving the ancient question of the *filioque*, and that even in the fifteenth century there existed a school of Byzantine trinitarian theology capable of providing this interpretation. Seen as a clear explication of Maximus’s own trinitarian thinking and the *consensus patrum* as it existed in the seventh century (i.e., the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and his eternal flowing forth through the Son), the *Letter to Marinus* offered the Florentine delegates, and continues to offer today, the best way of reconciling East and West and of establishing (or re-establishing) a genuinely ecumenical understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

VITA

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