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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY

“THE FILIOQUE CONTROVERSY:
CHAPTERS FROM THE EASTERN ORTHODOX REACTION”

An Historical-Theological Perspective

by

Ioannes Metaxas-Mariatos, Dip. H. E., B.A.

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is an historical-theological survey of the major Eastern Orthodox objections to the insertion of the 'Filioque' clause to the Ecumenical Creed and its theological implications, from the time of Patriarch Photius (ninth century) to the collapse of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1453.

After the brief introduction which deals with the background to this period (Chapter I), the second chapter presents the main arguments of Patriarch Photius, which provided the starting point to all subsequent discussions on the 'Filioque' question in the East.

The third chapter deals with the eleventh and twelfth cent. theological literature on the 'Filioque' which, though it is not free from the spirit of polemicism, it remains close to the patristic and evangelical data.

The fourth chapter examines the doctrine of the Council of Lyons (1274) on the 'Filioque', its condemnation in the East by the Council of Blachernae (1285), the attempts for union with Rome by the Latinizer Patriarch Ioannes XI Beccus and his followers, as well as the interesting but controversial doctrine of the Spirit's eternal manifestation, as amplified by Patriarch Gregory the Cypriot.

The Palamite position on the 'Filioque' (fourteenth century) and the reactions against it are treated in the fifth chapter, and the thesis concludes with a sixth and final chapter which offers a critical account of the falsely called 'Ecumenical Council of Florence'. This last chapter mainly concentrates on the reaction of Metropolitan Mark of Ephesus to the views of the Latins and the Greek unionists.

As it stands, the thesis provides a basic and clear insight into later Eastern Orthodox trinitarian theology which is not so well known.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE	i
THE NICENE-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED	iii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: PATRIARCH PHOTIUS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE 'FILIOQUE' CONTROVERSY AND HIS LEGACY.	24
CHAPTER III: THE 'FILIOQUE' CONTROVERSY DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRANKS (1204).	47
CHAPTER IV: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.	75
CHAPTER V: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.	111
CHAPTER VI: THE 'FILIOQUE' AS DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE.	140
EPILOGUE	167
FOOTNOTES	171
BIBLIOGRAPHY	204

PROLOGUE

In the present dissertation, an attempt is made to survey the evidence from the Eastern Orthodox side, on what is regarded as one of the most important doctrinal differences separating the Eastern from the Western Churches; namely, the addition of the word 'Filioque' (and the Son), to the Latin text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Although, as Bishop Kallistos Ware has pointed out, "to the majority of Christians today the 'Filioque' controversy appears remote and unreal...in the eyes of the Byzantines it was the 'Filioque' that constituted the crucial point at stake." Indeed, "it is significant that the Council of Florence spent eight months debating the 'Filioque' and rather less than two weeks discussing the papal claims."¹

It will be proper, in endeavouring to trace the long history of the controversy, from the time of Patriarch Photius to the Council of Florence, to keep constantly in mind the bearing of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed itself on the subject:

"And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with Father and Son is together worshipped and glorified..."

Surely, at first sight, this denies the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit. It is not simply as if no mention had been made of the Son that the addition might be said to be justifiable; for the very next clause introduces him:

"Who with Father and Son is together worshipped and glorified."

The present treatise is not an attempt to supply matter for controversy and does not claim to show the way forward to a resolution of the 'Filioque' dispute. My only aim is to present - as objectively as possible - the protesting voice of Eastern Orthodoxy against the interpolated Creed and against the theological implications derived from such an addition.

It is chiefly with the hope of offering an account - albeit a general one - of the evidence of the Eastern view on the subject to the Western Christian reader that the present thesis has been written.

Ioannes Metaxas-Mariatos, Durham, August 1988.

The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed

We believe in one God
the Father, all-sovereign
maker of heaven and earth
and of all things visible and invisible
and in one Lord Jesus Christ,
the only-begotten Son of God
begotten of the Father before all ages
light of light
true God of true God
begotten not made
of one substance with the Father
through whom all things were made
who for us men
and for our salvation
came down from the heavens
and was made flesh of the Holy Spirit
and the virgin Mary,
and became man
and was crucified for us
under Pontius Pilate
and suffered and was buried
and rose on the third day

according to the scriptures
and ascended into the heavens
and sitteth on the right of the Father
and is coming again with glory
to judge living and dead
of whose Kingdom there shall be no end
and in the Holy Spirit
the Lord, the life-giver
that proceedeth from the Father
who with the Father and the Son is together worshipped
and together glorified
who spoke through the prophets
in one holy catholic and apostolic church
we acknowledge one baptism unto the remission of sins
we look for a resurrection of the dead
and the life of the age to come. Amen.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I. 1. The 'Filioque' addition to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The 'Filioque' clause is the addition to the Latin text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed which, according to the currently established view, was first made in Spain at some time in the late fifth or early sixth century. In English translation it appears as follows in the clause relating to the Holy Spirit:

"And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life giver who proceedeth from the Father and the Son."¹

The addition of the word to the Creed spread fairly rapidly across Western Europe but it was not finally adopted at Rome until about 1014, and it has never been sanctioned by an Ecumenical Council of the Universal Church.²

The Eastern Orthodox Churches have never received it and regard its insertion canonically as an irregularity which involves fundamental principles of authority and church government. The two main questions which the East, from the time of Patriarch Photius in the ninth century to the present bi-lateral dialogues with the different Christian Churches, has continuously raised can be summed up as follows:

First, was it permitted to add to, or to change the Creed accepted by the Councils of the one, undivided Church of Jesus Christ; and second, granted the 'legitimacy' of



an explanatory addition, was the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (Filioque) a true biblical and patristic teaching?

Underlying the first question was that of the articulation of Christian doctrine and inevitably the question to whom it belongs to decide what articulation is legitimate and what formulations of faith are needful.

It can be argued that neither the New Testament nor the post-Apostolic writings offer us a systematic exposition of the Trinity; though by the same token there is plenty of evidence that the Trinity is both confessed and regarded as a central dogma of Christianity. It is no part of this survey to examine the claims of those scholars who deny the occurrence of the trinitarian dogma in the New Testament, or insist that the doctrine, as it emerged in the third century, is a corruption of the primitive material. For our present purposes we must assume that the Church's trinitarian dogma as proclaimed at Nicaea in 325, at Constantinople in 381 and at Chalcedon in 451 is the right formulation of the Biblical data.

I. 2. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and the Ecumenical Councils.

As its name reveals, the Creed is not just that of the Council of Nicaea (AD 325) but, in the form in which it has been handed down to us, it dates from the Council of Constantinople which met in A.D. 381, and expanded the original Creed by means of further additions.³

The two Creeds (Nicene and Nicene-Constantinopolitan) were placed on the same footing for the first time by the Fathers of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, who met at Chalcedon (A.D. 451), in their solemn articulation of doctrine, where both were recited separately: the first as 'the symbol of the 318 Fathers at Nicaea; the second as 'the symbol of the 150 Fathers who met at Constantinople.' After having recited them the Fathers added:

“Although this wise and saving Symbol of the Divine Grace (Nicene) would have been sufficient for complete knowledge and confirmation of orthodoxy, for it both teaches the perfect doctrine concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and sets forth the Incarnation of the Lord to those who receive it faithfully;...this present Holy, Great and Ecumenical Synod...hath decreed primarily that the Creed of the Three Hundred and Eighteen holy Fathers should remain inviolate; and, on account of those who contend against the Holy Spirit, it ratifies the teaching subsequently set forth by the One Hundred and Fifty holy Fathers assembled in the imperial City (Constantinople) concerning the substance of the Spirit, which they made known to all, not as adducing anything left lacking by their predecessors, but making distinct by scriptural testimonies their conception concerning the Holy Spirit against those who were to set aside His Sovereignty.”⁴

The Fathers of the Fourth Ecumenical Council wished to make it clear that the faith of the two Creeds, which they recited and then regarded as one was absolutely sufficient as far as the trinitarian teaching was concerned and therefore required no further explanation or amplification. Legislation prohibiting addition to the Creed

was renewed at Chalcedon in the following words:

“It was unlawful to put forward another faith, that is to write, or compose, or to think, or teach differently”.⁵ Those were reprobated who dared to compose another faith, that is “to put forward, to teach, or hand on another Symbol.”⁶

What the Fathers of the Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus A.D. 431) had decreed regarding alteration to the Nicene Creed exclusively, the Fathers of the Fourth Ecumenical Council extended it to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as well, regarding them both as one.

Finally, the Sixth Ecumenical Council which met at Constantinople in 680-681, followed the phraseology of Chalcedon.

One more reference will suffice to place this part of the question beyond controversy. In A.D. 680, a Synod of One Hundred and Twenty-five Bishops from all the provinces of the Western Church met at Rome during the pontificate of Agatho (A.D. 678-681) to consider the questions that were to be submitted shortly afterwards to the Sixth Ecumenical Council. The papal legates brought with them to Constantinople two letters from this Synod which were read out and unanimously accepted by the Fathers assembled there. One of the two letters reads as follows:

“Agatho, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, (this is an interesting remark in the light of later papal claims as we shall progressively see) with all the Councils

subject to the Council of the Apostolic See". Here the Pope speaking in the name of those Councils said: "This is our perfect Knowledge; to guard in the closest keeping of our mind the definitions of the Catholic and Apostolic faith, which, the Apostolic throne has both kept and hands down till now; believing in one God, the Father Almighty...His only begotten Son...and the Holy Spirit...who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is together worshipped and glorified."⁷

After the Fourth Ecumenical Council, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, was slightly adapted for personal and liturgical use, and was accepted as authoritative by East and West alike.

The liturgical use of the Nicene Creed can be traced back to the fifth century. In A.D. 474 Peter Fullo, Patriarch of Antioch (465-466; 474-475) introduced it at every service.⁸ Some years later the custom spread to Alexandria. In A.D. 511, during the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), Timothy I, Patriarch of Constantinople (511-518) introduced a more frequent use of the Creed in his Archdiocese, where it was the custom only to recite it on the Thursday in Holy Week.⁹ In this case, it was certainly the original Nicene Creed (A.D. 325); but the text might have been used in the form enlarged by those additions which made the subsequent identification of Nicene and Constantinopolitan so easy.¹⁰

I. 3. The appearance of the 'Filioque' clause in the West

Now we may ask, when and under what circumstances was the word 'Filioque'

first introduced in the West? It cannot be ascertained who first added this clause to the Creed; but it is certain that the interpolated Creed was first sung in the Spanish Church after the conversion of the Visigoths. How and why this happened is not altogether clear, but it seems probable that it was made in order to oppose the spread of Arian beliefs in Western Europe which eventually led to the heresy of Arian adoptianism.

The Third Council of Toledo (A.D. 589) was summoned by King Recarred in order that the Visigoths in Spain, who had professed the Arian faith, might publicly proclaim their renunciation of Arianism and adherence to orthodox, catholic Christianity.

Arianism and other heresies derived from it strongly denied the true divinity and consubstantiality of the Person of the Son with the Father, arguing that the Son is 'divine' only by receiving from the Father the gift of the Spirit. It therefore seems more than probable that the 'Filioque' addition was meant to establish beyond any doubt that Jesus Christ not only receives but also sends the Spirit and, as such, he is God in every respect, equal and consubstantial with God the Father and also a source of the Spirit's procession. We may therefore assume that the acute controversy with Arianism led the Spanish Church to dislike the idea that the Father should have an attribute, namely, that of being the source of the Spirit's procession, which the Son had not, and consequently the addition of the 'Filioque' clause seemed to be necessary.

The Third Council of Toledo declared twenty three anathemas, the third of which anathematised "those who do not profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son".¹¹ (In this way, the divinity and consubstantiality of the Son was protected against the Arian beliefs). Again ironically, the eleventh anathema was against those who "do not accept the decrees of the first Four Ecumenical Councils"; while the second canon of the same Council stated rather emphatically that:

"In all the Churches of Spain and Gallicia, the Symbol of the Faith of the Council of Constantinople, that is of the One Hundred and Fifty Fathers, be recited according to the form of the Eastern Churches, so that it be chanted in a loud voice by the people before the Lord's Prayer is said".¹²

Following Dr. Haugh's argument we, therefore, conclude that "the Council of Toledo did not consciously alter the Ecumenical Creed".¹³ Vladimir Lossky (1903-1958), a Russian Orthodox theologian of the twentieth century, wrote: "We shall even admit the possibility of an Orthodox interpretation of the 'Filioque' as it first appeared, for example, at Toledo". Prof. Lossky also emphasised that "a study of the Filioquism of the Spanish Councils of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries would be of capital importance, so that a dogmatic appreciation of these formulas might be made. Here the disinterested work of historical theology could be really useful to the Church".¹⁴

Once inserted, the liturgical use of the Creed made the addition regular. By that time also, the 'Filioque' clause had appeared in the so called Athanasian Creed, which was apparently composed around the year 500 in southern Gaul.¹⁵ (The attribution

to St. Athanasius (296-373), Patriarch of Alexandria, has been generally abandoned, chiefly on the ground that it contains doctrinal expressions which arose only in later controversies). The article relating to the Holy Spirit's procession reads as follows: "The Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding".¹⁶ The Athanasian Creed is obviously the earliest confessional document in which the 'Filioque' clause is known to appear.

We seem to be without any proofs whatsoever that there was any active discussion of the 'Filioque' addition out of Spain as yet; though there are indications that other countries to the west of Italy were slowly borrowing their form of the Creed from Spain. Edmund S. Ffoulkes gives a detailed account of a Synod of the English Bishops at Hatfield under Theodore of Tarsus (602-90) the Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, some months before the meeting of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. There, the doctrine of the double procession was believed to have been taught by the Lord and his Apostles, as well as handed down in the Creed ever since!¹⁷ Not even does the Archbishop, whose acquaintance with the East might have led us to expect some comment on this doctrine of the 'procession', seem to have considered the word 'Filioque' other than the true language of the early Councils.

I. 4. Developments in the 8th century: The attitude of the Franks.

In December A.D. 784 Tarasius I (784-806) was elected Patriarch of Constantinople. In his profession of faith which he then sent to Pope Hadrian I (772-795), Tarasius spoke of the Holy Spirit as "proceeding from the Father through (*διὰ*) the Son":

“...And in the Holy Spirit the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, and Himself both is and is acknowledged as God...”¹⁸ (It is important to clarify here that Tarasius did not actually include the preposition *διὰ* in the original text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed). This was accepted by the papal legates who complemented the Patriarch on his orthodoxy during the meeting of the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (787) where the Patriarchal letter was read out. In the seventh session of the same Council the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed was recited in its usual form, and entire adherence was professed to the rulings of the Six previous Councils. The Pope approved of all that the Council had done, and sent a copy of its acts to Charlemagne, King of the Franks. (742-814).

The rise of the Carolingian Empire in Western Europe in the late eighth century, culminating in the proclamation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor on Christmas day in the year 800, provoked a diplomatic crisis in Europe which was fuelled by theological controversy. To support his position against the Eastern Romans, who regarded him as a usurper of the Roman titles, Charlemagne commissioned his theologians to defend him and provide ammunition against the Greeks.¹⁹ This they did in two ways: First, they claimed that the Pope had the right to make and unmake Roman Emperors; second, they claimed that the Eastern Emperor had been deposed in the West because of heresy. What this heresy was can only be imagined - The Eastern Church had deleted the ‘Filioque’ clause from the Creed!

This extraordinary combination occurs in the so-called *Libri Carolini*, an anonymous work written about A.D. 792 whose author was convinced that “the Holy Spirit

proceeds from the Father and the Son” as well as that “the ‘Filioque’ addition was found in the original form of the Creed”!²⁰ This led to the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, the Synod of Friuli in 796, at which Paulinus of Aquileia delivered the first in a long series of defenses of the ‘Filioque’,²¹ and the Synod of Aachen in 809, when the clause was formally introduced into the Creed throughout the Western Empire. Around that time also, during the pontificate of Leo III (795-816) a group of Frankish monks on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem reported that a Greek monk named John, from the monastery of Saint Sabas had accused the Latins of heresy for teaching the ‘Filioque’. Prostrate on the ground and in tears they appealed to the Pope to “deign to investigate in the holy Fathers, both Greek and Latin who composed the Creed where it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.”²²

The Synod of Aachen gave Charlemagne the opportunity he wanted to persuade the Pope to change his mind, but at a Synod in Rome in 810 Leo III managed to declare the clause ‘orthodox’ without including it in the Creed:

“I did give license to sing: but not in singing to add, subtract, nor change anything...And as to what you say, that you so sing, because you have heard others in these parts do so first, what is that to us? We do not so sing; but we so read, and by reading teach; but we do not presume by reading or teaching to insert anything in the same Creed. But matters of faith, not expressed in the Creed, we do not as we have often said, presume to insert; but we take care to minister them in fitting places and times to such as are competent to receive them.”²³

The Pope reinforced this decision by having the Creed inscribed in both Greek and Latin without the 'Filioque' addition on two silver shields which were hung in St. Peter's Cathedral. He did this, according to Anastasius Bibliothecarius "for the love he bore to the orthodox faith and out of his care for its protection."²⁴ Later on Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (858-867; 878-886) will refer to these shields in his attempts to prove that even the Roman pontiffs were against the interpolation of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, even though he mistakenly thought that both shields were engraved in Greek.²⁵

At this point I would like to mention one modern Orthodox proposal offered by the Greek theologian Prof. Ioannes Romanides which intends to eliminate much of the conflict that has been occasioned by the 'Filioque' addition.²⁶ Prof. Romanides' theory is that there never was a 'Filioque' controversy between the Western and Eastern 'Romans' but only a conflict between all the 'Romans' in the East and West alike against the Franks. The 'Roman' position regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit, argues Prof. Romanides, that of Old and New Rome, remained the same until the Western 'Romans' capitulated to the Frankish pressure. Therefore, the whole controversy should be regarded as a continuation of Frankish efforts to control the 'Roman' world and not as a Papal interference into the already established doctrine of the Christian Church.²⁷

I. 5. Eastern and Western approaches to the doctrine of the Trinity.

In order to be able to understand fully the arguments used by the Eastern controversialists against and in support of the 'Filioque' doctrine, we must first consider - as briefly as possible - the history of trinitarian theology in both East and West up to the time of Augustine.

To turn first to the Greek speaking part of Christendom we discover that the Eastern triadological tradition had developed out of the fierce Christological controversies from the fourth to the sixth centuries. To guard against the heresies of Nestorianism on one side and Eutychianism on the other²⁸, Eastern theology thought of the Trinity to be composed of three Persons with separate properties joined in one essence and interpreted the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in that light.

Eastern Greek trinitarianism, following the precise word of Scripture, reserves the language of "procession" (*ἐκπόρευσις*) for the Spirit's relation to the Father (John 15:26) and uses the language of reception (*ληΐψις*) when describing his relation to the Son: "He (Holy Spirit) will glorify me, for He will take what is mine and declare it to you". (John 16:14)

According to the teaching of the Cappadocian Fathers,²⁹ undoubtedly the most influential figures in Greek Theology, there is a distinction made between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* in the inner life of the Trinity which is somewhat analogous to the existing relation between common and particular.³⁰ This distinction between *ουσια* and

ὑπόστασις, corresponding to the difference between common and particular implies that the common properties of the nature do not apply to the hypostasis, and the distinctive properties of each of the hypostases do not belong to the common divine nature or to the other Persons.³¹

The Father is related to the Son and the Holy Spirit as the cause (αἰτιον) to those who are caused (αἰτιατά).³² The Father alone is the source and principle of the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit.³³ Therefore, the Father on account of his hypostatic property, deriving his being from himself, brings forth the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son comes forth by generation and his hypostatic property is to be begotten, while the Holy Spirit comes forth by procession which is his own distinctive property.³⁴ Because these individual properties are not interchangeable or confused, the Father is the sole cause of being of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.³⁵ If one of the two Persons who have been caused by the Father becomes another cause, apart from the Father, then the monotheistic principle of Christianity is diverted to polytheism.³⁶

After the Cappadocians, the later Greek Fathers quite often spoke of the Holy Trinity in its 'economic activity', that is in its relation to creation and salvation. For example Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (412-444) seldom spoke of the the inner "life" and eternal relations of the Holy Trinity. His many expressions which speak of the Spirit "coming from" or "through" or "by the Son" almost always refer to the temporal sending of the Spirit and not to the Spirit's eternal procession.³⁷ Cyril never went as far as saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορεύεται) from the Father

and the Son, but only from the Father: ὅτι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεται τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὐσίας.³⁸

The pattern of the Greek triadological model was finally summarised by John Damascene (675-749) in his masterpiece *De Fide Orthodoxa*: “We believe in one Father, the principle and cause (ἡ ἀρχή) of everything...Father of only one by nature, his Only-Begotten Son...and projector (προβολεύς) of the most Holy Spirit...The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father...for this is the teaching of Holy Scripture (John 15:26)...We also believe in the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son...proceeding from the Father and communicated through the Son...the begetting of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit are simultaneous...Therefore, all that the Son and Spirit have is from the Father, including their very existence. Unless the Father exists, neither the Son nor the Spirit exists. And unless the Father possesses a specific quality, neither the Son nor Spirit can possess it...We do not speak of the Son as cause...We speak of the Holy Spirit as from the Father and call him the Spirit of the Father. And we do not speak of the Spirit as from the Son, although we call him the Spirit of the Son.”³⁹

From this it follows that the Father, as the source (ἀρχή) or fount (πηγή) of the Godhead cannot stand in the same relationship to the Holy Spirit as the Son because the property which determines his ability to relate is different. (This was not a new doctrine, but a very traditional scheme, reminiscent of Irenaeus’ teaching on the ‘two hands’ of God, which had been widely held before Origen’s time.)⁴⁰ In addition to that, both the Son and the Holy Spirit derive their hypostases from the Father by

generation and procession respectively.⁴¹

The Eastern view of the matter, differs in conception, though not in effect from the Latin view, according to which God is not understood through the dogma of one οὐσία and three ὑποστάσεις but as one object and three subjects. (Una substantia, tres personae).

Latin trinitarianism took its own distinct path and Augustine of Hippo (354-430), undoubtedly the outstanding name in Western trinitarian thought, attempted, perhaps not very convincingly, to relate the three subjects by the analogy of subject, order and relation,⁴² presenting them in the very elaborated example of mind, knowledge of self by the mind, and love with which the mind loves both itself and its own knowledge.⁴³

Augustine also said that names of the Persons explain to us the nature of God's being. The Father and the Son represent opposite poles of attraction, drawn to each other by this very contrast. Because of his name, the Father is logically prior to the Son, but by the same token the Son must exist in order for the name Father to have any significance. It is impossible to imagine the one without the other.⁴⁴ Binding the two together is the Holy Spirit, who as the 'vinculum caritatis' is the full expression of the Love which flows between the Lover and the Beloved.⁴⁵

The focus in Augustine's trinitarian methodology is therefore no longer on the hypostasis of the Father as ἀρχή or πηγὴ of the hypostases of the Son and the Holy

Spirit, but on their common essence. The monarchy of the Father was upheld, not on the grounds that he preceded or gave existence to the Son and the Spirit, (things which could only have a meaning within the context of the temporal), but rather because he stood in that eternal relationship to them which we call Fatherhood.

Augustine was therefore obliged to say that because the Holy Spirit is the expression of the mutual love of the Father and the Son he stands in the same relation to both. This relation is explained as procession; therefore the Spirit proceeds equally from both: "Neither can we say that the Holy Spirit does not also proceed from the Son, for the same Spirit is not without reason said to be the Spirit both of the Father and the Son."⁴⁶

Augustine had already noticed that there was a difference between Eastern and Western trinitarian thought: "For the sake of describing things ineffable", he wrote, "that we may be able in some way to express what we are in no way able to express fully, our Greek friends have spoken of one essence and three substances, but the Latins of one essence or substance and three Persons".⁴⁷

It is perhaps truer to say that the Western view is that the unity of God is absolute and the Persons of the Trinity are relative within it, while the Eastern view is that the three Persons have each a distinctive property but are joined in one essence or nature. Therefore, it comes about to say that "if the Cappadocians experienced God as three Persons before they met him as one God, Augustine experienced him as one God before he met him as three Persons".⁴⁸

I. 6. The problem of language and the question of authority.

The different approach of the two triadologies was further enhanced by the difference of language. While 'essentia' is the only possible translation for *οὐσία*, the two words were not always understood in quite the same sense. 'Persona' is not a perfectly exact translation for *ὑπόστασις*; yet if *ὑπόστασις* is translated as 'substantia' which is more accurate, and 'persona' as *πρόσωπον* further confusion arises. To call the Persons of the Trinity 'Substances' seemed to the West to savour of tritheism, while *πρόσωπον* in Greek suggests more the exterior rather than the personality. Translation constantly added to misunderstanding. It is certainly true that much of the trouble in the Photian dispute and in later conflicts between the two Churches was due to mistranslations and the misunderstanding of established formulae: "For instance, Pope Nicholas I (858-867) took great offence at being addressed as 'Bishop of Old Rome' though that was the honorific Eastern Roman name of his See."⁴⁹

"Understanding", as Sir Steven Runciman explains "does not necessarily create sympathy, but at least it provides a basis for the use of tact and forbearance, two qualities which are unusual to ecclesiastical circles and when their absence is exaggerated by ignorance, the results are disastrous."⁵⁰

In the Greek speaking East, a number of theologians regarded Latin as a language which was incapable of the precision necessary for theological distinctions. As we shall progressively see through our survey of the various reactions against the Western insertion to the Creed, a fair number of Eastern controversialists laid the entire blame

for the 'Filioque' addition on the Latin absence of a proper distinction in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit between his economic 'being sent' and his theological 'proceeding'.⁵¹

In addition, behind the theological and linguistic issues lay another one, which the Eastern Church in particular felt equally strongly against. That was the question of authority. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed had been approved and issued by the Ecumenical Councils of the one, undivided Church, which were in Eastern eyes the highest inspired doctrinal authority. The Eastern Romans viewed the function of the Ecumenical Council to be the definition of dogma - not, strictly speaking the 'creation' of dogma, since the truth was believed already to exist, needing but to be 'uncovered' (under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit). It was a question of stating formally what had always been 'received' and believed. Eastern Christians, with their apophatic tastes, preferred to avoid dogmatic definitions until the danger of heresy made them necessary. It should be remembered here that in every single instance, the Councils were convened to meet a specific challenge to the faith posed by certain heretical groups (views such as Arianism, Monophysitism and the like). The Greek speaking Christians would have been prepared to leave the question of the Holy Spirit as it stood if the Latins had not raised the question first: "You ask," said St. Gregory Nazianzen "what is the procession of the Holy Spirit. Tell me first what is the unbegottenness of the Father, and I shall then explain to you the physiology of the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit; and we shall both of us be stricken with madness for prying into the mystery of God."⁵²

If the 'Filioque' addition to the Creed was necessary, then the Fourth, Fifth and

Sixth Ecumenical Councils, and all the Roman pontiffs who confirmed them were mistaken in defining that the doctrine of the Trinity was set forth in the Creed to perfection before their presence; and by consequence it must follow that there is not such thing as infallibility in the Church of the Councils! Those who decided that no addition was necessary, and those who decided that some addition was necessary, contradicted each other in the strictest sense of the word. Only another Ecumenical Council with representatives from the five ancient apostolic patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem and with the Roman Emperor presiding as the Viceroy of God on earth had the right - not to alter - but to amplify and explain the decisions reached at an earlier Council.

Evidence for the fundamental importance of orthodox dogma in the East is the fact that from the end of the fifth century onward, Eastern Roman emperors were all obliged, immediately before their coronation to take an oath, promising to defend the orthodox faith expressed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and confirmed by the Councils of the Church. The following text, reconstructed from the fourteenth century *Historia* of Ioannes Cantacuzenus is part of the oath that emperors were required to take. There is no reason to believe that this oath, delivered to the Constantinopolitan patriarch orally and in writing, had changed substantially since the earlier centuries:

"I N, in Christ God, faithful Emperor and Autocrator of the Romans, with my own hand set forth: I believe in one God...(the rest of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed follows in its original form). Further I embrace and confess and confirm as

well as the apostolic and divine traditions the constitutions and decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and of local Synods from time to time convened and, moreover, the privileges and customs of the most holy Great Church of God. And furthermore, I confirm and embrace all things that our most holy Fathers here or elsewhere decreed and declared canonically and irreproachably. And all things which the holy Fathers rejected and anathematised, I also reject and anathematise. And I believe with my whole mind and soul and heart the aforesaid holy Creed. All these things I promise to keep before the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God.”⁵³

To the Western Church, however, union meant the submission of the four remaining patriarchates to Rome, the See of Saint Peter.⁵⁴ It would therefore be difficult to reconcile these two different views on the question of authority and Church government. In addition to that, the Pope of Rome was always identified with his Church. An insult to the Pope was immediately taken as an insult to the Western Church as a whole.

In the East, no Patriarch ever personified his Church to such an unlimited extent. On the contrary, if it happened that he was insulted, the offence was usually held to apply to his person alone. An Eastern Patriarch remained always a man who might well be fallible and even heretical.⁵⁵ Only the Church of the Councils was for Eastern Orthodoxy infallible. In the Western Church, infallibility was an implicit prerogative of the ‘Vicar of Christ,’ the Pope of Rome.

The notion that the ‘Filioque’ clause was somehow bound up with the doctrine

of Papal supremacy was taken up and embellished by a number of Orthodox theologians. A contemporary analysis is given by Timothy Ware, now Bishop Kallistos of Diocleia: "Orthodox writers also argue that these two consequences of the 'Filioque' - subordination of the Holy Spirit, over-emphasis on the unity of God - have helped to bring about a distortion in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Church. Because the role of the Spirit has been neglected in the West, the Church has come to be regarded too much of an institution of this world, governed in terms of earthly power and jurisdiction. And just as in the western doctrine of God unity was stressed at the expense of diversity, so in the western conception of the church unity has triumphed over diversity, and the result has been too great a centralization and too great an emphasis on Papal authority."⁵⁶

Two different ways of thinking about the triune God go hand-in-hand with two different ways of thinking about the Church. The underlying causes of the Schism between East and West - the 'Filioque' and the papal claims - were not therefore unconnected.

Inevitably, Eastern theologians saw in the dispute over the 'Filioque' addition, a direct papal attack on their theory of Church government and doctrine: "In fact, though Orthodox theologians have in the past tended to exaggerate the theological implications of the 'Filioque' addition to the Creed and Western Catholics cannot overlook what they consider to be an irresponsible repudiation of the rights of the See of Saint Peter, the origin of the whole controversy still essentially concerns the question of authority."⁵⁷

One fact is clear however: Whatever subsequent apologists may have claimed, the 'Filioque' clause was not a barrier to intercommunion between East and West much, if at all, before the year 1204. Scholars often disagree as to when East and West split apart.⁵⁸ Rome and Constantinople broke officially in 1054, but this was not taken all that seriously at the time and it certainly did not affect the First Crusade in 1096-99. A more ominous sign was when the Crusaders set up Latin patriarchs in competition with the Greeks at Antioch and Jerusalem. Even then, however, the schism was not complete. This did not really happen until the sack of Constantinople by the Latin forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and then the reasons were more political than theological. In other words, both sides managed to coexist - despite the difference over the 'Filioque' clause, for at least five and possibly six centuries.

I. 7. The course to be followed in this thesis.

In the following chapter of the present dissertation I shall consider the arguments of Patriarch Photius who undoubtedly played an enormous role in the subsequent debate between Eastern and Western theologians - in as much as he provided the starting point on the 'Filioque' question. It is interesting to speculate whether the strong feelings that the 'Filioque' still generates in the East would be as pronounced if St. Photius had not taken such a strong position in the ninth century. Many of the arguments that we shall progressively read in the writings of several Greek philosophers and theologians till the fall of Constantinople (1453) are traceable to Photius' *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs* of A.D. 866,⁵⁹ and his famous *Mystagogy Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit*.⁶⁰

In the next four chapters my aim is to look at the vast critical period from Photius to Mark of Ephesus which unfortunately has not yet, so far as I know, found a worthy investigator from an Orthodox perspective, although the treatises written on the subject are numerous and many of them attempt to be original.

There is hardly an ecclesiastical author during this period, who does not find his way to write something on the 'Filioque'. Particularly interesting are the debates between the Eastern theologians themselves, (i.e. the Council of Blachernae in 1285), which contain another variety of opinion and exhibit originality and new insight, but require very close examination and careful evaluation into which I shall not attempt to enter since it goes beyond the scope of the present thesis. This later period includes such formidable Orthodox theologians as Gregory, the Cypriot Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica and St. Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus. The first two are held responsible for a distinction between a temporal sending of the Spirit from the Son and an eternal shining forth (ekphansis) of the Spirit through the Son.⁶¹ In the same vast, critical period there were some Eastern Roman philosophers and theologians (i.e. Ioannes Beccus, (1275-1282), Barlaam of Calabria, (1290-1350), Demetrios Kydones (1342-1397/98), who were won over to the Latin view on the subject. Some of them were not theologians; they felt that the exactness of dogma should not outweigh the practical, cultural and moral advantages of union. Others were sincerely convinced by the Latin dogma, and among them were men with the finest philosophical brains in Eastern history. But it was because they were philosophers that they found the rationalism of the Latins more sympathetic than the Greek apophatic tradition.

CHAPTER II: PATRIARCH PHOTIUS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE 'FILIOQUE' CONTROVERSY AND HIS LEGACY

II. 1. The ecclesiastical - political background to the controversy.

In the fourth century, the question of the Holy Trinity was examined in a Christological and Pneumatological context and was raised in connection with the two heresies of Arianism and Pneumatomachianism.

In the ninth century, a new controversy arose - this time between the Latins and the Greeks - when the question of the Trinity was discussed with particular reference to the Person of the Holy Spirit. The two contending parties, while assuming the identity of the three in nature, intended to express, in different ways, the personal distinction in the Godhead. In the mid-ninth century, the quarrel between Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (820-891) and Pope Nicholas I (820-867) (usually known in the West as the 'Photian schism'; the East would prefer to call it the 'schism of Nicholas'),¹ provided the starting point to the bitter controversy. However, as Bishop Kallistos Ware has pointed out "the dispute between Patriarch Photius and Pope Nicholas I was not initially concerned with any matter of dogma."² Indeed, the first major ecclesiastical confrontation between the Apostolic Sees of Rome and Constantinople came over the election of Photius as Patriarch of the latter. In the year 858 Photius, at that time a layman, was elected to the patriarchal throne, succeeding the monk Ignatius (846-858; 867-878), who had resigned under great political pressure. Ignatius' followers turned to Rome for support against the 'usurper' Photius, a fact

which raised basic questions of Church authority and strained the relations between the two Sees. A second point of difficulty was the question of whether the Bulgarians who were turning to Christianity at this very time would be placed under Western or Eastern Roman auspices. The Bulgarian question was but one factor, though an important one, in the growing tension between Rome and Constantinople. Since the year 863, when Pope Nicholas I, claiming direct jurisdiction over all Eastern Christendom,³ excommunicated and deposed Photius, a state of open schism existed between them. The Pope's decisions were ignored in Constantinople and in 867, on Photius initiative, a Synod presided over by the Roman Emperor of the East deposed and excommunicated Nicholas.

It is certainly true that Rome, especially under Nicholas I, acted in the arbitrary assumption of her absolute primacy understood as 'plenitudo potestatis' and wished to impose upon Constantinople her point of view of an authority which stood on the dubious grounds of the false Decretals (*Decretalium Collectio*).⁴ Constantinople, on the other hand, acted on traditional grounds according to which power was exercised in the Church by the 'Pentarchy of Patriarchs' and the Ecumenical Councils.

The history of the events has been remarkably well recreated by a number of Orthodox and non-Orthodox scholars such as M. Jugie, R. Haugh, F. Dvornik, Cardinal Hergenrother, S. Papadopoulos, R.C. Heath and V. Grumel on Patriarch Photius and his opposition to the Frankish addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.⁵

II. 2. The arguments of Patriarch Photius against the 'Filioque' clause.

In A.D. 867, a further theological question was raised - this time not by implication, as with the papal claims, but openly. It had come to Photius' attention that "some of those from the West were introducing the idea that the Divine and Holy Spirit proceeds not only from God the Father, but also from the Son."⁶ It is certainly true that the different teaching over the procession of the Holy Spirit did not seem to have been an important issue between Rome and Constantinople, until their missionaries fell foul of one another in Bulgaria in the year 866. This does not, of course, enable us to assume that Photius was unaware of the difference before 866; for he would have certainly heard of the clash that occurred in Jerusalem in the year 808 between the Benedictines of the Mount of Olives and the Greek monks of the monastery of Saint Sabas.⁷

Photius was the first Eastern Orthodox Patriarch who considered the 'Filioque' addition to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as "a most serious problem."⁸ Until the time of Photius, the issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit had been a matter of theological speculation; with Photius it became a highly controversial point. In his famous *Mystagogy*,⁹ Photius, interpreted the Canons of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which met at Constantinople in the year 681, as having ecumenical validity: "...The good and just Agatho ... made the Sixth Council prominent and illustrious... And he kept the Creed of our pure, sincere faith... He consigned to equal condemnation those who dared to remove any of the items which had been sanctioned".¹⁰ The Patriarch, therefore, attacked the various Latin customs, such as the celibacy of clergy, fasting

on Saturdays, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist as well as the 'Filioque' addition to the Creed by appealing to those Canons.¹¹ Photius accepted the definitions of the Orthodox faith as set forth by the Councils of the Church. All Ecumenical Councils were for Photius part of the tradition which went back to the Apostles. "Even the smallest neglect of the tradition," he wrote, "lead to the complete contempt for dogma.":

"Where have you learned this (i.e., that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son)? From what Gospel is this term taken? From which Council does this blasphemy come? Our Lord and God says, 'the Spirit who proceeds from the Father' (John 15:26); but the fathers of this new impiety state: 'the Spirit who proceeds from the Son'!! Who will not close his ears against the enormity of this blasphemy? It goes against the Gospels, it is arrayed against the Holy Synods, and it contradicts the blessed and holy Fathers: Athanasius the Great, Gregory renowned in theology, the (royal) robe of the Church (who is) the great Basil, and the golden-mouth of the ecumene, that sea of wisdom truly named Chrysostom. But why should I mention this Father or that one? This blasphemous term, which militates against God, is at the same time armed against everyone: the holy Prophets, the Apostles, Bishops, Martyrs, and the voices of God himself"¹²

Photius, in his *Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Patriarchs*, stated rather emphatically that: "the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, or rather against the entire Trinity, would suffice without a second blasphemy for striking the Franks with a thousand anathemas, even if all the other charges did not exist."¹³

Dr. Aristeides Papadakis describes Photius as “faithful to the Greek patristic tradition” and adds that “his views on the ‘Filioque’ are Cappadocian in detail and inspiration.”¹⁴ Indeed, in his triadological arguments, Patriarch Photius repeated the Cappadocian teaching that the modes of existence are the properties of the hypostases, not of the divine οὐσία, and reinforced the contrast between these two levels of objective reality which Augustine of Hippo could not understand.¹⁵ In defending the Orthodox faith against heresies, Photius declared in his *Mystagogy*, that the Father is the ‘cause’ of the Holy Spirit; for the latter is produced “one out of one”; and further down “for the one gave birth, the other was born and the third proceeds beyond time and age and beyond comprehension; neither the Spirit being included in the birth of the Son, nor the Son having a share in the procession of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁶ Indeed, the Patriarch compared the Trinity to a pair of scales, in which the needle represents the Father, and the two platforms represent the Son and the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ Photius then went on to say that the Father as cause (αἰτία) is distinguished from the Son and the Holy Spirit both of whom are caused (ἀπαιτά), though in different ways, and therefore He (the Father) by no means communicates his own particular property to the other two Persons. Any attempt to say that the Son together with the Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit’s mode of existence, introduces into the Holy Trinity two causes and two principles. For Photius, this is not possible and cannot be reconciled with the divine monarchy of the Father.¹⁸ Here, the Patriarch reflected the teaching of Gregory Nazianzen who, though unable to establish any clear explanation of the distinction between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit, nevertheless regarded the distinction as essential for specifying the hypostases of the Godhead.¹⁹ Photius then continued with

a careful theological analysis and denunciation of the Latin teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

According to Photius' logic, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, the particular property of the uncaused Father "would be stripped and emptied of reason; the property which uniquely characterises him would no longer be exclusively his own and consequently two Divine Persons would be confused in one Person."²⁰ Because the Father, as Father, begets the Son and causes the Holy Spirit to proceed, any share of the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit would imply that the Son shares the hypostasis of the Father, or even stands for it, or that he is a part of the Father's hypostasis. Such a notion, however, introduces the misbelief of Son-Fatherhood (*υἱοπατρία*).²¹

Photius' main concern about the 'Filioque' clause was that the word itself is implying two principles in the Holy Trinity and inevitably he asked the question "how could any Christian admit such an erroneous teaching?" Such an admission would lower Christianity to the level of classical Greek mythology.²²: "If two causes combine themselves in the monarchical Trinity, why then, according to the same reasoning, does not a third one appear? In fact, once the principle which is above all principles is upset...this principle is divided into a dyad and it could be applied to the entire Trinity; but," argued Photius, "it is precisely the Triadological principle which has been revealed and not a Dyadic principle."²³ For Photius, therefore, "if the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, then the Spirit is the only Person of the Holy Trinity with a plural principle. If there is a procession from the Son," he asked

in one of his *Encyclical Letters*, “why then can there not be another procession from that procession?”²⁴

Photius maintained that if the substance or nature of God is the principle of procession, then not only must the Spirit proceed from himself but there should also be a procession of the Father from that nature. Photius also claimed that the Son, according to the logic of the ‘Filioque’ should be begotten by the Father and the Spirit. If God the Father is perfect then the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father must be perfect. “If the procession from the Father is perfect, what need is there of another procession?... If it is imperfect, who will tolerate such an absurd assertion?”²⁵ and again “if the procession of the Spirit from the Father is perfect, and it is, because he is a perfect God who proceeds from a perfect God, what then does the procession from the Son add? If it adds something, it is necessary to state what it adds,²⁶...this theory is absolutely of no usefulness neither for the Son, nor for anyone...there is no way he can gain from it.”²⁷

For Photius, therefore, if the procession from the Father is the same with the procession from the Son, the Son transmits the hypostatic property of the Father and dissolves his individuality. If it is different, then there is an opposition between the Father and the Son which splits the Godhead in two. Similarly, always according to Photius’ logic, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, it would appear that the Spirit is excluded from that common life from which he proceeds. In other words the ‘Filioque’ teaching implies that the Holy Spirit is further removed from the Father and therefore is relegated to an inferior rank. Furthermore, said

Photius, if the Son is a cause of the Holy Spirit, then the Father is both a direct and an indirect cause, by virtue of the fact that he is the cause of the Son as well. "The Father is a direct cause because he begets the Son directly and proceeds the Holy Spirit, and he is an indirect cause because he *causes* the Holy Spirit ^{to proceed} through the Son. But this does not happen even in the creation of the compound and changeable nature."²⁸ To Photius, this suggested that the Holy Spirit is the Father's Grandson, an erroneous conception which the Fathers from Athanasius onwards had vigorously refuted.²⁹ Photius also said that this leads to the heresy of Macedonius, putting the Holy Spirit in a state of inferiority. While the Father and the Son possess the faculty of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit, despite his equality with the nature of the Father and of the Son, is deprived of the possibility to beget the Son and to come out of himself.³⁰ "For if the Son comes from the Father by generation and the Spirit comes from the Son by procession, clearly he enters the rank of Grandson."³¹

Photius recognised that the Scriptures speak of "the Spirit of the Son" (Galatians 4:6) and of "the Spirit of Christ" (Romans 8:9; Philippians 1:19; I Peter 1:11), but he denied that these expressions have anything to do with the Spirit's origin and indeed he separated them from one another. According to Photius' understanding, the sending of the Spirit in time to the world, was not in any case related to the timeless procession of the Spirit from the Father, but to the Spirit's work in the economy of salvation. It was temporal and economic, not theological: "The Spirit...is of the same essence as the Son; he is consubstantial with him...In saying 'the Spirit of the Son,' Saint Paul affirms their complete identity of nature, but he has no intention of introducing an idea about the cause of the procession of the Spirit...he gives not

a glimpse of any idea of cause”³²; and again: “Paul...said the Spirit was sent by the Father. Say the same thing Paul said! For he is the Spirit of the Son...He did not say he proceeds from the Son...But if they think that because he is called ‘the Spirit of the Son,’ he therefore proceeds (from the Son) then they will also teach that the Father proceeds from the Son; for the Father is everywhere called (the Father) of the Son. (II Corinthians 1:3; 11:31; Ephesians 1:3, Colossians 1:3)³³

To this, Photius also added that in Scriptures the Spirit is said to be the ‘Spirit of wisdom’ (Ephesians 1:17), ‘love’ (Romans 15:30; I Timothy 1:7), ‘faith’ (II Corinthians 4:13), ‘knowledge’ (Isaiah 11:20), ‘revelation’ (Ephesians 1:17), ‘truth’ (John 14:17; 15:26; 16:13), ‘holiness’ (Romans 1:4), ‘prophesy’ (Revelation 19:10), ‘glory’ (I Peter 4:14), ‘grace’ (Hebrews 10:29) and ‘understanding’ (Isaiah 11:2); and yet he does not proceed from these.³⁴ The expression “the Spirit of the Son” is therefore for Photius nothing more than an expression of the ‘homoousion’, of the shared essence,³⁵ while the expression “the Spirit of Christ” refers to the anointing of the human nature of Jesus at his conception and baptism: “the Spirit is consubstantial with him (the Son), and because (the Spirit) anoints him, he remains on him and in him.”³⁶

By insisting that the Latin interpretation of the expression “the Spirit of the Son” is both grammatically and theologically erroneous, Patriarch Photius asserted that in orthodox trinitarian teaching the Father is “the Father of the Son not because (the Father) is born from (the Son); but because he is consubstantial with him.”³⁷

Indeed, Eastern Orthodox trinitarianism clearly states that the Father is the

un-caused cause of the Trinity, not by nature or essence but by his hypostatical character.³⁸ Procession is “personal” and not “essential”;³⁹ it belongs to the personal property of only the Father and cannot be common of the three Persons of the Trinity: “If whatever is in God is not seen in the unity and consubstantiality of the omnipotent Trinity, it clearly belongs to only one of the three Persons; and the procession of the Spirit is not (common)...It is, therefore, of only one of the three Persons.”⁴⁰

Interpreting in a completely different way from the Carolingian theologians - mainly Paulinus of Aquileia (726-802), Alcuin of York (735-804), and Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868) - the two controversial and highly ambiguous biblical quotations “He will receive what is of mine and announce it to you” (John 16:14) as well as “all that the Father has is mine” (John 16:15), Photius asserted that the Lord does not actually say “of me” but rather “of mine”; that is, of that which he received from God the Father. Photius also claimed that “to ‘receive’ does not always have the same meaning as to ‘proceed’...for it is one thing to receive and drink in one substance from another substance, and another thing to proceed as (an existing) substance and Person”.⁴¹ In this particular verse to ‘receive’ does not mean the causal derivation of the Holy Spirit’s being from the Son, but simply the proclamation of things to come.⁴² Christ’s declaration “He will receive what is mine”, implies that the Holy Spirit receives the accomplishments from God the Father, as his only cause, and he himself bestows them on the disciples of the Lord, in order to encourage them for the sufferings to come.⁴³ When the Son says “of mine” he is encouraging us to raise our spirits towards the Father,⁴⁴ and therefore the expression “He will receive what is of mine” sends us back to the Person of the Father.⁴⁵

St. Paul's statement: "God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father!'" (Galatians 4:6) does not suggest that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit's existence, but, as Photius understood it, it implies that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial and invariably of the same nature as the Son.⁴⁶

On the positive side of the two different approaches to the Trinity, Patriarch Photius actually admitted that both Father and Son participate in the mission of the Holy Spirit into the world; though he drew a very careful distinction between this and the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. (It is curious to reflect here that Gregory Nazianzen used the word 'sending' (ἐκπεμψις) as the equivalent to the word 'procession' (ἐκπόρευσις), which actually indicates that he did not make the distinction with anything like the same precision.)⁴⁷ For the Patriarch, therefore, the Greek patristic expression 'through the Son' (διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ) referred only to the 'economic' activity of the Holy Trinity; that is, the Spirit's mission in time. Photius, however, has often been criticised in the West for having given little serious thought to the patristic expression διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, because in his writings there seems to be no room for a procession 'through the Son' in the eternal, inner life of the Holy Trinity. This last point, however, is by no means clear that it comes from the patristic tradition.

Patriarch Photius concluded by making his own gloss on the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, though, of course, he never included it in the actual text. For him, the words "who proceedeth from the Father" implied from the Father alone (ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς). This point has been well expressed by Bishop Kallistos Ware:

“When Photius and others maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father ‘alone’, in their minds they distinguished clearly between the ‘eternal procession’ and the ‘temporal mission’ of the Spirit. The Nicene Creed differentiated between the ‘eternal generation’ of the Son - his birth from the Father ‘before all ages’ - and his Incarnation or birth from the Virgin Mary at a particular moment in time. A distinction then, must likewise be made between the ‘eternal procession’ of the Spirit - which is something that concerns the inner life of the Godhead and takes place outside time - and the ‘temporal mission’, the sending of the Spirit to the world, which concerns the ‘manifestation and activity of the Holy Trinity outside itself and within time.”⁴⁸

Was here Photius going beyond the patristic tradition in stating, on the basis of silence in the Johannine Gospel and in the writings of many Greek Fathers, that the Spirit’s procession was meant to be from the Father and from the Father alone? Other statements of Photius in the *Mystagogy* seem clearly to imply the same argument from silence, as for instance, his claim that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is a heretical position anathematised by Seven Ecumenical Councils.⁴⁹ Although the formula ‘from the Father alone’ was verbally novel, it was in fact, nothing more than an affirmation of the Cappadocian teaching on the Father’s monarchy.⁵⁰

“The innovation of the ‘Filioque’”, Photius also argued in his *Mystagogy*, “is not supported by the Tradition of the Church, because neither in the divine words of the Scriptures, nor in the human words of the Fathers was it verbally enunciated that the Spirit proceeds from the Son.”⁵¹ The Patriarch, of course, was fully aware of

the fact that according to the partisans of the 'Filioque' in the Latin West, certain Fathers such as Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose of Milan and Jerome taught that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. However, Photius' appreciation of the Latin Fathers and particularly of Augustine, was not in any way condemnatory.⁵² He was willing to acknowledge that Augustine, together with other early Western doctors and theologians were fully entitled to the name 'fathers'; but their authority was superseded by that of 'the fathers of the Fathers' such as Pope Leo I.⁵³ Photius also knew that the Fifth Ecumenical Council which met at Constantinople in 553 had decreed in its first session the following: "We further declare that we hold fast to the decrees of the Four Councils, and in every way follow the Holy Fathers - Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Theophilus, John Chrysostom, Cyril, *Augustine*, Proclus and Leo."⁵⁴ However, for Photius, above all he had to yield to the authority of Jesus Christ himself who had taught that "the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father." (John 15:26) The Patriarch first of all warned his readers that one must be careful in handling the texts of the Fathers: "If ten or twenty Fathers said that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, many innumerable hundreds did not."⁵⁵ According to Photius, one cannot restrict oneself to a handful of Fathers who contradict the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils. Citing various Greek Fathers including Dionysius and the writings attributed to Clement of Alexandria, Photius went on to add to them also those from the West: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Celestine, Leo the Great whom he calls 'pillar of the Fourth Ecumenical Council', Vigilius, Agatho, Gregory the Great, Hadrian I, Leo III, Benedict III, John VIII and Hadrian III no one of whom had ever taught the 'Filioque'.⁵⁶

Photius' acknowledgement of Augustine should perhaps be understood in the light of Augustine's own request in his concluding prayer of the *De Trinitate*: "O Lord, the one God, God the Trinity, whatever I have said in these books that is of Thine, may they acknowledge who are Thine; if anything of my own, may it be pardoned both by Thee and by those who are Thine."⁵⁷ "Augustine", states Dr. R. Haugh, "certainly never intended to impose his triadological understanding on the entire Church."⁵⁸

It is true, however, that Photius did not know Augustine's arguments regarding the Trinity, nor did he reflect seriously on the Western Tradition. (The Latin works translated into Greek were Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, some of Cyprian's Letters, the *Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum*, Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, extracts from the works of John Cassian, and Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*.) Up to the 9th century the sole Masters and Judges of theology in the East were the Fathers of the Fourth and Fifth centuries. Latin theology was a closed book for the Eastern Romans. The greatest and most influential of all the Latin theologians, Augustine of Hippo, was unknown to them. When the first translations of Augustinian works appeared in the Fourteenth century, it was too late for an Augustinian re-appraisal. What is also interesting at this period is the total neglect of the Fathers and theologians of the first three centuries. Origen was entirely forgotten, mainly as a result of his condemnation by the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The only authorities that Eastern theology accepted unreservedly were Athanasius the Great, the Father of Orthodoxy, the Cappadocians and above all Cyril of Alexandria.

"When Photius completed his work on the procession of the Holy Spirit, the

Mystagogy, he was in exile and did not have access to his library and secretaries. In addition to that, he may not have had access any longer to the assumed Greek translations of the Carolingian works and consequently may have been treating the entire subject from memory.”⁵⁹ In his logic he is carried along by his own arguments which are based on the age-old teaching of the Greek Fathers as well as of the Roman pontiffs,⁶⁰ in a way which could not have been recognised by his Latin contemporaries, who in any case could not read his works. However, this does not enable us to assume that Patriarch Photius was not aware of Latin theology and in particular of Latin trinitarianism. On the contrary, Photius had apparently confronted the Carolingian works or Greek summaries of them before he even started writing the *Mystagogy*, for he mentioned: “We are indeed persuaded that they (the Franks) thought of such an erroneous teaching.”⁶¹

Certainly Photius had some knowledge prior to the year 866 of the significant difference between the Franks and the Romans on the question of the Holy Spirit,⁶² and was intelligent enough to draw certain conclusions from the very idea of the Spirit’s alleged procession from the Father and the Son. In any case from Photius’ *Letter to the Patriarch of Aquileia* and from his *Mystagogy* it is clear that he knew quite well the arguments which the Carolingian theologians used to support the ‘Filioque’ teaching and its interpolation in the Ecumenical Creed.

II. 3. The Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (879-880).

A significant event which requires our attention before we pass on to the time

after Patriarch Photius is the Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 879-880, which took place in the second period of Photius' patriarchate (877-886). Dr. Francis Dvornik comments that "the Photian Council of 879-880 was clearly meant to be ecumenical, and for a Council to be ecumenical, it had to rule on matters of doctrine. The positive achievements of the Council was the repudiation of every heresy and the preservation of the faith in all its purity."⁶³

The sixth session of the Council of 879-880 which was attended by Patriarch Photius himself, the papal legates Paul, Eugenius and Cardinal Peter, as well as by eighteen Archbishops and Metropolitans at the Imperial Palace of Blachernae in Constantinople, bears an enormous significance on the Triadological controversy between the two parties.⁶⁴

From Photius' *Letter to the Patriarch of Aquileia*, sent to the latter in 880, immediately after the Eighth Ecumenical Synod,⁶⁵ and from his *Mystagogy*,⁶⁶ we understand that the papal legates signed an important statement which prohibited any kind of alteration to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed: "...This we think and teach - that we accept with both heart and mouth the Creed of Faith which was transmitted from of Old by the Fathers up to this very time. And we all proclaim with a loud voice that this Creed cannot be subtracted from, added to, altered or distorted in any way..."⁶⁷ In addition to that, Dr. Meijer observes, at this point, that the 'horos of reunion', by denouncing all changes and additions to the Creed, implicitly condemned the 'Filioque'; but it is striking that the theological content of the clause, so important to Patriarch Photius in the year 867, was not even discussed

twelve years later. Indeed, "nowhere was the doctrine of the 'Filioque' questioned and therefore the only objection was to the addition of the formula to the Symbol of faith. However, it is well known that the Roman Church in those days still recited the Symbol without the addition."⁶⁸

We cannot also be sure about the authenticity of a letter from Pope John VIII (872-88) to Patriarch Photius, assuring him that the Symbol had always been recited in Rome without any addition or subtraction and that it did not contain the 'article' which had caused so many scandals in the Church.⁶⁹

At any rate, if the epistle is genuine, the Pope observed that it is not easy to persuade the Bishops of the Latin patriarchate of Rome to abandon a practice which was in fact a recent one and therefore asked for cautious and determined procedure in trying to suppress the usage: "...But, I think your wise Holiness (Photius) well knows how difficult it is to change immediately a custom which has been entrenched for so many years. Therefore, we believe the best policy is not to force anyone to abandon that addition to the Creed; but rather we must act with wisdom and moderation, urging them little by little to give up that blasphemy."⁷⁰ "On the other hand, the Latin party, in order to show its contempt for John's VIII moderation on such an important issue, caricatured him in the fable of the female Pope!"⁷¹

Photius' work has been regarded as a thorough study of the subject in question (Filioque) and has always served as the starting point of Eastern Orthodox arguments against the 'Filioque' addition to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Many of the

arguments that are still read in contemporary Orthodox theology are traceable to Photius's *Mystagogy* and *Encyclical Letter* to his Eastern patriarchal colleagues of A.D. 866, where he stated that the 'Filioque' destroys the monarchy of the Father and relativises the reality of the personal or hypostatic existence of the Holy Trinity.⁷² According to Photius, the 'Filioque' was the 'crown of evils', product of a poorly educated West.

The West, on the other side, has long needed a rehabilitation of Patriarch Photius as a theologian and prelate. R.C. Heath asserts that "Photius did not cause a schism in the Church and that the East should no longer be accused in our text books by the use of the term Eastern Schism."⁷³ Much of what is attributed to Photius's motives and intentions are mainly products of polemical Western writings.⁷⁴ However, this much-needed rehabilitation and re-consideration of Photius's theology does not require of us to hold that he understood Augustine, the Augustinian tradition, and the pastoral problems of the Frankish Church. Dr. Dvornik rightly points out that Photius was ultimately concerned with the purity of the Faith.⁷⁵ If the faith was preserved, all other disputes were secondary and could be resolved in the unity and truth of Christ. It is clear from what we have already said that Photius was consistent with the treatment of the 'Filioque' issue, in as much as he based his arguments on the apostolic tradition and the accredited Fathers and confirmed it by means of an Ecumenical Council which was accepted by East and West alike.

II. 4. Photius' legacy and Nicetas of Byzantium.

After the death of Patriarch Photius in A.D. 886 his arguments in defense of the Spirit's procession from the Father alone were taken up by his followers. However, it is interesting to note here that none of the historians of the tenth century saw in Photius the main author of the schism or the Eastern champion of the Church against papal authority. The historians did not even credit Photius with championing the orthodox faith on the 'Filioque' controversy against the 'heretical' Latin teaching. One would also expect Photius to grow in popularity in the Greek theological literature of the eleventh century, mainly after the schism of Patriarch Michael Cerularius (1043-1059) with the Roman Church; but here again we are disappointed. One of the first anti-Latin controversialists after the schism of 1054, the Metropolitan of Bulgaria Leo, broke off the controversy on the 'Filioque' started by Photius, to confine himself to the discussion on the 'Azymes' (the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist). Nowhere did he quote Photius in his writings,⁷⁶ and when he attacked the Frankish Bishop of Ochrid, never once appealed to Patriarch Photius as the patron and leader against Latin practises.⁷⁷ It is also important to mention here, that although Patriarch Michael Cerularius borrowed a lot from Photius' writings, he nowhere credited him with taking the lead in the anti-Latin campaign over the 'Filioque' addition. Nor is any mention of Photius to be found in the correspondence between Michael Cerularius and Peter of Antioch.⁷⁸ This does not, of course, enable us to assume that Photius's arguments were quickly forgotten after his death.

The Eastern Roman Emperor Leo VI, also called the Wise, (886-912) whose

brother Stephen I (886-893) succeeded Photius in the patriarchate of Constantinople, seemed to have looked at the catholic doctrine "Ego sum Verbum de Patre, ex quibus Spiritus Sanctus procedit", (I am the Word of the Father from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds)⁷⁹ in the *Letter to Omarus*, King of the Saracens. This, however, is not established with any complete certitude but it is definitely certain that he eloquently defended the opinion of Photius in a certain homily about the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ (The reason for doubting is that the letter of Leo is known to us only from a Latin version by Symphorianus Champerius. The original text runs as follows: "Concerning the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds").

Here are the words in which the proposition of Photius concerning the mystery of the Trinity is set out quite clearly. "The Father is like the origin and the root; in contrast the Son and the Holy Spirit are like some branches sprouting forever."⁸¹ We obviously have here a viewpoint of Photius which is reminiscent of the great fourth century Fathers of the Church and also of Irenaeus.

We find the same logic expressed in a more diffuse style and cloaked in a new form in another disciple of Photius, Nicetas of Byzantium, also called 'the philosopher' whose twenty-four syllogistic principles Cardinal Hergenröther edited in his *Greek Annals Pertaining to Photius and His History*.⁸² (Cardinal Hergenrother believed that Nicetas was a contemporary of Photius who wrote sometime between 842-886.)⁸³

Nicetas, like Photius, did not attribute to all Westerners, but only to some the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁴ Like his master, Nicetas treated

this doctrine as impiety, a profane act and blasphemy. Likewise, he appropriated the expression 'to go forth' to indicate the procession in descent, and treated it as identical with such expressions as to 'send forward' (προϊέναι)⁸⁵; to 'shine forth' (ἐκλάμπειν)⁸⁶; and to 'put forward' (προβάλλεσθαι).⁸⁷

Nicetas used the traditional Cappadocian teaching to describe the relation between the divine persons of the Trinity: "the Son and the Holy Spirit come from God the Father, the former by generation, the latter by procession according to the nature from the substance of the Father without time and eternally, just as if they arose together as 'twins' from God."⁸⁸

It is important to stress at this point that whereas Photius scarcely alluded to the patristic formula "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son", Nicetas openly appreciated it. According to his understanding, the expression 'through the Son' refers merely to the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit: "The Holy Spirit has everything which the Father and the Son have, except for not being able to be born and generated; He proceeds from the Father but He is communicated through the Son and is received from every creature...For in the same way the sun is the origin and cause of its ray and its light, but through the ray the light is communicated to us, and it is that very thing which illuminates us and is possessed in participation by us: So God the Father is the source and cause of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, whilst the Spirit proceeding from the Father is given and manifested through the Son."⁸⁹ Nicetas, however, seemed to remain silent concerning certain passages of the Fathers, which draw attention to the mediation of the Son in the procession of the

Spirit. For in one particular chapter, that is the last one of Hergenröther's *Greek Annals Pertaining to Photius and His History*, Nicetas included a description of the doctrine of Photius from the sacred Scriptures and Tradition in a manner which is typical of Photius:

“Everyone who wishes to feel pious, whenever they are about to utter something concerning divine dogmas; whether they possess strength from divine and sacred eloquence; whether they take courage from holy people gathered together in assembly, according to the will of God; whether they establish the law, as it were, from the inviolable Fathers and those things which are contained in their writings; whether they obtain security from the common notions concerning God; or whether they make firm from the unwritten and mystical tradition of the Church, which has been handed down to us by those who saw and were instruments of speech, and, to be brief, from those things which the Church of God by thinking correctly throughout the whole world supports the firmness of the true opinion; from these very things they set up a proper idea. But whoever tries to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father has the firmness and security of the proper opinion from none of these points. But actually more worthy by far than all these things is the Son of God the Father himself and the Word, who knows everything which is of the Father, and everything which is of the Spirit; who...in promising to his disciples the advent of the Holy Spirit said: ‘And I will send to you another Helper, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father.’ (John 15:26) He did not say ‘who proceeds from the Father and out of me, the Son.’ Therefore, since it is not said like that, but only ‘who proceeds from the Father’ and there is not added to our Lords

speech: 'out of the Son himself', the dogma of the Holy Spirit's procession is clear and beyond any doubt."⁹⁰

Around the end of the tenth century, at the time of the Patriarchs Sisinnius II (996-998), and Sergius II (999-1019), the controversy concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit once again seemed to have been revived. For they say that Sissinius, or rather Sergius, springing as he did from the family of Photius, published anew the *Encyclical Letter* of the deceased Patriarch to the Archepiscopal Seats of the East.⁹¹ From this point onwards scholars seem to agree that, as the eleventh century began, Photius interpretation of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit spread all around amongst the Eastern Roman theologians and was accepted as the official expression of orthodoxy on the subject.

CHAPTER III: THE FILIOQUE CONTROVERSY
DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES
TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRANKS (1204)

III. 1. Michael Cerularius and the schism of 1054.

In spite of the difference over the still unofficial addition of the word 'Filioque' to the Latin text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, which, as already discussed, the East had denounced through the writings of Patriarch Photius in the ninth century; there was in the early eleventh century no clear feeling that the unity of Christendom had been broken, nor any strong desire from either East or West for schism.

✕ The prevailing sense of unity was later on to be broken and thus cause tremendous conflict between the two Great Churches, as it came to be discovered, that during ✕ the ^rintev[^]ening [^]centuries both Eastern and Western Romans had developed divergent customs and theories of worship and doctrine. Sir Steven Runciman comments that "when a schism concerns a single church, we can fix with some precision the moment when it began. When it concerns the greatest Churches of the time, it is less easy to ✕ say when the absolute breach occurred^r_^."1

Nicetas of Byzantium, informs us that a long list of Latin errors was already available at Constantinople in the second half of the ninth century;² and yet Photius himself had taken the lead in a reconciliation with Rome. Photius' defenders maintain

that on the one capital point, the 'Filioque' addition, the Patriarch had received from his Roman colleague, a repudiation of any alteration to the Apostolic Creed;³ but that after his time some later Pope had included the 'Filioque' in his confession of faith sent to his fellow Patriarchs in the East and for this reason his name had been taken out of the diptychs of Constantinople. (The lists of names of living and departed Christians for whom prayer was made in the Greek and Latin Eucharistic Liturgies.)⁴ This theory, however, does not seem very convincing since at the time of Patriarch Michael Cerularius (1043-1059) the Pope of Rome was certainly commemorated in the intercessions of the liturgy at Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. (Cerularius complained to Peter of Antioch that the See of Alexandria still commemorated the Pope in the liturgy.)⁵ If the Pope had sent a 'profession of faith' containing the 'Filioque' addition to his fellow Eastern Patriarchs, the Apostolic Sees of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem would have joined Constantinople in excluding the papal name from the diptychs.

According to reports,⁶ in Constantinople no such commemoration had been made since the pontifical rule of John XVIII, (1003-1009). There is a tradition that the Ecumenical Patriarch Sergius II (999-1019), after the temporary recognition of John XVIII, struck the Pope's name out of the Constantinopolitan diptychs, but no credence should be given to the suggestion that Pope Sergius IV (1009-1012) was himself responsible for this by sending to Constantinople, along with the announcement of his election, a profession of faith containing the 'Filioque' clause.⁷ In what may be the earliest notice of this; Nicetas, the Great Chartophylax of Nicaea, tells us that the reason was not known: "...But under Sergius, who ruled at the time of the Bul-

garoctonos (976-1025), we are told that there arose a schism - for what reason I do not know, but the quarrel was apparently over some Sees..." (Probably the dioceses of Apulia and Calabria in Southern Italy which had been assigned to the patriarchate of Constantinople.)⁸

As it happened, no Pope was ever mentioned in the diptychs again. However, the significance of this should not be exaggerated. The poor communications between Constantinople, Rome and the three Eastern Patriarchates did not help the five Patriarchs to keep in regular touch with occurring events.

In the mean-time in February 1014, Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) crowned the German King Henry II (1002-1024) Emperor of the Roman Empire in St. Peter's Cathedral as a result of his attempts to restore relations with the German royal house. At a synod following the coronation, the Pope yielded to Henry's request that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, with the addition of the 'Filioque' clause, should be sung at mass, a northern practice previously not officially accepted in Rome.

In 1043, Michael Cerularius succeeded Alexius Studites (1025-1043) in the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople.

Michael was a retired civil servant and not very well versed in theology and church history. If Michael Pselus is to be believed, "Cerularius hardly ever perceived the difference which exists between nature and person."⁹ Sir Steven Runciman describes him as "arrogant and very ambitious both for himself and for his See."¹⁰ When

Cerularius discovered that the Normans (with the backing of Rome) were forbidding Greek usages in the churches of Southern Italy, which were under Constantinople, he ordered that all the Latin speaking churches throughout his jurisdiction should conform to orthodox customs in the matters under dispute. (The most important of these divergences of practice concerned the 'azyma', the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, instead of leavened, which was the traditional practice.) It hardly needs to be said at this point that the Latin speaking Romans of Constantinople did not sing the 'Filioque' addition to the Creed and that is why there is little mention of the subject in the controversial literature of the eleventh century.

Looking for a moment at the Latin West of that time, we notice that the introduction of a 'German papacy' in the Vatican, beginning with Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), brought with it a group of eager ecclesiastical reformers such as Stephen of Lorraine and Humbert of Silva Candida. Both clergy held exalted views of papal authority and were largely unfamiliar with the common ecclesiastical policy and traditions of the Catholic Church in East and West. On Leo's behalf, Cardinal Humbert prepared a ferocious riposte arguing the case for the Roman primacy with extensive quotations from the (forged) Donation of Constantine.

If Patriarch Michael Cerularius is to be blamed for what happened in Constantinople in 1054, equal if not greater blame should be laid on Cardinal Humbert, whom Steven Runciman describes as "hot-tempered, truculent and disliking the Greeks".¹¹

In spite of the mutual atmosphere of distrust between the prelates of the two

Churches, the Ecumenical Patriarch dispatched to the Pope of Rome, at the request of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055), a letter offering to re-establish communion with Rome. The Pope replied positively, but the papal legates - headed by the haughty Cardinal Humbert - who came to Constantinople to discuss matters of dispute, attacked certain Greek practices, such as the marriage of the lower clergy and the absence of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son (Filioque), in the original Greek text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

Michael refused to recognise Humbert's legative authority when he found out that the papal letters had been resealed and that the Pope himself was imprisoned by the Normans near Civitate. On 19 April 1054, a few days after the legates arrival at Constantinople, Pope Leo IX died. Under no circumstances could legates represent a dead Pope. Leo's successor, Victor II (1055-1057) arrived at the Vatican on 13 April 1055. (Nearly a year after Leo's death.) He immediately disapproved of Leo's desire for an alliance with the East and declared that he had never been consulted about his recent policy.

In the meantime, Humbert at Constantinople had already laid on the altar of the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Hagia Sophia, a bull, excommunicating the Patriarch and his followers:

"May Michael, false neophyte patriarch...known notoriously to many because of his extremely wicked crimes...and all his followers...be anathematised...together with the Simoniacs, Valesians, Arians, Donatists, Nicolaites, Severians, Pneumatomachi-

ans, (enemies of the Holy Spirit) or Theoumachians (who have deleted from the Creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son), and Nazarines, and with all heretics, indeed with the devil and his angels...Amen, Amen, Amen."¹²

It should be noted here that the text of the bull actually praised the 'orthodoxy' of the 'Emperor and his people' and excommunicated only the Patriarch and his followers: "...For with respect to the pillars of the empire and its wise and honoured citizens, the City is most Christian and orthodox."¹³ Obviously, the legates had no intention to excommunicate the entire Eastern Church, nor had they the power to excommunicate anyone, since the Pope was dead.

The Patriarch and his Holy Synod, in an act of equal retaliation, refused to recognise the credentials of the legates and excommunicated them as impostors, but in their synodal edict,¹⁴ they showed restraint and limited their own anathemas on three main points: (1) the Latin custom of shaving! (2) the recent Latin attacks on the marriage of the lower Eastern clergy and, (3) the addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Creed:

"The Latins do not wish to comprehend and insist that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son, although they have no evidence from the Evangelists (the Gospels) nor from the Ecumenical Councils for this blasphemy against the holy doctrine. For the Lord our God speaks of 'the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father' (John 15:26), but the fathers of this new impiety speak of 'the Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son'. But if the Holy Spirit

proceeds from the Father, then this property of his is affirmed. And if the Son is generated from the Father, then this property of the Son is likewise affirmed. But if, as they foolishly maintain, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, then the Spirit who proceeds from the Father has more properties than even the Son. For the origin from the Father himself is common to both the Spirit and the Son. As to the procession of the Spirit from the Father, this is a property belonging alone to the Spirit, but the Holy Spirit does not also proceed from the Son. But if the Spirit has more properties than the Son, then the Son would be closer to the essence of the Father than the Spirit. And thus there would appear again on the scene the drama of the heresy of Macedonius against the Holy Spirit. And apart from what has been said, 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. But the procession of the Holy Spirit is not common to the three. Thus it is only the property of one of the three.”¹⁵

The main difference between the Eastern and the Western Romans at this point was that the former seemed to be more united in their three main objections, whereas the latter might be assumed to be divided. In certain parts of the Western Church married clergy were common and beards not unknown. Besides, no assembly of an Ecumenical Council had ratified the addition of the ‘Filioque’ clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

Soon after the Latin legates’ departure from Constantinople, a pamphlet was published there entitled *Against the Franks*.¹⁶ It was a condemning piece of work which cited twenty-eight Latin malpractices - including the ‘Filioque’, of course - some of

which were authentic but others rather exaggerated. More important, however, were Cerularius' efforts to secure the support of his Eastern Patriarchal colleagues. In order to achieve that he sent a brief account of the legates' visit to Peter II, Patriarch of Antioch (1028-1051?).¹⁷ His main objection was against the use of the 'Filioque' clause, which he regarded as "wicked and dangerous".¹⁸

"Although the Symbol of the sacred faith made up from the evangelical words, clearly expresses on the subject of the Holy Spirit: And in the Holy Spirit, Lord, vivifying, who proceeds from the Father, these people (Latins) have wrongly and dangerously added and from the Son. For I think that these people, because of the narrowness of their language thought that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, and the sending to us of the same through the Son were identical; and they considered barbarously and ignorantly that nothing distinguishes the sending from the procession."¹⁹

III. 2. Peter of Antioch, John of Kiev and Michael Psellus.

Peter of Antioch sought to mediate between the Eastern and the Western positions on many of the controversial practices and customs. He wrote to Michael at Constantinople: "...The Latins are our brothers, and it is only ignorance that makes them deviate. We must not demand from them the same scrupulous exactitude that we demand from our own highly educated circles...It should be enough that they confess the Mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation."²⁰ Peter went as far as suggesting that the Latins might have lost the copies of the acts of the earlier Councils:

"...But, so it seems, the Latins have lost the copies of the first Nicene Synod, on account of the Vandal people holding the dominion of Rome for a long time; from whom perhaps they also learned to act in the manner of the Arians, and to celebrate baptism through one immersion, if this is true, just as you have indicated. For us, the complete Symbol of divine grace suffices through wisdom and safety to the perfect recognition and confirmation of piety. For it transmits the doctrine concerning the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and it explains the incarnation of the Lord to those who receive with Faith."²¹

Martino Jugie, who interprets the 'Filioque' issue from a strict Thomistic viewpoint, comments that Peter of Antioch "cannot be said to be properly a follower of Photius, but rather an agnostic as regards to the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit."²² This view, however, is not only completely unfounded, but also stands in direct contradiction to the explicit statement of Peter himself. When the Patriarch was faced with the 'Filioque' problem, he, like Cerularius, had to identify it as "a wicked thing, and among the wicked things the most wicked": "Indeed it is an evil, and the worst of evils, the addition to the sacred Symbol, when they (Latins) say: 'And in the Holy Spirit, Lord and vivifying who proceeds from the Father and the Son.' For if the Gospels are the same amongst us and the Latins, from where do they learn anything more, and so make such a strange addition?"²³ Other matters were to be treated with understanding and even to be handled by compromise, but on the 'Filioque' dispute, "the East", according to Peter, "must be adamant".²⁴

It is true, however, that Peter's strong desire for the restoration of peace between

the two Churches went as far as to omit any reference to the 'Filioque' in his Epistles to Pope Leo IX. There, he stretched the traditional Church teaching, namely, that: "...although the Son and the Spirit, as well as the Father, were without beginning, they do nevertheless have a single cause within the Godhead, namely, the Father, who had no cause distinct from himself".²⁵ This was what it was meant by the enigmatic statement of Jesus Christ in the Gospel according to Saint John 14:28: "I go away, and I will come to you, if you loved me, you would have rejoiced, because I go to the Father; for the Father is greater than I"; that is, according to Peter, as cause within the Godhead.²⁶

We know very little of the attitude of the other Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs - apart from Peter of Antioch - who seemed to have taken no steps against the Latins at that time, as far as the 'Filioque' addition is concerned. In both Alexandria and Jerusalem, the name of the Pope was still commemorated till the middle of the eleventh century.

After the time of Patriarch Photius (886), Eastern Orthodox trinitarian theology continued to begin with Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to formulate the relation between them in such a way as to assure their unity. This way was the identification of the Father as the source (*πηγή*), the principle (*ἀρχή*) and the cause (*αἰτία*) within the Trinity. The Trinity was, therefore, a unity only if both the Son and the Holy Spirit are led forth from one cause, the Father. The Eastern tradition generally remained close to the language of the New Testament, especially John's Gospel. The word 'procession' (*ἐκπόρευσις*) was firmly rooted in Jesus' statement at the Last Supper,

that the Paraclete "proceeds from the Father". (John 15:26) Any other interpretation, as Photius had already emphasised, was a "blasphemy",²⁷ and a "resurgence of the godlessness of polytheism...in the guise of Christianity".²⁸

So fundamental was the heresy of the 'Filioque' to the Eastern brief of argument against the West that even in the Russian treatises against the Latins, which were mainly preoccupied with differences of custom and observance, this particular dogmatic difference played an extremely important role. John II, who became Metropolitan of Kiev in 1080-1089 with the support of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Cosmas I, (The Russian Orthodox Church of that time was under the direct jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople) in his friendly and sincere letter to Guibert of Ravenna, dated 1085, expressed his deep sorrow that the Holy See had diverged from the faith of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, which in the past Rome had been first to maintain, and he inevitably made reference to the 'Filioque' addition to the Creed.²⁹ John's arguments against the theology of the 'Filioque' were based on Photius' triadological principles.

Michael Psellus (1018-1106) was another outstanding name in the East of the eleventh century. Archimandrite Andronicus Demetrakopoulos describes him as "a most wise and eloquent philosopher, theologian, historian, mathematician, preacher and doctor".³⁰ Psellus appeared to be influenced by Photius' arguments, for in the *Tractate to Michael Ducas*, he borrowed the following judicious formula belonging to Photius in the exposition of the faith: "The Holy Spirit is proceeding in fact from the Father, but communicated through the Son."³¹ Finally, in *The Funeral Eulogy of*

Michael Cerularius, Psellus went as far as to say that the doctrine of the Latins is the greatest impiety, on equal level with the heresy of Arius and Eunomius, as well as the most serious doctrinal difference existing between the two Churches.³²

The last person to consider in the Orthodox East of the eleventh century is Theophylactus, Archbishop of Ochrid and head of the Bulgarian Church. Theophylactus - a Greek from the island of Euboea, who had been the favourite pupil of Michael Psellus at the Patriarchal University in Constantinople - like Peter of Antioch, did not regard the different Latin usages as serious causes for a schism between the two Churches.

According to his opinion, the 'Filioque' addition was a point of dispute, which, if care was not taken, might lead to schism.³³ Theophylactus believed that it was wrong and dangerous for the Latins, on their own authority to have made an addition to a Creed that had been published by the Ecumenical Councils of the one undivided Church as the common Symbol of faith for all believers alike. Such an addition was bound to cause divisions.

Theophylactus probably went a little far by attributing much of the trouble to the poverty of the Latin language in theological terms and particularly in matters of doctrine: "...Because of this, the Latins suppose that proceeding (*ἐκπορεύεσθαι*) is identical with being imparted (*χορηγεῖσθαι*) and with being conferred (*μεταδίδοσθαι*), because the Spirit is discovered to have been sent and imparted and conferred from the Son.³⁴ Theophylactus said that the Latin word 'procedere' is the only word that

the Latins have for the four Greek words 'ἐκπορεύεσθαι', 'χεῖσθαι', 'διαδίδοσθαι,' and 'προβάλλειν'. The Primate of the Bulgarian Church saw that the Latin language lacked a sufficient distinction of terms to express the fundamental difference between a relation of origin, a source of supply, and a gift. He did not believe that the Latins intended to maintain that the Father and the Son were both the origin and cause of the Holy Spirit in the same sense, "but if procession means no more than that Father and Son supply the gift of the Spirit, the Spirit must either be without any source or principle of origin, or have some other source than the Father, in some principle that is and is not Father, Son and Holy Spirit".³⁵ Theophylactus gave the traditional orthodox patristic view on the subject when he compared the Father to the sun, the Son to the rays of the sun and the Spirit to the light or heat given by the sun. He wrote: "We can talk of the light of the rays, but the sun remains the principle".³⁶

Here Theophylactus, being in fear, put his finger on a tendency in Latin theology to make all three Persons manifestations of a divine essence in some sense other than themselves. It has been justly said of Augustine of Hippo that "his trinitarianism did not start with the Father as the source of the other two Persons, but with the idea of the one simple Godhead which in its essence is Trinity".³⁷ This is certainly true of the last book of the *Confessions* and of some of the most characteristic strands of thought in the second part of the *De Trinitate*, where Augustine looked for an image of the Trinity in the complexity of a single human being and especially in what has come to be called the psychological analogy. Theophylactus' fears were fully justified, since, from a careful examination of the Latin interpretations in favour of the 'Filioque' doctrine, we notice that many Latin ecclesiastical authors, after the

time of Augustine, spoke of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, in the same terms as his being sent from the Father and the Son.³⁸

Pope Gregory I (540-604) for instance, had already said that "the Spirit's being sent (Lat. *missio*) is the very procession by which he proceeds from the Father and the Son".³⁹ These words were often quoted by later Latin theologians in support of the doctrine of the 'Filioque'. In addition to that, Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868), made a point of insisting that "the sending of the Spirit in John 15:27 (which the Eastern Orthodox Church understood to be economic), "and the proceeding in the same passage" (which the Greek East understood to be theological), "were identical".⁴⁰

Theophylactus never went as far as to accuse the Latins of heresy on the ground of adding to the Ecumenical Creed. If the Latins chose to insert the clause for their own exegetic purposes, there was no harm in it, as long as they remembered that the word did not occur in the original text. In other words, as far as the Latins were not unorthodox in their beliefs, charity and economy on terminological differences, could be adopted by the East.

III. 4. East and West at the close of the eleventh century.

It appears that at the close of the eleventh century neither at Rome nor at Constantinople, did responsible circles fully believe that a deep irredeemable schism had been established between the Greek East and the Latin West. Thus, some scholars, such as J. Gay,⁴¹ A. Michel,⁴² and M. Jugie,⁴³ have argued that it is no longer possible to believe that the definite split between Rome and Constantinople took place in 1054 during the Patriarchate of Michael Cerularius.

In the year 1089, Pope Urban II (1088-1099) sent an embassy to the Roman Emperor in Constantinople, Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118), asking him to reopen the Latin churches in his dominions and making, therefore, the first step towards a reconciliation between the papacy and the Constantinopolitan court. The reply, at the request of the Emperor, was given by Patriarch Nicholas III Kyrdiniates (1084-1111), who wrote a friendly letter to Urban promising that the Pope's name would be inscribed in the Patriarchal diptychs of Constantinople, if only the Pope could send a 'Systatic Letter' to his fellow Patriarchs in the East. Urban tactfully avoided sending a statement of his faith, probably because he did not wish to raise the question of the 'Filioque'. This was obviously the reason that his name was never added to the diptychs. (Traditional procedure demanded that a declaration of faith should be sent before a Patriarch's name, including a Pope's, could be inserted in the diptychs, and thus unless Urban omitted the 'Filioque' in his recital to the Creed, his declaration would never be accepted in the East.)

In May 1089, the Holy Patriarchal Synod in Constantinople, answered an Imperial enquiry: "Not by a synodical judgement and examination was the Roman Church erased from communion with ours, but as it seems, through our want of watchful care (*ἀσυντηρηήτως*), the Pope's name was not commemorated in the holy diptychs."⁴⁴ At any rate, during the next decade, there was an atmosphere of peace and friendship between the two Churches. The feeling of distrust and suspicion came only slowly, and was to a large measure, the result of the actions of the Crusaders, who as early as 1100, set up Latin Bishops in Antioch and Jerusalem, to rival their Greek counterparts. The 'Filioque' clause, as it happens re-emerged at about the same time.

It was at the Council of Bari on 3rd October 1098, where Pope Urban II sought to reach an accommodation of doctrine and practice with the Greek Bishops of Southern Italy. The Acts of the Council of Bari are lost; but we know that the Council was attended by 185 Bishops, and chief among them was Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109). Anselm defended the 'Filioque' and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist to the satisfaction of the Council.⁴⁵ His arguments are contained in his *De Processione Spiritus Sancti Contra Graecos*.⁴⁶ The Bishops, many of whom must have been Italo-Greeks, under strong Norman pressure, admitted the papal jurisdiction and accepted the truth of the doctrine of the double procession. (Bari was the last city in Apulia to be held by the Eastern Roman Empire, and had been taken by the Normans in 1071.) Bari, however, was scarcely a free Council and had little, if not at all, permanent effect in the relationship between the two Churches.

Rome never quite understood the situation in Constantinople. The Pope thought

that the Emperor dictated to the Church and was inclined to assume that the Orthodox hierarchy would, therefore, obey any Imperial order; but in fact, any of the Emperor's Caesaropapist tendencies were not treated lightly. No Emperor in the East could risk to go against public opinion, nor could he treat with contempt the accepted Church laws and traditions. On the contrary, the backbone of the opposition to the papacy in Constantinople, was not the State but the Church, and of the Church not so much the Patriarch and his Metropolitans, as the monks and the common people who looked on the monks as enlightened ascetics and spiritual guides. Patriarchs and Bishops were too near the crown to be able always to resist an emperor's will and it was often that they tried, prompted by the monks, a very numerous body, and often vagrant, and the common people who were lost in the anonymity of the protesting mass.

III. 5. Peter Chrysolan's debate with the Eastern Romans.

In the East of the twelfth century, there were many notable debates between the Latins and the Greeks on theological issues, and prominent among them was the 'Filioque' clause. At the end of 1113 or early 1114, the displaced Archbishop of Milan, Peter Chrysolan (Grossolanus), was passing through Constantinople - he was possibly an unofficial member of an embassy from the Pope,⁴⁷ and was invited to discuss with Eastern Orthodox theologians, in the presence of the Emperor Alexius I, the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁸

Alexius I, always alive to theological problems, hoped that the long dispute over

the procession of the Holy Spirit between Rome and Constantinople could be easily settled by a fair debate which would include theologians from both sides. "He, therefore, pressurised seven Orthodox theologians into drawing up a collective reply in which justice would be done to the Greek point of view."⁴⁹ However, the contrary was true; for neither side was willing to admit defeat over trinitarian issues but instead, assembled more and more arguments to confuse its opponents.

In the course of the 'Filioque' discussion, Metropolitan Eustratios of Nicaea quoted the Councils, but always in general terms, without referring to them by name. Euthymios Zygabenos, a monk from the nearby monastery of Perivleptos, who possibly also took part in the debate, was to show that the arguments of Patriarch Photius were not forgotten by the contemporary Greek theologians. In fact, Zygabenos embodied Photius' treatise on 'the Procession of the Holy Spirit' in his *Panoplia Dogmatica* and added, at the end of his work, a fragment of Photius' letter to Boris, King of Bulgaria, with the Patriarch's essay on the universal authority and divine inspiration of the Ecumenical Councils.⁵⁰

After the debate a number of conservative Greek writers took up their pens to answer Chrysolan. The official exponents of the Greek Church's view - apart from Eustratios of Nicaea - was the Abbot Ioannes Phournes, first of the house of Mount Ganos in Thrace, who published the main arguments which the Eastern Romans used in their debate with the Archbishop of Milan.⁵¹ The arguments were also supported by treatises written by Nicetas Seides from Iconium, the monk Ioannes Zonaras, first secretary of the Emperor Alexius I and the philosopher, theologian, historian and

poet Theodore Prodromus (later known as the monk Ilarion).

Sir Steven Runciman comments that "the Latin argument on the 'Filioque' seems at first sight to be clearer and more convincing than the Greek; but the Latin conception of the Trinity is less subtle and delicately balanced, and Chrysolan's careful arguments are irrelevant to his opponents' fundamental attitude".⁵² The Greeks, though they might have been willing to show tolerance over purely theological points and liturgical practices, they could not accept a doctrinal conception, alien to the traditional understanding of scripture and patristic evidence; nor could they forgive or even disregard an addition to the Apostolic Creed, which they considered a direct challenge to the authority of the Ecumenical Councils. Inevitably therefore, the essential issue for the Greeks was again the question of authority.

Emperor Alexius Comnenus wanted to avoid any kind of tension between the Churches of East and West. When his favourite theologian, Euthymius Zygabenus published his *Panoplia Dogmatica* - which was intended as an official Eastern Orthodox statement on heresies - it is surprising that he said very little against the Latins when dealing with the 'Filioque' clause. Though the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit is discussed at some considerable length,⁵³ the only section which deals with the 'Filioque' itself is a transcription of the treatise that Patriarch Photius had already written on the subject. Sir Steven Runciman concludes that "it is difficult to believe that Zygabenus, who was a profound and eager theologian, would not have written his own argument on that matter if he had wished to raise it at all".⁵⁴

III. 6. Anselm of Havelberg and Nicetas of Nicomedia.

In the year 1135, the ambassador of the Western Roman Emperor Lothair III, Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, arrived at Constantinople to discuss the possibility of common action by the two empires against King Roger II of Sicily. Anselm was warmly received at the Imperial Court and politically his mission went well. During his visit to Constantinople, Anselm was offered an opportunity to take part in a theological debate before the presence of the Eastern Emperor Ioannes Comnenus (1118-1143), on issues which separated the Eastern from the Western Churches. His opponent was Nicetas Archbishop of Nicomedia, one of the twelve professors of the Patriarchal University whom Hugo Eterianus described as a 'follower of Photius'.⁵⁵ We cannot be sure what really transpired, but Anselm's account, written for home consumption is clear: The aim was to defeat Nicetas in debate, and to convert as many Greeks as possible to the Latin faith.⁵⁶

Anselm relates that at first Nicetas presented the usual arguments of the Eastern Church theologians against the Latins, but that afterwards he was willing to work for a "compromised" solution. Nicetas used the patristic formula of the Greek Fathers, according to which the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, to interpret in an Orthodox way the doctrine of Augustine of Hippo, who said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but principally from the Father. In his own words:

"The Father is from none; the Son is from the Father alone; the Holy Spirit is

from both, but he is from the Father in principle, because the Father is from none. He is not from the Son in principle, because the Son is not from none, but from the Father, and receives from the Father the right to have the Holy Spirit from himself. I therefore concede that the Holy Spirit, properly speaking, proceeds from the Father, who is from none. He does not proceed, properly speaking from the Son, because the Son himself is from the Father, and this is what the Greek scholars were concerned to distinguish. ...Furthermore, the words 'the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son' have never been used in the Greek Church, nor can they be suddenly introduced in order not to give offence to the people or cause the less careful to stumble. Rather a general council of the Western and Eastern Churches under the authority of the Roman Pontiff and the Emperors, should be held in order to define these and other necessary doctrines, so that neither you nor we should find ourselves in error." ⁵⁷

In all this Nicetas seems to have followed earlier Eastern Fathers, like Maximus the Confessor (580-662) who had attempted to explain the divergencies between the Latin and the Greek formulae concerning the doctrine of the Spirit. ⁵⁸

Martino Jugie, who recounts the story of the above debate, quite wrongly observes that "Nicetas was converted to the Catholic doctrine by explaining the formula of the Greek Fathers...in such a way as to reconcile it with the doctrine of Augustine" ⁵⁹ Unfortunately, such reconciling initiatives on the part of the Eastern Romans have not always been properly appreciated, since biased Western scholars, such as M. Jugie interpreted them as evidence of Eastern surrender to the Latins.

As we can see, Nicetas was prepared to agree that the Holy Spirit proceeds 'through' the Son, but not 'from' the Son. He very much hoped that this formula, which most of the greatest Greek Fathers had been willing to permit, would satisfy the desire of the Latin side for elucidation; though he did not consider that the preposition 'through' should be added to the original text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.⁶⁰ Nicetas, like Theophylactus of Bulgaria, did not wish to break the unity of Christendom on a single doctrinal difference; but at the same time he would not allow that the Pope could add to the Creed at his pleasure, nor could he permit any kind of subordination of the self-governed Eastern Church to Rome.

III. 7. Nicetas of Maronea, Michael of Anchialos and Michael Glycas.

In addition to that, there were some Eastern theologians who were willing to offer an Orthodox interpretation of the 'Filioque' clause by linking it with the patristic formula 'through the Son'; Grk. (*διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*); Lat. (*per Filium*).

Nicetas of Maronea, Chartophylax of the Great Church and later Archbishop of Thessalonica - sometime under the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180) - saw no theological objection to the 'Filioque' doctrine and could not understand why the Orthodox were only prepared to allow the formula 'through the Son' which he thought, came to the same thing.⁶¹ However, Nicetas believed that Rome's attitude to insist on the addition to the Creed was wrong.

Nicetas tried to expound the teaching of the Greek Fathers on the doctrine of the

procession of the Holy Spirit and the full meaning of the formula "from the Father through the Son" in six dialogues - one Latin and one Greek - in which by using only Greek sources, he put forward the arguments in favour of his own position.⁶² These arguments lay down the following condition for a reconciliation of the two Great Churches:

"The Latins are not to add the word 'Filioque' to the Creed, and the Greeks are to make explicit confession that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, or even from the Father and the Son, understanding this in the way the Fathers understood it, i.e. as not from an immediate principle, but as from the Father through the Son - recognizing that the Son, as principle, has himself got another principle. the Father.

Therefore, says the Greek in the end, both sides admit that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but we say 'through the Son' whereas you say 'from the Son' instead, though at the end of the day both of these mean the same thing.

The text of the Creed should remain as it was handed down from the Holy Fathers, but Greeks and Latins agree in substance although they express themselves differently; I mean that 'through the Son' and 'from the Son', if they are properly understood, mean the same thing, and a common formula should be devised in order to avoid confusion and disagreement and permit unity on the basis of one pious dogma and a common opinion, elaborated on the basis of a common investigation and study. Drop
* these words (Filioque), and we shall drop our accusations, so that together we may

confess a common faith and belief, renouncing language which causes offence.”⁶³

Nicetas also appealed to the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils to enforce his traditional argument that no words should be added to the original text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Dr. Francis Dvornik suggests that Nicetas “must have had the decision of the Photian Council of 879-880 (Eighth Ecumenical Council), before his eyes, for he seems on the whole to have shared the opinion of the pontifical legates who were present at that session”.⁶⁴

As regards to the schism between the two Churches, Nicetas, though willing to accept that the Church of Constantinople had adopted, at times, an unfriendly attitude towards Rome, at the same time, he, like his namesake Nicetas of Nicomedia, refused to recognise the Papal claims for unchallenged supremacy over the Universal Church, considering them to be against the Tradition.⁶⁵

However, it should be emphasised here that strong feelings for reconciliation with Rome were extremely rare in twelfth century Constantinople. Most of the Eastern theologians were openly opposed to the innovations of the Latin Church and did not approve of an institutional Church “whose Bishops rush into religious wars, (Crusades) distributing money, assembling soldiers and generally misleading the people”.⁶⁶

One polemical work by Michael of Anchialos, the bitterest enemy of a possible union between the Greek East and the Latin West that was then being prepared under the reign of Manuel Comnenus, deserves special attention. (Manuel thought

that the survival of his Empire depended to a great extent on coming to terms with the new political, commercial and ecclesiastical forces in the West.)

Michael of Anchialos went back to the Eighth Ecumenical Council (879-880), and quoted Canon I, voted by the assembled Fathers during the fifth session as "the true guarantee that they (Latins) would be orthodox in future and recant blasphemies which they should never had uttered".⁶⁷ Their worst blasphemy was, to his mind, the addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. This was the most notable occasion under Photius' period of office when Rome's delegates presented to Photius and the other Patriarchs, the Symbol of Faith without the 'Filioque' addition. Michael appealed to the Canon only as a proof of the promise which the Latins were asked at the sixth session of the Synod to keep. (Canon I itself does not mention the addition to the Symbol of Faith.)

Michael Glycas, a contemporary of Michael of Anchialos (he wrote sometime in 1150), also appealed to the authority of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, when in defence of the Greek position on the 'Filioque' question, and insisted on Papal participation in those Councils for a fair solution to the whole controversy.⁶⁸

III. 8. An assessment of the controversy.

Before we pass on to the East of the thirteenth century, it is important to clarify at this stage, that the quarrel over the procession of the Holy Spirit was not in itself a primary cause for the deepening of schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, any more than divergencies of usage in the act of worship. The unfortunate thing, however, was that both doctrinal and liturgical differences were caught up in the more practical and immediate question of Church government, administration and authority.

The papal claims for supremacy over all Christendom were finally officially answered by the Ecumenical Patriarch Ioannes I Camateros (1198-1206), who in his letter to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), expressed surprise at the claim of Rome to be the mother-church. "Surely", he commented, "if we give any Church that title, it would be the Church of Jerusalem where Christ himself founded the Church". He also added that "if anyone was rending the tunic of Christ, it was the See of Rome which, having signed the acts of the Council of Nicaea, was altering the Creed by adding the 'Filioque' clause".⁶⁹ This was a provocation which the Eastern Church could never accept.

x It is difficult to take seriously the expressions of horror that the Greek theologians of the twelfth century used in their polemical writings to expound the heretical nature of Latin trinitarian theology. On the other side, it seems easy for Latin apologists to point out - as in the cases of Peter Chrysolan and Anselm of Havelberg - that Greek

theology had not in the past been clear and consistent in its own doctrine about the procession of the Holy Spirit. At any rate, the Eastern Orthodox Church was sincere in its disapproval of the insertion of a word into the Creed that had been officially approved by the Ecumenical Councils of the Church. Yet, Greeks and Latins were not in deep schism; they did not normally regard each other as heretics. In the recurrent theological discussion of the twelfth century, it is obvious that either side seemed to hope that their own arguments might yet prevail.

It was in the beginning of the thirteenth century, that no peaceful compromise could conceal the real implication of papal claims, when after the disaster of the Fourth Crusade, a Latin Patriarch and Latin Bishops were appointed over the heads of the Eastern hierarchy in Constantinople, and also in the conquered provinces. It was the course of political history that deepened the already existing schism beyond repair. The Greek historian Nicetas Choniates (1150-1212), writing about the year 1200, summed up the feeling of the ordinary people of the Eastern Roman Empire in the following words:

"Between us and the Latins is set the widest gulf. We are poles apart. We have not a single thought in common. They are stiff-necked, with a proud affection of an upright carriage, and love to sneer at the smoothness and modesty of our manners. But we look on their arrogance and boasting as a flux of the snivel which keeps their noses in the air; and we tread them down by the might of Christ, who giveth unto us the power to trample upon the adder and upon the scorpion."⁷⁰

To this difference in ideology, there was added the age-long difference in temperament between Classical Rome and Greece. The former legalistic and authoritarian, the latter philosophical and biased towards individual freedom.

CHAPTER IV: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

IV. 1. The capture of Constantinople in 1204 and Michael Palaeologus' initiative for the restoration of Church unity.

The capture of Constantinople by the Latin forces of the Fourth Crusade on 13 April 1204, was a significant turning point in the history of the Roman state in the East.

The creation of the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople and the election of the Venetian Thomas Morosini to the Ecumenical Throne were a violent break with the Eastern tradition. The Eastern Roman Emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch both fled from their capital, and national feeling ran at its highest level. Michael Choniates (1138-1222), Archbishop of Athens, with other Greek prelates, preferred to abandon their sees rather than acknowledge the papal authority. They took refuge with the Emperor Theodore I (Lascaris); and the Court of Nicaea with the Patriarch Joseph X Camaterus (1199-1206), as its ecclesiastical chief, became the centre of opposition to reunion with Rome. The long Latin occupation - nearly sixty years - deeply emphasised the significant difference between the Eastern and the Western understanding of what the unity of the two Churches really meant.

x Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), who was quick to condemn the horrors of the sack of Constantinople by his disobedient crusaders, soon came round to the view that the conquest of the Eastern Roman Empire by the West must be part of God's

plan for the reunification of Christendom. The unfortunate thing was that the papal policy of systematic Latinization in Constantinople served to strengthen the already existing schism between the Latin West and the Greek East. "What shocked the Greeks more than anything was the wanton and systematic sacrilege of the crusaders. How could men who had specially dedicated themselves to God's service treat the things of God in such a way? As the Byzantines watched the Crusaders tear to pieces the altar and icon screen in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, and set prostitutes on the Patriarch's throne, they must have felt that those who did such things were not Christians in the same sense as themselves."¹

The military solution to union between East and West, which the Popes of Rome had very much hoped for, did not work out, due to their unwillingness to discuss matters under dispute with the Easterners in an ecumenical council and to restore Constantinople to them. The latter was finally achieved in 1261, but there were still large parts of the East, including Cyprus, Crete and most of mainland Greece, which remained under Latin rule and their position was far from secure. Under those circumstances the Eastern Emperor Michael VIII, thought it would be best to seek a formal reunion of the two Churches. Michael was convinced that ecclesiastical union was one of the most effective means to avert the menace of an expedition against Constantinople by the powerful coalition of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily since 1266. In his attempts to achieve union between the Latin and Greek Churches, Michael had to follow two different lines of action: One in his relation with the papacy and another with the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy. On the one hand, he emphasised the importance of religious union, attempting faithfully to carry out every demand

and wish of the papal legates in Constantinople; while on the other hand, he sought to minimize to the Greek hierarchy the significance of union, by insisting that this would bring no change in the Symbol of Faith, but only "minor concessions of an insignificant nature".²

Michael knew of the concrete psychological and theological difficulties that had to be overcome if the peace of the Churches was to be achieved. He was equally aware of the difficulties raised by doctrinal discussions between the two traditions; but above all he knew that Rome was against any kind of debate. Pope Clement IV (1265-1268), who in 1267 and 1268 was in correspondence with Michael VIII, had left the Emperor in no doubt as to the papal views on his suggestion. "The Emperor", he wrote, "may ask for the convocation of a council and seek to have it assembled in his own dominions. But we by no means propose to summon such a council for discussion or definition of the faith; not because we fear to lose face or are afraid that the Holy Roman Church might be outclassed by the Greeks, but because it is neither proper nor permissible to call into question the purity of the true faith, confirmed as it is by the authority of so much holy writ, by the judgement of so many Saints, and by the firm definition of so many Roman Pontiffs."³ On the other hand, Patriarch Joseph I (1267-1275; 1282-1283), argued that 'peace' would never be achieved unless the theological issues separating West and East were first discussed in an open council.⁴

The shameful chain of those unending negotiations, disputes, promises and falsehoods, went on and on, containing everything but the most important factor: the real wish for unity and the longing for a genuine fulfilment of the Church of Christ. This

was the fundamental basis of the Council of Lyons as well. "The result therefore was that 1274 like 1054 became one of the great years in which nothing happened."⁵

IV. 2. The Council of Lyons 1274 and its aftermath.

The Council of Lyons was opened by Pope Gregory X (1271-1276), in person on 7 May 1274; but it was not until 24 June when the Orthodox delegation reached its destination. Significant as to the importance of the Council for the Western Church, was the fact that the great Dominican Thomas Aquinas had been commissioned by the Pope himself to write a paper setting forth the errors of the Greek Church. Thomas, however, died on his way to Lyons. In the meantime, Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus had written to the Pope, asking him "to cling without change to" Eastern "dogmas and customs, conserving them through life, some as words of God, others as a heritage from the Fathers".⁶

"The Latin account of the proceedings known as the *Notitia brevis* or *Ordinatio* has very little to report on the participation of the Greeks at this famous ecumenical conclave."⁷ Suffice is to say, that no debate or any sort of theological dialogue between the Latins and the Greeks took place at Lyons, where the latter were forced to accept the 'Filioque' clause as orthodox doctrine. In addition, if one says that the papacy was fully represented at Lyons, the same cannot be said for the Eastern Church and its three delegates. The Emperor's personal representative was his Grand Logothete, George Acropolites (1217-1282), an accomplished diplomat, a scholar and something of a theologian. The Orthodox Church was to be represented by the former

Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos III (1267), and by Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nicaea. "Neither had any special qualifications or commanded any great respect; and Theophanes at least had private doubts about the whole affair."⁸ If we wish to compare the setting of the Council of Lyons with that of the later Council of Florence in 1439, we notice that whereas Greek and Latin Bishops had actually sat together as Fathers and Doctors at Florence, such was not the case at Lyons. Aristeides Papadakis puts it rather emphatically: "If historians differ about the way in which union was achieved at the Council of Florence, they do not differ about the Council of Lyons."⁹

At any rate, in less than two weeks time after the official arrival of the Orthodox representation at Lyons, union was solemnly concluded in Saint John's cathedral at the fourth session of the Council on 6 July 1274. Both from the Latin side and from the Greek unionists, considerable attempts were made to demonstrate that the Latin teaching regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son did not differ basically from Greek doctrine. In fact, one of the main Greek objections to the addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed forcibly presented in Patriarch Joseph's anti-unionists reply, was the fear that this addition might well imply two causes and two spirations for the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ This, however, was emphatically denied by the West, as the Council of Lyons took the trouble to demonstrate in its first Canon.

"Since the sacrosanct Roman Church which by God's design is the mother and mistress of all the faithful firmly holds, professes and teaches that the Spirit proceeds

eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles but as from one principle, not by two spirations but by one spiration alone, and since it is manifest that this is the teaching of orthodox Fathers and Doctors, Latin as well as Greek, and since because of this, from ignorance of this irrefragable truth, some people have fallen into a number of errors of one kind or another, we, desirous of closing the roads leading to these errors, condemn and reject all who dare to deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son or who rashly dare to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and not as from one.”¹¹

This truth, according to the Latins at Lyons, was at the very least, insinuated in the passage of the Gospel according to Saint John 16:15, where Christ establishes a necessary connexion between his own sharing in all that the Father has and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Therefore it follows, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the two other Persons, not in so far as they are distinct, but inasmuch as their divine perfection is numerically one. In the passage of Augustine of Hippo, which most probably lay behind the above mentioned definition, the Father is said to be “principium non de principio” and the Son “principium de principio” but both together “non duo, sed unum principium.”¹²

George Every, however, protests against the idea that Augustine was the leading representative of the Latin theory in the West by pointing out that other defenders of the ‘Filioque’, like William of St. Thierry, were not distinctly Augustinian, and that Augustine’s followers were far more Augustinian than he was.¹³

By reaffirming the principle 'tanquam ex uno principio, non duabus spiracionibus, set unica spiracione procedat', the Council of Lyons intended to make clear that the 'Filioque', far from excluding, actually presupposes that the Father is seen as the unique source and principle of all divinity, since it is wholly from him that the Son derives his spirative power, the causal character of which is therefore not understood in the sense of first cause, as in the *αἰτία* of the Greek Fathers. This point is explained by the contemporary scholar De Halleux, who writes: "Thus, although at Lyons the Latins may have persuaded the Orthodox to acknowledge 'Filioquism' without formally conceding their counter position, nevertheless, the radical intention of the monarchy of the Father, which constitutes the profound truth of Photian monopatrism, is clearly respected, objectively speaking, in the decree of the Council."¹⁴

This view, however, has been attacked by an Orthodox scholar, Bishop Kallistos Ware, who rightly points out that: "In Augustine's teaching the 'monarchy' of the Father is still preserved, since, the Father remains the only ultimate 'source' and 'arche' of the Godhead. (According to Augustine, the Spirit proceeds 'principally' from the Father, and from the Son only in a secondary and derivative sense.) There is a considerable difference between this earlier western view and the later Scholastic doctrine, as upheld by the West at Lyons, whereby the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son 'as from one principle', tanquam ex (or ab) uno principio. This Scholastic theory, in contrast to that of Augustine, no longer affirms a personal principle of unity in the Godhead, the source of unity is now the divine essence, and the Cappadocian notion of the Father's 'monarchy' is abandoned. The difference in teaching between Augustine and the Scholastics is probably greater than that between Augustine and

the Cappadocians."¹⁵

The union of Lyons, once it had taken place, was regarded by the Latin Church as binding upon the whole Eastern Church and Empire, and as the standard for the future by which the intentions of the Greeks in the matter of Church unity should be assessed.

On the other hand, what the records of the Greek historian Pachymeres (1242-1310), seem to say,¹⁶ is that the Greek bishops throughout all the negotiations for union and in the years after it, closed their minds to the theological question of the procession of the Holy Spirit; for "they had with very great difficulty accepted the peace and had barely yielded and were unionists only in appearance, pacifying their consciences not from Scripture (for there was no occasion for that) but by economy usual in the church for the attainment of a greater good."¹⁷ They were scandalised, "preferring for themselves the lesser evil of sinning by making peace with men who erred in the divine dogmas to the greater evil of seeming to call the dogmas in question".¹⁸

The Union of Lyons was ill-received at Constantinople by the majority of its clergy and people. The Eastern delegates had been of no distinction theologically and did not represent the general doctrinal position of the Church. At its highest and most informed level, the Eastern Orthodox objection to the Latin form of the Creed was based not only on theological grounds; but also on the fact that the addition had been sanctioned by the fiat of the Pope alone without reference to his colleagues in

the Pentarchy of Patriarchs. No council of the whole Church had ever discussed or approved it.

The following short selection reveals the sentiments of the Orthodox in Constantinople as they hooted at their envoys returning from Lyons. The Archdeacon George Metochites, wrote in his *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*: "Instead of a conflict of words, instead of refutative proof, instead of arguments drawn from the Scriptures, what we envoys constantly hear is *φράγκος καθέστηκας* (By accepting union with Rome, you have become a Frank...) Should we who are pro-unionists, simply because we favour union with Rome be subjected to being called supporters of a foreign nation?"¹⁹

IV. 3. The Eastern Latinizers: George Acropolites, Nicephorus Choumnos, George Pachymeres, Issac of Ephesus, Meletios of Athens, Maximus Planoudes, Constantine Meliteniotes, Theoktistos of Andrianople and Nicephorus Blemmydes.

At the intellectual level, however, things were rather different. The thirteenth century was the golden age of Latin scholasticism, which was in full flower at Lyons. This intellectual renaissance attracted many Greeks, and for the first time in history, Latin works of theology and philosophy were translated into Greek. Not surprisingly, this activity attracted some support for Rome and from then until the final fall of Constantinople by the Turks in May 1453, there was always a party of Westernizers at the Constantinopolitan Court. It was they who, shortly after the Council of Lyons, challenged the anti-unionists and the conservative monks, and sought to win

acceptance in the East for the Latin interpretation of the 'Filioque' doctrine.

George Acropolites, Michael's Grand Logothete, had in former days composed tracts against the errors of the Latin Church. Just before the meeting of the Council of Lyons, he changed his mind and was prepared to go to France as his Emperor's deputy. Once Acropolites had made his statement at the Council, the union between the two Churches was considered to have been achieved.²⁰

Nicephorus Choumnos, a younger man who was later to become Andronicus II's (1272-1282), chief minister of state, discreetly accepted the union which he was later to denounce with such pious horror.²¹ So also did the historian George Pachymeres. George wrote a short treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit,²² in which he came down in favour of the formula derived from the writings of Saint John Damascene,²³ that the Spirit proceeds 'through the Son'. Pachymeres also subscribed for a time to the Union of Lyons, though Dr. H. G. Beck believes that he remained at heart an anti-unionist.²⁴ The learned Gregory (George) the Cypriot - one of the few prominent figures in Eastern Orthodox intellectual history who was later to become Patriarch of Constantinople - was at first a unionist; "though there was thought to be some excuse for one who had been brought up in the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus and subsequently he made elaborate apologies for his lapse."²⁵

Men like Isaac, the Metropolitan of Ephesus, who was also the Emperor's confessor, declared the union to be acceptable as the kind of 'economy' or compromise which the Orthodox Church had often to make as the lesser of two evils.²⁶ Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens said that he would support the union only provided that he would not have to subscribe to the dogma or doctrine of the Latin Church.²⁷ Maximus Planoudes(1225-1305), was one of the ablest scholars in Constantinople of the thirteenth century and had well mastered the Latin language, which was a rare accomplishment in the Greek speaking world of his day. He translated for the first time some of the works of Boethius and Augustine into Greek; and his services as a *λατινόφρων* were naturally a great and considerable value to the unionist cause.²⁸ In 1270, Planoudes turned out a little piece of work defending the addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Ten years later, when the Union of Lyons was officially denounced by the Eastern Church, he turned out two more pieces denouncing his former beliefs by way of apology for his temporary aberrations.²⁹ V. Laurent, however, believes that Planoudes was conscientiously inclined towards Roman Catholicism and that his anti-Latin tracts were composed under intimidation after the Union of Lyons had been denounced in 1283.

Constantine Meliteniotes who succeeded Patriarch Ioannes Beccus as archivist of the Hagia Sophia and the Archdeacon George Metochites took part in embassies to the West and both clung to their convictions even after the Union had been repudiated. Both had also succeeded in satisfying merely themselves that the Latin doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit had some justification in the writings of the Greek Fathers. This was shown by St. John Damascene's use of the term *προβολεύς*

(projector), which according to their understanding was a synonym for the term αἰτία (cause): "The Father is the projector, through the Word, of the manifesting Spirit."³⁰ Suffice is to say that "if 'projector' is understood to mean 'cause', then the Father is, perforce, through the Son, the Spirit's cause, or source of existence."³¹ Even so, this did not mean that the Son was either cause or joint-cause of the Spirit. For, "we do not consider the Son as being cause in the procession of the Spirit, or even joint-cause; on the contrary; we condemn and excommunicate any who say so. What we do say is that the Father is cause of the Spirit through the Son; for the word προβολεύς is understood in the sense of αἰτία."³² The 'Filioque' could not therefore be regarded as an innovation or a technical heresy.³³

Another convinced unionist was Theoktistos, Metropolitan of Andrianople, a close friend of Maximus Planoudes. He too remained faithful to his 'conversion' and when the Union was formally renounced in 1283 he was deposed from his episcopal see. He left the East for Rome and in 1310 he was to be found in Paris.³⁴

The Westernizers of the Eastern Church were fortunate in the sense that they had at their disposal a theological system which had been perfected by the application of the most up-to-date Aristotelian metaphysics. (The intellectual revival in the West, spearheaded by Thomas Aquinas, revived medieval theology and transformed it into a coherent system based on Aristotelian categories of thought.) The old problem of the relations in the divine essence, had been solved in the Latin West by Gilbert de la Porree (1076-1154) in the mid-twelfth century. Gilbert said that it was necessary to distinguish the essence of a thing (*id quod est*) from the means whereby it came to

be (*id quo est*). Since the objective value of a thing could hardly be less than that of the means whereby it came to be, the means also entered the realm of objective reality. In theological terms, it could be said that the relations constituted the essence, since it was by these that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit acquired their substantiality. The relations were therefore subsistent in God.³⁵ Gilbert's philosophical outlook did not do full justice to the Persons, who in his view were constituted by the relations which were logically prior. This imbalance was later on corrected by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), who maintained that the Persons are themselves the relations.³⁶ This, in fact, however, confirms the Eastern Orthodox suspicion that Western trinitarianism sees nothing more than the relations in the Persons of the Trinity and thereby compromises their hypostatic individuality. If the Persons are no more than the relations, it is argued, they need each other to exist and therefore lack the self-sufficiency of God. Such a doctrine, merely confirms the Orthodox in their belief that the God of the Western Churches is really nothing more than an impersonal essence.³⁷

When the Greek *λατινόφρονες* sought to translate this theology into their own tradition, they came up against two main obstacles. First, the West did not distinguish between being (essence) and existence, and therefore regarded the relations not as hypostatic properties distinct from the essence, but as hypostatic principles of the essence. Secondly, the West distinguished principle from cause in a way which the East could not grasp.³⁸ It was this problem which was to be the undoing of the Westernizing Patriarch of Constantinople Ioannes Beccus (1275-1282).

Nicephorus Blemmydes (1107-1272), the man whose writings were to play a significant role in Beccus' conversion, (he was said to be the wisest man, not only among Greeks, but among all men),³⁹ believed that between the Son and the Spirit there was a real relationship of consubstantiality, of possession (the Spirit of the Son), of donation (the Spirit given by the Son), of mutual likeness and even of a certain dependence (like fingers [Spirit] on the hand [Son] which is of the Person [Father]); loosely expressed as a 'finger of the hand of the Person'; but the first 'of' does not mean cause, whereas the second does.⁴⁰

Nicephorus Blemmydes strongly maintained the belief that the Father is the cause of both Son and Spirit and therefore rejected the Latin doctrine of co-causality:⁴¹

"He who says that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son, obviously confesses the Father alone to be the cause of the procession of the Spirit. For all that the Son has, he has so, as having received them from the Father, i.e., he has it substantially and naturally as a Lord Son from a Lord Father."

The phrase 'through the Son', asserted Blemmydes, is the common teaching of the Doctors of the Church and even of more recent writers; and no Father ever denied it. In proof, he referred his readers to a big collection of texts that he had produced, quoting Athanasius the Great, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria. By this he showed that 'through' was the common teaching and that 'through' in the early Fathers meant a relation between Son and Spirit not of appearance only or of mission to creatures, but also a reality, namely that the Spirit

proceeds by his essence from the Father through the Son.⁴²

While using in the exposition of his own view the Gospel text "All that the Father has is mine" (John 16:15), Blemmydes could not, as did the Latins at Lyons, accept that within that 'all' there could be included also the power productive of the Holy Spirit, and therefore that Father and Son could be one sole cause of the spiration of the Spirit, with the Father still remaining prime source of all Divinity. So, when in the writings of the Greek Fathers he came across phrases like this one of Cyril of Alexandria: "The Holy Spirit being in us shows that we are conformed to God, and since He comes forth both from Father and Son it is obvious that He is of the divine substance, coming forth substantially in it and from it,"⁴³ Blemmydes - but not Cyril - added "He comes forth from the Father and the Son, that is from the Father through the Son".⁴⁴

IV. 4. The Latinizer Patriarch of Constantinople, Ioannes Beccus (1275-1282).

Ioannes Beccus, being deeply influenced by Blemmydes's writings while incarcerated in the prison of Anemas,⁴⁵ was quickly converted to 'unionism', released by the Emperor Michael VIII Paleologus and eventually consecrated Ecumenical Patriarch on 27 May 1275. Beccus defended the orthodoxy of the 'Filioque' and became one of the most important supporters of the rights of the Latin Church in Constantinople.

In his profession of faith sent to Pope John XXI (1276-1277), Beccus stated very explicitly his acceptance of Roman primacy and of the 'Filioque' doctrine as taught

by the Latins.⁴⁶ Dr. G. Hoffman shows that for one stigmatised as 'Latinophron' Patriarch Ioannes Beccus had surprisingly very little knowledge of Latin culture and theology. None, for example, of the works of his great contemporary Thomas Aquinas. According to Hoffman, "the education of Beccus was Greek through and through". (Die bildung...des Bekkos war griechisch durch und durch.)⁴⁷ Certainly Beccus made an elaborate effort to bring into agreement the numerous Greek patristic texts which speak of the Spirit's procession "through the Son" with the Latin 'Filioque'.

"The Greek formula 'from the Father through (*διὰ*) the Son'", said Beccus, "expresses directly the order according to which the Father and the Son are the principle of the Holy Spirit, and implies their equality as principle; the Latin formula expresses directly this equality and implies the order. As the Son himself proceeds from the Father, by way of generation, it is from the Father that he receives, with everything else, the virtue that makes him, the principle of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Father alone is *αἰτία ἀναρχος προκαταρκτική*, and comparatively, the Son is an intermediate principle. The distinct use of the two prepositions, *ἐκ* (from) and *διὰ* (through), implies nothing else; but that 'from' is better suited to the first Person, who is the source of the others, and 'through' to the second Person, who comes from the Father.⁴⁸ Beccus's theory that the two prepositions *ἐκ* and *διὰ* were interchangeable, was also shown by appealing to Scripture and in particular to Pauline writing, which used the phrase 'born of (*ἐκ*) a woman' (Galatians 4:4), to mean 'through a woman' (*διὰ*); and again 'all things were created through Him and for Him' (Colossians 1:16), to mean from God (*ἐξ*). Obviously too, if identity of faith existed between the Latin West and the Greek East, the former could not be regarded as heretics by

the latter.⁴⁹

“‘Through’, as all agree, implies a medial position of the Son between Father and Spirit - but of essence, not of ministry only. The Spirit is said to be from the Father through the Son, and from the substance of the Father and since he is from the substance of the Father, who will not admit that the substance is of the hypostasis? So then, with the Spirit essentially and in hypostasis proceeding from the substance of the Father through the Son, who will affirm that ‘through the Son’ is to be accepted as an expression with a non-essential meaning and not as an affirmation of an essential intermediatorship? For what is essentially from the essence of the Father and is not from the Father immediately, has the Son as a medium, in every sense substantially in harmony with his being from the Father.”⁵⁰

Beccus also claimed that other Greeks before him had written in favour of the ‘Filioque’ clause! Peter Patriarch of Antioch in the time of Michael Cerularius; Nicetas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, who, though he fought shy of saying ‘from’ and adhered to ‘through’ also held that Latin doctrine implied no double procession but a single procession from Father and Son, so that “by the grace of that Spirit...we agree with one another in saying the procession of the Spirit is from the Father through the Son”.⁵¹

According to the recent study of Nicholas Xexakis, “Beccus referred to many cases in which the Spirit is said to proceed from God the Father,”⁵² by using several verbs which denote that the Spirit exists essentially from God: “No one”, observed Beccus,

“from our theologians has ever said that to proceed denotes that the Spirit exists from God essentially and that to go forth, (*προϊέναι*) to issue forth, (*προέρχασθαι*) to pour forth, (*προχέειν*) as well as to send forth, (*ἐκπέμπεσθαι*) denote something else than that the Spirit exists essentially from God.”⁵³ Thus, in order to prove the equal power of the words *προέρχασθαι*, *προϊέναι* and *ἐκπέμπεσθαι* with the word *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*, Beccus introduced patristic verses,⁵⁴ from which he concluded that “...they are taken brightly and without shadow as referring to the essential existence of the Spirit from the Father”.⁵⁵

Nicholas Xexakis, observes that the Patriarch, by referring his readers to a syllogism of Nicholas of Methoni (died c. 1165), (The Father is cause of what are from him by reason of the hypostasis and, not by reason of the nature.)⁵⁶ arrived at the erroneous conclusion that there is no difference in saying: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and that he proceeds from the essence of the Father.⁵⁷ The assertion of Beccus according to which “In reading the Creed which was handed down to us by our holy Fathers, we cry aloud without any hesitation: ‘and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father...’,⁵⁸ bears no significance, because although he confesses the Orthodox doctrine concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, he does not seem to understand what the specific teaching of the Eastern Church is on the subject.” This is gathered on the one hand from his strong belief according to which “the Son is meant without being mentioned”,⁵⁹ and on the other hand by his diligent attempt to obscure and alter the Orthodox teaching regarding the ‘Filioque’. However, because his beliefs came into contradiction with the traditional Eastern Orthodox faith and teaching, Beccus attempted, not very convincingly, to

find out a way of reconciling the two different views.

Interesting is therefore his syllogism in trying to explain that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son does not actually imply two causes for the Holy Spirit. "If the Latins" observed Beccus, "in saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son refer to a double cause, since the Father and the Son are two different hypostases, then the Fathers of the Church who taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, should also refer to a double cause. Such a thing however does not occur; in other words there is no double cause for the Holy Spirit if we take into consideration the saying of Basil the Great: "Whatever is said to be through the Son and by the Son has its reference to the Father."^{60,61}

It is certainly true that the Doctors of the Early Church rejected the existence of two causes in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son. This, however, was not due to the reasons believed by Beccus in misinterpreting Basil of Caesarea. Rather, their rejection was based on their teaching that the Son can in no way constitute the cause of the Holy Spirit, as Gregory Nazianzen had very clearly stated: "All that the Father has are of the Son, except of being the cause; and all that the Son has are of the Spirit except of Sonship."⁶² Beccus failed to transcend the obstacle which appeared in the phrase "except of being the cause" and believed that "those who wrote after the schism altered the books of Gregory the Theologian" and therefore did not accept that the phrase "except of being the cause" existed in the original text"⁶³

While, therefore, Beccus maintained his faith in the Creed which was delivered by the Fathers and forcefully rejected the existence of two causes; nevertheless he believed that the source of the Spirit is both the Father and the Son: "The Father is the source of the Spirit and is said to be such inasmuch as he is the originating Godhead and the cause without beginning; whereas, the Son is the source inasmuch as it is through him that the Spirit who is from the Father springs forth and issues forth naturally and essentially."⁶⁴ Beccus also tried to explain the double procession in terms of causality by saying that there is a Filial cause, *υἱκὴ αἰτία* of the Holy Spirit but that leads up to the Paternal cause *πατρικὴ αἰτία*; so that there is only one cause of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁵ This, however, obscures the hypostatic distinction of the Father and the Son, whose actions are confused in a single cause. There is, in fact, no way in which this can actually be avoided.

It is clear from the research of Dr. Nicholas Xexakis, that Beccus was unable to integrate Augustinian trinitarian methodology into a Greek framework of thought. Professor Joseph Gill comments that, Beccus relied mainly on the authority of tradition contained in the writings of the (Greek) Fathers to support his case. That Beccus had read the Fathers, not merely in collections of quotations, but had also studied the complete treatises for himself, is apparent to Gill from the way in which Beccus handled the texts and from the clear references to his sources.⁶⁶ At any rate, Beccus' chief problem was his incapacity to grasp the deeper theological dimensions of the division between Rome and Constantinople. According to his belief the difference was over a matter of words, not over substance. Finally, it is important to mention here that Beccus' view always remained a minority view even among Western union-

ists. It mainly served to the 'conversion' of certain Romans to a Latin framework of theological thought.

IV. 5 Gregory the Cypriot, his 'Tomus' and the Council of Blachernae.

Beccus' greatest opponent in his efforts for ecclesiastical union with Rome was Gregory (George) the Cypriot, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1283 to 1289. Gregory was born in Cyprus in 1241/42 while the island was under the Latin occupation. This was in fact often used by the Patriarch's enemies and in particular by Beccus himself in condemning Gregory as "a non Greek", "one born and raised among Italians" and "one whose theology was not in line with Greek patristic thought".⁶⁷ Elaborate precautions were therefore taken to ensure that Gregory was consecrated by a bishop free of the taint of the Latin heresy, and on Palm Sunday, 28 March 1283, he was installed as Patriarch of Constantinople with the name Gregory II. In the imperial capital, however, the anti-unionists continued to call for the trial and conviction of those who had betrayed Orthodoxy at Lyons. Long before his appointment to the Ecumenical Throne, Gregory was sympathetic towards the unionist party and for this reason he was commissioned by Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus to draw up arguments in its favour.⁶⁸ However, unlike his predecessor Ioannes Beccus, Gregory realised that Latin trinitarian doctrine presented a great obstacle and was the actual cause of the schism between the two Churches. Therefore, instead of minimizing the doctrinal differences, he attempted to sort them out; otherwise, any union - without honest dialogue - was doomed to failure.

Gregory firmly believed that the Greek patristic tradition concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit could not just be reduced to the Photian formulation 'from the Father alone'. He actually realised that the arguments of Patriarch Photius, though theologically sound in themselves, were no longer enough to counter the Latins. Therefore, instead of simply repeating Photius' formulas about the 'eternal procession' of the Spirit from the Father alone and the 'emission in time' by the Son, Gregory advanced on two points beyond Photius in an attempt to bring his doctrine in completion and indeed to complement it. (Photius has often been criticised in the West for having given little thought to the Greek patristic formula 'through the Son'.) First of all, Gregory recognised the need to express the permanent relationship existing between the Son and the Holy Spirit as divine hypostases, and then he spoke of an eternal manifestation (*aidios ekphansis*) of the Spirit by the Son.⁶⁹

Dr. Aristeides Papadakis, in his excellent treatise on "The 'Filioque' controversy during the patriarchate of Gregory of Cyprus (1283-1289)",⁷⁰ begins his research by affirming that "the starting point in Gregory's theology is the fundamental Cappadocian distinction between the one essence and the three hypostases in the deity."⁷¹ In the one essence, there is not division, difference or multiplicity; it is one and it is common to the three Persons. "As such, it is theologically correct to say that the Spirit is of the essence of the Father, just as it is to say that the Spirit is also of the essence of the Son."⁷² However, what is said of the oneness of the divine essence, cannot be said of the three different hypostases, which represent the three states of God's being: the unbegotten, the begotten and the proceeding. The fact that these three particularities merely represent modes in which, as has been previously said,

the divine essence is transmitted and presented, was expressed by the phrase, *τρόπος ὑπάρξεως* (mode of existence).⁷³ Therefore, it comes about to say that: "the Father's mode of existence is without principle or beginning (*ἀναρχος*) in character, while the Son's is generative and the Holy Spirit's is processional."⁷⁴

"The faith which we acknowledge and believe in our heart is as follows. We believe as we have been taught from the beginning and from the Fathers. We have been taught and we believe in one God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, who, being without principle (*ἀναρχος*), and begotten, and without cause, is the natural principle and cause of the Son and of the Spirit. We also believe in His only begotten Son, who, being consubstantial with Him, was begotten eternally and without change from Him, through whom all things were made. We believe in the all-Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the same Father, who, with the Father and the Son together is worshipped as co-eternal, co-equal, co-essential, co-equal in glory, and as joint-creator of the world."⁷⁵

Within this framework of thought, the Father is called the cause, (*αἰτία*) of the Persons of the Son and the Holy Spirit. (The Father is the cause of the other Persons, in that he is not his essence, i.e., in that he has not his essence for himself alone. What the image of causality is intended to express is the idea that the Father, being not merely an essence but a Person, is thereby the cause of the other consubstantial Persons having the same essence.)

"It is not because we say that the Son and the Holy Spirit are of the essence of

the Father as their principle and cause; on the contrary, it is because He is the natural principle and cause of those who subsist essentially from Him - in an impassable and eternal manner - that they are of His essence."⁷⁶

With reference to the Father, causality expresses the idea that he is a divine Person only in that he is the cause of other divine Persons. He could not be fully and absolutely personal unless the Son and the Holy Spirit were equal to him in the common possession of the same nature and were that same nature. The monarchy of the Father enables us to distinguish the two other Persons from him, and yet to relate them to the Father, as a concrete principle of unity in the Trinity.

The Father, therefore, is the source of the Son's and Spirit's common possession of the same essence, and indeed, the pledge of their unity. (This theory comes in actual contradiction with the Augustinian teaching according to which the Holy Spirit, as the 'vinculum caritatis', is the full expression of the Love which flows between the Lover and the Beloved, binding the two together.)⁷⁷

The second and most interesting point which Patriarch Gregory established, was the eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, without implying that the Son was responsible for the Spirit's origin. Patriarch Photius did not really answer this question, apart from the respective relationship of Son and Spirit to the Father. Gregory was quite happy to accept the patristic expression of the post-Nicene Fathers such as Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene and Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople, according to which 'the Holy Spirit exists through the Son

and from the Son'; but he insisted that the Fathers applied this not to the Holy Spirit's causal mode of being but to his manifestation. The cause of the hypostatic existence of the Holy Spirit remains the Father alone, as Photius had already emphasised.

This manifestation which Gregory described in terms of *ἐκφανσις* or *φανέρωσις*, does not depend on the eternal procession of the Spirit from the hypostasis of the Father, the only source of divinity. The *ἐκφανσις* is different from the *ἐκπόρευσις*. The former applies to the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, the latter to his very mode of being.⁷⁸ In order to distinguish the procession as mode of existence of the Holy Spirit from his manifestation, Gregory the Cypriot made a significant distinction between 'existing', (*ὑπάρχειν*) and 'having existence', (*ὑπαρξεν ἔχειν*). This distinction is very important in understanding Gregory's notion of eternal manifestation.⁷⁹ It helps us to differentiate between the two separate realities in God. One referring to the Spirit's cause, who is the Father as the sole source and ground of unity in the Godhead; the other, referring to the divine life of the Holy Spirit, or to his eternal manifestation which involves both the Father and the Son.

"The recognised doctrine is that the existence of the All Holy Spirit is from the Father. This is what is meant whenever 'procession' from the Father is used; it signifies that the Spirit has its natural and eternal existence from Him. This is unquestionably - so we maintain and believe - the meaning of the term 'procession'. As for the prepositions in the phrase 'from the Father through the Son', the first 'from' denotes existence-procession, while the second 'through' denotes eternal manifestation and splendour, not existence-procession... 'through', then, denotes eternal manifestation

in contradiction to eternal procession.”⁸⁰

Thus, when Ioannes Beccus stated that the patristic expression ‘through the Son’ is equivalent to the Latin ‘Filioque’, Gregory the Cypriot, by referring to John Damascene, retorted that it is not a procession but a manifestation.

“The phrase of John Damascene, ‘The Father is the projector through the Son of the manifesting Spirit...’,⁸¹ clearly denotes the manifestation - through the intermediary of the Son - of the Holy Spirit, whose existence is from the Father. Those who affirm that the Paraclete, which is from the Father, has its existence (*ὑπαρξεν ἔχειν*) through the Son and from the Son...propose as proof the phrase that the Spirit exists (*ὑπάρχει*), through the Son and from the Son. In certain texts [of the Fathers] the phrase, denotes the Spirit’s shining forth and manifestation. Indeed, the very Paraclete shines forth and is manifest eternally through the Son, in the same way that light shines forth and is manifest through the intermediary of the sun’s rays: it further denotes the bestowing, giving and sending of the Spirit to us. According to the common mind of the Church and the aforementioned Saints, the Father is the foundation and the source of the Son and the 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 through the Son, what is meant here is the eternal manifestation of the Spirit by the Son, not the purely [personal] emanation into being of the Spirit, who has his existence from the Father.”⁸²

The Holy Spirit, explained Gregory, exists eternally in the Son and is manifested

through him, but this existence and manifestation must not be confused with the Holy Spirit's eternal causal mode of existence which is due to the Father alone. In order to illustrate this important distinction, Gregory compared the Father to the sun, the Son to the rays of the sun and the Spirit to the light of the rays given by the sun.⁸³ As we have already seen, several theologians before Gregory, like Nicetas of Byzantium and Theophylactus of Bulgaria, used the analogies of the sun, its radiance, and its light in order to explain the eternal relationship between the three trinitarian Persons. Gregory argued that the Paraclete shines forth and manifests itself eternally by the intermediary of the Son, as light shines from the sun by the intermediary of rays, - the sun being the source and the cause of origin; but that does not mean that it comes into being through the Son or from the Son. (The light's existence, or origin, is in no sense derived from the sun's rays.)⁸⁴ This and various other images from nature were quite common in theological amplifications and were first used in the third century by Tertullian in his *Against Praxeas*: "The Spirit is third from God and the Son, just as the fruit from the branch is third from the root, and as the stream from the river is third from the spring and as the light from the ray is third from the sun."⁸⁵ Examples such as the aforementioned, were later on adopted and used by numerous writers of the fourth and subsequent centuries like Gregory Nazianzen.⁸⁶

The manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the Son, Gregory went on to explain, refers both to the eternal life of the Holy Trinity and to the Spirit's temporal mission. Through the Son, the manifestation is carried eternally, since the Son shares in the essence of the Spirit eternally. Yet, a clear distinction must be made between the Spirit's emission and his mode of existence. The temporal mission is a common



act of the three divine Persons resulting from their common will and energy. The mode of the Holy Spirit's existence, however, depends on the Father's hypostasis. Therefore, Ioannes Beccus and his followers are wrong in transferring the idea of the Son's participation in the divine energies to the internal relations of the Holy Trinity and particularly to the mode of being of the divine Persons:

“To Ioannes Beccus and to those who follow him, to Constantine Meliteniotes, and to George Metochites, who teach that the Father and the Son - not as two principles and two causes - share in the causality of the Spirit, and that the Son is as much a participant with the Father as is implied in the preposition ‘through’. According to the distinction and strength of these prepositions, they introduce a distinction in the Spirit's cause, with the result that sometimes they believe and say that the Father is cause, and sometimes, the Son. This being so, they introduce a plurality and a multitude of causes in the procession of the Spirit, even though this was prohibited on countless occasions. As such, we cut them off from the membership of the Orthodox, and we banish them from the flock of the church of God.”⁸⁷

As Dr. Aristeides Papadakis sums it up, “Gregory is making an important distinction between the essence and the energy, or between the incommunicable and unknowable essence of God and his participable and perceivable energy of life. The former denotes the internal life and nature of the Trinity while the latter denotes the external life or self revelation of God as it reveals the glory and splendour shared by the three Persons”.⁸⁸

Dr. Andrew J. Sopko, in trying to find parallels between Gregory's notion of God's eternal manifestation and Palamas' distinction between the eternal action or 'energy' of God and the divine nature itself, points out that: "Although Gregory did not reflect upon man's reception of the divine manifestation at length, he used the human condition to emphasise the antinomy of the essence and the manifestation. Both are present simultaneously, yet only the manifestation is distinguishable while the essence remains forever hidden. To clarify this point, he even used the term 'energy' as a synonym for manifestation."⁸⁹

"And if the greater enhypostasised essence of the Paraclete is energy, are we, who receive the gift and resplendence, participating and caught in the essence? And what truth have those shown who say that the Divine is participable by the energies themselves and the resplendence? How is it that St. Athanasius says the way of the Spirit is made by energies and resplendences?"⁹⁰

This subtle argument may seem trivial and obscure, but in fact, it is crucial, since it was on this that the spiritual revival in the East in the fourteenth century came to depend. Gregory's unwillingness to limit God to his essence and his insistence that it is through the energy that God is manifested to mankind were taken further by Gregory Palamas's teaching on the 'uncreated energies' with its emphasis on the personal existence of a living God of Christian revelation. It is not through the essence that God interacts but through his manifestation or energy, as Palamas would say.⁹¹

Concluding, Gregory believed that the Holy Spirit could be called the Spirit of

the Son and the Spirit of Christ, because he held that the Holy Spirit came forth from the Son as the active power or energy of God. This happens, not because the Holy Spirit receives his existence from the Son, but because "having proceeded from the Father, He rests in the Son and acts or proceeds from Him into the world of men".⁹² From this, it follows that the grace of the Spirit does indeed come to us 'through' or 'from' the Son; but what is being given to us is neither the very hypostasis of the Spirit nor a created, temporal grace, but the external 'manifestation' of God, distinct from both his Person and his essence.

Gregory's theology - as already discussed - was clearly expressed in his *Tomus* of 1285. The *Tomus* was the outcome of the theological discussions concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit at the Council of Blachernae, which met on the first day of Lent in 1285 in Constantinople. The Council, officially renounced the Latin interpretation of the doctrine of the procession which the Latinizer delegates of the Eastern Church had accepted at Lyons. "Although the official text of the Acta of the Council of Blachernae has not survived, we are reasonably well informed about its deliberations, from the lengthy contemporary testimony of Pachymeres and Metochites, and the short (but misleading) summary of the historian Gregoras."⁹³ The Council condemned the former Patriarch Ioannes Beccus and his associates (Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites) on their attempt to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds directly from the Father as the Son does and that neither procession nor generation were to be thought separate. At the same time the Council rejected Beccus's elaborate efforts to show that the prepositions 'through' and 'from' as used by the Church Fathers were interchangeable. As Gregory was to say later in

the *Tomus*, the Son was not the cause - either separately or with the Father - of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the expression 'through the Son' was neither synonymous nor coextensive with the Latin 'Filioque'. "And since it is not a question of identity, the great foundation of Beccus's thesis - along with the other absurdities that followed - collapses".⁹⁴

The matter seemed at the time to be unresolved, and some of the anti-unionists put up a poor defence. George Moschabar, the Great Chartophylax, even went as far as to maintain that the discussed Damascene text: 'the Father is the emitter, or producer of the Spirit through the Son' was spurious and came to a different interpretation. Moschabar maintained that the preposition 'through', (*διὰ*) as used by the post-Nicene Fathers, was identical with the prepositions *σύν*, *μετά* (with the genitive) or *ἄμα*, which translated into English means 'with' or 'together'. As such, the phrase 'the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son' was according to Moschabar, equivalent to saying 'the Spirit together with the Son proceeds from the Father'.⁹⁵ Because of this, Moschabar was rebuked at Blachernae by the Great Logothete Theodore Muzalon, the Council's main spokesman and by Patriarch Gregory himself. The latter maintained that from a grammatical point of view the prepositions 'with' or 'together' can never be identical or equivalent to the preposition 'through' as Moschabar was claiming. Moreover, the interpretation was impious since it confused the divine characteristics of procession and generation. "To say 'the Spirit with the Son proceeds from the Father' is tantamount to saying the Son 'proceeds' from the Father. In fact, the Son can only be generated. Granted: this error is concealed when 'with the Son' is said to denote existence from the Father; but even this is madness,

for it would then follow that the Son had his existence from the Father as well."⁹⁶

The Council of Blachernae dragged on for six months and in the end Ioannes Beccus with his two unionist friends, Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites were excommunicated and sentenced to strict imprisonment in the fortress of Saint George, in the bay of Nicomedia, in the county of Bithynia.⁹⁷

After the closing of the fifth and last session of the Council of Blachernae in August 1285, the Holy Synod was in a position to present Gregory's *Tomus* which was regarded by numerous later scholars as a document of extreme significance for the amplification of the Orthodox doctrine regarding the Spirit's procession.⁹⁸ It is often assumed that the East said little, if anything, on the 'Filioque' which received its final dogmatic formulation at Lyons in 1274; its proverbial conservatism and its fidelity to the Photian tradition did not allow it.⁹⁹ Even so, the discussion at the Council of Blachernae was one of the more thorough trinitarian debates inside the Orthodox Church. As the only detailed conciliar reaction of medieval Orthodoxy to the 'Filioque', Blachernae may well be the most important contribution of the Eastern Church to this long-drawn-out debate.

Significant as to the importance of the Council of Blachernae for the Eastern Orthodox Church, is the fact that Gennadius (George) Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1453-1456; 1458-1463) regarded it as Ecumenical - though the Latins may argue that Blachernae lacked ecumenicity in the sense that their Church was not represented: "I receive with all my heart, the Holy and Great Council that condemned

the Latinizer Beccus, and firmly believe it to be Ecumenical, since the absence of the West does not remove its ecumenicity...Note how the Council of Florence (1439) differs from that which met in Constantinople against Beccus (1285). The latter agrees completely with the faith of the Ecumenical Councils, both with the Eighth [the union Council of Constantinople, 879] and the rest, while Florence disagrees with them all, with both that one and the rest. In Constantinople, the Patriarch of Alexandria was present, and the other Patriarchs agreed with and approved of the result as a sound and lawful decision."¹⁰⁰

In 1289, Patriarch Gregory II was forced to resign after a complete misrepresentation and misinterpretation of his theology expressed in the *Tomus* which, he hoped, would reconcile the Unionists but which both Latinizers and Orthodox considered heretical.¹⁰¹ Some of the intended signatories of Eastern Roman prelates refused to sign the *Tomus* because they could not distinguish between the actual coming into being of the Spirit and his eternal manifestation. The two theories were in fact sounded very similar to one another. If this was the case, then Gregory's explanation was nothing less than Beccus's own formula. At the Council of Blachernae, Beccus insisted that the Son was a cause in the Spirit's procession.

Indeed, after the publication of the *Tomus*, Gregory was fiercely attacked by some of his fellow clergy, and Constantinople became the scene of passionate theological discussions.

In answering his critics, Patriarch Gregory decided to defend his understanding

of the Spirit's procession, which as already said, was not a new doctrine but an articulation of the Greek patristic tradition, by writing the *Apology*. The primal aim of the *Apology* was simply an official patriarchal reply to Beccus' and Moschabar's accusations. In attacking Beccus' belief on the double procession of the Holy Spirit, Gregory intended to make it clear that "the expression 'through the Son' indicates the shining forth, the revelation or simply the disclosure or manifestation of the Holy Spirit by the Son; it never denotes existence, which the Spirit receives from the Father alone".¹⁰² Gregory was convinced that the post-Nicene Fathers, such as the Cappadocians, Cyril of Alexandria, John Damascene and indeed, Photius the Great, prohibited a different interpretation on this specific subject.

In answering Ioannes Beccus, Gregory underlined the fact that the doctrine of the Spirit's eternal manifestation is never identified with the procession or with existence in the *Tomus*. Nowhere, for example, is procession said to be 'through the Son', whereas manifestation is described by that phrase:

"Moschabar and his circle seem to ignore the fact that the nouns *φανέρωσις* (manifestation) and *ὑπαρξις* (existence), are not derived from nouns but from the verbs to 'manifest' and to 'exist'. These, obviously, bear no resemblance to each other; it is not possible for the verb 'to manifest' - which can only mean 'to reveal' - to mean at the same time 'to exist'. Those who say that the *Tomus* describes the manifestation as existence, know either little grammar or no theology, or both."¹⁰³

Unfortunately for Gregory, as Dr. Papadakis has shown, one of his students, the

monk Mark, misinterpreted his views - expressed in the *Tomus* - by asserting that the Patriarch approved the statement that the term 'procession' (ἐκπόρευσις), could be used to signify the hypostatic character of the Spirit as he emerges into being, as well as his eternal manifestation.¹⁰⁴ According to Mark, ἐκπόρευσις could be no more than a synonym for the other terms also used to designate the eternal manifestation of the Spirit. 'ἐκλαμψις', 'πρόοδος', 'ἐκφανσις' and 'φανερωσις'. This was the opposite of what Gregory had intended to prove and he therefore disapproved it.¹⁰⁵ The Holy Spirit, according to Gregory, proceeds from God the Father and is consubstantial with him, and has his being in his perfection from him. However, the Son, who is begotten of the Father, accompanies the Spirit; through him the Spirit is revealed and manifested in his splendour, while he has his existence in all his perfection from the Father.¹⁰⁶ When Gregory, therefore spoke of procession 'through the Son', the preposition 'through' denoted the Spirit's eternal manifestation. That is to say it was not a question of the meaning of procession (as Mark had mistakenly understood it), but an explanation of the patristic expression 'through the Son'.¹⁰⁷

"For the Fathers never said the Spirit proceeds through the Son but from the Father through the Son. Thus, the term procession must not be altered, transformed or modernised. This is both dangerous and daring. Simply put, procession must be ascribed to the Father; the only cause of the Spirit's hypostasis, while the term 'through the Son' must be ascribed to the inseparable oneness and sharing of nature. This is what the Fathers meant to say - not, 'through the Son' but 'from the Father through the Son'."¹⁰⁸

Many of Gregory's opponents refused to believe that Mark alone was responsible for his commentary and instead wished to place the entire blame for the document's errors on Gregory himself. Several of the Bishops, such as Ioannes Chilas of Ephesus, Daniel of Cyzicus and Theoleptus of Philadelphia, gave up mentioning his name in the Divine Liturgy.¹⁰⁹ In the face of such deliberate pressure, Gregory abdicated from the Ecumenical Throne and provisionally retired to the monastery of the Panagia Hodegetria.¹¹⁰

By making a careful distinction between the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone and the Spirit's eternal manifestation from the Son, Patriarch Gregory did not just present an alternative solution to the 'Filioque' problem, but also demonstrated the significance of his solution in relating the divine to the created order. This contribution to the field of dogmatic theology also prepared the way for the Palamite synthesis of the fourteenth century. According to Dr. Sopko, "it is in the context of 'immediate forerunner' of Gregory Palamas, that we can best appreciate Gregory's theological and historical significance."¹¹¹

CHAPTER V. THE CONTROVERSY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

V. 1. Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople (1289-1293; 1304-1310) and Nicephorus Gregoras' reaction to the Latin demands.

In July 1289, the Arsenites¹ and the Unionist group who were instrumental in bringing about the abdication of Patriarch Gregory failed in their attempt to secure the election of one of their number to the Ecumenical Throne. Emperor Andronicus II, appointed the monk Athanasius (1289-1293; 1304-1310) as Gregory's successor, evidently hoping that "this pious and simple monk would bring the re-establishment of peace, and the union with the Church of those who had been scandalised and separated".²

Athanasius acted vigorously to counteract Latin influence in Byzantium. In 1305 for example, he was instrumental in the expulsion of the Franciscans who had founded a monastery in Constantinople.³ His profound hatred of Genoese, Venetians and Catalans was based on his fear that they would spread Latin practices among the Orthodox population.⁴ It is interesting, however, that nowhere in Athanasius' writings is there any discussion of doctrine, no comment, for example on the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Alice-Mary Maffry-Talbot comments that, "Athanasius' primary concern was not dogma or theology, but rather his compelling duty to eradicate the evils he saw in the world around him, especially the abuses prevalent in the administration of the Church, among Bishops, priests and monks alike".⁵

On the other hand, the Eastern Roman Emperors Andronicus II (1282-1328), and his immediate successor Andronicus III (1328-1341), were very keen on opening diplomatic communications between Constantinople and the Papacy. They did so by sending letters to Pope John XXII (1316-1334) requesting for ecclesiastical union and peace between the two Churches. The purpose of this diplomatic approach was to procure the military co-operation of the western world against the growing menace of the Turks in Asia Minor. For the Pope, however, unless the Greeks were to submit first to the authority of the Roman Church, the prospect of their material salvation from the Turks could not even be discussed.

Nicephorus Gregoras, a Greek historian and theologian of the fourteenth century records that in 1334 two Latin prelates, Francis Archbishop of Vospri and the Englishman Richard, Bishop of Cherson, came to Constantinople from the Pope "to discuss peace and harmony of the Churches".⁶

Patriarch Isaiah of Constantinople (1323-1334) was pressed by public eagerness to arrange for a theological and doctrinal dialogue between the two parties. Finally, he asked Gregoras himself, a layman, to undertake the task of defending Orthodox theology. Gregoras addressed a small assembly of Bishops in Constantinople at great length and managed to convince them that nothing could be gained by disputations about doctrine with isolated representatives of the Western Church.⁷

Gregoras found it hard to understand what all the fuss was about. As he saw it, the main point of disagreement between the two Churches, namely the procession

of the Holy Spirit had been decided long ago at the Ecumenical Councils of the one undivided Church and all contrary opinions stood condemned. For it was an undeniable fact that the Church of Rome, under the pontificate of Pope Benedict VIII and his successors had accepted the 'Filioque' clause into the Latin text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed which had no warrant from the earlier Councils of the Church. Gregoras was a strong traditionalist and firmly declared that matters affecting the Creed and doctrine of the universal Church could only be decided by a fully representative assembly of the heads and members of that Church; in other words by an Ecumenical Council.

"It is agreed by both parties that our dogma is correct; whereas the dogma that they (Latins) profess is considered by all but themselves to be culpable by reason of its heretical addition and its deviation from the truth...this had come about because they (Latins) overriding the rulings and decrees of all the Holy Councils, have taken independent action and introduced things that are acceptable to themselves alone. It is not right therefore to flout the ancient and well-established custom of the Emperors and former Fathers of the Church. The custom, when disputes about dogma in the Church arise, is to summon by public decree and edict all the spokesmen of the Church, not merely those appointed as Metropolitans to spread the Gospel over the world, but also those of patriarchal rank, the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, if these are not summoned, then the harmony of the Church is in peril of being upset."⁸

In addition, Gregoras, like many other Eastern Roman theologians who wrote

before him (such as Theophylactus, Metropolitan of Bulgaria), saw little point in debating such theological questions as the 'Filioque' interpolation in the Ecumenical Creed. For such matters were beyond the reach of human reasoning. "There is no place for syllogism nor for the techniques of apodictic and dialectic demonstration, when the subject at issue is the Holy and Life-giving Trinity...For the reason in divine affairs is hard to perceive and indeed incomprehensible, as many of our own theologians have shown; and as even those outside the Christian dispensation have admitted, among whom not the least is Plato, the son of Ariston. To know God", concluded Gregoras, "is difficult; to express him is impossible."⁹

V. 2. The Westernizers of the Fourteenth Century.

a) Barlaam the Calabrian (1290-1350)

What Gregoras did not do (he refused to debate with the Pope's legates in Constantinople in early 1334), was done by Barlaam, a Calabrian monk of the Greek rite, but without any positive results.

Barlaam's presence in Byzantium had attracted the attention and patronage of Ioannes Cantacuzenus, the Emperor's right-hand man, (eventually enthroned Emperor of Constantinople, 1347-1355), who in the 1330's had secured him an appointment to teach at the Patriarchal University of Constantinople. In the beginning, Barlaam's Orthodoxy appeared to be 'faultless'. He had in word and writing attacked the Latin doctrines of the procession of the Holy Spirit and of the primacy of the Roman

See.¹⁰ Barlaam was a master in the art of dialectics, which he used in order to show that the theological arguments of the Latins did not make sense and that no serious inconveniences follow from accepting the Greek position concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. In particular, he criticised the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, who taught that the Persons of the Trinity differed from each other only with respect to their relations.¹¹

Martino Jugie maintains that, Barlaam, although a native Italian, is not to be reckoned as having renounced the Latin faith when he went to Constantinople, as is commonly supposed, but from childhood, when as he himself testified, he was fed on the doctrine of Photius: "It is not simply a matter of supposition to think that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, but it is absolutely necessary, for those who wish to be orthodox, to confess that it is only from the first cause that the Son and the Holy Spirit derive their existence."¹² This, however, does not enable us to assume that Barlaam is to be acknowledged as an orthodox theologian because as Professor Ioannes Romanides has rightly pointed out, not all the anti-Thomists were automatically orthodox.¹³

From his writings against the Latins, however, it is clear that the Calabrian monk was not very well versed in the doctrine of the Greek Fathers. As far as the Latin Fathers are concerned, he is virtually silent. Dr. John Meyendorff comments, that in spite of his double theological formation, Barlaam was hardly a prominent representative of Western theological thought; "he was, rather a manipulator of ideas, and probably influenced by Nominalism".¹⁴

Barlaam, gave very little thought to the patristic expression 'through the Son' (*διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*), so often found in the writings of the Greek Fathers. On the other hand, he placed great weight on two spurious texts, one of Cyril of Alexandria: "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone as from a mouth",¹⁵ and the other of Gregory of Nyssa: "the Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father and because it is said that the Spirit is of the mouth but not the Word of the mouth, we might credit only the Father for the processional property".¹⁶ In addition, Barlaam knew the main arguments of Photius quite well, and seemed to have been totally governed by Photius' presuppositions, and assumed from the beginning that the *προβολή* of the Spirit is the hypostatic property of the Father.

In 1339, the Eastern Roman Emperor Andronicus III, sent Barlaam on a secret mission to Pope Benedict VII (1334-1342) at Avignon to explain the Orthodox point of view on a matter of the union between East and West. Barlaam believed that the different views held on the procession of the Holy Spirit could be easily sorted out by the assembly of an ecumenical council. For this reason he wrote to Pope Benedict XII.

"If your belief on the procession of the Holy Spirit is so manifest and right, then a common examination of it will prove it to be so and the Greeks will be convinced, which is what you so ardently desire...I know the Latins well, and know them for intelligent men. But other Greeks, who do not know them as I do, say that they decline to come to an examination of their faith out of fear; they are afraid that the Greeks may be found to speak more of the truth than they do. For he who has

confidence in the truth of his beliefs does not fight shy of laying them open to scrutiny; but he who refuses to do so puts himself under suspicion of timidity...Lastly, no one need fear that the Church of God might suffer by such a council, because every time a council has been held it has redounded to the greater glory of the Church and to the fortification of the truth...For what greater work can a man find on this earth than the union of the Greeks with the Latins?"¹⁷

Barlaam's claim to know more about Orthodoxy than the Orthodox themselves was soon resented. His labours in defence of Eastern Orthodox theology and doctrine passed unnoticed by the people of Constantinople. Nicephorus Gregoras was able to pick holes in his philosophy in a public debate, but the man who challenged most Barlaam's theology was the monk Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), known as the leading exponent of the doctrine of hesychasm in the monastic community of Mount Athos. In 1341 Barlaam was condemned by the Ecumenical Patriarch Ioannes Calecas (1334-1347), and the Holy Synod in the patriarchal Cathedral of the Hagia Sophia, retired from the Constantinopolitan scene and returned to his native Italy where in due course he went over to the Latin Church.

When Barlaam joined the Church of Rome, he tried to explain the main reasons which had led him to reject the traditional orthodox interpretation regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. In one of his letters to Demetrios Kydones - the man who Barlaam influenced most on his long road to Roman Catholicism - the Calabrian monk wrote: "There are three main reasons which have led me more firmly to believe in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. First, many of our most learned Fathers,

in expounding the Sacred Scriptures, say that they learned about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son by reading them, and therefore they teach it openly and frequently in their own writings (i.e. St. Augustine and St. Cyril of Alexandria). Second, the Roman Church, which is greater than all the others both in dignity and power and in the diligent study of Holy Scripture, has taught and held this doctrine from the beginning. To these two reasons, o friend, I would add a third, (which you will see has been ignored up till now), which is that a general council, meeting at Lyons (1274) has affirmed this teaching and declared that all who are opposed to it are heretics. This removes any doubt I might have had about this dogma.”¹⁸

In the same letter Barlaam added the following point.

“To say and from the Son is in no way opposed to saying from the Father. It is not that, if we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son we are somehow denying that He also proceeds from the Father. On the contrary, it is all the more necessary to say that He proceeds from the Father as well, once we accept that He proceeds from the Son. There is no contradiction here. Thus, Scripture says, and the Councils agree, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. By saying that He also proceeds from the Son, the Roman Church is not stating anything which goes against the witness, or which might be harmful to it, but rather is confirming something which is implicit in the earlier statements. For if the Roman Church had not said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, yet believed that He proceeds from the Son, it would have been necessary to conclude that He proceeds from the Father as well. For if He proceeds from the Son, but everything He has He has from the Father, He must also

proceed from the Father as well.¹⁹

In one of his treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit, Barlaam considered Revelation 22:1 and concluded that this was a key text in support of the double procession.

“Then he showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city.”
(Revelation 22:1)

Here Barlaam identified the river of the water of life as the Holy Spirit, and the Lamb, of course, is the Son. From this it follows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son (as well as from the Father) not in his capacity as a human being, but in his capacity as God, sharing the Father’s throne. This is exactly what Saint John meant by saying that the river flows from the throne of God and of the Lamb, i.e., from their nature, by which the Lamb is co-ruler (*σύνθρονος*) with the Father, so as to mean that the Lamb is the cause of the Spirit’s procession in so far as the Lamb is God.²⁰

To this, Barlaam concluded, that ^{we} “refrain from all accusations and suggest nothing offensive, but rather by means of sacred speech, not relying on any vain philosophy, we show that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son”.²¹

It is clear, however, from these statements that Barlaam did not make an ade-

quate distinction between theology and economy, as the Fathers did, but confused the Incarnate Son (the Lamb of God) with the Son as God, and hence came to his erroneous conclusion that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. His exposition of the text from the book of Revelation is ultimately faulty on account of the above confusion.

b) Demetrios Kydones (1342-1397)

Demetrios Kydones, Byzantium's prime minister during the reign of Ioannes Cantacuzenus and a leading statesman of the middle fourteenth century, was soon to become - like Barlaam - an eloquent advocate for the promotion of union between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Kydones, who was stigmatised by his contemporaries as a 'Latinophron' (Westernizer) was deeply influenced by Latin scholastic theology and in particular by the writings of Thomas Aquinas whose *Contra Gentiles* he managed to translate into Greek at the end of 1354. "Kydones' growing admiration for Latin theology and scholarship was already producing in him that crisis of conscience which was to lead him from Eastern Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism."²¹ Before he joined the Roman Church, Kydones wrote several times to Barlaam expressing serious doubts about the Latin interpretation concerning the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. In one of those letters, Kydones seemed to wonder whether the double procession could be well supported by biblical and patristic evidence.

“First of all I see that it is more daring to deny the procession of the Spirit from the Son than to confess it. In his *The Divine Names*, St. Dionysius says that we ought not to dare say anything about the Holy Trinity beyond what has been expressly revealed to us in Holy Scripture. Those who say that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father have dared to do just that. What can scarcely be proved from Holy Scripture, they have dared to claim as a direct revelation from God. But the Latins, noting that many passages of Scripture hint that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, (John 16:8) draw the conclusion, as I understand it, that He (Holy Spirit) in fact proceeds from the Son. In doing this, they treat scripture reverently and obediently, and receive its teaching in that spirit. In contrast to the Greeks, they show not the slightest daring in coming to this conclusion.”

Therefore, it is not to be doubted that only inferior theologians, driven by daring and pride, would prefer their own understanding to that of the holy and great Fathers. In fact, whoever says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone goes against the teaching of many great Saints, and above all Saint Augustine and Saint Cyril, who widely and openly teach the opposite, and thinks of himself as wiser and more religious. But the Latins never sin in this way, since none of the Fathers ever said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Therefore, supposing that both views are wrong, if we ask which one contains the greatest danger, I think that the Latin teaching is the safer one. For even if it is wrong, it adds something which glorifies God and does not take anything away from Him. Nor does it take anything away from the Spirit, or make Him of lesser

dignity than the Son. So, taking nothing away from either the Father or the Son, the Latin teaching adds that not only is the Father the perfect spirator, He is also the generator of another spirator. As for the Greek view, if it is false, what a great blasphemy it is. It adds nothing to God, but takes away from the Son the ability to be the Spirator of the Holy Spirit, and takes away from the Father the ability to generate another Spirator. It is as if one were to add to Scripture by saying that the forty-two year old Lazarus, whom Christ raised from the dead, did not in fact die, but had a kind of heart attack and appeared to die, so that on the fourth day the Lord freed him from this attack. It is like saying that he was dead for thirty days, or evenmore, before being resurrected by the Lord. Both statements are false, but the former takes something away from the miracle while the latter adds something to it, so that the degree of sin is not the same in each case."²²

When Kydones joined the Latin Church, he tried - without success - to build a bridge between the Greek and Latin interpretations concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Having read both Greek works written against the Latins and Latin works dealing with the whole controversy, he arrived at the erroneous conclusion that the strongest point in favour of the Latins was that the Fathers of both traditions were agreed in substance, even though their forms of expression differed. With many quotations cited from the writings of the Greek Fathers that the Spirit 'is poured forth', 'appears', 'comes', 'is given', 'shines forth' from the Son and the like, Kydones aimed at lessening the importance of the word 'proceed' and declared - in the same way as Beccus had done - that the prepositions 'from' and 'through' were identical in the trinitarian context. He made this point briefly in his *Testament*:

“The Italian school has expressly declared that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from a single principle and a single procession, and on this basis they have tried to persuade all Christians that in order to be consistent with this opinion, those who deny it must be condemned as heretics...Our own leaders, whom I would sooner call Universal Doctors, have said exactly the same thing only using different words to express it, saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and that He proceeds from and shares in the Father’s essence, and is poured out by the Son just as if He were coming also from God the Father...Having discovered all this, I deemed that those who dispute over words, trying to show that there is some difference between proceeding from the Son, and being from the Son, are wasting everybody’s time.²³

In this purely rhetorical way of thinking, it is obvious that Kydones, like Barlaam, completely failed to detect the real basis of the orthodox opposition to the Latin ‘Filioque’ which is none other than the patristic distinction between theology and economy. Because of this, he understood Cyril’s and even Augustine’s statements concerning the relationship between the Spirit and the Son in the economy as having an eternal application. It also seems that Kydones did not take into adequate consideration the distinction between the one common essence and the three distinct hypostases of the Holy Trinity.

c) Manuel Calecas (1360-1410)

Apart from Barlaam the Calabrian and Demetrios Kydones, another important and influential representative of the anti-Palamite faction in the late fourteenth century was without doubt Manuel Calecas, a disciple of Kydones. Calecas joined the Dominican order and died in a Dominican monastery on the island of Mytilene (Lesbos) in 1410.

Calecas drew his material from Thomas Aquinas as well as from Demetrios Kydones' work *Against Palamas*.²⁴ He did not always state his source, but the line of arguments he adopted followed strictly the rhetorical propositions advanced by his teacher a few decades earlier. In his *Compendium of Catholic Theology*, which is called *περὶ πίστεως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως*, Calecas explained Augustine's psychological theory of the Trinity with great clarity. Against the Palamites there is a treatise which has been falsely attributed to Demetrios Kydones, which is called *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit, to those who say that the Son of God is not from the substance of the Father*. For the Palamites say, on the one hand, that there is a real distinction between the divine essence, the hypostases (or Persons) and the properties of the hypostases, but, on the other hand, they are unwilling to accept the force of the patristic testimonies according to which it is openly stated that the Holy Spirit is from the substance of the Father and the Son, which for Calecas implied that he proceeds from both! The Palamites, as Calecas saw it, go as far as to teach that the Son of God is not from the substance of the Father but has been begotten by him, so that as a Person he is distinct from the Father, but has his existence from

the hypostasis of the Father. This, they teach is the real meaning of those Fathers who say that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father and the Son.²⁵

After showing up, as he thought, the absurdities which flow from the Palamite distinctions, between the divine essence, the hypostases and the properties of the hypostases, Calecas sought to show that the divine essence or substance, the divine hypostases or Persons, and the hypostatic properties are all one and the same, even though they are logically distinguished from each other, and that this was the teaching of the Fathers! It is obvious here that Calecas followed a certain line of later Augustinian trinitarian methodology, and presented it as catholic patristic teaching. On the similarity and difference between the prepositions $\epsilon\kappa$ and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, Calecas explained how he thought the Fathers understood it and managed to reconcile both formulas (Greek and Latin) concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit in the following way:

“Since the Father and Son are one by nature, and there is one operation common to both, and both are one and the same God, it is clear that there is no real difference between the preposition $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, which is used of the Son, and the preposition $\epsilon\kappa$, which is used of the Father. Both mean the same thing, and both express that the Son is the principle of the Holy Spirit, together with the Father, and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. All the Saints state explicitly that it is wrong to find a distinction between these terms, and they teach that when the Father and the Son are being discussed, there is no real difference at all between $\epsilon\kappa$ and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, except in so far as they distinguish the hypostases from one another and establish some order of Persons in the Godhead. In this order, the Son occupies the middle place, which

is what the use of the preposition *διὰ* is intended to signify. Therefore, their usage prevents the Father from being confused with the Son and allows that both should be seen as forming the principle of the Holy Spirit; and that the Person of both the Father and the Son is the same, the one difference being that the Father is given a certain priority of rank. Thus the preposition *ἐκ* reminds us that the Father is the ultimate source of the Godhead and the preposition *διὰ* means that there is a second Person in addition to the first. But the two prepositions distinguish an order in the Godhead, without making one of the Persons superior or inferior to another.”²⁶

This text shows that although Calecas was aware of both traditions (Greek and Latin), he lacked the critical insight which would have lead him to understand the ultimate theological principles that lay behind them. The result of his reasoning was a medley of ideas, which, far from providing any responsible compromise, as he aimed to, was utterly unacceptable to the Eastern side and most probably to the Western as well.

V. 3. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359).

The careful distinction between the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit (or the Person of the Holy Spirit), and the eternal gifts received at Pentecost - at the “coming down” of the Spirit, which was prepared in the thirteenth century by Patriarch Gregory II, was taken over and developed by the Athonite monk Gregory Palamas (1296-1359).²⁷ According to George Barrois, “the fundamental point of this thought - the distinction between the essence and the energy - is none other than the working piece of Palamas’

theology.”²⁸

Gregory Palamas, eventually consecrated Archbishop of Thessalonica in 1347, is regarded as the greatest theologian in the East of the fourteenth century, and in many ways the Greek answer to Thomas Aquinas. The monk Gregory, participated in the discussion on the procession of the Holy Spirit, the ‘Filioque’ controversy, which took place in Constantinople in 1333-1334, during the reign of Emperor Andronicus III (1328-1341), in an attempt to unite the Greek and Latin Churches. During this period, Palamas wrote two *Oration*s demonstrating the orthodox teaching regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit, (λόγοι ἀποδευκτικοί) or *Against the Latins*, which, as his biographer Philotheos informs us, were first published in Constantinople in 1335.²⁹ Among his other treatises we find three epistles addressed to the monk Gregory Akindynos (1310-1350), who had been Palamas’ disciple at Mount Athos,³⁰ two epistles to the Calabrian monk Barlaam, and a refutation of the writings of the Latinizer Patriarch of Constantinople Ioannes Beccus (1275-1282), entitled ἀντεπιγραφαί.³¹

In all these treatises, Palamas expressed the orthodox view regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit and rejected the ‘Filioque’ addition to the Creed as “doctrinally erroneous and theologically dangerous.”³² Remaining faithful to the (Greek) patristic tradition, (especially the Cappadocians and the writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria) and the evangelical teaching, (particularly the Gospel according to St. John and the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians),³³ Palamas insisted that theological discussion regarding the eternal relationship of the divine Persons could reach apodictic conclusions - not just dialectic - that is it could lead to the Truth itself. This

principal starting point in Palamas' theology, effectively shifted the traditional basis of Eastern trinitarianism away from a duality between essence and existence, to a duality between essence and energy.

The essence of the triune God, according to Palamas, is a divine darkness, something which is completely beyond the approach of human minds. However, within the divine essence there is an act of will which is common to the three hypostases. These are the energies of God; they are likewise 'processions' (*πρόοδοι*), within the divine essence, but in contradiction to the processions of the Trinity they are not hypostatic and are therefore turned towards the whole creation. In short, Palamas differentiated between the hypostases of the three Persons and the energies of God. This distinction is extremely important for Gregory, since it is only by this way that God remains simple in his essence, in spite of the multiplicity of his energies which are distinct from one another, and though inseparable from the essence, are always in action without introducing any kind of composition in God. Energy, therefore, as Palamas understood it is that, which in the absolute and incommunicable divinity is turned towards the world. This distinction between God's essence (*οὐσία*), and his energies was not a new theory, but had its roots in the teaching of the Cappadocian Fathers: "We know our God from His energies", wrote Basil of Caesarea, "but we do not claim that we can draw near to His essence. For His energies come down to us, but His essence remains unapproachable."³⁴

From this, as we shall progressively see, it follows that at the level of hypostatic existence, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone; (so far as the origin of the

Spirit was concerned, Palamas agreed with Photius that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone), but at the level of energy, he proceeds from the Father through the Son, or from the Father and the Son together: "The Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and comes from Him, being breathed and sent and manifested by Him, but in His very being and His existence, He is the Spirit of Christ, but is not from Christ, but from the Father."³⁵

Dr. John Meyendorff describes Palamas as "fiercely faithful to doctrinal Orthodoxy."³⁶ Indeed, Palamas followed the long patristic tradition before him in stating rather emphatically that the hypostasis of the Father is the unique cause (*μόνη αἰτία*), principle (*μόνη ἀρχή*), and source (*μόνη πηγή*); of the Son's and the Holy Spirit's divinity and existence.³⁷ Therefore, because the Father is the only *αἰτία*, and *ἀρχή*, in the Trinity, and because it is this quality of being the *αἴτιον* and *ἀρχή*, that constitutes his distinctive characteristic, the Son and the Holy Spirit as 'caused' (*αἰτιατά*), derive their existence from the Father alone.³⁸

Prof. Panagiotis Chrestou observes that in Gregory's treatises, the whole issue concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit is examined from two points of view. Firstly, whether it was initially permissible for the Latins to add the 'Filioque' clause to the original text of the Creed; and secondly, whether the theology connected with the addition was based on a true biblical and patristic revelation.³⁹

The first problem is a simple one. The Ecumenical Councils, which accepted the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as authoritative and regarded it as a common

foundation for all theological argumentation, explicitly excluded the option of an addition. (This is in fact the point which Palamas emphasised in Chapter four of his first *Oration*). The second problem is initially a hermeneutical one. The Latins claim that although the Creed affirms the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, it does not necessarily imply that such a procession is from the Father alone. Consequently, always according to the Latins, it is permissible to assume that the silence of the Creed implies a procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well. In reply to such an erroneous way of thinking, Palamas demonstrated; through a multitude of patristic verses, that just as the generation of the Son is not said to be from the Father alone, and yet it is clearly understood that this is always the case, similarly, in the procession of the Holy Spirit, although the word 'alone' is not found in the original text, is it always implied:⁴⁰

“The Son is begotten of the Father alone, but when one says that Christ is the Son of the Father, does one not think and does one not understand by that also the word 'alone', that the Son is begotten of the Father alone, even if the word 'alone' is not added?...The Spirit has his existence from the Father of the Son, because he who causes the Spirit to proceed is also Father...Recognise that it is not from anywhere else (that the Spirit has his existence), but only from him who also begets the Son.”⁴¹

Palamas, however, knew that he had to go a step further and express the eternal relationship between the Son and the Holy Spirit, without at the same time, implying that the former was responsible for the latter's origin. Although the Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father, he still possesses the essence of the Son. This

sharing of the essence is emphasised in Palamas' concept of manifestation:

“On the one hand, the Holy Spirit is together with the Father and the Son, without beginning, since He is eternal; yet, on the other hand, He is not without beginning, since He, too - by way of procession, not by way of generation - has the Father as foundation, source and cause. He also (like the Son), came forth from the Father before all ages, without change, impassibly, not by generation, but by procession; He is inseparable from the Father and the Son, since He proceeds from the Father and reposes in the Son; He possesses union without losing His identity, and division without involving separation. He too, is God from God; He is not different since He is God, yet He is different since He is the Comforter; as Spirit, He possesses hypostatic existence, proceeds from the Father, and is sent - that is manifested - through the Son; He, too, is the cause of all created things, since it is in the Spirit that they are perfected. He is identical and equal with the Father and the Son, with the exception of unbegottenness and generation. He was sent - that is, made known - from the Son to His own disciples. By what other means - the Spirit who is inseparable from the Son - could He have been sent? By what other means could He - who is everywhere - come to me? Therefore, He is sent not only from the Son, but from the Father and through the Son, and is manifested through himself.”⁴²

If we accept the Latin contention of the ‘Filioque’, Palamas went on to explain. mainly that the Holy Spirit is caused by the Father and the Son, then there are two causes and principles in divinity, since the Father and the Son are two distinctive hypostases.

“The Latins have no answer to those who blame them for introducing two origins for the Spirit, because the Father and the Son, as hypostases, are two and not one, and because the procession is a hypostatic act of the Father...They are by nature one, but the Spirit equally possesses that unique nature and should proceed from himself if procession was conceived as an act of nature. The hypostasis of the Father is the active principle of the divine unity.”⁴³

Another inevitable danger in the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit is to identify the two causes - namely, the hypostasis of the Son with that of the Father - and hence, arrive at the old heresy of ‘Patripassianism’. (A form of Monarchianism which arose in the third century and held that God the Father suffered as the Son.)⁴⁴ If the hypostatic properties are to be identified with the natural, then the Holy Spirit not only will proceed ‘and from the Son’ (Filioque), but also ‘from himself’. As a result of that, the Spirit who causes the procession, will be one and the Spirit who proceeds will be another. Such an admission, however, as Patriarch Photius had already pointed out in the ninth century, would lower Christianity to a form of polytheism and thus we would arrive at a ‘quaternity’, instead of a ‘trinity’.⁴⁵

Gregory was willing to accept a ‘procession’ of the Holy Spirit through (διὰ) the Son, as it was explained and understood by the early Church Fathers. While, therefore, according to the *Confession* of Pseudo-Dionysius, he accepted one πηγαίαν θεότητα and one θεογόνον θεότητα⁴⁶ from which the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally, he also accepted a double projection or outpouring of the Spirit, which as a concession, he might also have called ‘procession’.

“When you understand”, Palamas wrote, “that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Two, because He comes essentially from the Father through the Son, you should understand this teaching in this sense: it is the powers and essential energies of God which pour, not the divine hypostasis of the Spirit. The hypostasis of the All Holy Spirit does not come from the Son; He is not given or received by anybody; it is only the divine grace and energy which are received.”⁴⁷ In other words, the Holy Spirit, proceeding eternally from the Father, rests upon the Son and is poured forth by the Two to those who are worthy to receive.⁴⁸ This view, seeds of which are found in a text of Gregory of Nyssa, which is cited by the author,⁴⁹ had already been developed in the thirteenth century by Patriarch Gregory the Cypriot.⁵⁰

In his second *Oration*, Gregory analysed and refuted in detail, the propositions of the Latins in support of the doctrine of the double procession. According to Palamas, the Western Church is like an elephant that finds it difficult to rise again when it falls down. In the same way, the Latin Church, by accepting the ‘Filioque’ clause to the Creed, removed itself from the evangelical and patristic truth and fell into heresy. If, however, Palamas went on to assert, this Church were to ask for help, we should all be ready to extend a saving hand to her.⁵¹ In this treatise, Palamas presented the orthodox interpretation of the biblical verses such as: “He (Jesus) breathed on them and said, ‘receive the Holy Spirit’” (John 20:22) and “God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, ‘Abba! Father!’” (Galatians 4:6), which strengthens the view, that distinguishes between the origin of the hypostasis of the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, and his outpouring (ἐκχύσεως), in the world from the Father and the Son.

In the same way, in Palamas' refutation of the writings of the Latinizer Patriarch Beccus, the author argued that certain biblical statements, put forward by the Latins as presenting the Father and the Son a source of the Spirit, simply express their consubstantiality.⁵² Here also, Palamas explained the orthodox understanding of certain patristic phrases which are wrongly exploited by the Latins in support of their views. Thus, the phrases 'through the Son' and 'from the Son' denote the common will of the Son and the Father in granting the gift of the Spirit.⁵³ The same is denoted by the terms 'going forth' (προϊέναι), 'being poured forth' (προχέϊσθαι), etc.⁵⁴ while by contrast the term 'proceeding' (ἐκπορεύεσθαι), is connected only with the phrase 'from the Father'.⁵⁵

At the end of Gregory's *Second Oration*, we find the seeds of the later systematised Orthodox teaching concerning the distinction between essence and energy, which permits the attribution of the existential forthcoming of the Spirit to the Father and the shining forth or operational forthcoming of the Spirit to the Son.⁵⁶ What is extraordinary about this is that Palamas then takes up, for the first time in Greek theology, the Augustinian analogy of love (ἔρως), and applies it to the level of energy, on the ground that the love of God can be known and therefore cannot belong to His incomprehensible essence.

"The Spirit of the Word from on high is like a mysterious love of the Father towards the Word mysteriously begotten; it is the same love as that possessed by the Word and the well beloved Son of the Father towards Him who begat Him; this He does in so far as He comes from the Father conjointly with this love and this love

rests, naturally, on Him.”⁵⁷

In this way, Gregory made the brilliant deduction that the expression ‘God is Love’ (I John 4:8), is not parallel to the saying ‘God is Spirit’, since the former is a knowable energy, while the latter is the unknowable essence. The Serbian Orthodox theologian, Amphilochios Randovich, (now Bishop of Banat, Yugoslavia), concludes that “for Palamas ‘eros’ does not establish the hypostasis, but reveals the direct procession of the Spirit from the Father alone, together with the common essence and common power of the Trinitarian Persons.”⁵⁸

According to this way of thinking, the Holy Spirit rests on the Son as his energy. At the incarnation, the human nature of Christ received the Holy Spirit and thereby participated in the uncreated grace of God. This participation is a real one and forms the basis of the transformation of man which, in Greek theology, is called deification (*θεώσις*). But at the same time, it is a participation of grace, not by nature in the divine realities. If the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son at the level of existence, human participation in him would have to be by nature; but this is not possible. Therefore, either the Holy Spirit is reduced to the level of a creature, in whom we can participate as fellow-creatures, or there is no genuine and immediate participation in him at all. The grace which we receive is a created grace, made by, but not essentially part of the Holy Spirit. The combination of procession from the Father and manifestation by the Son is designed to overcome this dilemma. In his eternal procession from the Father alone, the Holy Spirit remains ineffable in the hidden being of God. In his manifestation by or through the Son, he becomes knowable and

known as the divine energy at work in the world for the salvation of mankind.

This point is clearly expressed and summarised by the Rumanian Orthodox Theologian Prof. Dimitru Staniloae: "In the East, it is not denied that at the origin of the sending of the Spirit by the Son there is a special eternal relationship between the Son and the Spirit, just as there is such an eternal relationship between the Father and the Son at the origin of the sending of the Son into the world. In the West, on the other hand, one avoids drawing from the eternal relation of the Spirit to the Son, the conclusion that the Spirit is sent to men for a work which consists essentially in the deification and adoption of man."⁵⁹

All Orthodox scholars who have written on Gregory Palamas - P. Chrestou, A. Randovich, J. Meyendorff, V. Lossky and D. Staniloae - assume his voice to be a legitimate expression of Orthodox tradition. Prof. Lossky recognised that what is being defended is "a single identical tradition...at different points, by the Orthodox from St. Photius to George of Cyprus and St. Gregory Palamas".⁶⁰

On the other hand, Western scholars, and among them the 'notorious' Martino Jugie, seem fit to attack Palamas as a 'revolutionary innovator': "The two *Orationes* by Gregory Palamas, on the procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins, surpass the writings on the same argument by his predecessors to such an extent, that compared to them, the prefaces really seem to be the games and treatises of nothing but children."⁶¹ Be this as it may, the harsh criticism of Latin academic theology, remains polemically and theologically unconvincing.⁶² Palamas, in responding

to the Thomistic criticism of Photian monopatrism, managed to further the integration, rather than the disintegration of Eastern Orthodox spirituality, in a way which opposed Latin thinking at more than one point. Finally, in agreeing with Dr. A. Papadakis, we conclude that, "Palamas' theology is not a new innovation but a genuine development of the truth of tradition."⁶³

Palamas died on November 14, 1359 in Thessalonica. Nine years later, in the Constantinopolitan Council of 1368, he was proclaimed a Saint by Patriarch Philotheus (1354-1355; 1364-1376), placed on the official Calendar of the Hagia Sophia, and venerated as a champion of Orthodoxy and as a great Doctor of the Church.

V. 4. Nilus Cabasilas (1285-1363).

The last outstanding orthodox name in the East of the fourteenth century was Nilus Cabasilas (1285-1363). Nilus became Archbishop of Thessalonica in 1361 succeeding Gregory Palamas and died in 1363, probably without ever having been installed in his Archiepiscopal See. Cabasilas was a professor of rhetoric and was well known to many as a man of wide culture in the classics. Demetrios Kydones described him as "passionately enthusiastic about the books of Thomas Aquinas".⁶⁴ Indeed, Nilus was the first among the Greeks with a full knowledge of Latin theology to write a number of controversial treatises against the Roman primacy,⁶⁵ and more particularly, against the theology of Thomas Aquinas and his exposition of the 'Filioque'.⁶⁶

Nilus argued that the Latins employ scholastic syllogistic arguments to show that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. For him, however, scholastic syllogisms which are put forward for the vindication of divine realities, were like colours which blind people try to judge and dispute about.⁶⁷

Nilus rejected the theology of 'Filioque' and based his arguments on three main reasons:

1) The 'Filioque' destroys many confessed premises held in theology. (e.g. John 15:26)

2) It is greater to stick to the apostolic tradition which distinguishes in the *πηγαία θεότητα*, the Father and the Son.

3) All the Ecumenical Councils have never confessed that the Holy Spirit proceeds (*ἐκπορεύεται*), from the Father and the Son.⁶⁸

Dr. John Meyendorff, in presenting a picture of the controversy at the close of the fourteenth century, observes that "the Filioque dispute was not a discussion on words but on the issue of whether the hypostatic existence of the Persons of the Trinity could be reduced to their internal relations, as the post-Augustinian West would admit, or whether the primary Christian experience was that of a Trinity of Persons whose personal existence was irreducible to their common essence. The question was, therefore, whether tri-personality or consubstantiality was the first and basic content

of Christian religious experience.”⁶⁹

CHAPTER VI: THE 'FILIOQUE' AS DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE

VI: 1. The events preceding the Council of Florence.

In the previous chapter we clearly saw that the possibility of a council of union, held in common between the representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches had been often suggested by several Eastern Roman philosophers and theologians. They were in hope that such a council could, on the authority of Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition, solve all the points of dissension between the two contending parties. The East and West would make peace with each other on the subject of faith and then all Christian nations would give their hands and hearts to the defence of the faithful against the infidel Turks.

It might be suggested here that the popes of the fourteenth century may well have thought that unrepentant schismatics like the Greeks were hardly worth saving. Neither they nor their legates appeared to understand the importance which the Eastern Christians attached to the necessity for bringing the Churches together in a catholic and ecumenical council. It is certainly true that on 6th November 1367 Pope Urban V (1362-1370) signed twenty-three letters addressed to the Eastern Patriarchs in none of which is the prospect of an ecumenical council mentioned.¹ A few years later, the Eastern Roman Emperor Ioannes V Palaeologus (1354-1391), openly accepted the Catholic faith before the Pope during his visit to the Holy See (June 1369), in order to recruit western aid against the Turkish threat to Constantinople.

No Eastern Orthodox clergy, however, were present and no reunion of the Churches was accomplished.

At any rate, Rome's attitude certainly changed in the beginning of the fifteenth century after the election of Oddo Colonna to the Papal Throne (1417-1431).

The Council of Constance (1414-1417),² attended by Eastern delegates, introduced new thinking on the efficacy of an ecumenical council, and the Easterners, who in an optimistic mood discussed the possibility of union, were ready enough to take up the threads of the discussion that had been dropped by the new Pope Martin V.

Martin, who during his pontifical reign maintained contact with Constantinople and agreed in principle to the holding of a reunion council there, thought and spoke of the ending of the schism as the *Reductio Graecorum*, the bringing back of the schismatic Greeks to the Mother Church of Rome.³ The Pope proposed the possibility of a council of union for consideration by the Latin assembly convened first at Pavia (1423) and then removed to Siena (1424) for settling the affairs of the Western Church. The Council of Siena was soon after broken up by Martin himself who feared its decisions might prove unfavourable to him and consequently the project of union remained without positive results.

On 20 February 1431, Martin suddenly died and was soon to be succeeded by the Cardinal of Siena Gabriele Condulmaro, who took the name of Eugenius IV.

The Council of Basel (1431), which Martin V had summoned three weeks before his death made the new Pope more attentive to the scheme of the union of the two Churches. The Council, heir to the ideas that had taken root during the Latin schism (1378-1417), was convinced that it was the highest authority in the Church and superior to the Pope. This, determined Eugenius to close the Council on 18 December 1431 and fix upon another one at Bologna, to be held in a year and a half's time under plea that the Greeks had promised to come to Italy for the union. The Council refused to disperse, on 15th February 1432 it appealed to the teaching of the Council of Constance that a General Council is superior to a Pope and on 18th December 1432 issued an ultimatum to him.⁴ During these disputes within the Roman Church, both Eugenius and Basel had been negotiating with Constantinople for the possibility of summoning a council of union.

The Roman Emperor of Constantinople, Ioannes VIII Palaeologus (1425-1448), together with the Ecumenical Patriarch Joseph II (1416-1439), replied positively through their ambassadors to Basel, among whom was Isidore, later Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and one of the most influential figures in the Council of Ferrara-Florence.⁵

Eugenius, though in his epistle to the Council of Basel dated 22 February 1435, insisted on the opening of the Council of union in Constantinople, suddenly changed his mind and after many suggestions as to the place for the forthcoming ecumenical assembly, declared the Council of Basel translated to Ferrara, to reopen there on 8th January 1438.⁶

VI. 2. The Council of Ferrara.

The Eastern Orthodox delegation arrived at the port of Venice on 8th February 1438 and in Ferrara on 4 March of the same year.⁷ When they left Constantinople in November 1437, the Eastern Roman Empire consisted only of the Imperial City, a few towns on the Black Sea, a few islands in the Aegean and the Peloponnese; and these only at the price of paying an annual tribute to the Turkish Sultan. Fear then of the Turks and the need of receiving help to defend Constantinople were a dominant motive in Eastern minds, prompting them to seek for the 'desirable' union of the two Churches. However, this does not enable us to assume that it was the only or highest motive. The Orthodox came to Italy believing that the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople, New Rome, were equal and independent and that, if either of the two Churches was schismatic or even heretical, it was the Latin Church. The Latins, on the other side, welcomed them, conscious to themselves of doctrinal infallibility and ecclesiastical superiority. To them, as to Pope Martin V, the 'daughter' Church was returning to the bosom of the Mother Church of Rome. There was a certain attitude, therefore, of reserve on both sides.

Together with the Emperor, his brother Demetrios and the Ecumenical Patriarch, there went the Metropolitans of Heraclea, Anthony; of Ephesus, Mark Eugenicus (representatives of Patriarch Philotheus of Alexandria); of Monembasia, Dositheus; of Trebizond, Dorotheus; of Cyzicus, Metrophanes; of Sardes, Dionysius (representative of Patriarch Joachim of Jerusalem); of Nicaea, Bessarion; of Nicomedia, Macarius; of Lacedaemon, Methodius; of Tornovo, (Bulgaria) Ignatius; of Mitylene,

(Aegean) Dorotheus; of Moldo Wallachia, (Rumania) Damianus; of Amasia, Joasaph; of Rhodes, Nathanael; of Dristra, Callistus; of Melnik, (Bulgaria) Matthew; of Ganos, (Thrace) Gennadius; of Drama, (Macedonia) Dositheus; of Anchialus, (Bulgaria) Sophronius; of Stauropolis, Isaias; a Metropolitan and a Bishop from the Orthodox Church of Georgia; six of the higher officials of the Great Church - deacons - and most of the minor ones; three superiors of monasteries and four other monks representing monasteries either of Constantinople or Mount Athos; the Protopresbyter Constantine; Grégory Mammas, superior of the monastery of Pantocrator, the Emperor's confessor and representative of Patriarch Dorotheus of Antioch; the laymen George Scholarius, George Gemistus Plethon and George Amiroutzes. Isidore. Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, one of the two representatives of Patriarch Joachim of Jerusalem: together with Avrami Bishop of Susdal joined the Eastern delegation by land.⁸

The theological discussions between the two sides began in earnest on 8 October 1438 in the great hall of the papal palace at Ferrara.

There are three main sources for the theology and history of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. These are:

a) *The Greek Acts* often referred to by their Greek name of *πρακτικά*, whose author remains till the present day unknown to us. They narrate the events according to chronological order from the arrival of the Eastern Orthodox delegates in Italy till the time of their departure from Venice.⁹

b) *The Latin Acts* written by Andrea de Santacroce (since the official Latin Acts have been lost) narrate the various conferences and meetings that took place between the Greeks and the Latins or among the Greeks.¹⁰

c) Finally, *The Memoirs*, known by the name of *A Truthful History of an Unjust Union*,¹¹ written by the deacon of the Great Church Silvester Syropoulos is an account of "what went on behind the scenes on the Greek side of the stage".^{12,13}

It is obvious, of course, to assume here that the *Latin Acts* are in favour of union and are conciliatory in tone to the Latins, while the Greek *Memoirs* are opposed to union and hostile to the Latins as well as the Eastern Latinizers.

After a comparatively short discourse on the Latin doctrine of purgatory, where no satisfactory agreement was reached, there was no objection from both sides as to the general theme of the forthcoming debate. It was unanimously accepted that it should be the 'Filioque'. Opinion, however, was divided among the Orthodox delegates as to whether the debate should begin by challenging the Latin 'Filioque' as an unlawful addition to the Creed or as doctrine. The majority of the participants voted for the addition led by Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus and George Gemistus, on the grounds that "it was not rightfully made and ought never to have been made, for it was the original reason for the schism".¹⁴ Bessarion, Metropolitan of Nicaea, together with the lay philosophers George Scholarius and George Amirontzes, would have preferred that the 'Filioque' as doctrine and not as addition should have been the subject of the initial theological debates in Ferrara. Their insistence was based on the

grounds that if the 'Filioque' as doctrine was proved false, there would be no need to spend time on it as an unacceptable addition. The Eastern Roman Emperor Ioannes VIII Palaeologus accepted the opinion of the majority and therefore Bessarion was outvoted.¹⁵

Mark of Ephesus, the speaker of the doctrinal committee formed on the Eastern side, rose first to open the discussions on the legitimacy of adding to the universal Creed. (The Metropolitan See of Ephesus was the third in rank after the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Diocese of Caesarea. Since the Metropolitan of Caesarea was not present at the Council, Mark was the most senior prelate after the Patriarch.) His position was simple and final: The addition of the 'Filioque' clause to the Creed of the Councils had been a provocative action of the Latin Church, in complete opposition to the prohibition of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431), which forbade any and every change of the Creed, even in word or syllable, for all time. The Seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus was therefore recalled to show that the Church of Christ strictly prohibited the use of any other Creed after the one composed at Nicaea:

"The Holy Synod enacted that it was lawful for no one to put forward, that is to write or compose, another faith than is defined by the Holy Fathers congregated in the Holy Spirit at Nicaea. Those who dared either to compose, or to proffer, or put forward another faith to those wishing to return to the acknowledgement of the truth, whether from paganism or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, such, if they were bishops or clerics should be alienated, bishops from the episcopacy and clerics from the clergy, but if laymen they should be under anathema."¹⁶

At first sight, it seems to us that Mark treated the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as if it were the original Nicene, and tactfully brushed aside all argument drawn from the fact that, whereas the Creed mentioned by the Seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus was undoubtedly the Nicene, both Eastern and Western Romans had over centuries used not that, but the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. However, Mark had not yet advanced any reasons for his assertion as was his right, so he continued by using the following unfalsified statements:

The Fathers of the Fourth Ecumenical Council assembled at Chalcedon in A.D. 451 commanded all Christians alike to receive, regard and acknowledge the Nicene and Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creeds inseparably as one. "For the Fathers of this Council", added Mark, "on reading both these Creeds said: This holy Creed is sufficient for the full knowledge of the truth, for it contains in itself the full doctrine on the Father, Son and Holy Spirit."¹⁷ In addition to that, Mark was determined to read out the definitions and other relevant parts of all later Ecumenical Councils (after Chalcedon) in order to present the uncorruptible practice of the early Church on the subject. Relevant quotations from patriarchal letters and epistles were therefore used in favour of the opinion that no addition to the Creed was ever legitimate. Ioannes II, the Cappadocian, Patriarch of Constantinople (518-520), in a letter to the Christians of his jurisdiction exhorted them to "keep to the holy Creed drawn up by the Council of Nicaea by the grace of the Holy Spirit, approved of by the Council of Constantinople and confirmed by that of Chalcedon."¹⁸ Euty chius, Patriarch of Constantinople (552-565; 577-582), in his epistle to Pope Vigilius (537-555), assured him that the Church in the East "always kept and continues to keep the faith explained

by the Fathers present at the Four Ecumenical Councils and follows those Councils in everything."¹⁹ Syropoulos asserts that in Mark's speech it is said that both letters were taken from the acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II A.D. 553).

It was at that point when the Latins presented before the assembly a forged copy of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed taken from the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, where it was said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (Ex Patre Filioque). We seem to be with sufficient evidence however, that the clause could not have been possibly introduced by the Fathers who met at Nicaea in 787. Above all it is certainly beyond doubt that in the Church of Rome the Creed was read without the addition for a long time after the Seventh Ecumenical Council.

It was George Gemistus Plethon who answered the Latin claims on behalf of the Orthodox doctrinal committee in the following words:

"If the testimonies of your copy and your historian were just, or at least had been long ago known in the Church of Rome, then no doubt your Thomas Aquinas and the Divines preceeding would not have made use of so many 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."²⁰

On finishing the reading, Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus concluded by saying:

“Thus, the Greeks, obeying the decrees of the Councils and the exhortations of the Fathers, and mindful of their oath, cannot admit the addition to the Creed to be a right and lawful one. Nevertheless, they are ready to listen to the proofs brought forward by the Latins to attest the justness of their addition.”²¹

Andrew, Archbishop of Rhodes together with Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini presented the Latin case according to which the prohibition of Ephesus referred only to the faith of Nicaea and not to its mere formulation. Andrew also insisted on clarifying the point that the ‘Filioque’ clause should not be regarded by the Easterners as an illegitimate addition to the Creed but as an unavoidable development of the trinitarian doctrine. The word was introduced by the Latin theologians as an explanation of the preceding clause “who proceeds from the Father”. The appearance of Arianism and other heresies in Spain, sometime in the fifth century, demanded its assertion to the original text of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

Silvester Syropoulos informs us that George Scholarius wrote the official Orthodox discourse which Metropolitan Bessarion of Nicaea delivered in two sessions of early November 1438 in answer to Andrew of Rhodes.²² Bessarion, however, declared that it was he who produced the best arguments in defence of the Orthodox position.²³ In any case, Bessarion reaffirmed Mark’s claim that to add to or subtract from the Creed even a word or syllable was forbidden to the Universal Church (including, of course, the Church of Rome), by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus. For the same Council forbade any addition to the Creed even in case of necessity: “We wish Your Reverence to know that we withhold this permission from every Church and Synod

even Ecumenical and not from the Roman Church alone, since no matter how great is the Roman Church, it is notwithstanding less than an Ecumenical Synod and the Universal Church; and we withhold it from the whole Church, much more so than 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."²⁴ The question, therefore, for Bessarion was how could an individual Church arrogate to herself the right of adding to the Universal Creed when the same right was refused by the Fathers of the Councils even to the Church Catholic?

It was, finally, Cardinal Cesarini who most forcefully presented the Latin view regarding the addition of the word 'Filioque' to the Creed. His arguments were based on Andrew's claim that the clause itself was meant to explain the Spirit's procession from the Father and not to introduce a different doctrine from that expressed by the Fathers of the first Seven Ecumenical Councils. For Cesarini, therefore, it was not a change of word but of meaning, which was forbidden, and consequently the Seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus had force only in regards to heterodox Creeds.

To reinforce the validity of his arguments, Cardinal Cesarini referred to the fact that Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople (784-806), composed his own confession of faith which, though orthodox, did not correspond exactly to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In this private profession which Tarasius then sent to Pope Hadrian I (772-795), on his election, he spoke of the Holy Spirit, as "proceeding from the Father by or through (*διὰ*), the Son."²⁵ From the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council we know that Tarasius' faith was read out and unanimously accepted by the

Fathers assembled at Nicaea in 787. Consequently, said Cesarini, since the Fathers accepted Tarasius' profession as an orthodox one, though differing from the original text of the Creed, the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus (431) regarded only unorthodox Creeds.

Cesarini's insistence that the Council of Ephesus could not have tied, nor have meant to tie the hands of the Church forever, was strong enough to influence - if not convince - some of the Eastern delegates, among whom was Bessarion of Nicaea, as to the worthlessness of the Orthodox case over the addition to the Creed. Bessarion's doubts were not shared by Mark of Ephesus who reluctantly presented the Orthodox reply to Cesarini's challenging remarks: The prohibition of the Council of Ephesus did not refer to private confessions of individual Christians (like that of Patriarch Tarasius), but to the one Symbol of Faith used by all Churches alike in the sacraments. Tarasius' profession of faith was private and not public, concluded the Bishop of Ephesus.

"The addition of a word seems to you a small matter and of no great consequence. So then to remove it would cost you little or nothing; indeed it would be of the greatest profit, for it would bind together all Christians. But what was done was in truth a big matter and of the greatest consequence, so that we are not at fault in making a great consequence of it. It 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."²⁶

It was at that point when Cardinal Cesarini closed the fourteenth session of the Council of Ferrara by making the following proposal:

“Let us, holy Father [Mark] examine the very dogma itself, and if the addition to the Creed proves to be contrary to the Orthodox doctrine, then, we shall drop the subject and erase it from the Creed. If, on the contrary, it shall be proved that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, then we must conclude that the addition is a correct one, and we must retain it in the Creed.”²⁷

By the end of the fifteenth session at Ferrara, it became clear that the Orthodox were unwilling to consent to the insertion of the clause to the Creed. Many of them began to despair in realising the projected union and spoke of returning to Constantinople. To this the Emperor would not listen; he still hoped for a reconciliation between the two Churches and was determined to work for it. “On many occasions he summoned meetings to discuss the controversy, sometimes in his own residence, more often in the apartments of the diseased Patriarch, and there he welcomed individual opinions, advised, persuaded, encouraged and even argued with the delegates of the Eastern Church.”²⁸ Under no circumstances did the Emperor want to see his efforts ending without any positive results.

VI. 3. The transference of the Council from Ferrara to Florence.

Pope Eugenius IV now announced his intention of transferring the Council from Ferrara to Florence. Professor Gill (Roman Catholic historian), offers two reasons for

the removal of the Council. 1) The plague had made Ferrara a dangerous place to remain in; and 2) The Pope was unable to feed his guests there, because the surrounding country had been ravaged by war.²⁹ Silvester Syropoulos, however, informs us that, in reality, two months had already passed since the plague had ceased.[November 1438]³⁰ The chief reason for the transference of the Council by the Latins, according to Syropoulos, was to discourage the Greeks from any attempt to return to Constantinople, since Florence was further from the sea than Ferrara.³¹ In the meantime, many Italians had died from the plague and of the Greeks, the Metropolitan of Sardes Dionysius, together with the entire household of Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, were attacked and submitted to the deadly disease. (The death of Dionysius of Sardes is of particular importance in regard to the 'ecumenicity' of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The deceased Metropolitan happened to be one of the two representatives of Patriarch Joachim of Jerusalem and therefore we may consider the possibility that he could have joined Mark of Ephesus in his unwillingness to accept the decree of Union). The Orthodox party finally consented to the transfer on condition that their stay in Florence should not exceed four months. In the sixteenth and last session at Ferrara, the Papal Bull was read out in both Latin and Greek 'Deset Oecumenici Councilii', by which the Council was transferred to Florence (10 January 1439).

At Florence, the Pope was determined to proceed more speedily. On 26th February, it was agreed to confine the discussions to forty members on either side. The seventeenth session of the Council, the first at Florence opened on the same day. In nine consecutive sessions, the 'Filioque' as doctrine (not as addition) was the chief

matter of discussion. The theological debate started in full public sessions on Monday, 2 March with the Emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch absent for reasons of health. Mark Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Ephesus and Giovanni Montenero, the Dominican Provincial of Lombardy were the two appointed spokesmen for the Greek and Latin party respectively. Both clergy tried with sincerity to present, as clearly as they possibly could, the respective positions of their Churches on the subject under discussion. They soon, however, were faced with profound difficulties of which the most serious was the disagreement of the patristic texts which they employed to support their arguments.

It is not to the interest of the present dissertation to look at the Latin arguments used in support of the doctrine of the double procession. I shall therefore limit myself in considering the theological objections raised by the Orthodox side and its main speaker, Metropolitan Mark Eugenicus.

Professor Gill rightly observes that Mark's attitude regarding the theology of 'Filioque' was in line with the Greek patristic tradition.³² Indeed, Mark's interpretation was based on the biblical-personal approach of the Cappadocians, Photius, Gregory the Cypriot and Gregory Palamas, who, as already discussed, first saw God as a trinity of Persons subsisting in the divine essence, and then confessed him to be essentially one God. Moreover, within this framework of thought, it is the Person of the Father who provides the concrete principle of trinitarian unity without, in any way, undermining the ultimate equality of the three.

In defending, therefore, the Orthodox doctrine against the Latins and the pro-unionists assembled at Florence, Mark started his arguments with the notion that God the Father, he who is without beginning (*ὁ ἀναρχος*), is not the Son, nor is he the Holy Spirit. The begotten Son is neither the Holy Spirit nor the Father. The Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son.³³ It is not relations of opposition, but relations of diversity about which we ought to speak here. (Mark in his polemic against the Latins, openly criticised the Thomist principle of opposition between the Persons, affirming the principle of their diversity).³⁴ Within this framework, the hypostasis of the Father is the origin or cause of the hypostases of the Son and the Holy Spirit. That is to say, it is the eternal source of all being and action in the internal life of the Trinity.³⁵ Since, therefore, the Father is the unique 'cause' and the Son 'caused', the 'cause' and the 'caused' cannot be put together and make one principle and cause, because, as already said, the Father cannot be Father and Son or the Son. Son and Father.³⁶ The notion of 'cause' and 'caused', imply logical opposition, but according to the Latin tradition the opposition of relations produces distinction and differentiation of the Persons and not unity of them. To clinch the argument - a central affirmation of the Cappadocians - Mark quoted Basil of Caesarea in a letter to his brother Gregory: "Thus, whereas the Holy Spirit, 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 which He proceeds, then in this He has a distinguished attribute of His difference in Person, namely, that He is known by the Son and with Him and is from the Father."³⁷

It is necessary, however, continued Mark, that the Persons of the Trinity exist in

some order between themselves. The only Son, who shines forth after the fashion of the Only-Begotten, from the uncreated Light, must be placed after that very Light; and therefore the Holy Spirit must be reckoned third, in order that he should not be taken for the Son, when not distinguished from him in order.³⁸

In the fifth session of the Council, on 14th March 1439, the eloquent Latin speaker Montenero asked Mark whether the Spirit given by the Son is Creator or creature. He went on to affirm that two things exist in the visible world, the Creator and the creatures; the Holy Spirit is Creator but his energies are creatures. He concluded his argument by asking: "Is this Holy Spirit which God poured richly upon us through Jesus Christ a creature?"³⁹ Mark did not answer even when Giovanni repeated his question and the writer of the *Acta Graeca* wrongly, concluded that he was silent for a long time because he had nothing to say. This was not so. Montenero's assertion that the Creator's energies are creatures went counter to the decisions of the Constantinopolitan Synod of 1351, which adopted as dogma of the Orthodox Church the teaching that the energies of God are not created and are distinct from the divine essence. Mark's answer would inevitably have involved raising the controversial subject of the distinction between the energies and essence in God, but any discussion on this subject had been strictly prohibited by the Emperor. It was, in fact, for this reason that Mark had remained silent. It was left to the Emperor to save the situation; but instead he intervened and stopped the discussions at this point.⁴⁰

Mark spoke for the most part of the sixth session, which took place on 17th March, and showed that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father. He first

of all appealed to the Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Council who, when giving authority to the so called Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, did not say that the Spirit is reckoned with the Father and the Son, but that he proceeds from the Father, and is together worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son; that is he is of equal honour and consubstantial with them. 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 proceedeth from the Father and the Son, who with Father and Son is together worshipped and glorified."? This, according to Mark, is what should have been said if the Council had adhered to such a doctrine. But whereas in the first case, the Fathers did not mention the Son, when they were showing the cause of the procession, but mentioned him in the second place when showing him to have equality of honour and consubstantiality, then it is plain, that they did not admit of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son also. None of the subsequent Councils of the one undivided Church gave any new version to the explanation and did not add the Filioque clause to the Greek text. Gregory Nazianzen said quite explicitly that: "Everything the Father has belongs to the Son, with the exception of causality." If the Son, therefore, is distinguished from the Father as regards cause, he is neither Father, nor producer, and so not the cause of the Spirit's procession. The mode of being of the Son by way of generation and that of the Holy Spirit by way of procession, clearly distinguish them from their own origin and cause, i.e. the Father as well as from themselves. For these reasons, Mark continued, although the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, the two are really distinct both by their constitution and by their mode of being. This is also what Cyril of Alexandria meant when in replying to Theodoret said: "Though the Spirit proceeds from the Father,

still He is not alien to the Son, for the Son has everything jointly with the Father.” In his conclusion, therefore, Mark summed up by saying: “For all these reasons we showed ourselves that we agree with the Holy Scriptures and with the Fathers and Teachers, and that we have neither changed nor falsified, not added or removed or introduced any innovations in the divine dogmas which were given from above. We beseech once more your love and honour to agree with us and the Holy Fathers, and not to recite in the Churches or accept anything beyond what they have said but to be satisfied with them alone, so that by saying and thinking the same, with one voice and one heart, we may together glorify the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit to whom all glory and worship is due to the ages of ages.”⁴¹

This was the last major speech which the Metropolitan of Ephesus delivered at Florence, for in the final two sessions he was absent from the discussions.⁴² (Syropoulos gives us one reason for Mark’s absence. He stated that because of the sophistic quarrelsome and unreceptive attitude of the Latins, Mark wanted to put an end to those fruitless discussions, and that he was encouraged in this by the Emperor himself.)⁴³ From his concluding words, one sees that Mark had not moved at all from his original position, namely that the addition was contrary to the Scriptures and the decisions of the Councils and that it was essential for the Latins to drop it in order to pave the way to union. “The words of the Western Fathers and Doctors, which attribute to the Son the cause of the Spirit, I neither recognise (for they have never been translated into our tongue nor approved by the Ecumenical Councils), nor do I admit them, presuming that they are corrupt and interpolated...”⁴⁴

Giovanni Montenero, in his final speech at Florence, reiterated that the Latin Church, by following the formulation of the Council of Lyons, accepted one principle and one cause of the Holy Spirit and anathematised those who held to two principles and two causes.

The fact that the Eastern prelates did not react adversely to Montenero's assertion indicated their inadequate knowledge of Orthodox theology. Syropoulos wrote emphatically on this to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch: "I know the prelates and, with one or two exceptions, the rest - what are they worth? Or do you bid me follow the one who said: 'I affirm the 'Filioque' provided that the Holy Trinity be preserved unharmed,' and, being interrogated three times, three times he repeated the same unchanged and made everybody laugh, having fallen into opposition with his chorus leader. No. I said, it is not for me to follow prelates whose theology is of that standard."⁴⁵ Gregory Palamas, nearly a century earlier, confronting a similar statement, put forward by the Calabrian monk Barlaam, had written: "As long as the Latins say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or from both, but not only from the Father, then the Holy Spirit's principle of deity cannot be one."⁴⁶

The Eastern Roman Emperor, seeing no prospect of positive conclusions coming from the interminable dialogue between Giovanni Montenero and Mark of Ephesus, appointed a separate assembly of Greeks at the Patriarch's residence and sought to find other means for reconciliation with the Latin Church. In the Patriarchal flats, the Eastern prelates looked at a letter of Saint Maximus the Confessor (580-662) to Marinus where it was written:

“Adducing the testimony of the Roman Fathers and of Cyril of Alexandria, the Romans do not affirm that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, for they know that the cause of the Son and of the Spirit is the Father of One by birth, and of the other by procession; but only show that the Spirit is sent through the Son, and thereby express the affinity and the indifference of their essence.”⁴⁷

From this it was adduced that the expressions found in the works of the Greek Fathers, such as through (*διὰ*) the Son, are identical with the Latin from (*ἐκ*) the Son, though the Latins themselves never looked upon these expressions as interchangeable.

This view was not expressed for the first time in the East. As early as 1275, the Latinizer Patriarch of Constantinople, Ioannes Beccus had publicly declared that the prepositions *ἐκ* and *διὰ* were interchangeable,⁴⁸ His immediate successor, Gregory the Cypriot emphatically rejected the existence of the Holy Spirit ‘through’ or ‘from’ the Son in his *Tomus* of 1285;⁴⁹ but he dared bravely with the introduction of a new theological term ‘the eternal manifestation’ of the Spirit to accommodate into the mainstream of Orthodox theology, the statement of Saint John of Damascus, that the Father is the projector of the manifesting Spirit through the Word.⁵⁰ As we have already discussed, this ‘revolutionary’ term caused such an uproar in the ranks of the conservative Eastern theologians of that time, that Gregory was forced to resign from his patriarchal office.⁵¹ It must be stated, however, that Gregory’s theological explanation of ‘through the Son’, could not aid at all the discussions of the ‘Filioque’ at Florence. This is supported from the evidence given by Syropoulos, who says that, when the Metropolitan of Heracleia, Anthony tried to present Gregory’s *Tomus*:

during discussions among the Greeks, he was fiercely attacked by the Emperor's confessor Gregory Mammas and the other unionists with the silent approval of the Emperor.⁵²

Metropolitan Bessarion of Nicaea, in his *Oratio Dogmatica*, delivered before the Orthodox prelates probably in mid-April 1439, emphasised among other things the axiom that as all Fathers are inspired by the same Holy Spirit, their teaching, even if expressed differently, must be fundamentally the same! Reflecting on this, it is interesting to note here, that as early as the ninth century, Patriarch Photius of Constantinople had asserted that "one must be very careful in handling the texts of the Fathers. If ten or twenty Fathers said that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, many innumerable hundreds did not."⁵³

Bessarion began his speech by saying that the cause of the schism was the unilateral addition to the Creed by the Latins without consulting the other sister Churches.⁵⁴ (Bessarion, here was entirely mistaken, for apart from rejecting the unilateral addition, all the Eastern Churches considered the 'Filioque' clause to be heretical.) Then he proceeded to bridge the two sides by declaring, contrary to his Church teaching, that: "The Holy Eastern Fathers say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and from the Father through the Son. What then are we saying? Are the two statements mutually exclusive? God forbid! For to 'proceed from the Father' is neither against nor contrary to the 'proceed from the Father and the Son.'⁵⁵ Then he reminded his fellow Metropolitans that: "The only refuge from the dangers left to us are the Latins and the union with them."⁵⁶ He closed his speech by fervently

appealing to the patriotic feelings of his compatriots to agree with him to the union, and warned them that if they were to reject it, then he would not be responsible for the terrible consequences which would take place in Constantinople left on its own to fight the infidel Turks.⁵⁷

Following Bessarion of Nicaea, Dorotheus, Metropolitan of Mitylene, also saw no objection to the 'Filioque' clause and urged his troubled compatriots to proceed without hesitation towards union with the Latins. Dorotheus insisted that there was no difference between the original Symbol and the Latin Symbol with its addition, both of which he considered to be right!⁵⁸

Mark, however, could not leave unchallenged Bessarion's unsound arguments, which he rightly regarded as a corruption of the patristic teaching on the subject:

The Greek Fathers, in referring to the procession of the Holy Spirit never went as far as saying that he proceeds 'from the Son' or 'through the Father.' This proves that the two prepositions, ἐκ and διὰ cannot be regarded as interchangeable. The 'through the Son' procession of the Holy Spirit, Mark went on to say, does not refer to his origin, but rather to his external procession, which is simultaneous with the begetting of the Son from the Father as the unique source of Godhead.⁵⁹

The Orthodox resistance to the Latin demands finally crumbled, when during voting, thirteen delegates accepted the 'Filioque' and union with the Latins against five who opposed it.⁶⁰ (Anthony of Heraclea, Mark of Ephesus, Dositheus of Mon-

embasia, Dorotheus of Trebizond and Sophronius of Anchialus voted against. The superiors of the monasteries, who were also against the 'Filioque', were not allowed to vote.)⁶¹

During those critical hours, the Orthodox lost their ailing aged Ecumenical Patriarch Joseph II, who died suddenly after supper on 10 June 1439.⁶² The Eastern prelates, as the Latins later asserted, took the last will of the Patriarch, and found the following to be its contents:

"Joseph by God's grace Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch. Since I am come to the end of my life and shall soon have to pay the debt common to all, by God's grace I write openly and sign my profession for my children. Everything, therefore, that the Catholic and Apostolic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ of the elder Rome understands and teaches, I too understand and I declare myself as submitting in common on these points; 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. Further, the Purgatory of souls. In assurance of which it is signed on 9 June 1439 in the second indiction."⁶³

However, it is important to state briefly at this point that the authenticity of the Patriarch's last will has often been doubted by the Eastern Church. No one present at the Council knew anything about it. Syropoulos even does not make any mention of it;⁶⁴ while Gennadius will later denounce the Council as Ecumenical since the Patriarch had died before the signatures were made

On Sunday 5th July 1439, a decree of union beginning *Laetentur Caeli*,⁶⁵ the original of which is still preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, was signed by the Eastern Orthodox prelates, though many of them, according to Syropoulos, did so with reluctance and because of fear of the Emperor.⁶⁶ (The Bull was signed first by the Eastern Roman Emperor Ioannes VIII, all the Eastern prelates but two - one of whom was Mark of Ephesus - the Russian Metropolitan Isidore, the monk Gregory as procurator of the See of Alexandria, the five Stauroph ρ roi and seven monks who were abbots or representatives of their monasteries.) The Metropolitan of Stavroupolis, Isaias and the two representatives of the Georgian Orthodox Church escaped before the signing ceremony.⁶⁷ The Council was over as far as the Chalcedonian Churches⁶⁸ were concerned, and their representatives departed at once. (The first group left on July 21, the last with the Emperor on August 26, and sailed from Venice on October 19 to set foot once more in Constantinople on February 1, 1440.)

The erudition of Metropolitan Bassarion and the energy of Isidore of Kiev were chiefly responsible for the reunion of the two Churches at Florence. The question now was to secure the Council's adoption in the East. For this reason, Isidore was sent as a papal legate and Cardinal to Russia, but the Muscovite princes refused to abide by the decrees of the Council. Nor was any better headway made in Constantinople. Cardinal Isidore was also sent there to bring about the desired acceptance of the Florentine *Decretum Unionis*, but before he could succeed in his mission, the City fell to the Turks.

The subsequent stance of the three Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs towards union

with Rome seemed to confirm the allegation of both Mark and Syropoulos, that the Orthodox delegates had in fact acted contrary to the biblical and patristic teaching as well as against the guidance given to them from their superiors. It is generally believed that in April 1443, the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Philotheus (1437-1459), of Antioch Dorotheus (1436-1454) and of Jerusalem, Joachim (1431-1450), met in Cappadocia, and condemned the Council of Florence.⁶⁹ Chrysostom I Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens and all Greece (1923-1938) wrote on this: "As is well-known, this synod did actually meet, but the documents about it that are preserved are not genuine."⁷⁰

Mark of Ephesus, together with Great Photius and Gregory Palamas, have been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented in the West.⁷¹ This is probably due to the fact that the protesting voice of Eastern Orthodoxy against the interpolated Creed, and its attachment to the Ecumenical Tradition of the undivided Christendom, have either been ignored or misinterpreted. Mark's appeal to the Western Church was not rooted in any partial or individualistic political basis, but in the original common Tradition, which the Lord gave, the Apostles proclaimed through their Kerygma and the Fathers kept through "Ecumenical Dogma". Unfortunately, however, Mark's efforts during the Council of Florence and its aftermath, his tenacity to the Orthodox teaching, his refusal to compromise, gave the West the wrong impression of a rigid and narrowminded prelate, unwilling to recognise 'excellence' in his opponents. In contrast, the Eastern Church, regards and honours him as a pillar of orthodoxy. Bishop Kallistos Ware considers the *Encyclical Letter of Saint Mark of Ephesus 1440-1441*, as being one of the "chief Orthodox Doctrinal statements since 787."⁷² Finally,

the Ecumenical Patriarch Gennadius Scholarius (1453-1456; 1458-1463), canonised Mark as a Saint of the Eastern Church.

In May 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks and Istanbul sprang out from the ashes of the Eastern Roman Empire. It was only when the news spread through the City that the Emperor was slain and the half moon was replacing the cross on the dome of the Hagia Sophia, that the Greeks gave up the struggle for saving their Empire and sought to adjust themselves - as best they could - to a long life of captivity.

EPILOGUE

“Nothing can be done to change the fact that the events of 1054 were what they were in that particularly disturbed period of history. But now that a calmer and fairer judgement has been made about them, it is important to recognise the excesses by which they were marked, and which brought in their train consequences which, as far as we can judge, went beyond what was intended or foreseen by those responsible. Their censures bore on particular persons and not on the Churches, and were not meant to break the ecclesial communion between the Sees of Rome and Constantinople.”¹

The ‘Filioque’ dispute did not split the Church because the addition of the clause to the Ecumenical Creed was canonically irregular. When division finally hardened it was because rival and mutual incompatible theologies, together with political reasons, questions of authority and church government had been constructed around it.

The modern mind is naturally amazed that such a damage to the Church of Christ could be seriously promoted by the addition of a single word to the Symbol of Faith. Indeed, the irony of ecclesiastical history is nowhere more apparent than in the fact that the principal clash between East and West in the realm of pure dogma was so fine a point of doctrine that ordinary people could never guess its supposed importance. Yet, as Dr. John Meyendorff has pointed out: “The Byzantines considered the ‘Filioque’ issue as the central point of disagreement. In their eyes, the Latin Church, by accepting an interpolated Creed, was both opposing a text adopted

by the Ecumenical Councils as the expression of the Universal Christian faith, and giving dogmatic authority to an incorrect concept of the Trinity.”²

From what we have already said, it may be argued that although Orthodox theologians tended to exaggerate the theological implications derived from the ‘Filioque’ addition to the Creed, they nevertheless seemed to be on firmer ground when they criticised the West for regarding God too much in terms of an abstract essence and too little in terms of personal being. According to them, the ‘Filioque’ doctrine was a prime manifestation of this tendency because it overrides the distinctive characteristic of the Person of the Father, which is his monarchy within the Godhead. Indeed, as Bishop Kallistos Ware observes, “Filioquism confuses the persons, and destroys the proper balance between unity and diversity in the Godhead. The oneness of the deity is emphasised at the expense of His threeness; God is regarded too much in terms of abstract essence and too little in terms of concrete personality.”³

“The significance of the Orthodox objection,” observes Dr. Gerald Bray, “can only be grasped if we appreciate that for them personality is the most fundamental reality in God. In Orthodoxy, the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit can be said to have a more literal meaning than in the West, since the second and third Persons of the Trinity owe their very hypostasis to the first. To such a scheme, a double procession of the Holy Spirit is inconceivable, since the Son also depends to the Father for his existence.”⁴

Having thus presented some significant chapters of the Eastern Orthodox reaction

to the insertion of the 'Filioque' clause to the Creed by the Latin West, my only aim was to show how determined and sincere our Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church was in the reasons of its objections. As we have already seen, the history of the dispute has many sad and obscure chapters, and the desire of Christians to forgive and forget the unhappy experiences of the past must surely command our sympathy and respect. Today, we are more informed than our predecessors of the immediate past, because we have come together and have a desire to continue to be together as one family in Jesus Christ our Lord. At the same time, however, it is our primal duty to keep pure the orthodox doctrine on the sound basis of the Holy Tradition, sanctioned and handed down to the catholic Churches throughout the world by the Holy Spirit, through the Ecumenical Councils. What is true of the Bible is also true of those Synods, which like the Bible expressed what was known to those who had been inspired by the power of the Holy Spirit. It is for this reason that the Seven Ecumenical Councils appealed to the authority not only of the Fathers in the Bible, but also to the Fathers of all ages; since the Fathers of all ages participate in the truth which is God's glory in Jesus Christ.

Orthodox Christians are not wrong or arrogant in insisting that theirs is a deeper, more vital experience of the triune God than that enjoyed by Christians of other denominations. We have not received the grace of God in vain and we must not be ashamed to own the Christ we know as the only Lord, Saviour and Redeemer of mankind. "In this light", conclude Archbishop Methodios and Dr. Dragas. "St. Photius, St. Mark of Ephesus, St. Gregory Palamas and many other great theologians should be assessed. They all kept the tradition of the Fathers which the Lord

gave the Apostles and the Fathers confessed not in an abstract dogmatic formula but as an authoritative and hallowed expression of a holy faith arising from personal participation in the grace of the Holy Trinity. This is the inner quality of the tradition, its very holiness which is experienced by the saints. Without it no proper appreciation of the Orthodox attachment to and veneration of the Ecumenical Creed can be understood."⁵

We can only pray, in all humility, that all those who acknowledge and confess Jesus Christ as Lord may show a warmer fellowship to each other, based on honesty, sensitivity and sincerity, so that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, bound by friendship and respect might arrive at some richer understanding of our common faith and life in the grace of the Holy Trinity. Amen.

(50,810 words)

FOOTNOTES

PROLOGUE

¹ Kal. Ware, *Christian Theology in the East, 600-1453, The Filioque dispute* (p. 207), in *A History of Christian Doctrine*, ed. by H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, (Edinburgh, 1978).

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

¹ The same words in the next clause "who with Father and Son is together worshipped and glorified", appear in the original text, but probably did not influence the insertion of the preceding clause.

² It should be made clear, at this point, that this is the view taken by the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Roman Catholic Church explicitly and the Churches of the Reformation, implicitly hold that the 'Filioque' clause was sanctioned by two 'Ecumenical Councils', that of Lyons in 1274 and that of Florence in 1439. It is certainly true that on both occasions the Eastern Orthodox delegates accepted the 'Filioque' as a doctrine, though not as an insertion into the original Greek version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed; only to see this compromise repudiated by the rank and file of their own Churches.

³ Henry Bettenson, (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church*. Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 1963), pp. 25-26.

⁴ T. H. Bindley, (ed.), *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*. Methuen and Co. LTD, (London, 1950), pp. 233-234; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*. Tom. VII, (Florence-Venice, 1759-1798), p. 108.

⁵ J. D. Mansi, *Ibid.*, tom. XI, p. 623.

⁶ See Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*. (Cambridge, 1959), p.149.

⁷ J. D. Mansi, *Op. cit.*, tom. XII, pp. 289-292.

⁸ J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca*. Tom. 86, col. 209., (Paris, 1857-1866).

⁹ P. G., tom. 86, col. 201 f.

¹⁰ J. Rawson Lumby, D.D., *The History of the Creeds*. (Cambridge, 1887), p.

- ¹¹ J. D. Mansi, *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 985.
- ¹² J. D. Mansi, *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 992 f.
- ¹³ R. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. Nordland Publishing Company, (MA, 1975), p. 29.
- ¹⁴ Vladimir Lossky, "The procession of the Holy Spirit in the Orthodox Triadology." *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 7 No. 2, (1948), p. 33.
- ¹⁵ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed*. (London, 1964), pp. 44-48; 109-124.
- ¹⁶ The Book of Common Prayer, p. 27.
- ¹⁷ Edmund S. Ffoulkes, *An Historical Account of the Addition of the Words 'Filioque' to the Creed of the West*. Occasional paper of the Eastern Churches Association, No. 7, (London, 1867), pp. 18-21.
- ¹⁸ J. D. Mansi, *Op. cit.*, tom. XIII, p. 760.
- ¹⁹ J. D. Mansi, *Op. cit.*, tom. XIII, p. 759.
- ²⁰ *Libri Carolini Sive Caroli Magni Capitulare De Imaginibus*. Edited by Hubert Bastgen, (Hanover and Leipzig, 1924), p. 110 ff; Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.
- ²¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*. Tom. 99, coll. 9-683, (Paris, 1844-1855).
- ²² Epistle of Pilgrim Monks on the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Epistola V, (Berlin, 1826), pp. 64-65; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. 2. The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-700)*. The (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 183.
- ²³ P. L., tom. 102, coll. 971-976.
- ²⁴ P. L., tom. 128, col. 1238.
- ²⁵ P. G., tom. 102, col. 800.
- ²⁶ Prof. Romanides was an Orthodox delegate of the Patriarchate of Antioch and the Church of Greece to the Moscow Conference of the Anglican-Orthodox Doctrinal Dialogue in 1976.

²⁷ John S. Romanides, *Franks, Romans, Feudalism and Doctrine*. Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, (Boston, 1981), pp. 60-96.

²⁸ Nestorianism was a heresy according to which there were two separate Persons in the incarnate Christ, the one Divine and the other human, as opposed to the orthodox teaching that the incarnate Christ was a single Person at once God and Man. Eutychianism maintained that there were 'two natures before, but only one after the Union' in the incarnate Christ. It also denied that the manhood of Christ was consubstantial with ours, a view which went far to rendering our redemption through him impossible. See the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. by E. A. Livingstone, Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 1986), p. 182; p. 354.

²⁹ Basil of Caesarea (330-379); Gregory of Nyssa (330-395); Gregory Nazianzen (329-389).

³⁰ Basil of Caesarea, Ep. 236, 6; Courtonne, 3, p. 53; Ep. 214, 4; Courtonne 2, p. 205.

³¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 39, in *Sancta Lumina*, 12, P. G., tom. 36, col. 348 C; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 1, 278, Jäger, Gno 1, pp. 107-108.

³² Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 20, *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum* 7, P.G. tom. 35, col. 1073 A; *Oratio*, 31, *Theologica* 5, *De Spiritu Sancto* 14, P.G. tom. 36, coll. 148-149. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos ex communibus notionibus*, Mueller Gno, 3, 1, p. 25, 4-8.

³³ Basil of Caesarea, *Hom. contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoes* 4, Garnier, Boo, 2, 193 DE; Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 20, *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum* 7, P.G. tom. 35, 1073 A; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 3, 3, Jaeger, Gno, 2 p. 57, 17-21.

³⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Hom. contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoes* 7, Garnier, Boo, 2, 196 CD; Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 39, in *Sancta Lumina* 12, P.G. tom. 36, col. 348 B; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos ex communibus notionibus*, Mueller, Gno, 3, 1, p. 25, 10-15.

³⁵ Basil of Caesarea, Ep. 125, 3, Courtonne 2, p. 34, 28-74: "οὔτε ἀγέννητον λέγομεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἕνα γὰρ οἶδαμεν ἀγέννητον καὶ μίαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχήν, τὸν πατέρα, οὔτε γεννητόν, ἕνα γὰρ μονογενῆ ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τῆς

πίστεως δεδιδάγμεθα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι ὁμολογοῦμεν.”

³⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* 2, 33, Garnier, Boo, 1, p. 271 A; Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 31, *Theologica* 5, *De Spiritu Sancto* 7; P.G. tom. 36, col. 140 D - 141 A; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos ex communibus notionibus*, Mueller, Gno, 3, 1, pp. 19-33. Taken from Markos Orphanos, *The Procession of the Holy Spirit According to Certain Greek Fathers*. (Athens, 1979), pp. 22-24.

³⁷ Cyril of Alexandria, *Argumentorum de S. Spiritu Capita*. P.G. tom 75, col. 1125 C.

³⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *De S. S. Trinitate* Dialogus 7, P.G. tom. 75, 117 B; “ἐκπορευόμενον δὲ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἠκούσαμεν.” Ibid. P.G. tom. 75, col. 1176 C.

³⁹ John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, I, 8. P.G. tom. 94, col. 805 ff.

⁴⁰ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 4. 20.1; 5, 1.3.

⁴¹ Gregory Nazianzen, P.G. tom. 36, col. 348 B.

⁴² Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 9, 2, 2.

⁴³ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 15, 3, 5.

⁴⁴ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 15, 17, 19.

⁴⁵ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 15, 27.

⁴⁶ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 4, 20, 29.

⁴⁷ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 7, 4; P.L. tom. 10, coll. 939-42; G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*. (London S.P.C.K., 1981), p. 237.

⁴⁸ T. R. Martland, “A Study of Cappadocian and Augustinian Trinitarian Methodology.” *Anglican Theological Review*, 47, no. 3, (July 1965), p. 256.

⁴⁹ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 104-105.

⁵⁰ S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. Panther Edition, (1970), p. 22.

⁵¹ Theophylactus of Ochrid, Archbishop of Bulgaria, P.G., tom. 126, coll. 228-229.

⁵² Gregory Nazianzen, *De Spiritu Sancto*. P.G., tom. 36, col. 141.

⁵³ Translated and reconstructed by F. Brightman, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 2, (1901), pp. 387-388.

⁵⁴ Donald Nicol, "Byzantine requests for an Oecumenical Council in the fourteenth century." *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 1, (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 71.

⁵⁵ This was the case with Ioannes Beccus who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1275. Beccus defended the 'Filioque's' orthodoxy and tried hard to promote the union between the Greek and Roman Churches. His teaching was finally condemned by his successor Gregory II (1283-1289) at the Council of Blachernae (1285).

⁵⁶ Timothy (Kallistos) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. Pelikan Books, (London, 1963), pp. 222-223.

⁵⁷ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. (Oxford, 1955), p. 5. See also Archimandrite Kallistos Ware and the Reverend Colin Davey, *Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue. The Moscow Agreed Statement*. London, S.P.C.K., p. 65.

⁵⁸ R. C. Heath in his article "The Western Schism of the Franks and the 'Filioque'." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23, 2, (1972), p. 113; concludes that "in 1054 it was the Western Schism that became final". Bishop Kallistos Ware, however, maintains that "It was the Crusades which made the schism definitive." *The Orthodox Church*, Penguin Books, (London, 1963), p. 67.

⁵⁹ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 721-742.

⁶⁰ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 280-400.

⁶¹ See Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The 'Filioque' Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1986), pp. 79-96; John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*. Translated by George Lawrence, (London, 1964), pp. 228-232.

CHAPTER II: PATRIARCH PHOTIUS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE 'FILIOQUE' CONTROVERSY AND HIS LEGACY.

¹ Kallistos, (Timothy) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. Penguin Books, (London, 1981), p. 61.

² Kallistos, Ware, Christian Theology in the East 600-1453. In *A History of Christian Doctrine*. Ed. by H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 203.

³ See the letter sent by Nicholas to the Eastern Roman Emperor Michael III 865 or 866 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Epistolae, Vol. 3, Berlin, 1826, p. 454-80.

⁴ See Patriarch Dositheos' II of Jerusalem (1669-1707), *Tomos Charas*. Re-gopoulos, (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 18-19.

⁵ Martin Jugie, "Origine de la controverse sur l' addition du 'Filioque' au Symbole." *Revue des sciences philosophiques et theologiques*, 28, (Paris, 1939), pp. 369-85; and *Le Schisme Byzantine. Aperçu Historique et Doctrinal*, (Paris, 1941); Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. Belmont, (MA, 1975); Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 1948); J. Hergenrother, *Photius Patriarch von Konstantinopel*. 3 Vols., (Ratisbon, 1867-9); S. Papadopoulos, *The Theological Contribution of Holy Photius*. (Athens, 1979); and *The Great Photius, Father and Teacher of the Church*. (Athens, 1973); R. H. Heath, "The Western Schism of the Franks and the 'Filioque'". *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23, 2, (1972); V. Grumel, "Le 'Filioque' au Concile Photien de 879-880." In *Echos d' Orient*, Vol. 37, (Paris, 1938).

⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 797.

⁷ Epistle of pilgrim monks on the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Epistola 5, 64, 65, (Berlin, 1826).

⁸ Basil S. Laourdas, (ed.), *The Homilies of Photius*. (Thessaloniki, 1959), p. 85.

⁹ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 280-400.

¹⁰ P.G. tom. 102, col. 368.

¹¹ P.G. tom. 102, col. 724.

¹² P.G. tom. 102, coll. 728-729.

¹³ P.G. tom. 102, col. 736.

¹⁴ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1983), p. 83.

¹⁵ *De Trinitate* Book 5, 8.

¹⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 295.

¹⁷ *Amphilochia*, P.G. tom. 101, col. 896.

¹⁸ P.G. tom. 102, col. 292 A B.

¹⁹ *Orat. Theol.* 31, 8.

²⁰ P.G. tom. 102, col. 289.

²¹ P.G. tom. 102, col. 293 A B.

²² P.G. tom. 102, col. 317 A.

²³ P.G. tom. 102, col. 292.

²⁴ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 728-729; no. 15 and 16.

²⁵ P.G. tom. 102, col. 81.

²⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 312 and 314.

²⁷ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 320-321.

²⁸ P.G. tom. 102, col. 341 A.

²⁹ Athanasius established the 'homousion' of the Spirit by showing that he is to the Son as the Son is to the Father, not meaning by that that he was born from the Son, which would have implied that the Father was his grandfather, as Athanasius' opponents had objected, but that in revealing the Son and applying his grace to men, he was sharing in the same divine *ουσια*.

³⁰ *Epistola ad Archiepiscopum et Metropolitan Aquileiensem*, 9, P.G. tom. 102, col. 801 D.

³¹ *Ibid.*, P.G. tom. 102, col. 804.

³² P.G. tom. 102, col. 329.

³³ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 804 and 806.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ P.G. tom. 102, col. 51.

³⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 385.

³⁷ P.G. tom. 102, col. 329.

³⁸ P.G. tom. 102, col. 293.

³⁹ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 316-317.

⁴⁰ P.G. tom. 102, col. 341.

⁴¹ P.G. tom. 102, col. 808; ἐξ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ.

⁴² P.G. tom. 102, col. 309 C.

⁴³ P.G. tom. 102, col. 312 B

⁴⁴ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 309 and 312.

⁴⁵ P.G. tom. 102, col. 312.

⁴⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 329 B.

⁴⁷ P.G. tom. 35, col. 1221 D.

⁴⁸ Kallistos Ware, *Christian Theology in the East, 600-1453*. In *A History of Christian Doctrine*. Op. cit., p. 209.

⁵⁰ Vladimir Lossky, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit in the Orthodox Triadology." *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, Suppl. 7, (1948), p. 37: "Against the doctrine of the procession 'ab utroque', the Orthodox affirmed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone (ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρός.)

⁵¹ P.G. tom. 102, col. 285 A.

⁵² Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Tomos Charas*. Op. cit., p. 249 ff.;

Epistle 2 to Pope Nicholas I, P.G. tom. 102, col. 695 D; See also John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. (New York, 1979), p. 60.

⁵³ Theoph. Papakonstantinou, "The teaching of Photius on the procession of the Holy Spirit." *Megas Basileios*, (Athens, 1911), p. 87.

⁵⁴ P.L. tom. 101, col. 73.

⁵⁵ P.G. tom. 102, col. 809.

⁵⁶ P.G. tom. 102, coll. 356-357.

⁵⁷ *De Trinitate*, Book 15, 28, 51.

⁵⁸ Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. Op. cit., p. 153.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 141.

⁶⁰ Theoph. Papakonstantinou, Op. cit., p. 87.

⁶¹ P.G. tom. 102, col. 809.

⁶² Cyril Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies three, Harvard University Press, (Cambridge, MA, 1958), p. 21 f.

⁶³ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Op. cit., p. 196.

⁶⁴ The sixth session of the Council of 879-880 has often been considered a forgery by the Latin West, though, this view finds little acceptance today. Joseph Hergenröther accepts the authenticity of both the sixth and seventh sessions of the Council. See *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel*, Vol. II, pp. 528-540; see also E Amann, *L' Epoque Carolingienne*. Vol. VI: *Histoire de l' Eglise*. Edited by Fliche and Martin, (Paris, 1941), pp. 465 and 490. Even Martino Jugie, the most 'notorious' defender of the Latin view, accepts the authenticity of these sessions in *De Processione Spiritus Sancti ex Fontibus Revelationis et Secundum Orientales Dissidentes*. (Rome, 1936), p. 102.

⁶⁵ P.G. tom. 102, col. 820; see also Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Tomos Charas*. Op. cit., pp. 272 ff.

⁶⁶ P.G. tom. 102, col. 380.

⁶⁷ Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Tomos Charas*. Op. cit. p. 378. See also J. Meijer, *A Successful Council of Union: A Theological Analysis of the Photian Synod of 879-880*. (Thessaloniki, 1975), pp. 184-186.

⁶⁸ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Op. cit., p. 196.

⁶⁹ Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. Op. cit., pp. 128-130.

⁷⁰ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*. Vol. 17, Op. cit., pp. 523 and 526.

⁷¹ Edmund Ffoulkes, *An Historical Account of the Addition of the Words 'Filioque' to the Creed of the West*. Op. cit., p. 27.

⁷² Stylianos Papadopoulos, *The Theological Contribution of Holy Photius*. Apostoliki Diakon^{ia}, (Athens, 1979), p. 11; see also Theoph. Papakonstantinou, "The teaching of Photius on the procession of the Holy Spirit." Op. cit., p. 85.

⁷³ R. C. Heath asserted that "Photius did not cause a schism in the Church and that the East should no longer be accused in our text books by the use of the term 'Eastern Schism'." "The Western Schism of the Franks and the Filioque." In *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23, (1972), p. 113.

⁷⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 21, (New York, 1911), p. 483. Photius is described as "worldly, crafty and unscrupulous".

⁷⁵ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Op. cit., p. 252.

⁷⁶ Pavlov (ed.), *Critical Essay on the History of Graeco-Russian Polemic against the Latins*. (St. Petersburg, 1878), pp. 115-32. (In Russian).

⁷⁷ *Epistola de Azymis et Sabbatis*, P.G. tom. 120, coll. 836-44.

⁷⁸ P.G. tom. 120, coll. 781-816.

⁷⁹ P.G. tom. 107, col. 316 B. See also M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Tomus I, De doctrina processionis Spiritus Sancti apud Byzantinos saecul. X-XI, (Paris, 1926-35), pp. 287-288.

⁸⁰ The reason for doubting is that the letter of Leo is known to us only from a Latin version by Symphorianus Champerius. The original text runs as follows:

“Concerning the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.”

⁸¹ M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 288; Hom. 13, *De Spiritu Sancto*. P.G. tom. 152, col. 136 B.

⁸² J. Hergenröther, *Monumentis Graecis ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentibus*. (Ratisbonae, 1869), pp. 84-138; see M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁸³ Andronicos Demetrakopoulos, *Orthodox Greece*. (Leipzig, 1872), p. 3.

⁸⁴ Et hoc etiam atque etiam repetit Cf., Hergenröther, *Monumentis Graecis ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentibus*. *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 93; M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁸⁵ J. Hergenröther, *Op. cit.*, p. 89, *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μονοῦ προεῖσι*, 96, 108, 118, 124.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 123, 135.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁸⁸ M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁸⁹ J. Hergenröther, *Op. cit.*, Chapter 2, pp. 91-22; M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁹⁰ J. Hergenröther, *Op. cit.*, Chapter 24, pp. 137-138; M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, pp. 292-293.

⁹¹ J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel*. Vol. III, *Op. cit.*, pp. 727-729; M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

CHAPTER III: THE FILIOQUE CONTROVERSY DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRANKS (1204).

¹ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism. A study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the 11th and 12th Centuries*, Panther Edition, (1970,) p. 13.

² J. Hergenröther, *Monumentis Graecis ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentibus*. (Ratisbonae, 1869), p. 89.

³ Epistle of Pope John VIII to Patriarch Photius in J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*. Vol. 17, (Florence-Venice, 1759-1798), pp. 523 and 526; Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians*. (Belmont, MA, 1975), pp. 128-130.

⁴ George Every, *Misunderstandings between East and West*. John Knox Press, (Richmond, VA, 1966).

⁵ P.G. tom. 120, coll. 787-90.

⁶ Michael Cerularius to Peter of Antioch in P.G. tom. 120, coll. 787-90.

⁷ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*. Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 1986), p. 139.

⁸ Nicetas, Chartophylax of Nicaea in P.G. tom. 120, coll. 787-90.

⁹ L. Brehier, *Le Schisme Oriental du XIe siecle*. (Paris, 1899), p. 145.

¹⁰ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. (Oxford, 1955), p. 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹² From C. Will, (ed.), *Acta et Scripta*. (Leipzig-Marburg, 1861), pp. 153-154.

¹³ P.L. tom. 143, col. 1003.

¹⁴ P.G. tom 120, coll. 735-48.

¹⁵ From C. Will, (ed.), *Acta et Scripta*. *Op. cit.*, pp. 155-168.

¹⁶ The pamphlet is edited in J. Hergenröther, *Monumentis Graecis ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentibus*. Op. cit., pp. 62-71.

¹⁷ Andronicos Demetracopoulos observes that Patriarch Constantine Leichoudes of Constantinople (1059-1063) is wrong when he says that Peter's patriarchate started in 1028. When Peter wrote to the Archbishop of Venice around the year 1053 or 1054 he mentioned among other things: "Ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μου συστατικὴν ἔστειλα γραφὴν πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Ῥώμης ... ἔκτοτε δὲ διετία διήλθε καὶ περὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἠδυνήθη μαθεῖν." Andronicos Demetracopoulos, *Orthodox Greece*. (Leipzig, 1872), p. 6. The date of Peter's patriarchate (1028-1051) is taken from Nikolaus Thon's list of the Patriarchs of Antioch in the book *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Orthodoxen Kirche*. (Paulinus-Verlag Trier, 1983), p. 584.

¹⁸ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*. University of Chicago Press, (Chicago, 1974), p. 185.

¹⁹ J. Hergenröther, *Monumentis Graecis ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentibus*. Op. cit., p. 63; M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Tom. 1, (Paris, 1926), p. 300.

²⁰ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. Panther Edition, (1970), p. 79.

²¹ "Περὶ τε γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκδιδάσκει τὸ τέλειον." P.G. tom. 120, col. 805 A; see also M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Op. cit., p. 302.

²² M. Jugie, *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²³ M. Jugie, *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*. Op. cit., p. 185.

²⁵ Peter of Antioch, Epistles to Pope Leo IX, 1.4.3 in J. Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*. Op. cit., p. 197.

²⁶ Peter of Antioch, Epistles to Pope Leo IX, 1.4.8, in J. Pelikan, *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁷ Photius *Mystagogy*, P.G., tom. 102, col. 292.

²⁸ Photius *Encyclical 9*; P.G. tom. 102, coll. 725-728.

²⁹ A full account, with references of John of Kiev's correspondence with Guibert is given in Pavlov (ed.), *Critical Essay on the History of Graeco-Russian Polemic against the Latins.* (St. Petersburg, 1878), pp. 167-86.

³⁰ Andronicos Demetrakopoulos, *Orthodox Greece.* Op. cit., p. 8.

³¹ "ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν ἐκπορευόμενον δι' υἱοῦ δὲ μεταδιδόμενον." Διδασκαλία Παντοδαπή in P.G. tom. 123, col. 688.

³² M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium.* Op. cit., p. 303.

³³ P.G. tom. 126, coll. 228-229.

³⁴ Theophylactus of Bulgaria, *On the things of which the Latins are accused.* P.G. tom. 126, coll. 229-231.

³⁵ P.G. tom. 126, coll. 232-233; M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium.* Op. cit., p. 305.

³⁶ *Vita Clementis,* P.G. tom. 126, col. 1209.

³⁷ J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds.* (London, 1950), p. 359.

³⁸ Though this is quite true, it should not be readily accepted as evidence in support of the 'Filioque', because it is quite conceivable that it was understood in an orthodox way. Cf. Protopresbyter George D. Dragas, *Theological dialogue of Anglicans and Orthodox 1976-1984.* (Athens, 1984), pp. 16 f.

³⁹ Gregory the Great, *Homilies on the Gospels.* 2. 26. 2; P.L. tom. 76, col. 1198.

⁴⁰ Ratramnus, *Against the Greeks.* 1. 3; P.L. tom. 121, col. 224.

⁴¹ Jules Gay, *L'Italie meridionale et L'Empire Byzantine (867-1071).* (Paris, 1904), pp. 484-500.

⁴² A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios.* 2 vols, (Paderborn, 1924-30).

⁴³ M. Jugie, "Le Schisme de Michel Cerulaire". In *Echos d'Orient,* (Paris, 1937), pp. 440-78.

⁴⁴ George Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate 451-1204*. S. P. C. K., (London, 1962), p. 180.

⁴⁵ P.L. tom. 158, col. 102.

⁴⁶ P.L. tom. 158, coll. 285-326.

⁴⁷ J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. (Oxford, 1986), p. 179.

⁴⁸ Petri Chrysolani Mediolanensis Archiepiscopi, *Oratio de Spiritu Sancto ad Imperatorem Alexium Comnenum*. P.G. tom. 127, coll. 911-920.

⁴⁹ J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Op. cit., p. 129.

⁵⁰ P.G. tom. 130, coll. 876-1360 [appendix] Cf. col. 1189, an extract from Photius' writings against the Paulicians. Photius there is called *ὁ μακαριώτατος πατριάρχης*.

⁵¹ See K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*. (Munich, 1897), pp. 11-12.

⁵² Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. (Oxford, 1955), p. 109.

⁵³ P.G. tom. 130.

⁵⁴ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*. Op. cit., p. 110.

⁵⁵ *De Haeresibus Graecorum*, 1. II, C. IX, P.L. tom. 202, col. 259 B; 1. III, C. XI, col. 360 A.

⁵⁶ Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogus*. P. Salet, (ed.), (Paris, 1966); P.L. tom. 188, col. 1163 ff.

⁵⁷ Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogus*. 1, II, C. 24, 27, P.L. tom. 188, coll. 1204-1205; 1209-1210.

⁵⁸ George D. Dragas, *Theological Dialogue of Anglicans and Orthodox, 1976-1984*. Op. cit., p. 916, footnote 5.

⁵⁹ M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia*

Catholica Dissidentium. Tom. 2, (Paris, 1933), pp. 306-312.

⁶⁰ P.L. tom. 188, coll. 1208-10.

⁶¹ Nicetas Chartophylax, *Dialogi de Spiritu Sancto*. P.G. tom. 139, col. 224 ff.

⁶² P.G. tom. 139, coll. 169-202 contains the first dialogue in full and gives extracts from the others. coll. 202-222.

⁶³ *Code Vatic. graec.* 1115, XIV S., fol. 46 B.

⁶⁴ Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*. Op. cit., p. 400.

⁶⁵ P.G. tom. 139, coll. 165-221.

⁶⁶ Peter diaconus, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, tom. 7, (Berlin, 1826), p. 833.

⁶⁷ V. Grumel, "Le 'Filioque' au Concile Photien de 879-880." *Echos d' Orient*, 29, 1930, p. 346.

⁶⁸ *Κεφάλαια εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Γραφῆς*, edited by S. Eustratiades, (Athens, 1906), pp. 341-342.

⁶⁹ V. Grumel, "La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de 1111 a 1206." *In Revue des études byzantines*, 1, (1944), pp. 263-268; see also *Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* Vol. 7, (Athens, 1965), pp. 14-15. (In Greek).

⁷⁰ Cited from Donald Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*. Rupert Hart-Davis, (London, 1972), pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

¹ Kallistos (Timothy) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. Penguin Books, (London, 1981), p. 69.

² George Pachymeres, *De Michaelē et Andronico Paleologis libri tredecim*. 386, tom. II, 20 ff. I. Bekker (ed.), (Bonn: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 1935).

³ Letter of Clement IV dated 4 march 1267: A. L. Tautu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276)*. (Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem

iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, ser. III, vol. V, I Citta del Vaticano, 1953), no. 23, pp. 61-69, cited from D. Nicol, "Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century." *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 1, (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 71.

⁴ George Pachymeres, *Op. cit.*, 458, tom. II, 1-3.

⁵ Henry Chadwick, *The Pelican History of the Church*. (London, 1970), p. 78.

⁶ Joseph Gill, "The Church union of the Council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. 40, (1974), p. 17.

⁷ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. (New York, 1986), p. 16.

⁸ Donald M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*. Rupert Hart-Davis, (London, 1972), p. 60.

⁹ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ V. Laurent, and J. Darrouze's (edd.), *Dossier Grec de l' Union de Lyon 1273-1277*. Archives de l' Orient Chretien, 16, (Paris, 1976), p. 141.

¹¹ Joseph Gill, "The Church union of the Council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents." *Op. cit.*, p. 23. See also *Dossier Grec de l' Union de Lyon 1273-1277*, *Ibid.*, p. 269.

¹² Vladimir Lossky, "On Some Implications of the 'Ex Patre Filioque Tanquam Ab Uno Principio.'" *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VII, No. 2, (1948), p. 25.

¹³ George Every, *Misunderstandings Between East and West*. (London, 1965), pp. 44-47.

¹⁴ André de Halleux, "Towards an ecumenical agreement on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the addition of the 'Filioque' to the Creed." In *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*. S. P. C. K., (London), World Council of Churches, (Geneva, 1981), p. 77.

¹⁵ Kallistos Ware, Christian Theology in the East 600-1453. The Filioque Dispute, p. 210 in *A History of Christian Doctrine*. Edited by H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery, (Edinburgh, 1978).

¹⁶ George Pachymeres, *De Michaelae et Andronico Palaeologis libri trecedim*. I. Bekker (ed.), (Bonn, 1835).

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- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 483.
- ¹⁹ Translated by D. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance*. (New Haven, 1976), p. 46.
- ²⁰ The two treatises of George Acropolites against the Latins are printed in A. Heisenberg (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*. (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 30-66.
- ²¹ J. Verpeaux, *Nicephore Choumnos, homme d'Etat et humaniste byzantine*. (Paris, 1959), p. 29-36.
- ²² P.G. tom. 140, III, coll. 924-929.
- ²³ P.G. tom 94, coll. 805 ff.
- ²⁴ H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur in Byzantinischen Reich*. (Munich, 1959), p. 679.
- ²⁵ Ibid., pp. 685-686.
- ²⁶ Ibid., pp. 480, 483.
- ²⁷ George Pachymeres, *Op. cit.*, VI, 23: tom. I, pp. 480-3.
- ²⁸ Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*. Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 1970), p. 60.
- ²⁹ V. Laurent in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. Vol. XII, pp. 2247-52.
- ³⁰ P.G. tom. 94, col. 849 B.
- ³¹ G. Metochites, *Historia Dogmatica*. A. Mai (ed.), *Patrum novae bibliothecae* VIII, pt. 2, (Rome, 1871), pp. 149-52. Cited in A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. *Op. cit.*, p. 66.
- ³² Metochites, *Ibid.*, VII, pt. 2, pp. 158-59.
- ³³ H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*. *Op. cit.*, pp. 683-4.

³⁴ V. Laurent, "Un théologien unioniste de la fin du 13 siècle. Le Métropolitain d'Andrianople Theoctiste." *Revue des études byzantine*. 11, Mélanges Martin Jugie, 1953.

³⁵ Etienne H. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*. Sheed and Ward, (London, 1955), pp. 140-144; 620-621.

³⁶ *Summa Theol.*, I, 40, 2.

³⁷ Vladimir Lossky, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Triadology." *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VII, No. 2, (1948), p. 36.

³⁸ This is apparent in Thomas Aquinas, cf. *Summa Theol.* I, 33, 1-2.

³⁹ Autobiography in W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Gregoire de Chypre*. (Brussels-Paris, 1937), p. 181.

⁴⁰ A. Heisenberg (ed.): *Nicephori Blemmidae curriculum vitae et carmina*. 17, (Lipsiae, 1896), p. 69-70.

⁴¹ *Epistola ad Jacobum, Bulgariae episcopum*, 23, H. Lammer, *Scriptorum Graeciae orthodoxae bibliotheca selecta*, t. 1, paragraph 2, p. 147-149.

⁴² Nicephorus Blemmydes's letter to James Archbishop of Bulgaria, P.G. tom. 142, col. 557 CD.

⁴³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Theasaurus*. P.G. tom. 75, col. 585 A.

⁴⁴ Nicephorus Blemmydes, P.G. tom. 142, col. 544 D.

⁴⁵ George Pachymeres, *Op. cit.*, I, 378.

⁴⁶ A. Theiner and F. Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum Graecae et Latinae*. (Vienna, 1872), p. 26, cited in Joseph Gill, *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204-1453*. Variorum reprints, (London, 1979), p. 257.

⁴⁷ G. Hoffman, "Patriarch Johann Bekkos und die Lateinische Kultur." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, II, (1945), p. 141 ff.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Xexakis, *Ioannes Beccus And His Theological Thoughts*. (Athens, 1981), pp. 132-140. (In Greek).

- ⁴⁹ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 20.
- ⁵⁰ Papadakis' translation of P.G. tom. 141, col 64 C.
- ⁵¹ Nicetas, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*. P.G. tom. 139, coll. 169-221; Nicholas Xexakis, *Ioannes Beccus And His Theological Thoughts*. Op. cit., p. 124.
- ⁵² P.G. tom. 141, col. 329 C.
- ⁵³ P.G. tom 141, col. 41 C.
- ⁵⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Περι Αγίου Πνεύματος*, P.G. tom. 32, col. 152 B.B.; Gregory Nazianzen, *Λογ.20*, 11, P.G. tom. 35, col. 1077 C., and *Λογ.25*, 15, P.G. tom. 35, col. 1220 B.
- ⁵⁵ P.G. tom. 141, coll. 52 D - 53 A.
- ⁵⁶ Nicholas of Methoni, *Ἐλεγχοὶ καινοφανοῦς δόγματος*, 14, p. 366; Nicholas Xexakis, Op. cit., p. 125.
- ⁵⁷ N. Xexakis, Op. cit., p. 125.
- ⁵⁸ P.G. tom. 141, col. 25 A.
- ⁵⁹ P.G. tom. 141, col. 113 A.
- ⁶⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Λογ.Β*, 34, P.G. tom. 29, col. 625 B.
- ⁶¹ P.G. tom. 141, col. 80 D.
- ⁶² Gregory Nazianzen, *Λογ.34*, 10, P.G. tom. 36, col. 252 A.
- ⁶³ P.G. tom. 141, col. 993 D.
- ⁶⁴ P.G. tom 141, col. 928 D.
- ⁶⁵ *Ἀντιρρησις*, IB, P.G. tom. 141, col. 753 B.
- ⁶⁶ Joseph Gill, John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople 1275-1282. In *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204-1453*. Variorum Reprints, (London, 1979), p. 264j
- ⁶⁷ George Pachymeres, Op. cit., II, pp. 88-89.

- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 1, p. 374.
- ⁶⁹ Kallistos Ware, *Christian Theology in the East 600-1453*. In *A History of Christian Doctrine*. Op. cit., p. 210.
- ⁷⁰ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1986).
- ⁷¹ Ibid, p. 87.
- ⁷² *On the procession of the Holy Spirit*, P.G. tom. 142, coll. 270 D - 271 A.
- ⁷³ G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*. S. P. C. K., (London, 1981), pp. 245-249.
- ⁷⁴ P.G. tom. 142, col. 235 C.
- ⁷⁵ *Exposition of the Tomus of Faith Against Beccus* in A. Papadakis *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 156.
- ⁷⁶ Gregory, *On the procession of the Holy Spirit*. In P.G. tom. 142, col. 272 A, translated by A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 88.
- ⁷⁷ Augustine's *De Trinitate*, Book 15, 27.
- ⁷⁸ P.G. tom. 142, col. 263 AB; 265 D - 266 A; see also A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 90.
- ⁷⁹ A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 90.
- ⁸⁰ Gregory's speech in the Council of Blachernae given by Metochites, Op. cit., 8, pt. 2, 135, and quoted from the English translation of A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 71.
- ⁸¹ John Damascene, *De fide Orthodoxa*. P.G. tom. 94, col. 849 B.
- ⁸² *Tomus*, P.G. tom. 142, col. 240 A, 240 B-C and 241 A. Quoted from A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 91.
- ⁸³ P.G., tom. 142, col. 251 A-B; *De processione Spiritus Sancti*. P.G. tom. 142, col. 285 C, 287 B-C.

- ⁸⁴ Ibid., col. 240 B-C; 285 A-B.
- ⁸⁵ The translation is from E. Evans, *Tertullian's Treatise Against Praxeas*. (London, 1948), pp. 139 [text], 237-38 [commentary].
- ⁸⁶ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio*, 31, P.G. tom. 36, col. 169 B.
- ⁸⁷ *Exposition of the Tomus of faith against Beccus*. In P.G. tom. 142, coll. 252 A, 252 B-C. Quoted by A. Papadakis' translation *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 159.
- ⁸⁸ A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 91.
- ⁸⁹ Andrew Sopko, "Palamism before Palamas and the theology of Gregory of Cyprus." *St. Vladimir's Theological Review*, 23, (1979), no. 3-4, p. 142.
- ⁹⁰ *De processione Spiritus Sancti*. In P.G. tom. 142, col. 290 A.
- ⁹¹ George Papademetriou, *Introduction to Saint Gregory Palamas*. Philosophical Library, (New York, 1973), p. 43.
- ⁹² P.G. tom. 142, coll. 275-276.
- ⁹³ Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 62.
- ⁹⁴ *Tomus*, P.G. tom. 142, col. 236 C, cf. Gregory's *Apology*. In P.G. tom. 142, col. 258 C.
- ⁹⁵ M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Tom. 2, Op. cit., pp. 255-256.
- ⁹⁶ *Apology*, P.G. tom. 142, col. 257 C-D; M. Jugie, *De Processione Spiritus Sancti: Ex Fontibus Revelationis Et Secundum Orientales Dissidentes*. (Rome, 1936), p. 224
- ⁹⁷ Beccus died in 1297; see V. Laurent, "La date de la mort de Jean Beccus." *Échos d' Orient*, 25, (1926), pp. 316-319. Except for periodic exiles to Bithynia, George Metochites was imprisoned in the capital until his death at the end of the reign of Andronicus II; I. Sevckenko, *Études sur la polemique entre Theodore Metochite et Nicephore Choumnos*. (Brussels, 1962), p. 130 and note 2, p. 134 and notes 5-6. R. J. Loenertz, "Theodore Metochite et son père." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 23, (1953), pp. 184-94. Metochite's Unionist colleague Constantine Meliteniotes was

also exiled to Bithynia; after the death of I. Beccus, he was transferred to prison in Constantinople, where he stayed until his death in 1307; Loenertz, "Theodore Methochite et son père." Op. cit., pp. 189-90, 192. See also A. M. Maffry-Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius and the Church." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27, (1973), p. 19.

⁹⁸ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1974), p. 94.

⁹⁹ M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Tom. I, Op. cit., pp. 310-311. [Conclusio]

¹⁰⁰ M. Jugie, "Le nombre des conciles oecumeniques reconnus par l'Église greco-russe et ses théologiens." *Échos d'Orient*, 18, (1916-1919), pp. 305-320. See also A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, Op. cit., p. 141.

¹⁰¹ Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*. Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 1977), p. 150.

¹⁰² *Apology*, P.G. tom. 142, col. 253 A-B. In A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 110.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, col. 265 D.

¹⁰⁴ A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁰⁵ Ὁμολογία, in P.G. tom. 142, coll. 247-52.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 249 C-D.

¹⁰⁷ A. Papadakis, "Gregory II of Cyprus and Mark's Report." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 21, no. 2, (1976), p. 152.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted from A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Op. cit., pp. 126-127.

¹⁰⁹ George Pachymeres, Op. cit., tom. II, 6.

¹¹⁰ I. E. Troitskij, *Arsenij i Arsenity*. J. Meyendorff (ed.), (London, 1973), p. 308.

¹¹¹ Andrew Sopko, "Palamism before Palamas and the theology of Gregory of Cyprus." *St. Vladimir's Theological Review*, 23, 1979, no. 3-4, p. 146.

CHAPTER V: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENT.

¹ The Arsenites had refused to recognise the deposition of Patriarch Arsenius Autoreianus (1255-1260; 1261-1267) in 1260 and obtained in 1310 his full rehabilitation as well as a partial 'damnatio memoriae' for several of his successors. [On the Arsenites see I. E. Troitskij, *Arsenij i Arsenity*. (St. Petersburg, 1874), reprinted with introduction and bibliographical updating by J. Meyendorff, Variorum Press, (London, 1973).

² A. M. Maffry-Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and the Church." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27, (1973), p. 17.

³ G. Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*. II, (ed.) I. Bekker (Bonn, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 1835), pp. 537-38.

⁴ For the anti-Latin sentiment on the part of Athanasius' Letters 23, 35, 46, V. Laurent (ed.), *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. I: Les actes des patriarches, fasc. 4, Les registes de 1268 a 1309; Institut Français d'études Byzantines, (Paris, 1971), no. 1621, 1630, 1693.

⁵ A. M. Maffry-Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and the Church." *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶ Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by L. Schopen, 3 volumes, Vol. I, p. 507; (Bonn; C. S. H. B. 1829-1855).

⁷ Donald M. Nicol, "Byzantine Requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century." *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 1 (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 75.

⁸ N. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 506-507; D. Nicol, *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹ N. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 507-509; D. Nicol, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁰ Epistolae Domini Barlaam Episcopi Cyracensis, *De unione Romanae Ecclesiae et processione Spiritus Sancti*. P.G., tom. 151, coll. 1255-1282.

¹¹ J. Romanides, *Roman Fathers of the Church. St. Gregory Palamas Vol. I*. (Thessaloniki, 1984), p. 129. (In Greek).

¹² M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Tom. II, (Paris, 1933), p. 372.

¹³ See J. Romanides, "Notes on the Palamite Controversy." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Vol. 6, (1960-61), pp. 186-205; Vol. 9, (1963-64), pp. 225-270.

¹⁴ J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1974), p. 103. In its application to theology, Nominalism denies the plurality of God's attributes and simplifies his being to such a degree that the reality of the three Persons, which depends on formal distinctions and relations, can be accepted only on the authority of faith. Nominalism paved the way for the disintegration of scholasticism.

¹⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, Oratio II, 31, P.G., tom. 141, col. 1225.

¹⁶ M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Op. cit., p. 373.

¹⁷ Quoted from D. M. Nicol, "Byzantine Requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century." Op. cit., pp. 79-80.

¹⁸ *Epistola ad Demetrium Cydonium de processione Spiritus Sancti* in P.G. tom. 151, col. 1301 D.

¹⁹ P.G. tom. 151, col. 1306 B-C; M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Op. cit., p. 375.

²⁰ P.G. tom. 151, col. 1327 B-C.

²¹ R. J. Loenertz, "Demetrius Cydones, I: De la naissance à l'année 1373." *Échols d' Orient*, 36, 1970, pp. 55-56.

²² *Epistola ad Barlaamum* in P.G. tom. 151, coll. 1299-1300; M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Op. cit., pp. 377-378.

²³ G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone*. (Roma, 1931), pp. 429-430; M. Jugie, Op. cit., p. 379.

²⁴ *Against Palamas* in P.G. tom. 154, coll. 837-864 C.

²⁵ P.G. tom. 154, coll. 863-958.

²⁶ *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, c. XI, in P.G. tom. 154, coll. 926-928; M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

²⁷ See O. Clement, "Grégoire de Chypre, De l'Ékpose du Saint Esprit." *Istina*, nos. 3-4, 1972, pp. 443-456.

²⁸ Cf. G. Barrois' review in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 22, Nos. 2-3, (1978), p. 164, of "Trinitarian Theology: East and West". (Brookline, MA, 1977).

²⁹ P.G. tom. 151, col. 627 C.

³⁰ See J. Meyendorff, *St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, (New York, 1974), p. 100.

³¹ P.G. tom. 151, coll. 243-288; see also P. Chrestou, *The Complete Works of Gregory Palamas*. In Greek Fathers of the Church No. 51, (Thessaloniki, 1981). (In Greek).

³² Hieromonk Amphilohios Randovich, *The Mystery of the Holy Trinity According to St. Gregory Palamas*. Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, (Thessaloniki, 1973), p. 144. (In Greek).

³³ See P. Chrestou, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

³⁴ Letter 234, 1. Quoted from Kallistos (Timothy) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. (London, 1981), p. 77.

³⁵ *Oration I*, 9, translated by J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

³⁶ J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*. Translated by George Laurence, (London, 1964), p. 229.

³⁷ *Oration I*, 15, P. Chrestou, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

³⁸ Hieromonk Amphilohios Randovich, *The Mystery of the Holy Trinity According to St. Gregory Palamas*. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

³⁹ P. Chrestou, *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ *Oration I*, 2 ff, P. Chrestou, Op. cit., p. 20 ff.

⁴¹ See, "The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and his relation to the Son, as the basis of our deification and adoption" by Dimitru Staniloae in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*. S. P. C. K. (London), World Council of Churches, (Geneva, 1981), p. 176.

⁴² The English translation is quoted from A. Papadakis, "Gregory Palamas at the Council of Blachernae, 1351." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 10, No. 4, (1969), pp. 338-339.

⁴³ *Oration I*, 23, P. Chrestou, Op. cit., p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Oration I*, 7. 22.

⁴⁵ *Oration I*, 32.

⁴⁶ Dionysius, *On the Divine Names*. 2, 5, P.G. tom. 3, col. 641 D; 2, 7, P.G. tom. 3, col. 645 B.

⁴⁷ Translated by J. Meyendorff in *A Study of Gregory Palamas*. Op. cit., p. 230.

⁴⁸ *Oration I*, 29.

⁴⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechetical Oration II*, P.G. tom 45, col. 17 B. *πνεῦμα μεμαθηκότες Θεοῦ τὸ συμπαραρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ*. Cf. John Damascene's, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. A. 7, P.G. tom 94, col. 805 A-B.

⁵⁰ Gregory the Cypriot, *On the procession of the Holy Spirit*. P.G. tom. 142, col. 274 ff.

⁵¹ *Oration II*, 1. 2; P. Chrestou, Op. cit., pp. 66-67.

⁵² Ἀντεπιγραφαί 5 and 8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6, 7, and 12.

⁵⁵ P. Chrestou, Op. cit., p. 342.

⁵⁶ *Oration II*, 77.

⁵⁷ P.G. tom. 150, col. 1145 A; see also Hieromonk Amphilohios Randovich, *The Mystery of the Holy Trinity According to St. Gregory Palamas*. Op. cit., p. 169.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁵⁹ Dimitru Staniloae, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and his relation to the Son, as the basis of our deification and adoption" in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*. Op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁰ V. Lossky, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Triadology." *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VII, No. 2, (1948), p. 51.

⁶¹ M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium Ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissidentium*. Op. cit., p. 383.

⁶² J. Meyendorff, "The Holy Trinity in Palamite Theology." *Trinitarian Theology, East and West*. (Brookline, MA, 1977), p. 28.

⁶³ A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1986), p. 150.

⁶⁴ Demetrios Kydones, *Apology III*, in G. Mercati, *Notizae di Procoro de Demetrio Cidone*. (Roma, 1931), p. 391.

⁶⁵ P.G. tom. 149, coll. 699-730.

⁶⁶ Emmanuel Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas et Theologia S. Thomae De Processione Spiritus Sancti*. (Citta del Vaticano, 1945).

⁶⁷ Nilus Cabasilas, "On the procession of the Holy Spirit" in the book entitled *Latinos non posse ope syllogismorum processionem Spiritus Sancti ex Filio demonstrare*. Chapter III, paragraph 1, in E. Candal, Op. cit., p. 188

⁶⁸ E. Candal, Op. cit., paragraph 31, p. 208.

⁶⁹ J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. Op. cit., p. 94.

CHAPTER VI: THE 'FILIOQUE' AS DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE.

¹ Donald M. Nicol in his article, "Byzantine Requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century." *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 1, (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 69-95, offers a detailed narrative of how resentful the Popes in the fourteenth century were to the idea of summoning an ecumenical council.

² The Council of Constance ended the Great Schism (1378-1417), during which Western Christendom was divided by the creation of antipopes.

³ V. Laurent, "Le Pape Martin V et le Patriarche Joseph II." *Revue des études byzantines*, 20, (1962), p. 351.

⁴ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*. Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 1987), p. 242.

⁵ The letters of the Emperor and the Patriarch dated Oct. 1433 are found in the Acts of the Council of Basel, in J. Haller (and others), *Concilium Basileense, Studien und Dokumente*. Vol. 8, (Basel, 1896-1936), p. 57.

⁶ A detailed history of the Council of Basel and the arrival of the Greeks in Italy may be found in: Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*. (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 46-130.

⁷ Silvester Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, edited by R. Creighton under the title: *Vera Historia Unionis Non Verae*. III, 8, (Hagae/Comitis, 1660), p. 168. For an updated edition see *Les "Memoires" du Grand Ecclesiarque de l'Eglise de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos*, (ed.) V. Laurent. *Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores*, series B., vol. IX. (Rome, 1971).

⁸ The list with all the names of the Eastern Orthodox delegates may be found in J. Gill, *the Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 89.

⁹ J. Gill, (ed.), *Quae Supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, (Roma, 1959).

¹⁰ G. Hoffman, (ed.), *Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis, Acta Latina Concilii Florentini*, (Romae, 1955).

¹¹ This title is given to Syropoulos' work by the editor. The beginning of the history is lost, and therefore its real title is unknown to us. When dividing his history, Syropoulos calls his work *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* (Memoirs).

- ¹² J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 11.
- ¹³ S. Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, edited by R. Creighton under the title: *Vera historia unionis non verae*. (Hagae/Comitis, 1660). The text has a Latin translation, though not a very accurate version.
- ¹⁴ S. Syropoulos, V, Op. cit., pp. 166-77. The English translations of Syropoulos' work are taken from J. Gill's book, *The Council of Florence*. (Cambridge, 1959).
- ¹⁵ S. Syropoulos, V, Op. cit., pp. 316-318.
- ¹⁶ Cited by J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 149 from Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*. Tom. 7, col. 109 C, 116 C.
- ¹⁷ S. Syropoulos, V, 18, Op. cit., p. 169.
- ¹⁸ S. Syropoulos, VI, 20, Op. cit., p. 124.
- ¹⁹ S. Syropoulos, VI, 20, Op. cit., p. 129.
- ²⁰ S. Syropoulos, VI, 19, Op. cit.
- ²¹ S. Syropoulos, VI, 19, Op. cit.
- ²² S. Syropoulos, VI, 21, Op. cit., p. 174.
- ²³ Bessarion, *Epist. ad Alex. Lascarin*. P.G. tom. 161, col. 341 C.
- ²⁴ *Acta Graeca*, Op. cit., p. 159.
- ²⁵ J. D. Mansi, Op. cit., tom. 13, p. 760.
- ²⁶ *Acta Graeca*, Op. cit., p. 216.
- ²⁷ S. Syropoulos, VII, 22, Op. cit.
- ²⁸ For a detailed prosopographical note of Emperor ~~Isaiah~~ VIII Palaeologus see J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*. (Oxford, 1964), pp. 104-124.
- ²⁹ J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., pp. 173-176.
- ³⁰ S. Syropoulos, VII, 14, Op. cit., p. 21.

³¹ S. Syroopoulos, VI, 17, Op. cit., p. 308.

³² J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 62.

³³ Mark of Ephesus, *Capita Syllogistica Adversus Latinos*. P.G. tom. 161, col. 28 B.

³⁴ Ibid., coll. 189-193.

³⁵ P.G. tom. 161, col. 217 C. "μόνη πηγή τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ πατήρ."

³⁶ P.G. tom. 161, col. 36 B.

³⁷ P.G. tom. 161, coll. 100 D to 101 A.

³⁸ P.G. tom. 161, col. 100 C.

³⁹ J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 205.

⁴⁰ *Acta Graeca*. Op. cit., pp. 345-46.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 364-482.

⁴² Syroopoulos gives us one reason for Mark's absence. He stated that because of the sophistic quarrelsome and unreceptive attitude of the Latins, Mark wanted to put an end to those fruitless discussions, and that he was encouraged in this by the Emperor himself.

⁴³ S. Syroopoulos, VIII, Op. cit., p. 394.

⁴⁴ J. Gill., *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 300.

⁴⁵ S. Syroopoulos, IX, 14, Op. cit., p. 274.

⁴⁶ Gregory Palamas, *Oration*. I, Op. cit., p. 209.

⁴⁷ P.G. tom. 90, col. 672 C-D; George Dragas, *Theological Dialogue of Anglicans and Orthodox, 1976-1984*. (Athens, 1984), p. 916.

⁴⁸ P.G. tom. 141, col. 25.

⁴⁹ P.G. tom. 142, col. 236 C.

⁵⁰ John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*. P.G. tom. 94, col. 848 D.

⁵¹ George Pachymeres, *De Michaelae et Andronico Palaeologis Libri Trecedim.*, II, Vol. II, (ed.) I. Bekker, (Bonn: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 1835), pp. 130-131.

⁵² S. Syropoulos, IX, 9, Op. cit., pp. 442-444.

⁵³ P.G. tom. 102, col. 809.

⁵⁴ P.G. tom. 161, col. 548 A.

⁵⁵ P.G. tom. 161, col. 555 B.

⁵⁶ P.G. tom. 161, col. 609 A.

⁵⁷ P.G. tom. 161, coll. 611-612 A-B.

⁵⁸ *Acta Graeca*. Op. cit., pp. 405-406.

⁵⁹ See Dositheos II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Tomos Charas*. Regopoulos edition, (Thessaloniki, 1985), p. 598. (In Greek).

⁶⁰ S. Syropoulos, IX, 20, Op. cit., p. 454.

⁶¹ J. Gill, *the Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 262.

⁶² S. Syropoulos, IX, 16, Op. cit.

⁶³ Text in *Acta Graeca*, Op. cit., pp. 444-445. Quoted from J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*. Op. cit., p. 267.

⁶⁴ S. Syropoulos, IX, 16, Op. cit.

⁶⁵ *Acta Graeca*, Op. cit., p. 459; S. Syropoulos, X, 13, Op. cit., pp. 492-94.

⁶⁶ S. Syropoulos, X, 12, Op. cit., pp. 490-492.

⁶⁷ S. Syropoulos, X, 13, Op. cit., p. 494.

⁶⁸ After the departure of the delegates from the Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonian Churches, union was established with the Armenians in 1439 and with the Copts of Egypt in 1442. (Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox Churches.)

⁶⁹ G. Hoffman gives the text of the condemnation in *Orientalium documenta minora*. (Rome, 1953), doc. 45.

⁷⁰ Chrysostom I Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens and all Greece (1923-1938), "The State of the Orthodox Church of Antioch in the 14th and 15th Centuries." In *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon XIII*, (1937), p. 149.

⁷¹ See Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*. Catholic Truth Society, (London, 1911), pp. 208-220.

⁷² Kallistos (Timothy) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. Op. cit., p. 211.

CONCLUSION

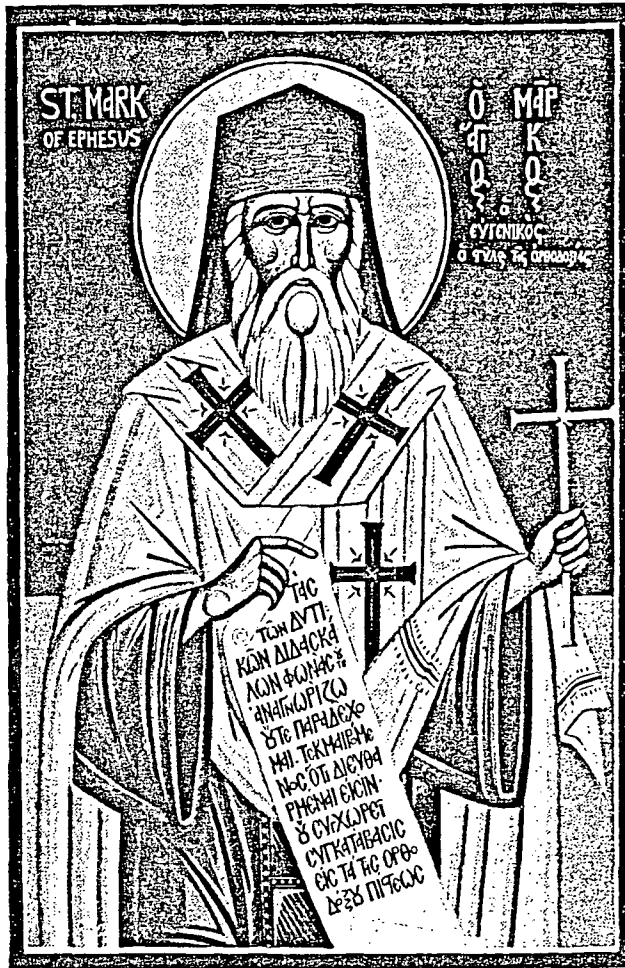
¹ A common declaration made by Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I expressing their decision to remove from memory and from the midst of the Church the excommunications of 1054. See E. Stormon, *Towards the Healing of Schism*. Ecumenical Documents III, the Sees of Rome and Constantinople, Paulist Press, (New York, 1987).

² J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, (New York, 1987), pp. 91-92.

³ Kallistos (Timothy) Ware, *The Orthodox Church*. Penguin Books, (London, 1981), p. 222.

⁴ Gerald Bray, "Filioque and Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue." *Churchman*, Vol. 94, No. 2, (1979), p. 129.

⁵ Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain, "The 'Filioque' in Ecumenical Perspective." A paper read in the Llandaff Conference of the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission, July 1980. Revised and updated by Protopresbyter George D. Dragas. *Church and Theology III*, (1982), p. 1092.



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