



APODICTIC TREATISES  
ON THE PROCESSION  
OF THE HOLY SPIRIT



SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS



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# **APODICTIC TREATISES ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT**

*Our Father Among the Saints*

**Gregory Palamas**

Archbishop of Thessaloniki

Introduction & Translation

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Uncut Mountain Press

APODICTIC TREATISES ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

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“...εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον,  
τὸ Κύριον, τὸ Ζωοποιόν,  
**τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον...**”

“... in the Holy Spirit,  
the Lord, the Giver of life,  
**Who proceedeth from the Father...**”

ΤΟΥ  
ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙ-  
επισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης λόγοι ἀπο-  
δεικτικοὶ δύο.



Χριστός μοι μόνος εἶν δόξα καὶ νίκη.

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ὅπου λαός· ζήτησον τὸν δούλο σου,  
ὅτι τὰν ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου ἔκεί πελαγόμην· +  
Δόξα σοι ὡς ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἡ γῆ· ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ

**Π**ιστός εἰς ὅνα θῆναι παρὰ πάντας κραταίρει,  
ποιῇ τὴν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ὁ ραυτοῦ μετὰ πάντων  
καὶ ἀσραταί· καὶ εἰς ὅνα κεν ἱμῶν χη-  
τὸν ἐν οὐτῷ θῆναι μομο ἱμῶν· γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ  
πρὸς ἱμῶν θέντα παρὰ πάντων αἰώνων·  
φῶς ἐκ φωτός θῆναι ἀληθινοὺς ἐκ θῆναι  
ἀληθινοῦ· ἱμῶν θέντα οὐ ποιῇ θέντα  
ὁμοῦ σὶ οὐτῷ παρὰ· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα  
ἐγένετο γὰρ δι' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καὶ δι'  
αὐτῆς ἡμετέρας ὁρίαν, κατελθόντα  
ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ  
πατρὸς αἰῶνος· καὶ μαρτυρῶν τῆς παρθένου  
μου καὶ ἐν ἀνίσταται· σφωθόντα τε  
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἅπασαν τῆς πονηρίας τοῦ λαοῦ,  
καὶ παντοῦ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀσρα-  
ταί τῆς τριτῆς μετὰ τὰν γενεῶν.

From a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Horologion, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai  
St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai: 16th c., Library of Congress, Greek Manuscripts 2044.  
Horologion

καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐanois· καὶ κα-  
 θεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ  
 πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖ-  
 ναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς· οὗ τῆς βασι-  
 λείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ πᾶν  
 τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ  
 ὑἱῷ συναποσκυνοῦ μένον καὶ σινο-  
 ζαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προ-  
 φητῶν· εἰς μίαν θεῶν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου  
 καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 ἐν ἑκείνῃ μετὰ δόξης σφαιροῦ ἀμὲν·  
 προσδοκῶν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν· καὶ ζω-  
 ην τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἀμήν· +  
 τοῦ πατρὸς· πατέρα καὶ υἱόν· καὶ τὸ ἅγιον  
 πνεῦμα· ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱὸς· ὁ ἐκ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενος· ὁ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ  
 τῆς γυμνασίας· καὶ μακάριος ὁ δουλός  
 οὐρανίου· ἀμήν· ἀμήν· ἀμήν·

“...Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ Ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,...”





## INTRODUCTION

### to the Edition of 1981

SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS: EARLY LIFE AND WORK<sup>1</sup>

*by Panagiotis Christou*

By the time Saint Gregory Palamas appeared on the spiritual scene, the Roman Empire<sup>2</sup> had already completed the life-span of more than one thousand three hundred years. It had lived longer than any other empire in the world. This giant organism, giant not so much for its expansiveness as for the endurance of its ethos, which had diligently guarded, transformed, and transmitted the seeds of human civilization, which Hellenism had produced with such dexterity, as well as the flame of Christian faith and love, although old by now, had nevertheless not been deadened. Despite the savage beatings which it continually received from its innumerable enemies throughout all the centuries from the time of its constitution, it refused to bow the knee. It remained as the only fortress wherein all the spiritual goods of civilization were being preserved and cultivated with all safety. But it likewise was a wall behind which Western Europe was living securely.

Of course, its decline had already begun in the twelfth century, but the vitality of Romanía facilitated its continuation for another two hundred and fifty years. The vitality of Orthodoxy in these years goes hand in hand with the Hellenism's strength for resistance. Orthodox theology is renewed and enlivened, while the attempt to subjugate her to Franco-Latin Rome finds intense resistance from theological thought.

Saint Gregory Palamas, having experienced all these difficulties, contributed in his own way to the struggles of the race and to the



preservation of the autonomy of the Orthodox Church more than anyone else in his age, and thus occupied one of most significant positions amongst protagonists in the formulation of the spiritual teaching of Christianity.

The parents of Gregory, Constantine and Kalloni (or Kali, meaning 'belle'), were inspired by a spirit of holiness and temperance, even though the circles in which they lived demanded a worldly mentality. Coming from Anatolia, as is noted in the biography of their son,<sup>3</sup> they had settled down in Constantinople shortly after their marriage and probably had children there. It appears that the national troubles had driven them there, since shortly aforetime the Ottomans had begun to devastate the East. Being wealthy and of noble lineage, they did manage to bring to the capital substantial assets, which would allow them to live comfortably.

Constantine's exceptional ethos led Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos the Second, who was called the Elder, to choose him to be the teacher of his grandson and successor, who was subsequently Emperor Andronikos the Third, also called the Younger. But he also went further than this: appreciating his virtues, he made him his friend and offered him a seat in the Senate. In this capacity, Constantine became a counselor of the state but also a defender of the wronged, as he demonstrated on many occasions. He, however, was not one of those men that have a passion for political matters. He was so dedicated to God that, during the meetings of the Senate before the emperor, he gave himself over to silent prayer.<sup>4</sup> He liked to associate with monks experienced in spiritual practice, especially Phocas, and he would often visit the monasteries that existed inside and outside of the city. Sometimes he would also include his children in such visits, in order to initiate them into the spiritual life. The natural end of such tendencies was that shortly before his death he was tonsured a monk. His spouse Kalloni was to do the same much later.

The couple had at least five children, which, as far as we know, all followed the monastic life, three boys and two girls. Gregory was the first in order and was the teacher of the others. He was born in 1296.<sup>5</sup> The emperor strengthened the orphaned family and in particular Gregory, who was of the same age as his royal grandson Andronikos. Gregory finished his studies of philosophy and rhetoric early with such success that he was admired by all the scholars of Constantinople. Then he attended courses in natural physics and logic with similar success, with the Aristotelian literary

corpus as the basis. The degree of his performance in them is testified by the words of Theodore Metochites, the rector of the university of Constantinople: after the conclusion of the graduation speech before the emperor, the officials, the professors, and the scholars of the city, in which Gregory developed a topic from the logic of Aristotle with such adroitness and completeness, the rector shouted with amazement that even Aristotle himself would have praised him exceedingly, if he were present and had heard him: “καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτὸς εἶγε περιῶν παρῆν, ἐπήνεσεν ᾄν”. Gregory was compelled to recount this incident himself in a letter of his many decades later,<sup>6</sup> when he came into conflict with partisans of the Renaissance who unjustly challenged his possession of a comprehensive education.<sup>7</sup>

### HIS SPIRITUAL TRAINING (*AGOGÉ*)

From that time on, Gregory was given over to the study of ascetic literature and interaction with esteemed teachers of spiritual training, and he applied himself to the ascetic practice, to the great disappointment of the emperor, who had intended him for high political offices. Among his spiritual teachers Theoleptos was noteworthy, a chosen member of the Athonite Republic at the start, who afterward became Metropolitan of Philadelphia but was compelled to remain in Constantinople due to the circumstances of the war.<sup>8</sup> Gregory was taught by him sacred nepsis and noetic prayer, which he assuredly already knew from his conversations with his father and his father's interlocutors. At twenty years of age, having refused the offer of an elevated office by the emperor, he decided to go to labor ascetically on Mount Athos with his brothers, Makarios and Theodosios, abandoning his earthly goods. In the fall of 1316, having passed through Thrace, they came to Mount Papikion,<sup>9</sup> which is found on the borders of Thrace with Macedonia, and judged it good to spend the winter there close to eminent ascetics. Gregory now experienced the first of his troubles in which his struggles and the political circumstances were about to incessantly involve him. Groups of Messalian monks were settled near the mountain, apparently Bogomils, many of which visited him, seeking to influence him favorably toward their dyarchic and anti-liturgical sentiments. When they had broken off the visits, because they saw that the results would be the

opposite of what they pursued, he himself began to visit them personally. Indeed, one of the leaders of their community and many members were converted by his arguments. Because of this, the heretics unsuccessfully tried to kill him by poisoning.



Chalkidiki, with Thessaloniki (far left) and the peninsula of Mt. Athos (far right).

Philotheos Kokkinos<sup>10</sup> attaches great significance to this incident, because he wishes to stop the mouths of those that later accused Saint Gregory of friendliness and inclination toward these heretics. Indeed, Barlaam accused the hesychast monks of Mount Athos as Messalians, and the second triad of his writings was entitled *Against the Messalians*. Akindynos, the sometime friend of Saint Gregory, says that the latter had come into contact with Bogomils in Thessaloniki, while later Nicephorus Gregoras would assert that Saint Gregory and his friends fled from Mount Athos in 1325 so as to escape being condemned for Messalianism.<sup>11</sup> All

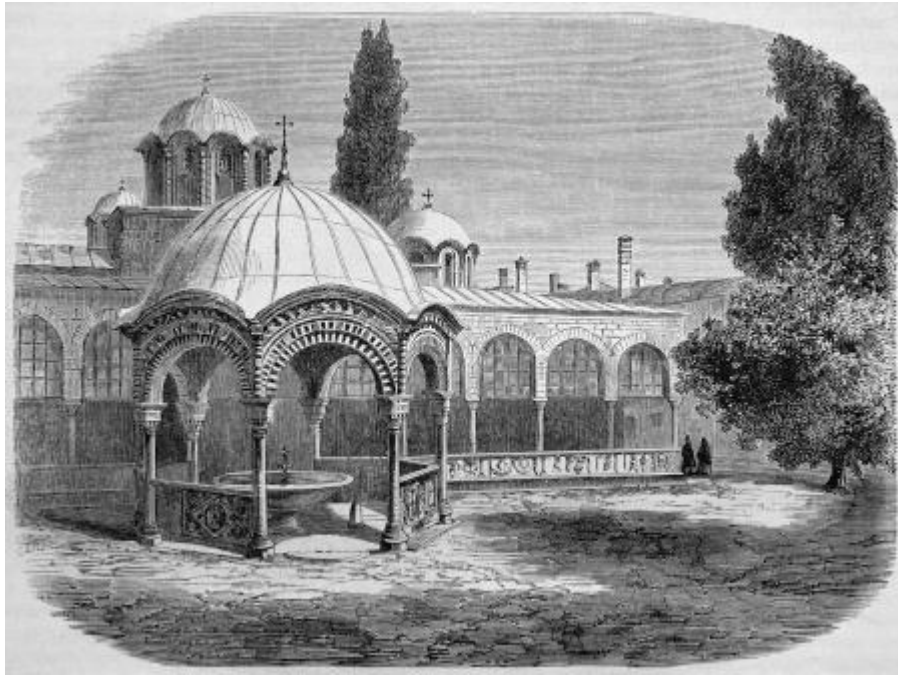
these assertions are complete retaliatory fabrications and invoke the persistence of the Hesychasts in noetic prayer in an unfounded comparison with the Euchitism of the Messalians (who were also called Euchites). The incident above demonstrates the absence of any connection to this heresy.

In the spring of the following year (1317), Saint Gregory arrived with his brethren at the “Athos they longed for”, and he himself settled down in the Lavra of Vatopedi near the experienced monk Nikodemos, a man brave and admirable in ascetic practice as well as in theory, at whose hands he also received his monastic tonsure. After the course of three years (1317-1320), as soon as his elder died, Saint Gregory moved to the renowned Lavra of Athanasius, where he was warmly received by the monks, who from his reputation already knew of his virtue. He served there in obedience for three years working in the refectory and serving as a chanter (1320-1323), after which he was again overcome by his love for solitude and *hesychia*.

So, next he settled down in the secluded location known as Glossia, situated on the eastern slope of Athos and now called Provata. Glossia had been previously honored by the ascetic sweat of Nikephoros the Italiote, instructor of the hesychastic method, and of Theoleptos, teacher of Saint Gregory; now a multitude of holy men were living there, including great spiritual guides such as Kallistos, who subsequently became patriarch, another Kallistos (Katafygiotis), and Elias Seliotas.

The Turkish pirates, who were at that time continually multiplying and perpetrating savage raiding incursions on the Greek coasts, became especially dangerous for the fathers of Mount Athos and mainly for the ascetics found outside the walls, in the desert. Because of this, after living for two years in Glossia (1323-1325), Saint Gregory departed with other fellow ascetics (twelve in all) for Thessaloniki. Their first thought was to depart for the Holy City, Jerusalem, so as to venerate the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord and to rest there for life, being certainly ignorant of the fact that the situation there was no better as far as the barbarian incursions were concerned. But after a vision, in which Saint Demetrios appeared to Saint Gregory and demanded him for himself, they decided to settle in a place near Thessaloniki and chose a mountain next to Veria (Berea), where they settled in 1326, once Saint Gregory (who was by then thirty years of age) had been ordained a priest.

He lived there in solitude in his cell five days of the week, while on Saturday and the Lord's Day he made an appearance to administer the sacred services, for association with the fellow monks, and for teaching. Multitudes of monks and laymen from the surrounding area came to him at that time for spiritual refreshment from his conversation and radiance.



Great Lavra, Mt. Athos.

At this time, having been informed by a letter from his sisters about the death of his beloved mother Kalloni, he was forced to make a visit to Constantinople to strengthen them. They, however, placed him before a dilemma: either to remain in the capital so as to be close to them, or to take them with him. His commitments obliged him to choose the second solution. He settled his sisters in a monastery within the city of Berea, while he returned to the mountain; yet before much time had passed the eldest of them, Epicharis, reposed.

#### THE BEGINNING OF HIS SPIRITUAL WRITING

Five years after his settlement at the skete at Veria (1326-1331), the situation in the area also became uncertain. The invasion of the Serbs under Stephen Dushan, the lootings and enslavements, forced him to return to Athos, probably followed by his companions. He arrived at the Great Lavra,



where his brothers enthusiastically received him; nevertheless, he did not wish to live inside the monastery but chose a cell in a neighboring area, the “phrontistery of Savas the divine”, to make the area a source of *hesychia*. At this time, his teaching shifts focus from the ethos to dogma, following a commandment which he received in a vision. Under the cover of a light sleep, he thought that he was holding in his hand a vessel full of milk, which suddenly swelled and began to gush forth, while at the same time it was being changed into flavorful wine, giving off a pleasant aroma. An illustrious man appeared, who verbally rebuked him: “Why do you not give from this divine drink, which gushes forth in a marvelous manner, but let it be spilled in vain?” Saint Gregory realized that the meaning of the vision was that he had to give to his words elevated and dogmatic content, and so he began to write. His first composition was the *Life of Peter the Athonite*.

His fame and leadership abilities were to temporarily cost him the loss of *hesychia*. By the vote of the Protos of Mount Athos and of the synaxis, he was appointed abbot of the monastery of Esphigmenou and accepted this responsible administrative position with the understanding that it was temporary and was for the purpose of taking care of exigent problems, as it appears. Simple in manners, free in opinion, pleasant in his sermons, strict on the slothful, forgiving to the repentant, he managed this monastery with skill, despite the internal difficulties. He was not able to remain in this position permanently and fled it very soon, perhaps out of the necessity to engage in dogmatic struggles and out of the displeasure which his strict monastic reformatory actions provoked. He was probably appointed as abbot of the monastery in the middle of 1333, remained in the position for about a year, and returned to his old eremitic cell near the Lavra in 1334. From there he was to be called to an even wider field of action, which, in time, revealed him as a leading figure of Orthodoxy.



Esphigmenou Monastery, Mt. Athos

Shortly before this time, around 1330, the philosopher monk Barlaam came to Greece from Calabria. He belonged to the ethnically Greek-speaking Roman community of southern Italy, (which still exists despite the political adventures of the region), and had received a Greek education. He now wanted to become acquainted with his ancestral homeland, in which had lived the philosophers whom he admired, Plato and Aristotle, and in which his fellow-Orthodox were also living. He felt much national pride, and he probably thought it an easy thing to effect a revival of the old glory of Romanía and a complete renaissance of letters and sciences, in which he himself would be a protagonist.

The Grand Domestic John Kantakouzenos, a patron of the Renaissance in Romanía at the time, supported the newcomer and gave to him a professorship at the university of Constantinople. His lectures on philosophical, theological, and natural subjects provoked the deepest impression, while his compositions found wide circulation. His success exacerbated his tendency to think highly of himself and nourished his passion to humiliate all who were practicing the same art as himself, which even his friends admit: “For when you first came to the Great City [Constantinople],” says Akindynos to him, “you took in all things great effort to prove the City devoid of all learning.”<sup>12</sup> Who knows what frustrations he must have experienced in his homeland once, for which he

was now coming here to satisfy his wounded ambition, seeking power and glory? In any case, a result of his behaviour was that in a short time he made enemies of the most famous scholars of Romanía, of whom Nicephorus Gregoras was chief, and for that reason the climate there became unbearable for him, and he was forced to settle in Thessaloniki.

The discussions which took place in the reign of Andronikos the Third, with the aim of the union of the Churches, in the years 1333 and 1334, were what first brought the two men of letters, Saint Gregory and Barlaam, into contact. Both of them composed polemical works against the Franco-Latins of Rome, but each started off from a different starting point. Barlaam considered meaningless the demand of the Latins, viz. that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, since God (according to the words of both Dionysius the Areopagite and others) is incomprehensible.

At the same time, Saint Gregory wrote the *Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, whose title alone shows Saint Gregory's opposition to the direction of Barlaam. In contrast to the latter's agnosticism, Saint Gregory speaks of an "apodictic" treatise.<sup>13</sup> It was natural for him to come into conflict with Barlaam, who on one occasion egotistically exploded and said characteristically, "I will humiliate the man!"



Ancient map of Constantinople from a book by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1475)

### DATE AND OCCASION OF THE TREATISES

During the years of 1333-1334, discussions were held in Constantinople concerning the union of the Churches between the representatives of the Pope and the Patriarchate. The head of the Orthodox delegation, Barlaam the Calabrian, while supporting the eastern view, employed in both his oral conversations and his written essays the paradoxical reasoning that the claim of the Latins (viz. that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son) is not found on logic, since the divine is incomprehensible and unprovable [*anapodicton*]. Since apparently this position, being in harmony with the physiological presuppositions of Barlaam, undermined the foundations of Orthodox dogma, Saint Gregory composed works of his own.

### *1) Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.*

Following a direction opposite to that of Barlaam, he emphasizes that there is proof [*apodeixis*] in the case of God, but it is different from the logical constructions of men and is founded on faith, enlightenment, and Tradition. Afterward, on the basis of ancient writings, he explicates the dogma concerning the procession from the Father and the pouring forth through (or from) the Son. These two treatises were written in 1335 and are among the first works of Saint Gregory.

### *2) Counter-Epigraphs*

These were directed at the Epigraphs of Bekkos. The Latin-minded Patriarch had made a philological anthology of passages from the Fathers in order to show that the Latin dogma is in harmony with the patristic teaching, which Saint Gregory refutes with this work. They had been composed at this time along with the previous, but in all likelihood they were revised around 1340, because he also classifies Akindynos with the “irreverent” Barlaam.

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The entire work is preceded by a characteristic introduction, wherein the “subtle serpent and source of vice” is presented as a base that acquires from time to time countless new heads, the heads of those that follow his counsels which lead to perdition, and as having appeared once again on the occasion of the discussions with the Latins. Next comes a prayer on behalf of the author, that he may theologise in a manner well-pleasing to God,<sup>14</sup> while at the end of the work another prayer is given, asking for the manifestation of God, that all may come to know his glory.<sup>15</sup>

The first treatise is divided into forty-two chapters, recapitulated at the end in forty-two short paragraphs. This division, which is owed to the author’s own pen, was not also extended to the second treatise, evidently because the work was snatched away too soon by Joseph.<sup>16</sup> As he states at the beginning of the second treatise, in the first the author attempts to clarify the Orthodox mindset, scarcely implying the objections of the Latins.<sup>17</sup>



The entire subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit is examined from two sides: first, whether it was permitted for the Latins to add “and from the Son”, and whether this teaching is well-founded. The first problem is simple. The “Symbol free from false belief” of Nicaea and Constantinople can be laid down as the basis for all argumentation, which was composed by the chosen Fathers that gathered there, both eastern and western, and which they handed down to posterity complete and not accepting any addition or change. So there is no room for any debate regarding the addition, while the dialogues with the Latins will become possible and fruitful only if they cast it away. “Thus, it was most just not to deem you worthy even of conversation as long as you add to the sacred Symbol. Now, after you have cast out your addition, then one should inquire whether the Holy Spirit is also from the Son or not also from the Son.”<sup>18</sup>

The second problem is initially interpretational. The Latins were claiming that, while the Symbol says that the Spirit proceeds “from the Father”, yet it does not say “only from the Father”; therefore we may suppose that the Symbol silently accepts the procession from the Son as well. Through a multitude of passages Saint Gregory proves that, just as the “only” is not added with reference to the begetting of the Son from the Father and yet it is always implied, so also with the procession of the Spirit, although the “only” is not noted, it is always implied.<sup>19</sup> “Nearly every theological tongue” proclaims that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father.<sup>20</sup>

To support his view the author then resorts to the theological presuppositions regarding the Holy Trinity. The Latins were confusing the hypostatic with the natural attributes, i.e. the three hypostases with the nature of God. By confusing the energies (*ἐνεργήματα*) of the entire divine nature, such as the creative energy, with the hypostatic properties, such as the processional property, they were attributing the latter not only to the hypostasis of the Father but also to that of the Son, or rather to the entire divinity, just as creation is indeed attributed to the entire divinity. Of course, this confusion flows from older monarchianistic perceptions,<sup>21</sup> which used to be dominant in Rome and which cost the whole Church so many struggles. Unlike the easterners, the westerners at that time did not distinguish between the essence and hypostasis, and it was unwillingly that they accepted the solution of the Cappadocians, which came after the

council of 362 in Alexandria and according to which God has one essence and exists in three hypostases; the westerners instead preferred the term “person”.

The Alexandrian theologians, who had originally been in agreement with the western view, after 362 turned to the eastern one, although they retained traces of their older views. Saint Gregory interprets the phrase of St. Cyril of Alexandria, “the Spirit that is poured forth essentially from both, that is, from the Father through the Son,”<sup>22</sup> as agreeing with his own views.

It was mainly the Cappadocian theologians that established the eastern position by introducing the term “cause” into the intratrinitarian relationships. The cause refers exclusively to the Father.<sup>23</sup> Saint Photius used the distinction between nature and hypostasis in his argumentation regarding procession.<sup>24</sup> Saint Gregory considers the Latins’ claims unreasonable. If, according to them, the Spirit proceeds directly from the Son and indirectly from the father, they must either accept two causes and two caused or they must identify the two causes, that, the hypostasis of the Son with that of the Father, in which case they will end up at the old heresy of patripassianism.<sup>25</sup> If natural and hypostatic attributes considered identical, then the Spirit will proceed not only “and from the Son” but from Himself as well, in which case the proceeding Spirit will be other than the originating Spirit, and we shall end up with a tetrad instead of a Trinity.<sup>26</sup> Besides, the self-contradictory claims of the Latins are found to lead to the acceptance of an absolute prioritization (*ἱεράρχησις*) of the persons of the Holy Trinity, resulting in the acceptance of the views of Eunomius.<sup>27</sup> The Holy Trinity, however, is not subject to order: It is beyond order. There is an order only in the manifestation of the three persons to the world.<sup>28</sup>

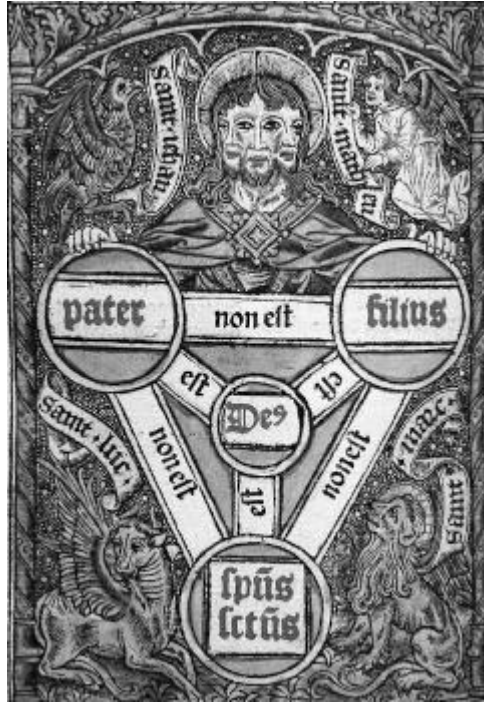
Saint Gregory does not reject the term “through the Son,” and he is ready to accept procession “from the Son” (*Filioque*), if interpreted in Orthodox manner. While according to the confession of Dionysius he accepts one “fount of divinity” and “divinity-generating divinity”,<sup>29</sup> whence proceeds the Spirit, he also accepts a double progression or pouring-forth of the Spirit, which can by concession be also called a procession. In other words, the Spirit, proceeding eternally from the Father, rests upon the Son and is poured forth by the two of them, “from both”, onto the worthy ones.<sup>30</sup> This view, seeds of which may be found in a passage of Saint

Gregory of Nyssa quoted by the author,<sup>31</sup> had already been developed in the thirteenth century by Gregory the Cypriot.<sup>32</sup>

In the second treatise the author analyses and refutes in detail the proposals of the Latins, as he also states in his preamble.<sup>33</sup> The western church, he says, being the largest, has suffered the same thing that happens to the largest of animals, the elephant, who, once he falls, cannot arise. Yet if this church should ask for help, he goes on to say, we all are ready and willing to stretch out a helping hand of salvation.<sup>34</sup>

The correct interpretation [by St. Gregory] of the passages brought forth by the Latins strengthens the view regarding a distinction between the origin of the hypostasis of the Spirit, which proceeds from the father, and His pouring-forth from the Father and from the Son. He goes to great lengths to establish such an interpretation of the following and other passages: “He breathed upon them and said, ‘Receive ye Holy Spirit’”,<sup>35</sup> “God sent forth the Spirit of His Son in our hearts crying, Abba, Father.”<sup>36</sup>

At the end of the second treatise we find seeds of a teaching later developed systematically, the teaching regarding the difference between essence and energies, which allows us on the one hand to attribute the existential progression of the Spirit to the Father, while attributing the revelatory or energetic progression to the Son: “on the one hand the Spirit has His existential progression from the Father before all the ages, while on the other hand, since He exists in the Son from eternity, He came forth from Him in order to be manifested, for us and after us, according to the revelatory and not the existential procession.”<sup>37</sup>



Latin Trinity Diagram, 13th c.

## NOTES

1. Translated with modifications from Panagiotes Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Ἀπαντα τὰ Ἔργα*, vol. 1, ed. Eleftherios Meretakis, Greek-speaking Fathers of the Church (ΕΠΕ) no. 51 (Thessaloniki: *Paterikai Ekdoseis "Gregorios Palamas"*, 1961), pp. 8-16, 34.
2. In this translation all instances of “Byzantine Empire” and “Byzantium” have been replaced by “Roman Empire” and “Romanía” respectively so as to more accurately reflect historical reality. The “Byzantines” never called themselves “Byzantines” but “Romans”, and “Byzantium” was a literary name for their capital city, never for their country, which they called “Romanía”. For this see Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland: Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019).
3. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Encomium to Gregory Palamas* (PG 151:553). John Kantakouzenos, *History* 2, 39, publ. in Bonn, I, 545.
4. Philotheos, *Encomium* (PG 151:555).
5. This is gathered from the otherwise known year of his death (1359), when he was 63 years old.
6. *Against Gregoras I*.
7. He was called “ignorant and uneducated” by Barlaam, *First Epistle to Palamas*, in Schiro, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole Greche*, Palermo 1954, o. 253; “illiterate” by Nicephorus Gregoras,

*History* 30, 20, publ. in Bonn, III, 282; “not even known the first principles of philosophy” by Akindynos, *Epistle to Anonymous*, Loenertz, in *EEBΣ* 27 (Athens 1957) 106.

- [8.](#) Theoleptos’s see was under Turkish occupation.—ED.
- [9.](#) St. Kyriakidis, “Τὸ Παπικὸν Ὅρος”, *Athens* 36 (1923) 219-225.
- [10.](#) *Encomium* (PG 151:562).
- [11.](#) *History* 14, 7, Bonn, 719.
- [12.](#) Akindynos, *Epistles*, Cod. Ambros. 290, f. 67.
- [13.](#) Apodictic: from the Greek ἀποδείκνυμι, “to show by argument, prove, demonstrate.”
- [14.](#) First Apodictic Treatise, preamble.
- [15.](#) Second Apodictic Treatise, 83.
- [16.](#) Joseph Kalothetos, a friend, disciple, and fellow-struggler of Saint Gregory Palamas; he died some time after 1355.—ED.
- [17.](#) Second Apodictic Treatise, 1.
- [18.](#) First Apodictic Treatise, 4.
- [19.](#) *Ibid.*, 2 *et sequentia*; 20 *et alibi*.
- [20.](#) *Ibid.*, 5.
- [21.](#) Monarchianism was a heretical theological movement that arose within the Church in the second and third centuries, consisting of a set of beliefs that emphasized God as being one, to the detriment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.—ED.
- [22.](#) *Regarding the Worship in Spirit*, PG 68, 148A.
- [23.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Letter* 38, 4, PG 32, 39D. See J. Meyendorff, “La Procession du Saint-Esprit chez les Pères orientaux”, in *Russie et Chrétienté* 1950, p. 167.
- [24.](#) *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, 6, PG 102, 288B.
- [25.](#) First Apodictic Treatise, 7; 22. Patripassianism is a kind of modalism, the heretical idea that there is only one God (one person, one hypostasis) appearing in three different ways (“modes”). The term literally means “the passion or suffering of the Father”: if, according to modalism, the three persons (Father, Son, and Spirit) are actually one and the same, then the Father Himself would have suffered on the Cross as Son.—ED.
- [26.](#) *Ibid.*, 15.



- [27.](#) See for instance the First Apodictic Treatise, 36.—ED.
- [28.](#) Ibid., 32 *et sequentia*.
- [29.](#) St. Dionysius, *On the Divine Names* 2, 5, PG 3, 641D. 2, 7, PG 3, 645B.
- [30.](#) First Apodictic Treatise, 29.
- [31.](#) *Great Catechetical Homily* 2, PG 45, 17B “We have learned the Spirit which accompanies the Word” (“πνεῦμα μεμαθηκότες θεοῦ τὸ συμπαραρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ”). Cf. St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 7, PG 94, 805AB.
- [32.](#) *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, PG 142, 274 *et sequentia*.
- [33.](#) Second Apodictic Treatise, 1.
- [34.](#) Ibid., 2.
- [35.](#) John 20:22.
- [36.](#) Gal. 4:6.
- [37.](#) Second Apodictic treatise, 77.



ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕ-  
ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

λόγος ἀποδείκνυς πρῶτος.



- Αὐτὸν ὁ δεινὸς καὶ ἀρχέκακος ὄφεις τὴν  
ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν κατ' ἡμέραν ἀφίρειν, ὑποψυ-  
εῖζει τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντήρθεα. μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν  
μὲν κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σώματι σωτηριεύει, τῶν  
δὲ χεῖρ' ἡγεῖας πειθομένων ταῖς ἀπολαύμασι ὑπο-  
5 γήκειν αὐτῷ, κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῷ ποιῶντος ἕκαστος, καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς ἀντι-  
μίας χεῖρ' ἡγεῖας κεφαλὰς ἀναδίδει, δι' αὐτῶν ἀδικίαν εἰς τὸ ὕψος  
λαλῶν οὐκ ἀνίστην. οὕτως Ἀρείους, οὕτως Ἀπολιταρείους, οὕτως Εὐνομά-  
ους καὶ Μακεδονίους, οὕτω πλείους ἑτέρους παροσμωσάμενος τῷ αὐτῷ  
παροσμώτας ὅλκῳ, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκείνων γλώττης τὸν οἰκῶν χεῖρ' ἡγεῖας  
5 Ἐκκλησίας ἐπαφῆκεν ἰδόν. ἀντ' ὁδόντων ἰδόντων, τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγους λεγ-  
σάμενος, καὶ περιείρας τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχῇ εἰς τὴν οἰκῶν νεα-  
ρῶς καλὸν τετρηλὸς φυτῷ, καὶ καρποῖς ὡραίοτατοις βεβηλὸς, οὐ  
μὲν τῷ τῷ καὶ λυμῆνασθαι ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν διερχθέντων  
αὐτῆς σωτηρίῃ τὰς μύλας, ὑπο τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς κεφαλῇ ἑαυτῶν  
5 ποιησάμενον Χριστῶν. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ νοητὸς καὶ ἀφ' οὗτο μᾶλλον ἐπα-  
ειλος ὄφεις. τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευταῖον κακόν. ὁ πονηρὸς, καὶ τὴν  
χαμπερπῆ καὶ γήινον πονηρίαν ἀεὶ σιτέμενος. ὁ τῆς πέρνης (δηλαδὴ τῆς  
ἐπάτης) ὀκνηρῆς αἰσῆματός. ὁ πρὸς πᾶσαι θεουργίᾳ δόξαν ποιε-  
μῶντος σοφίης, καὶ ἀμνηστίας ἐμνήστος, μηδὲ μὴς ὀπιλητομέος τῆς  
5 οἰκίας καὶ ἀνολέγῃας ἀφ' οὗ τῶν αὐτῶν πειθύνων Λατίνων, καὶ Θεῶν  
καὶ αἰσῆς



## HISTORICAL NOTE

### on the Edition of 1627

THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE FIRST PRINTING OF  
THE TEXT

*by Gregory Heers*

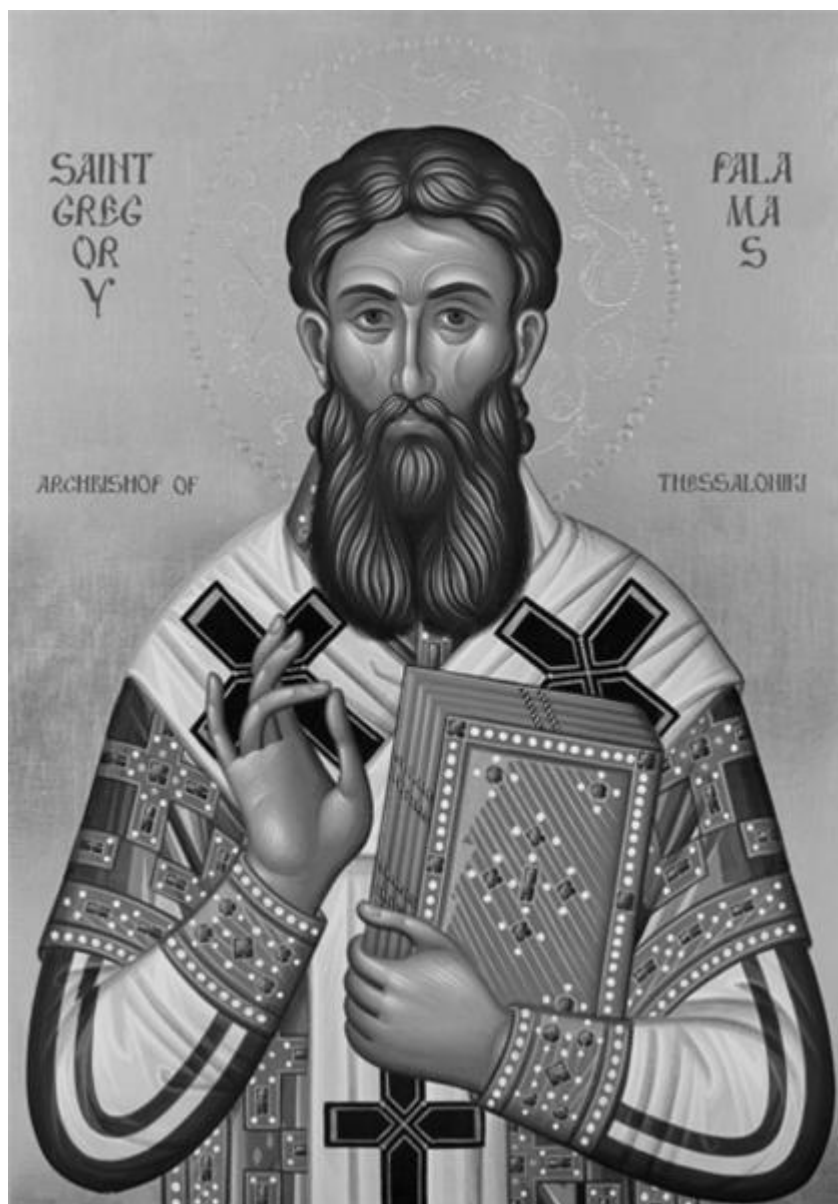
Johannes Gutenberg, inventor of the printing press, printed his first, short text in 1450 and his 42-line Bible in 1455. His invention had reached Italy by 1465, France by 1470, and England by 1476. The first book to be printed entirely in the Greek language was Constantine Lascaris's *Grammar*, in Milan in 1476. Nevertheless, the Patriarchate of Constantinople did not acquire a printing press until 1627, when, with the blessing of Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and the permission of the Ottoman authorities, the Orthodox monk Nikodemos Metaxas bought and brought a press and all the necessary equipment from London, where he had studied this art. The first book to be printed was a treatise by Lucaris himself against the Jews, followed by a series of anti-Latin publications. One of these publications was a volume containing (among other things) the two Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit by Saint Gregory Palamas. This was the first ever appearance of this work in print, almost three centuries after the time of its composition. The introduction to this volume, a translation of which is given in the following pages, was written by the publisher, Nikodemos Metaxas himself, as is evident from his mention of the dangers which he faced while preparing the publication. (For the other works also published in this volume, see the footnotes on the "Introduction of the Edition of 1627".)

The Jesuits, however, who had developed extensive proselytizing activity in the Ottoman Empire by taking advantage of the poverty and

illiteracy of the Orthodox people, were enraged by what they perceived as an enormous threat to their own pursuits, knowing all too well how much the press had contributed and was contributing to the spread of anti-Latin thought in the Protestant Reformation. When Metaxas showed no interest in their flatteries or their bribes, the Jesuits attempted to intimidate him by calling him a Lutheran and a heretic and accusing him of treason against the Sublime Porte. In fact, Metaxas was advised to take care lest he be assassinated (to which he alludes in his introduction), wherefore he even begged the English ambassador (whom he knew from his stay in London) to let him spend the nights in the embassy; but from his publications he was not deterred.

Finally, the Jesuits resorted to slander, saying all manner of evil against Metaxas and his press and falsely accusing him of publishing treacherous, blasphemous, and revolutionary material against the Ottoman religion and authority. Heeding their cries, the Grand Vizier sent a hundred and fifty Janissaries who broke into Metaxas's house on the 6th of January 1628, the feast of Theophany, vandalizing the press and confiscating books and manuscripts. Although Metaxas was soon found innocent of the charges levelled against him, the damage had already been done: broken to pieces, the printing press was no longer functional, having been in operation for barely more than six months.

Nevertheless, divine justice was not slow to manifest itself, and in March of that same year, as a result of the complaints of Lucaris and for disturbing the common peace with their unfounded slander, the Jesuits were shackled and shipped off to the island of Chios in the middle of the night. As for the Patriarchate, it would not have another printing press until 1798, 170 years later, when a new press was acquired by Patriarch Saint Gregory V, who showed particular interest in the education of the enslaved Orthodox and who was to meet a martyr's death in 1821.





5  
 ΤΟΙΣ ἈΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΣΙ  
 ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ  
 Ἀποστολικῆς τῆς Χειρὸς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς  
 5 καὶ Φωταυγῆς, Κυρίλλῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Γερα-  
 σίμῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας. Ἀθανασίῳ Ἀντιοχείας. Θεοφάνῃ Ἱεροσολύ-  
 μων. τοῖς τῷ ἀποστόλων διαδόχοις, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποστάχοις.  
 τοῖς ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ σκευὴ βαπτίζουσι τὸ γλυκύτατον ὄνομα  
 5 τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ὁναίπῳ ἐθνῶν καὶ  
 τυράνων, πᾶσαι ὑποταγὴ καὶ εὐπει-  
 ϑεια, ὃν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ  
 Θεῷ ἡμεῖς :

5 **Ε**Ι καὶ ἄμαχον ἢ ἀλήθεια (μακαριώτατοι καὶ  
 θεοσεβέστατοι ἀρχιεπίσκοποι τῆς τῆς Χειρὸς λο-  
 γικῆς ποιμένης) καὶ ἀήτητον, ὡς ᾤξα Θεῷ τὸ  
 κράτος ἔχουσι, καὶ μηδέποτε τῷ ψεύδει ὑπο-  
 κύπτουσι (καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι ὦσιν οἱ ἐκεί-  
 5 νι ὑφραασιζαί, ἀλλ' ὁδὲν ἤτιον αὐτῇ τέττοι  
 περὶνεται καὶ κατακρατεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἀγγελάτους καὶ ὑπιδανῆς ἀπεφά-  
 νεσθαι, τὸς ταύτη ἀντικειμένους) ὅμως ὁ ᾤξα τῷτο περὶ ὀλίγου ποιη-  
 τέον, τὸ ταύτης μέχρι θανάτου ὑφραασιζομεθα. "Οὐτω γὰρ ἂν τὸ  
 δόκιμον ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὰ καθὼν ἔφεσις (ὁ ᾤξα τῷ ἄλλων τὸ λογι-  
 5 κὸν τῆς ἀλογίας δίψησιν) ἀειδίλως φανῇ, καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῷ Θεῷ ὃν  
 Α 2 ἡμῶν





## INTRODUCTION

**to the Edition of 1627<sup>1</sup>**

*by Monk Nikodemos Metaxas*

To the most holy and most blessed four Patriarchs of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, the Eastern and luminous one: Cyril of Constantinople, Gerasimus of Alexandria, Athanasius of Antioch, Theophanes of Jerusalem, the successors of the Apostles and champions of the Truth, those who like chosen vessels bear the sweetest name of our Lord Jesus Christ against nations and tyrants: we pledge all submission and obedience, in Him, Christ our God.

Although truth is an invincible and unconquerable thing (most blessed and most God-fearing arch-pastors of Christ's rational flock), since it has its might from God and does never succumb to falsehood (even if the defenders of the latter be many and great, yet nonetheless truth overcomes and prevails over it, so that her opponents appear ridiculous and worthless), yet this does not mean that it is a small matter to defend it to the death. For in this way your trustworthiness and your desire for the good (which more than other things sets apart the rational from irrationality) and your fervent zeal for God may become clearly apparent.

For it would seem shameful if purchased slaves were to exhibit so much zeal for their own masters as to undergo for their sake not simply difficulties but even death itself, if this be at all needed, even though they gain nothing else besides the necessities of life, and perhaps also bodily freedom (even if this is rare), from their masters; while we, on the other hand, are unwilling to be zealous for the Lord God of hosts<sup>2</sup>, from whom we have life, and from whom we look for the permanent good things with the hope that makes not ashamed.<sup>3</sup>

This is what convinced me, most holy and most reverend masters, to take up such a work on my shoulders; and also no less the present misfortune of our own race moved me to uncommon compassion. For that which was formerly admired of all and prided itself in many graces has been brought down to such a level of misfortune as to become an object of sneering and jesting for those far and those near; or rather, to speak truth more plainly, for those that do not understand the unsearchable abyss of the judgements of God. For, those excited by the the world's delights have forgotten that strait and narrow is the way which leadeth unto the eternal kingdom<sup>4</sup> and that all those that are in Christ must be persecuted and suffer many painful things,<sup>5</sup> not only from those outside but even from those inside the bridal chamber, so that (alas!) the arrows be from the members of one's own household. For just as, when the hedge is removed, a vineyard becomes henceforth accessible to all the wasting beasts,<sup>6</sup> so also with us as well: now that the imperial office has departed along with higher education, we lie exposed to be troden down by all the beasts.

But thanks be to the Almighty, who has sent the famine of hearing the word of the Lord, according to the divine oracle,<sup>7</sup> but spares the famished and still perserves furnishers of grain for us, although very few, yet adequate to suffice a people and to catapult the thieves of the good seed, or the sowers of tares,<sup>8</sup> somewhere far from the divine field. So, what was said of Egypt is more fitting to be said nowadays in the case of Hellas: Hellas does not bear many children, but when she does bear, she bears a great one.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, although the hardships of the race are an object of care for all that have ever so little a share in divine fear, and each one is willing to contribute and help in the way possible for him, yet for no one else is it so great a care, I think, as it is for you, "to whom hosts are entrusted, and upon whom rest so many cares."<sup>10</sup>

For to each one of the other shepherds of souls a certain individual country has been entrusted for pastoral care; but upon you, the four patriarchs (that is to say, the four evangelists), the entire care of the catholic Church has been laid. For just as in the creation of the world in the beginning the creator was neither satisfied with one of the world's constituent elements, nor produced more than four, so also in the building of the Church, neither does He appear to have used one and only evangelist, nor was He in need of more than four; so also in the governance and

direction thereof, neither did He entrust the entire care of the Christians to one and only man, nor again did he chose more than the four of you.

Therefore I myself am convinced that I am acting very wisely in addressing this sacred book to you, the four apostolic successors and defenders of the Christian body. For just as, when a light is set aloft on a candlestick,<sup>11</sup> the entire house is illumined by its rays, so also, once this fire-breathing book has first gone over onto your highest thrones as onto highest candlesticks, it will thence send out its rays to every part of the Church; and it will completely enlighten the pious while burning up every chaffy and rotten dogma.

It seems to me that in so doing I have imitated the best of gardeners; for when they need to water the garden, in the beginning they bring the water up onto a high place by means of some narrow pipes, so as thence to be able to convey it very easily to all the garden-beds. Therefore I also, by my own power, which is small and narrow, thought to lead up onto you, as onto lofty cisterns of the gifts of the all-holy Spirit, the book that will refresh many molten hearts; so that, as it were, it may henceforth be possible to carry it around with much ease wherever you deem fit. For the service it can provide is not small but more than great and salvific, both for those that tread the straight path and for those that have already wandered away from it. For the first, it will be like weapons of defense, keeping afar off every device and deceit of the adversaries, or as a sort of arrows sent out and confounding them that contrive a crooked thing against the truth, while for those that have inclined to the left it will be a guiding hand calling them toward the right side, even if only a fraction of them were to come to anchor at truth; for the good is not in the abundance, but in the good is the abundance tried before God.<sup>12</sup>

So then (my most divine masters), I have already done what falls to me, not only taking no care for expense and labour, but making short mention even of the dangers that have hung over me; for I know that to this end was I made, that God be glorified in me. Thus, even if it be needful for me to undergo the inevitable, very willingly will I submit to this.<sup>13</sup> Yet yours it would be, and dependent upon your pastoral authority, to see to it that these here best parts of sacred theology be dispersed in every part of the catholic Church, parts which defenders of the truth and advocates of the just have

collected and joined together, who are listed here according to the time in which they flourished.

So, there is the divinely sounding Nilus<sup>14</sup> and the sacred Gregory, the divine presidents of Thessalonica and radiant lights of the entire world, whereafter comes the fervent zealot of piety who shone forth for us as a new Elias, George Scholarius,<sup>15</sup> who, by the providence of God, served as the first patriarch of Constantine's city after its capture. Then there is Barlaam the wisest,<sup>16</sup> and the discourse of one anonymous.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter come some epistles of him who shone from bright Crete and enlightened the entire inhabited world, that Meletius Pegas,<sup>18</sup> whose sound has manifestly run across every part of the world,<sup>19</sup> whom Thy Reverence succeeded in Alexandria, most God-fearing master (for our discourse must be turned toward Thy Highness, since the occasion demanded it), although the Lord of all, taking thought for the race of Christians, moved thee to Constantinople, so that thou mightest emit thy rays farther, seeing that thou art standing on a higher candlestick. So who is ignorant of the wisest Cyril's name? And in what land or city has fame not zealously spread it abroad? Well, following after him is Maximos Margunios,<sup>20</sup> whose glory in both philosophy and theology and in every rational art and science all Europe knows, and especially Germany, which takes pride in many sciences and to which most of his epistles are manifestly written, all of them full of much knowledge. Seventh is Gabriel Severus from Monemvasia,<sup>21</sup> who, by the guidance of the all-holy Spirit, was appointed true bishop of Philadelphia and who was the first to establish a church of the Orthodox in renowned Venice. His work has been written in the common and vulgar tongue, at the request of those there, so as to be easily comprehensible to all Hellenes of the present. The last one here is George Koressios from famous Chios,<sup>22</sup> still alive by the grace of God and arraying himself against the adversaries.

It would be your work, most divine masters, to make these things known to all Orthodox Christians, thus offering, as it were, a spiritual sacrifice unto God. May He grant unto all men enlightenment of knowledge and piety, so that together with us they may piously glorify one essence of divinity known in three hypostases, and may know one origin and one cause thereof, the unoriginate Father alone; and know the Son and the Holy Spirit having subsistence from the paternal hypostasis, beginninglessly and eternally, so as to be co-beginningless with the origin and co-eternal since

they are of the same essence as it; and may they recognize one universal head of the catholic body of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, the God-man, the highest and greatest hierarch; in whom I wish that you fare well, most reverend masters, overwhelming your enemies and those that in any way oppose your true teaching, having them under your feet forever. Amen.

This was written by a lowly but faithful and Orthodox slave of yours, of the four most holy and most blessed patriarchs and unbroken pillars of the catholic Church.

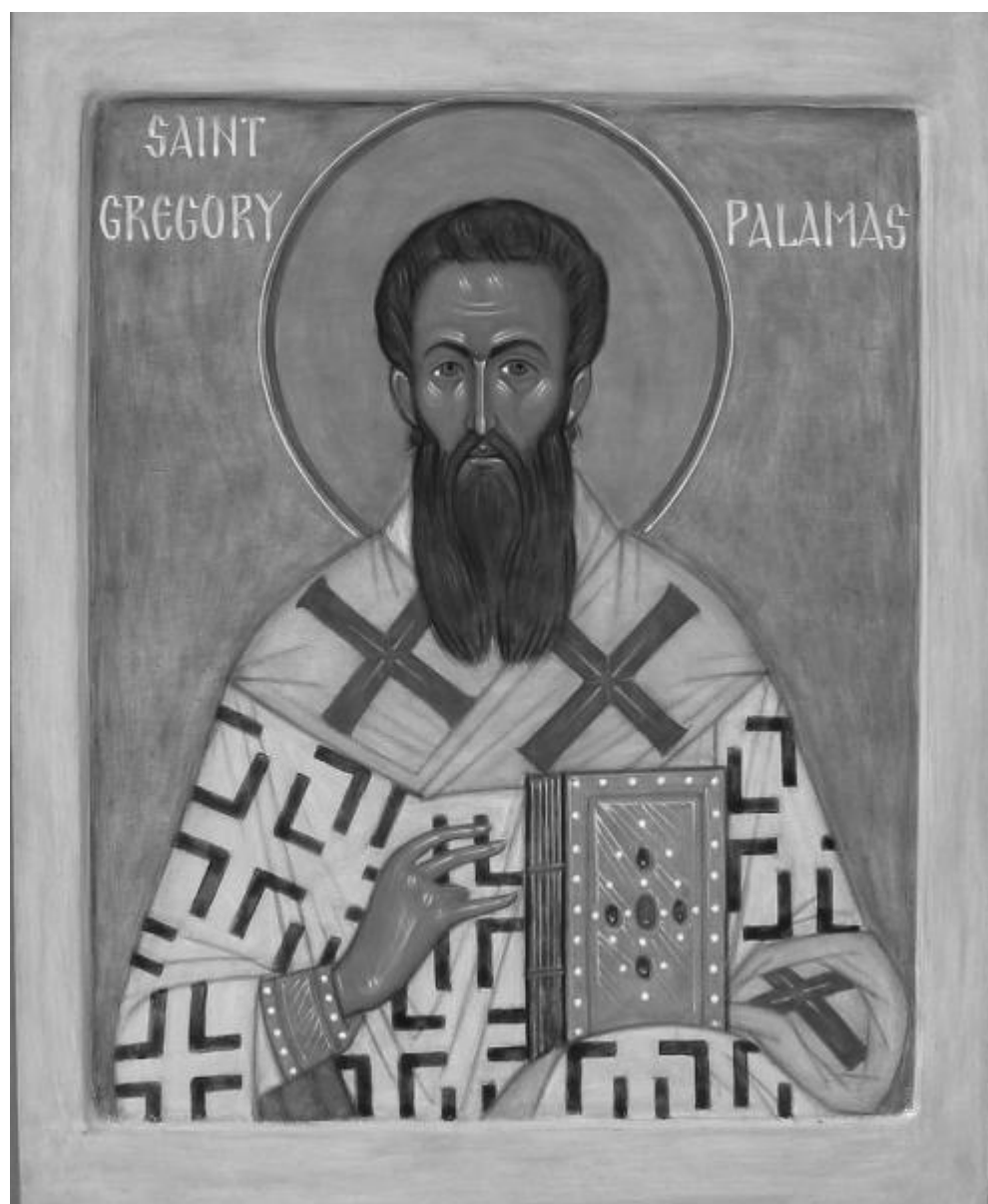
## NOTES

- [1.](#) The edition of 1627 included in a single volume Saint Gregory's two Apodictic Treatises as well as a number of other anti-Latin works. This was the first instance in which these treatises appeared in print. What follows is the introduction of the publisher, addressed to the four Patriarchs of the Orthodox Church.
- [2.](#) Cf. 1 Kings 19:10, 14.
- [3.](#) Cf. Rom. 5:5.
- [4.](#) Cf. Matthew 7:14.
- [5.](#) Cf. John 15:20, Acts 14:22.
- [6.](#) Cf. Psalm 79:9-14.
- [7.](#) Amos 8:11.
- [8.](#) Cf. Matthew 13:24, 25.
- [9.](#) Cf. St. Symeon the Metaphrastes, "Life of Saint Patapius" in the *Eclogion*.
- [10.](#) Homer, *Iliad* 2.25.
- [11.](#) Matthew 5:15.
- [12.](#) A twist on the ancient proverb, "οὐκ ἐν τῷ πολλῷ τὸ εἶ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εἶ τὸ πολὺ", which can be more freely rendered as "Quality is not in quantity, but quantity is in quality."
- [13.](#) This is a reference to the threats that Metaxas received from the Jesuits; see the "Historical Circumstances" above.
- [14.](#) Nilus Cabasilas, "On the Causes of the Ecclesiastical Division," "On the Authority of the Pope," a few relevant selections from his other writings.
- [15.](#) Also known as Gennadius, author of "The Treatise Entitled 'Refuge of the Orthodox.'"

- [16.](#) Barlaam (not the Calabrian), “On the Authority of the Pope”, followed by “On the Fire of Purgatory,” which has no attribution.
- [17.](#) Anonymous, “The Discourse of a Greek and Some Cardinals from Elder Rome” (only the beginning).
- [18.](#) Meletius Pegas, “Concerning the Authority of the Pope.”
- [19.](#) Cf. Psalm 18:4.
- [20.](#) Maximos Margunios, “A Manual Regarding the Procession of the All-Holy Spirit in the Form of an Epistle”, and “A Dialogue between a Greek and a Latin, That Is, an Orthodox and a Latin.”
- [21.](#) Gabriel Severus, “Exposition Against Those That Ignorantly Claim and Lawlessly Teach That We, the Authentic and Orthodox Children of the Eastern Church, Are Schismatics from the Holy and Catholic Church,” “On the Second Difference between the Eastern Church and the Roman One, That Is, on the Authority of the Pope,” “On the Third Difference between the Eastern Church and the Roman One, That Is, on the Material of the Leavened and Unleavened,” “On the Fourth Difference between the Eastern Church and the Roman One, That Is, on the Fire of Purgatory,” “On the Fourth Difference between the Eastern Church and the Roman One, That Is, on the Blessedness of the Saints.”
- [22.](#) George Koressios, “A Conversation with One of the Friars.”









# INTRODUCTION

**by the Translator**

THE FILIOQUE DEFINED AND DEVELOPMENTAL INFLUENCES

*by Fr. Christopher C. Moody*

THE FILIOQUE DEFINED

The Apostle Paul employed the metaphor of the olive tree, in his description of the Church of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish believers partook of the fatness, a symbol of the spiritual richness of the promises, by the Abrahamic covenant. In the New Testament, which is the fulfillment of the paternal economy, the promise is expanded to the world and thus Gentiles are heirs, as well, of the root and fatness of the olive tree.<sup>2</sup> This is echoed again by the Apostle in his letter to the Galatians: “for ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise.”<sup>3</sup> As it is faith which grafts us into this tree and allows us to partake of the promise, departure from the Faith potentially cuts us off from the inheritance of the covenant.<sup>4</sup> This is the significance of heresy, and particularly of the *filioque*, the subject of these treatises. Consequently, in formalizing what had existentially been true, the schism of 1054 left the Church in Rome, which had visibly embraced heresy, formally separated from this olive tree.

The question is, why was this error accepted in Rome? In tracing the etiology of the schism between the Orthodox Catholic Church and the Church in Rome, we need to carefully discern that there was a confluence of certain ideas and influences whose weight so bore down on the branch of the Latins, as it were, that it severed this preeminent branch from the trunk.

This schism, after all, did not occur *in vacuo*. Before we examine these causes, we need to define exactly what is the *filioque*, leaving aside questions of justification for the insertion into the creed or polemics against it.

Traditional Orthodox Christian Nicene theology asserts that the Father is eternally the Cause of the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son is “Light of Light, true God of true God, Begotten not made.” The Father of lights not only begets the Son, Who is Light of Light, but causes the procession of the Spirit, Who, as well, is Light of Light, and true God, thus echoing the brother of God, who said, “every good gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights”<sup>5</sup>.

The Nicene Constantinopolitan Creed of 381 fully articulated the deity of the Holy Spirit, amplifying the Nicene Creed of 325. The text, quoting the biblical passage John 15:26, states, “We believe...in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified...”

Yet within the Latin Church, after the creedal phrase “Who proceedeth from the Father”, the phrase “and the Son”, which is “*filioque*” in Latin, was inserted. What exactly does the Latin Church mean by this? As defined by the Catechism of the Catholic Church,

“...The Western tradition expresses first the consubstantial communion between Father and Son, by saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (*filioque*). It says this, ‘legitimately and with good reason’, for the eternal order of the divine persons in their consubstantial communion implies that the Father, as “the principle without principle’, is *the first origin of the Spirit, but also that as Father of the only Son, he is, with the Son, the single principle from which the Holy Spirit proceeds*. This legitimate complementarity, provided it does not become rigid, does not affect the identity of faith in the reality of the same mystery confessed.”<sup>6</sup>

For the Orthodox Christian, the statement that the Son assumes a secondary causality in the procession of the Spirit is an alien thought, and heretical. We can charitably say this formulation was adopted in defense

against Arianism, which denied the divinity of the Son. In defending the deity of the Son of God, Latin theologians reasoned the Son must be able to generate divinity, as well as the Father, in order for Him to be equal with God.



The Holy Spirit coming from the Father and Son, detail of the Boulbon Altarpiece of the Chapelle Saint-Marcellin, Boulbon, Provence, southern France (c. 1450).

#### THE THEOLOGICAL IMPETUS FOR THE FILIOQUE: DEFENSE AGAINST ARIANISM

A concise summary of the *filioque* as a defense against Arianism is given in the statement of the United States Council of Catholic Bishops, “*The Filioque: A Church Dividing Issue?: An Agreed Statement*”.

“The earliest use of *Filioque* language in a credal context is in the profession of faith formulated for the Visigoth King Reccared at the local Council of Toledo in 589. This regional council anathematized those who did not accept the decrees of the first four Ecumenical Councils (canon 11), as well as those who did not profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (canon 3). It appears that the Spanish bishops and King Reccared believed at that time that the Greek equivalent of *Filioque* was part of the original creed of Constantinople, and apparently understood that its purpose was to oppose Arianism by affirming the intimate relationship of the Father and Son. On Reccared’s orders, the Creed began to be recited during the Eucharist, in imitation of the Eastern practice. From

Spain, the use of the Creed with the *Filioque* spread throughout Gaul.”<sup>7</sup>

Certain understandings of trinitarian relations were advanced by the towering personage of Augustine of Hippo. His creative thought was a further impetus in the development of the *filioque*.

#### THE THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE

Augustine’s theological reflections on the Trinity and numerous other dogmas shaped the trajectory of Latin theology. His speculations on the interior relations of the Trinity, which were adoptions of psychological models of human relations, became normative in the West. Book 9 of his *De Trinitate* details the two psychological models he imported. In chapter 3, he introduces the triad of lover, beloved and love. He analogously identified the Father, Son and All Holy Spirit with these attributes. Thus the Father as Lover, loves the beloved Son by His love, the Holy Spirit. Eventually, this hypostasizing of a shared attribute, love, reduced the Spirit to be the product of the divine will.<sup>8</sup> In chapter 4, he introduces the triad of mind, knowledge, and love.<sup>9</sup> The human psychological acts correspond to the interior relations of the Trinity. The Father is analogously the Mind which knows Itself, conceiving the Word, corresponding with the begetting of the Son. The Mind, having known Itself, loves Itself by Its knowledge, which corresponds to the procession of the Spirit by the Father and the Son. The trajectory of this thought continues even until Aquinas, the architect of Scholasticism, who enshrined these Augustinian conceptions. A cursory reading of Aquinas, in his discussion about the procession of the All-Holy Spirit, betrays he was constrained to explain the filioque as necessary due to this inner human psychology.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTELIAN METAPHYSICS: ACTUS PURUS

As Latin theology interacted with Aristotelian philosophy, it wedded theology to philosophy, and in so doing adopted a different metaphysic than traditional Orthodox theology. While the employment of philosophical terms is necessary, as demonstrated by conciliar definitions, there appears



to be a more than subordinate role afforded to philosophy within Catholic Dogma. As a case in point, the Aristotelian metaphysic affirms that being is an act. Thus when applied to God, He is pure being, or, *actus purus*. This does not allow potentiality in God. Therefore, this metaphysic, while ostensibly safeguarding the immutability of God, does not fully allow the biblical revelation that Christians participate in the energy, or glory of God. Lastly, there is an inference from *actus purus*. The trinitarian relations will be mirrored exactly in the economic Trinity, so that the economic Trinity reflects their internal eternal relations.<sup>11</sup>

### THE THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF PAPAL PRIMACY

Without exhaustively recounting the history of the insertion of the *filioque* clause into the Creed, we briefly note that in 1014, Pope Benedict VIII officially inserted the *filioque* into the Creed. The Council of Florence (the last session of which was held in 1439, some one hundred years after these treatises) legitimized the *filioque's* insertion on the basis that the Pope possessed authority and churches were to be subjected to him, a position aptly expressed in Ivan Ostroumoff's *History of the Council of Florence*. Having detailed the proceedings of the Council, the chronicler states,

Explaining the circumstances under which the Church of Rome was obliged to make this addition to the Creed, Andrew said, that the Pope and a council of Western Fathers had determined to include this addition in the Creed, as a refutation of the false opinions circulated by the historians that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from eternity. This happened, Andrew said, before the Sixth Ecumenical Council. But history makes no mention of any such council or council decree. On the contrary, it is well known that even in the ninth century Pope Leo III forbade any such additions to the Creed, and even had the Nicene Constantinopolitan Creed engraved on two silver tablets in Greek and Latin and without any addition. Lastly, to prove the right of the Latin church or of her head, the Pope, to make this addition of explanatory expressions, as the Latins called them, Andrew referred to Saint Cyril of Alexandria in whose works he purposed to find very plain allusions to the

Pope's authority for doing so: but at the same time Andrew took good care not to quote St Cyril's own expressions. Cardinal Julian in his turn offered Pope Agatho's epistle read in the Sixth Ecumenical Council, in which the Pope says that all Orthodox councils and church teachers always followed the doctrine of the Church of Rome<sup>12</sup>

Later in this treatise, St Gregory argues that, on account of the sanctity of the Fathers of the Ecumenical Councils who forbade any addition to the Creed, we need not take into consideration the primacy of the Pope regarding this matter.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, this is at the heart of why discussions cannot proceed any further, for there is an epistemological divide. In analyzing the thematic composition of these two treatises, and the subsequent nine treatises comprising the *Triads*, we may note they touch upon an epistemological theme. The treatises *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* provide the correct understanding of what we can know of the Spirit's existence, while the *Triads* initiate us into the experience and knowledge of Him. It is not too bold to state that at the heart of the *filioque* there is an epistemological controversy. To rephrase the question, is truth preserved in the fullness of the faithful who universally experience by participation in the energy of God, the Holy Spirit? Or is it found through the particular, the Pope, and by means of ratiocination?

#### THE SINGLE CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF THE TRINITY

In the Second Treatise, Saint Gregory emphasizes that the Old Testament presented God to the Jews as a monad, that is, the singular source of being, the great "I AM" who revealed Himself to Moses at the burning bush.<sup>14</sup> This revelation was inchoate and thus the New Testament revelation of the Son and Spirit reveals that God is not just one, but three in one. The monad out of its fecundity did not stop at a dyad but at a trinity. The Father is timelessly the Source, and simultaneously begets the Son and spirates the Spirit. The Father, as the source of the existence for the Son and Spirit, is also their point of reference, or *anaphora*. There is thus a projection from the source, and paradoxically, both Persons, without flux or distance or interposition, timelessly refer back to that source.

The best way to explain this is to resort to the geometric illustration of an isosceles triangle which Gregory will use in order to show that the Son cannot in any way be the Source of the divinity. The essential definition of an equilateral triangle highlights three essential features in the definition of the generation and procession of the Persons. By definition, in an equilateral triangle, the three end-points must be immediately related to one another, there must simultaneously be three points, and the points thus can be traced back immediately to the initial point. Therefore, if we postulate each Person of the Trinity to be one of the equidistant points in the triangle, then we can immediately see that each point is necessarily related to one another. Analogously, the Father, Son, and Spirit are immediately related to one another.

This word “immediately”, *amesos*, is critical for understanding the wrong solution, as Gregory calls it, of the *filioque*. An immediate relation is one that is not mediated, meaning one that does not have the interposition of something else. Since each Person is related to the other immediately, the *filioque*, by interposing the Son, destroys the immediacy of the relationship. A consequence of placing the Son between the Spirit and the Father is that it places the Spirit in a relationship analogous to the relationship created beings enjoy with the Father. Creation is from the Father and through the Son, and does not relate to God immediately, but in a mediated manner, by the mediation of the Son. Inasmuch as the *filioque* asserts the Spirit is also from the Son, similar to the creation, it ranks the Spirit with the creature.

Secondly, the illustration discloses that the three points must coexist. This analogously indicates that the Persons are *omou*, simultaneous. In contrast, the *filioque*, by having the Spirit exist through the Son necessarily means He is not coexistent, but derives existence from the Son.

Lastly, the two end-points can equally be traced back to the initial point. By analogy, both Persons have their reference, their *anaphora*, back to the Source, literally their point of origin, the Father.

#### THE SINGLE CAUSE UNIFIES THE ALL-HOLY TRINITY

Saint Gregory, following Saint Gregory Nazianzen, affirms that God is one in three for one reason: the Father. As the Source of being, He is the causal unity who directly relates to the Son and the Spirit, bestowing existence

immediately and simultaneously to Both. The causality of the Father ensures the unity of the divinity. If two causes were present, there would be two different gods. Saint Gregory argues that if there were two causes God would be a dyad, consisting of the Father and Son coalesced into one and the Spirit spirated from them. This might seem pedantic, but why is it that only one cause must be in the Trinity? Because cause, *aitia*, is what gives existence to the effect, to the caused (*aitiaton*). Existence (*huparxis*) is literally the state of being under a principle (*hupo archen*), which implies dependency and contingency. If the Son was not from the Father directly, He would not be integrally one with the Father but a “part”. If the Spirit did not proceed from the Father directly, He would be created, like creation.<sup>15</sup> For precisely this reason, the Spirit cannot be “through” or “from” the Son, for His dependence and existence from God would be reduced to the status of a creature. This explains the utter insistence Saint Gregory Nazianzus had on the *monarchia*, the monarchy or the single origin, in his trinitarian theology. This monarchy of the Father, then, is what differentiates Christians from polytheists and Pagans.

#### THE SINGLE CAUSE IS INCOMMUNICABLE

We may understand the *filioque* to be a case of predicating to the universal what belongs to the particular. In other words, it is a confusion of the essential, that is, the shared attributes, with incommunicable characteristics, or *idiomata*, which define each Person. The primary definition which Gregory will quote to elucidate this is John Damascene’s,

We furthermore know and confess that God is one, that is to say, one substance, and that He is both understood to be and is in three Persons, I mean the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one in all things save in being unbegotten, in being begotten, in being proceeding<sup>16</sup>.

The incommunicability of these three properties is what safeguards the Persons of the Trinity. Naturally, then, if the property to generate divinity belongs to only the Father, predicating it to the Son destroys the distinction between Father and Son. Furthermore, the Spirit, since the property is not communicated to Him, is logically severed from the Trinity. Saint Gregory

will argue that if we predicate the ability to generate divinity to the Son, then the Spirit is severed from the Trinity, inasmuch as the ability to generate divinity is not commonly predicated to the Spirit. A tetrad will then result.

#### THE SINGLE CAUSE IS MIRRORED IN THE HESYCHASTIC MODE OF EXISTENCE

At the risk of broaching an all too important topic too briefly, ideas have significance and eventually become first principles for action. The Orthodox dogma of the simultaneous and similar (to use Saint Gregory's description) generation of the Son and spiration of the Spirit from the Father alone is the dogmatic basis, albeit implicit and not fully described, of hesychasm. The simultaneous begetting of the Son and the procession of the Spirit and their reference to their Source, the Father, is analogous to the practice of hesychasm, or sacred stillness. This ascetical discipline of the Church, in the essence of its practice, reflects the relations of the Holy Trinity in four significant ways. First, the intellect, analogous to the Father, has two powers of the soul; its *logos*, or rationality, corresponding to the Son, and its *pneuma*, its love, corresponding to the Spirit. Secondly, in the human act of knowing and loving, the powers of the soul are energized simultaneously and together, interpenetrated and inseparable, as with the trinitarian relations. Thirdly, the energies of the soul refer back to their source together, thus they bring the soul into a single form, *moneides*, and more importantly, bring it into a *theiodes* (deiform) state. In the Trinity, the direct and immediate reference of the Son and the Spirit to the Father preserves the formless form of God. The hesychast will find himself unconsciously withdrawing his thought and desire, retreating into himself. Fourthly, as man is bodily constituted, the physical posture of hesychasm reflects the circular position to the center of our being; it reflects this reality. Using the other analogy used elsewhere by the Fathers of the tripartite soul constituted as reason, the appetitive, and incensive power, the same holds true, as well. As from that perspective the hesychastic collects his anger and desire and returns their energies back to the heart.

This return to ourselves, to the inner man, as Saint Gregory will say in his defense of the hesychasts, is also called gathering ourselves. When we gather ourselves, *sunagoumen*, Saint Gregory says the soul turns to itself.

The entirety of the soul makes a conversion, an *epistrophe*, which is an orientation back to our source, to our self, which mirrors the Son and Spirit returning directly and immediately to the Father together.

The *filioque*, however, when analyzed from the perspective of the analogy of intellect, reason, and desire, results in a different perspective on spirituality. In the first place, there is not a parity between knowledge and love. Love proceeds through *logos*, born by logic. Secondly, this creates a schism between our power of love and its direct connect to its source. Lastly, on a deeper level, as these powers are not viewed typically energetically, the dynamic energetic sense of spirituality becomes replaced with a dry logic or belief.

The discussions about trinitarian relations and the analysis of the *filioque* are not meant to be burdensome exercises in scholasticism, but a dogmatic reality which practically points us to union with God in our very being. In so doing, we are retracing the image of God in ourselves by prayer and restoring the ancient beauty.

## NOTES

- [1.](#) Cf. Rom. 11:16-23.
- [2.](#) Cf. Eph. 3:1-12.
- [3.](#) Gal. 3:26-29.
- [4.](#) Gal. 5:19-21.
- [5.](#) James. 1:17.
- [6.](#) Catechism of the Catholic Church: Revised in Accordance with the Official Latin Text Promulgated by Pope John Paul II. Ottawa: Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2006. 248.
- [7.](#) North American Orthodox-Catholic Consultation, “The Filioque: A Church Dividing Issue?: An Agreed Statement”, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, accessed February 15, 2021, The Filioque: A Church Dividing Issue?: An Agreed Statement. Accessed September 8, 2019. [HTTP://WWW.USCCB.ORG/BELIEFS-AND-TEACHINGS/ECUMENICAL-AND-INTERRELIGIOUS/ECUMENICAL/ORTHODOX/FILIOQUE-CHURCH-DIVIDING-ISSUE-ENGLISH.CFM](http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/ecumenical-and-interreligious/ecumenical/orthodox/filioque-church-dividing-issue-english.cfm).
- [8.](#) Compare the statement, “In God there are two notional acts, notional knowing...through which the Father generates the Son, *and notional willing (love) through which the Father and the Son breathe the Holy Ghost*. The notional and the essential acts are factually identical; they are only



virtually different”. In Ott, Ludwig, Patrick Lynch, and James Bastible. *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*. Oil City, PA: Baronius Press, 2018, 70.

- [9.](#) Augustine, Saint. 1990. *De Trinitate, Book 9*. Edited by Phillip Schaff. Hendrickson. October. Accessed September 11, 2019. [HTTP://WWW.NEWADVENT.ORG/FATHERS/130109.HTML](http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/130109.html)
- [10.](#) Compare Aquinas, Summa Question 27; article 4; objection 3: “I answer that, the procession of love in God ought not to be called generation. In evidence whereof we must consider that the intellect and the will differ in this respect, that the intellect is made actual by the object understood residing according to its own likeness in the intellect; whereas the will is made actual, not by any similitude of the object willed within it, but by its having a certain inclination to the thing willed. Thus the procession of the intellect is by way of similitude, and is called generation, because every generator begets its own like; whereas the procession of the will is not by way of similitude, but rather by way of impulse and movement towards an object. So what proceeds in God by way of love, does not proceed as begotten, or as son, but proceeds rather as spirit; which name expresses a certain vital movement and impulse, accordingly as anyone is described as moved or impelled by love to perform an action”. Thomas Aquinas, “Question 27. the Procession of the Divine Persons,” accessed February 15, 2021, [HTTPS://WWW.NEWADVENT.ORG/SUMMA/1027.HTM](https://www.newadvent.org/summa/1027.htm).
- [11.](#) A Fokin, “St Augustine’s Doctrine of the Trinity in the Light of Orthodox Triadology of the Fourth Century.,” ed. M Stewart, *Studies in Philosophy and Religion* 24 (2003).
- [12.](#) Ivan N. Ostroumov, “The History of the Council of Florence: Transl. from the Russian, Basil Popoff,” in *The History of the Council of Florence: Transl. from the Russian by Basil Popoff* (Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1971), pp. 77-78.
- [13.](#) See First Treatise, section 4.
- [14.](#) Ex.3:14.
- [15.](#) See First Treatise, section 38, first paragraph; cf. Second Treatise, section 38, second paragraph, below.
- [16.](#) John, & Jr, C. F. (2015). Writings. In *Saint John of Damascus Writings* (p. 167). Washington, DC: Ex Fontibus Company.



The Holy Temple dedicated to the Saint in his bishopric, Thessaloniki, where his holy relics are treasured.

FIRST APODICTIC TREATISE  
ON THE PROCESSION  
OF THE HOLY SPIRIT



## TREATISE ONE

### PREAMBLE

Once again the subtle<sup>1</sup> serpent and source of vice<sup>2</sup> rears his own head against us, whispering things opposite to the truth. Or rather, since he has been crushed in his head by the Cross of Christ,<sup>3</sup> he makes those who obey his destructive counsels in every generation each take the place of his own head, and similar to a hydra he has sprouted many heads instead of the one, relentlessly speaking utter unrighteousness through them.<sup>4</sup> Thus he attached to his coiled body the Arians,<sup>5</sup> thus the Apollinarians, thus the Eunomians<sup>6</sup> and Macedonians<sup>7</sup>, thus the host of many others who ran to him, spewing his venom through their speech against the sacred Church. In lieu of fangs, he has used their words and sunk them into the source of piety, as into the root of a plant that had youthfully grown virtue, burdened with the best of fruit; yet he was not able to utterly lay waste to it.<sup>8</sup> For, his fangs were in turn shattered by those who had been bitten by him, meaning, by those who have truly made Christ their own Head.<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly, this serpent, which is noetic and, because of this, all the more accursed,<sup>10</sup> the first, middle, and final evil, the wicked one, always feeding off of serpentine and earthly wickedness, the vigilant stalker, tirelessly looking out for the heel,<sup>11</sup> that is to say, deception, the sophist, most resourceful and incomparably ingenious in every opinion obnoxious to God, not having at all forgotten his own evil art, introduces, through the Latins which were obedient to him, innovative expressions concerning God. While these innovations seem to make but a small change, they actually create the occasion for many evils and bring in many things that are subtle, foreign to piety, and logically absurd. In doing this he clearly displayed to

all that even the smallest thing is not small in matters concerning God. For if, with each of our arguments, when one fallacious thing has initially been premised many absurdities ensue, how can it not be that, when one uncustomary premise has been made in relation to the common principle of all and to the indemonstrable first principles,<sup>12</sup> from this more absurdities will not irreverently ensue?

Into these absurdities the race of the Latins would have also fallen manifestly, had we not stripped away the greatest part of the cacodoxy by contradicting this novel dogma. Indeed, on occasion they recoil to such a degree that they even claim that they are of the same mind as us, disagreeing only in words, lying against themselves on account of their awkwardness. For while we say that the existence of the Holy Spirit is not also from the hypostasis of the Son, they say that He is also from the hypostasis of the Son, making it impossible for us to be united in one concept. For, one is the only-begotten<sup>13</sup> and the existence of the Spirit is one. In any event, since the denial is always the contrary to its affirmation, the one proposition is always false if the other is true, and it is not possible to affirm and deny the very same thing about the same subject and be with the truth.<sup>14</sup>

But I think that no one among those with a sound mind<sup>15</sup> and not in agreement with them [sc. the Latins], will dispute that they not only speak things contrary to us but also think contrary to us. Nor will such a man dispute the fact that they dogmatize not only against us but also against the very word of truth itself, which has been preserved among us undiminished, and without increase, and entirely unaltered.<sup>16</sup> You all precisely know this without a need for logical demonstration (by ‘you’ I am referring to the fullness of the pious). Nevertheless, God willing, it will also be shown through this present treatise here, so that “every mouth” which disputes this “may be shut”,<sup>17</sup> and those who are ambivalent may be established upon one confession.<sup>18</sup>

But, O God of all, Thou who alone art the Bestower and Preserver of genuine theology and of the dogmas and expressions related to it; Thou who art the Most Monarchial Trinity,<sup>19</sup> not only because Thou alone reignest over all, but also because Thou hast one single origin in Thine own self, the origin prior to all origination, the only uncaused Monad, from whom originate and back to whom refer, timelessly and causelessly, the Son

and the Spirit; O Holy Spirit, Lord, Thou who hast being by procession from the Father,<sup>20</sup> and through the Son hast been given and sent<sup>21</sup> and manifested to those who rightly believe in Thee;<sup>22</sup> O Son, Only-Begotten, Thou who hast being by generation from the Father<sup>23</sup> and through the Holy Spirit art formed and indwelling<sup>24</sup> and seen invisibly in the hearts of those who believe in Thee;<sup>25</sup> O Father, Thou who alone art Unbegotten and Unproceeding and, to express the entirety, Uncaused, the only Father of Thine inseparable and equally-honored Lights,<sup>26</sup> one dominion, one power, the Creator of the created lights under Thine hand; Thou who art the Bestower of all knowledge, who broughtest forth diverse kinds of the cogitative and the knowable, and hast emplaced knowledge naturally and fittingly in those who know, thus in the noetic beings placing simple and passionless perceptions, although in the sensual beings emplacing many divided and passionate sensations, and to us, who are of a mixed composition, emplacing both;<sup>27</sup> Thou who by Thine ineffable goodness grantest only to Thy rational creatures, according to their capacity, the knowledge concerning Thee: grant unto us, also, as it is fitting, as it is well pleasing to Thee, to theologize harmoniously with those who, from the ages, in word and deed, have pleased Thee well: so that we may refute those who do not theologize Thee as befitteth Thee as God; so that we may firmly strengthen them in the truth, who in truth seek Thee; so that we may all know Thee as the one and only Fount of Divinity, as the only Father and Originator, and Thy Son as One and Only Son but not also an Originator, and Thy One Holy Spirit as the only Procession but not made; and may we glorify One God, in one and simple yet bountiful – that I may say it thus – and unconstricted divinity, and may we be glorified in return by Thee in rich deification and threefold pouring-forth of light, now and unto the endless ages. Amen.

This prayer indeed is common to all those who revere a single origin. But you, why do you say there are two origins for the divinity? For, what does it matter if you do not plainly say this but if it is deduced from what you are saying? Such things are the depths of Satan,<sup>28</sup> the mysteries of the evil one, which he whispers to those who lend their ears to him. He whispers not in the sense of softening or lowering the tone of his voice, but rather by concealing the intended harm. For my part, I believe this is how he also whispered to Eve.



But since we have been taught by the divine wisdom of the Fathers that we should not be ignorant of his devices,<sup>29</sup> which initially happen to be practically invisible to the masses, we would never at any time receive you into communion as long as you say that the Spirit is also from the Son.

So, when you speak in this way, are you not evidently managing to add, first, to the revelatory theology revealed by the Truth Himself, Christ, about the holy and worshipful Spirit? He, being the pre-eternal God, had also become a Theologian for our sake.<sup>30</sup> For the sake of His love for mankind, He who was in truth the truth, was shown forth as a herald of the truth for us. He came into the world for this cause, that He might bear witness to the truth, and His truthful voice is heeded by everyone that is of the truth and seeks it in truth.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, does this not mean that you are first of all resisting Him who was also the first of all to theologize thus: “the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father”?<sup>32</sup> Next, are you not resisting those who were eye-witnesses, who had heard with their own ears, who had become his disciples and apostles? Or rather, even before them, are you not resisting the Holy Spirit Himself,<sup>33</sup> who came to them according to the promise which had been given by the Savior, who then also taught them all things<sup>34</sup>, but who did not teach that He does not proceed from the Father of lights<sup>35</sup> alone but also from the Son? For if He taught them thus, they would have likewise taught us as well.

After they had been taught and enlightened, they were sent precisely to this end, that they might teach as they had been taught; that they might enlighten as they had been enlightened; that they might boldly proclaim what they would have heard spoken in their ear, that is, not in the hearing of all;<sup>36</sup> that they might speak in the light, that is, openly to all, what had been said to them in darkness, as I would say, through revelation in a darkness transcending light, or even in parables and like the dark saying of Solomon, which is made clear to him that has partaken of wisdom.<sup>37</sup> Or, if you prefer, let the darkness indicate this, that it was spoken privately and in a hidden manner, and that it had not yet been made openly known to the many.

But to the point of our present treatise, this addition [the Filioque], which of course has not been uttered by those who boldly proclaimed the truth; which the Spirit did not announce, although He announced all truth;<sup>38</sup> to which the Savior did not bear witness or make known, although He had

made known to His beloved as many things as He heard from the Father<sup>39</sup> and came for that very reason, to bear witness to the truth:<sup>40</sup> how was it that you, then, have the audacity to speak it, innovatively introducing an alien addition into the boundary of the Faith? The chosen Fathers<sup>41</sup>, when they convened together, having been moved by the Spirit, composed this and handed it down to be a Symbol free from false belief in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to be a sincere touchstone of genuine knowledge of God and a sure Confession for all those who have chosen to rightly divide the word of truth.<sup>42</sup>

1

For, your justification—that, on account of those who claim that the Son would not be equal to the Father if He were not also able to cause procession, you have introduced this addition in an attempt to show the Son equal to the Father—is not reasonable at all. For then if some were to say that the Son must also possess the power to beget, since if this does not belong to Him He is deprived of equality, we would have to add this too, obeying the unwise, and in general to say that the Father is not greater than the Son with respect to cause, lest we despise the equality of the Son to the Father.

So, then, you appear to propose this deceitfully in opposition to the evangelical dogmas and statutes, because whoever says that the Son is a cause of divinity despises the Son, who clearly said in the Gospel, “My Father is greater than Me.”<sup>43</sup> He said the Father was greater than Him, not only as a human, but also as God with respect to the cause of divinity. He did not say “God” but the “Father.” For, the Father is not greater than the Son because He is God – away with the irreverence! – but as the Cause of divinity, just as all the God-bearing Fathers interpreted to us. Therefore, as it seems, you are contradicting these God-bearers and Christ, the God of the God-bearers, who say that the Son is not equal to the Father with respect to the cause.

But we both acknowledge the equality of the Son with the Father according to nature and also confess the greatness of the Father according to cause, which includes both begetting and causing procession. Even for those who in the beginning composed a defense of the con-naturality of the

Son with the Father, which is the same as saying equality of honor, this being the point of contention, the Symbol of Faith without your addition was considered sufficient.

So, then you neither reasonably nor reverently introduce this very addition into the Symbol of Faith, which the chosen Fathers, when they convened together, being moved by the Spirit, composed and handed down. Herein it is entirely forbidden to add or subtract after the chronologically second Council of the Saints, whereby whoever will dare to make an addition is submitted to denunciations and is expelled from the Church—especially an addition not uttered by the Word, not revealed by the Spirit, not found in the recorded pronouncements of the holy Apostles.<sup>44</sup>

The drafters articulated this divine Symbol of the Faith in agreement with the Apostles, and they that came after them agreed with them, although they did not compose it with them. You cannot say that the former did not articulate it in this way or that the latter did not agree with those who articulated it in the beginning, since you are refuted by those who recorded the minutes of all the Holy Councils, and by the very harmony of the four patriarchal thrones from the time of those Councils until today, or rather forevermore, and by the many and diverse races and tongues themselves, which retain the original exposition unchanged and unaltered.

Accordingly, the common revelatory voices of the God-bearing theologians, evangelists, apostles, and prophets that came before them from time immemorial are thus in confessed agreement concerning the Spirit and thus in agreement with the Theanthropic Word. In addition, the same is the case with all the councils that were convened for various causes and on different occasions for the sake of piety; in other words, with nearly every God-bearing tongue. For in not one of these councils had it been theologized that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son. And on this point, I could perfectly display hereafter that the divinely-inspired, one after another, all warmly embraced this very point in exactly the same way, each one in turn, through the treatises published by each one individually.

The Latin's love of debate, however, will not control itself for so long, should we extend long treatises. So he<sup>45</sup> will retort saying, "So where and how did you find your addition, supposing that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father?<sup>46</sup> Why do you consequently think that we are heterodox when Christ did not say this, neither did any of His disciples?"

We shall now straightway respond to this objection, speaking thus: the full assembly of the pious, when they had become of one speech for the protection of the good, built a revered tower,<sup>47</sup> which was altogether higher than the noetic cataclysmic flood of irreverence.<sup>48</sup> And similarly the Trinity, the Perfecter of good things, met them, too, who were trying to build, not putting to confusion but binding together both the beliefs and languages into the most pious and orthodox oneness of mind.<sup>49</sup> We, accordingly, set ourselves upon this same citadel, against the enemies of right dogmas. From within the citadel, we shall launch the first volleys, those which, while they are the most accurate and most brave, are simultaneously for the enemies' advantage, if, on their part, they be willing. After this, we shall bring forth to them demonstrations of the truth which are apparent from many perspectives, or rather, from all perspectives, to create in them a longing for the truth and lift them up toward it. To express myself as it has been written, "If haply they might feel after the truth, and find it, though it be not far from them".<sup>50</sup> But now, not we, but instead this same Citadel, like a rational defense of piety, will both shoot at them with the demonstrations of the truth and strike them and turn them to flight and, if you will, also heal them.<sup>51</sup> For, this divine Symbol of divine things is such that it not only encloses those who abide in it and establishes them in safety but also defends them and irresistibly meets in battle those who have risen in rebellion. But as to how exactly it does this, listen

## 2

"I believe in One God, the Father, Almighty... and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-Begotten, begotten of the Father before all ages." Is not the word "only" implicitly understood and taken for granted, although it is not stated? Or has the Son not been begotten only from the Father because the word "only" is not added? If you wanted to be reverential in any sense you would say, "This is implicitly understood very well, no less than if it were added." From that vantage point, then, be also taught concerning the Spirit. And so, should you hear from the same Symbol, "the Holy Spirit which proceedeth from the Father," straightway, out of sheer necessity, consider the word "only" to be understood, and do not consider it to be our addition when you hear us adding it in our

conversations with you. We add it for the sake of the truth and because of your rejection of it. Otherwise, neither will you concede that the word “only” is implicitly understood in the case of the generation of the Son from the Father; and thus you will multiply your impieties.

3

Now do oblige me and take the following into consideration. Although we hear in the Symbol of Faith that the Son has been begotten of the Father before all the ages and we consider the word “only” to be implicitly understood and taken for granted in the phrase “from the Father”, exactly as you yourself would agree with us, yet no one ever added “only” to the Symbol. As a result, even if your belief that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son were agreed upon and it seemed good to us, as well as to the entire Church of Christ, even then you should not have added it to the Symbol of Faith.

4

Thus, it was most just not to deem you worthy even of conversation as long as you add to the sacred Symbol. Now, after you have cast out your addition, then one should inquire whether the Holy Spirit is also from the Son or not also from the Son and ratify what has been shown to be in agreement with the God-bearers – but not even then should one add to the Symbol of Faith, just as, with respect to the two natures and wills and energies of the one Christ, and the hypostatic union, and the title of the Virgin Mother,<sup>52</sup> those before us have acted well and reverently in striving for the common peace as well as for piety,<sup>53</sup> even though they afterwards convened together many times, and the presiding hierarchs of Old Rome at each time were also convening and gave consent. So, no one is obliged to take into consideration the prominent position of the present Pope. For we should not, for the sake of him or them that came after, reject so many and such great men who concluded their sanctified lives with a blessed end, to which lives God testified in many ways.

5

For, not only does the Symbol of the Orthodox Faith not add the “only” (it needs to be said, for the sake of those who will listen with good will)—therefore, not only does the Symbol of Faith not add the “only”, but also nearly every theological tongue, when it proclaims the Son was begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the same Father, does not add the “only”. For, even if it is not added, it is necessarily implied, and if you open and go through the same theological books, you will also know this. For your sake, however, let us also succinctly put forth some small examples.

And so, of course, Athanasius the Great says, “What is God? The Source of all, according to the Apostle, who says, ‘there is One God, the Father, of whom are all things.’<sup>54</sup> And, thus, the Word is from Him by way of begetting and the Spirit from Him by way of procession.”<sup>55</sup> Do you see that the “from Him” is used similarly for both and that nowhere is the “only” added to the phrase? And so, accordingly, you will either understand your addition similarly for both, or you will necessarily consider that the “only” is implicitly understood for both.

But why will he, who is immediately after Athanasius in time and not inferior to him with respect to Majesty from God, who bears the name of the Royal priesthood, namely, St Basil the Great, not harmonize and not agree? Well, listen and learn, “strictly speaking the Son is from God, since the Son came forth from the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father. And while the one is from the Father by way of begetting, the other, in contrast, is from God in an ineffable way”<sup>56</sup>. Behold, in multiple instances he similarly asserted that both were from the Father. In short, then, are you able to say that the Holy Spirit is not only from the Father because the “only” is not in the text?

On this point, do you wish to hear also from the great theologian, Gregory? He briefly sums up the entire matter and removes your addition as with a scalpel, and applies the “only from” to both. And the most marvelous thing is not that he adds, but that he does not add. He says, “for us there is one God, because one is the Divinity, and to the One those that are from Him have their reference, although He is believed in as three.”<sup>57</sup> Did you hear? He said both came “from Him.” So will we not infer “only from [Him]”? Will we rather infer “not only from [Him]” and believe and add that both come forth from the Father and from something else, because the



word “only” is not added, and thus fall away from the only God, from the Most High Trinity? May you not suffer this, or rather, may you not continue to suffer incurably, for what is right has already been made known to you.

6

Certainly, we affirm that the Son is from the Father since He was begotten from the divine essence, that is, by the paternal hypostasis (for the essence is one for the three). As a result, begetting is fittingly joined to the paternal hypostasis, and so the Son cannot be from the Spirit. Likewise, since the Holy Spirit is from the Father, He, too, is proceeding from the divine essence, by the paternal hypostasis. For the essence is in every way and entirely one for the three. Therefore, causing procession is fittingly joined to the paternal hypostasis and so the Spirit cannot be also from the Son, since it is not possible for the Son to have the things of the paternal hypostasis.

For, according to the sacred Damascene, “we acknowledge the difference of the divine hypostases only in three personal properties: in the causeless and paternal, in the caused and filial, and in the caused and proceeding”.<sup>58</sup> Do you see that the hypostasis of the Son is not also a cause but is only caused? For St. John says that He has only this property of being caused, just as it is with the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. And do you also comprehend this, that the paternal property, inasmuch as it is paternal, encompasses both begetting and causing procession? So, because of this, if the Holy Spirit is also from the Son, the Son too would be both a cause and simultaneously a Father, by virtue of being a cause.

7

Therefore, the Son cannot possibly possess any of the things belonging to the paternal hypostasis. But, if He does possess, either there will be two causes, since causing procession is in two hypostases (for, in this way, there will also be two caused, since the caused will be contemplated as being in two hypostases), or the Father and the Son will coalesce into one hypostasis. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, both

directly and without mediation from the Father, as the Son also is begotten from the Father.

For this cause also, Gregory the divine primate of Nyssa<sup>59</sup> says, “all the persons of mankind do not have being from the same person with an immediate connection, as the causes, as well as the caused, are many and diverse. But in the case of the Holy Trinity, it is not like this, for there is one and same person, the Father, from whom precisely the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. It is principally for this reason that we boldly say that the one Cause, with those who are caused by Him, are one God.”<sup>60</sup>

So, did you get some sense by suffering a blow from the word of truth? Are you properly learning the truth, and will you also, then, obey God and the godly Fathers, so that, when you hear that the Spirit is from the Father, you may agree about the “only from” and no longer grant to the Spirit existence from different persons, but theologize that not only the Son but also the Holy Spirit is from the one, the Father, without mediation, thinking that one person, God, is the cause of His Caused. Will you stop saying that the two persons are the one cause of the one person because they are of the same essence? For, in this way the causes become many, as happens with us, and God will no longer be one, just as we are not all one man, although we are of the same essence.

Therefore, will you obey God concerning these things and obey those who theologize in agreement with God? Or do you still seek to hear these things even through a roar of thunder, like those who, after the many divine signs of Jesus, were still seeking to see a sign from heaven? Listen here to the thunder, to John, the most theological of the disciples of the Lord, who says, “We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.”<sup>61</sup> What is it, then? Will we not say that the Only-Begotten is only from the Father, as there is no addition of the word “only”? But the Lord Himself says to the Jews, “If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God”.<sup>62</sup> And again, “Not that any man hath seen the Father, save He which is of God, he has seen the Father”.<sup>63</sup> Why did He not add the word “only” saying, “I came only from the Father” or “which is only of the Father”, if it was not necessarily understood?

Therefore, when it has been said, so many times, concerning the Son, that He is from the Father, and nowhere at all is the “only” added, you yourself also everywhere understand this and are not displeased with those

who do everywhere take this for granted. Rather, you are utterly displeased with those who do not understand it in this way and you would accuse them as irreverent or even ungodly. But, concerning the Holy Spirit, when you hear that He proceeds from the Father, then what happens to you, that you do not understand that the “only” is also necessarily implied and you turn aside to the opposite belief? That, for which you would have justifiably accused those who wrongly thought this concerning the Son, has unjustifiably happened to yourself with reference to the Spirit, without any evidential support at all to warrant the impiety.

8

For, the Spirit is considered to proceed, by necessity, only from the Father, not only because He is said to be from the Father as God the Word is from the Father before the ages, but also since, according to the wise witness of the truth, Justin, “as the Son is from the Father, the Holy Spirit is similarly from the Father as well, apart from manner of existence. For, the One, indeed, shone forth from the Light by way of begetting, but the Other, while He too was certainly Light from the Light, came forth not by way of begetting, but by way of procession.”<sup>64</sup> If the Son is immediately from the Father, the Spirit is also from the Father immediately. And if the Son is not from the Spirit, the Spirit is also not from the Son. And if the Son is only from the Father, the Spirit also is only from the Father. Since the Holy Spirit is proceeding from the Father as the Son is begotten from the Father, and since that which is proceeding as the Son is begotten is proceeding only from the Father, therefore, the Holy Spirit comes forth by way of procession only from God the Father.

So, the begetting of the Son and the procession of the Spirit are similar and are similarly described, both when taken together and separately. By existing similarly they furnish us on their own with the deductive proof of the truth, while by being described similarly they furnish us with the demonstrative proof of the truth. For, it is not because both the Son and the Spirit are simultaneously from eternity that we shall not acknowledge the things of the Spirit to be from the Son. Instead, because the things of the Son are better known to us, from these better-known matters we shall also prove the Spirit. Besides, it has been proven that the Spirit exists only from

the Father not simply from the things of the Son but from the fact that the Spirit is from the Father as the Son is from the Father.

9

And certainly, according to the divine Paul, the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit and mind [nous] of Christ, just as Basil the Great says about the Spirit in his letters to the Eunomians when he writes, “the apostle distinctly proclaimed that the Spirit is from God when he says, ‘we have received the Spirit from God’;<sup>65</sup> and he made it clear that the Spirit was manifested through the Son since he named Him the Spirit of the Son just as he named Him the Spirit of God. He also named Him the mind [nous] of Christ,<sup>66</sup> just as he also named Him the Spirit of God, as is the case with the spirit of man.”<sup>67</sup>

So, just as each man has his own intellect [nous] and each man’s intellect is his own, yet his intellect is not from himself but from the source from which the man himself is, and so each man’s own intellect is not from himself except in the sense of activity [energeia], so also, the divine Spirit naturally exists in Christ as in God and is thus His Spirit and intellect [nous]. And while according to activity the Spirit is His and from Him, since He is insufflated and sent and manifested, yet, according to His existence and hypostasis, He is indeed His, but not from Him, being instead from Him that begat the Son.

10

So, from every avenue of attack, let us repel the blows of your arguments against the truth. The Son and Word of God, being by nature from God, is begotten by nature, and does not come into being from the Father by grace. And seeing as the Begetter is the spring of divinity and the source of divinity, the Begotten springs forth. And seeing as the only source of divinity and spring of divinity is the Father, as Dionysios the Areopagite<sup>68</sup> and Athanasius the Great harmoniously proclaim,<sup>69</sup> therefore the Son exists by nature only from the Father, whereas the one who is adopted is not “only from”<sup>70</sup> but is from the Father through the Son; although that person is not a son only, but is also a spirit by grace; for, the Apostle says, “he that is

joined unto the Lord is one spirit”.<sup>71</sup> Now the Holy Spirit is not by grace, but is by nature from God, just as also the Son and Word of God is from God. And so, the Spirit, being by nature from God, proceeds by nature from God. But what proceeds by nature springs forth from God. And what springs forth from God springs forth from the only source of divinity, which is the Father alone. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is God by nature, springing forth by means of procession from the Father alone.

11

Now if someone does confess that this is so, he will be refuted for thinking wrongly concerning the Son as well. For, when he bears witness to this very same proof of the truth, Gregory, who is incomparable in his theology, says, “what is not given as a name to the Spirit, of those which are also the Son’s, apart from begottenness?”<sup>72</sup> Further, “all things, as many as are of the Son, are also the Spirit’s, except Sonship”.<sup>73</sup> Note that the divine Damascene says, “because of the Father, that is, on account of the Father’s being, the Son and the Spirit have all things which They have. That is, because the Father has these same things they also have these things, apart from unbegottenness and begottenness and procession”.<sup>74</sup>

Therefore, neither of them is able to beget and to cause procession, and as the Spirit does not possess begottenness by any mode, so the Son does not have procession by any mode. Consequently, the description is the same: just as it is for the Son, so it is for the Spirit, apart from being either begotten or proceeding, as according to this and this alone are they differentiated from each other.

And so, one who desires not to blaspheme but to theologize must maintain this for all the persons. For, as the Son is one and He alone is begotten (for which reason He is also called only-begotten), so the Holy Spirit exists as one and the only-proceeding. And as the Son is begotten only from the Father, so also the Holy Spirit is proceeding only from the Father. And as the Son is begotten directly from the Father, so also the Holy Spirit is proceeding from the Father directly.

12

Do you see, that the addition from us<sup>75</sup> is certainly an expression of the truth, which is uttered together with the text because of your disdain towards the truth? For, this addition, both when it is present and absent, gives us to understand the same thing. Yet yours would literally not be called an addition, but a clear opposition and overturning of a godly mindset. For, it diverts the mind of those who hear it to the opposite, and gives two origins to think of for the one divinity, and provides an inroad to the error of polytheism. For, who would think otherwise when he hears or says or believes that the One is from both?

“But there is nothing logically absurd,” he retorts, “if someone does, in fact, say that there are two origins, for, they are not opposed, but the one is from the other, as Gregory the Theologian says concerning the Son: ‘the origin from the origin.’<sup>76</sup> For, again in this way there will be one origin and the dogma of monarchy will be preserved”.

We respond to this, saying that we affirm God is from God, but not that there are ever two gods.

### 13

Put otherwise, since this same origin signifies the creative capacity, someone could say, although unsoundly, that there are not only two but more origins. For, this same origin is tri-hypostatic; and, being by nature, it is common; and, it being common, how could the Spirit not also have this same origin? Note also: when Elioud was dialoguing with Job about the righteousness of God saying, “the Spirit of the Lord hath made me”,<sup>77</sup> did he not call the Spirit a creative origin? Further, when the composer of odes, the divine David, chanted, “By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all the might of them by the Spirit,”<sup>78</sup> was he not attributing the creative origin as belonging to the Spirit just as it belongs to the Son? Therefore if, according to you, because it has been written “the origin from the origin,” nothing prevents us from saying that there are two origins, then, because it has been written that the Spirit is also a creator, nothing prevents us from saying there are two creators. Or, because of the phrase “by the word of God and by His Spirit the creation is established” (that is to say, constituted), it is not inconsistent to premise that there are three origins.



Yet nowhere did any of the theologians say that the origins were either two or three. For, just as we affirm that each of those three worshipful hypostases is God and the two are God from God, but do not say that thereby there are ever two or three gods, thus we also affirm an origin from the origin, but never at any time do we affirm two origins. For, we have never heard from someone revered about a second origin even to this day, just as we have not heard of a second god. But for us there is one God, and what is worshipped is a monarchy,<sup>79</sup> not from two gods nor from two origins coming together into one, since what is revered by us is not divisible in those same respects [in terms of “God” and “origin”]. And certainly, God is not both parted and joined together in respect to the same thing. For He is divided in respect to the hypostatic properties; yet according to the natural properties He is united. So, if nothing prevents us from saying there are two origins, it remains, then, that these origins refer to that in which God is divided. So, again, it is not possible for these origins to be united. Therefore, the two are not one.

But rather, taking this up again and giving a new beginning to the discourse, let us clearly disclose, to the greatest extent, the truths of this absolutely singular-source origin. Thus, let us show that the namesake of theology worthily bears his name and in doing so refute those who dogmatize that there are two origins for the Holy Spirit, showing both that they do dogmatize this and that they do not do so soundly.

The creative origin is one: the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. So, whenever we say that the things which have been brought forth into being from non-being are from God, whenever we mention the goodness, through which they acquired being, and the engendered grace, from which each one appropriately participated in well-being, and the grace that came to be later, by which those that had fallen returned to well-being, whenever we say these things and discourse concerning them, we are affirming that the Son is an origin and fount and cause in the Holy Spirit. Not that the Son is a different origin—banish the thought!—but the same origin, since the Father, through Him, in the Holy Spirit, both brings forth and leads back and sustains all things well. And the Father, besides being the fount of all things

through the Son in the Holy Spirit, is also the Fount and origin of the divinity, being the only one capable of generating divinity. Further, we know this better than by logical demonstration, as it has been transparently expressed through the God-inspired oracles.

Therefore, whenever you hear that the Son is the “origin from the origin [ἀρχή]“, and “who calleth him the origin [ἀρχή] from generations”,<sup>80</sup> and “with Thee is dominion [ἀρχή] in the day of Thy power”,<sup>81</sup> understand that these refer to Him as to the origin of created things, just as John so clearly shouts out about Him in Revelation as “the beginning [ἀρχή] of the creation of God”,<sup>82</sup> not as the temporal beginning [καταρχή]—banish the thought!—but as their Creator. For He is a communicant of that from which these same things issue, the Paternal origin [ἀρχή], which is also a name of His dominion over all.<sup>83</sup>

Now, how could someone say that the Son is the origin of the Spirit in the same sense, unless the Spirit were also a servant and created? But since the Spirit is God, the Son is not His origin in this respect. Therefore, He can only be so as an origin of divinity. Now, if the Son is an origin of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and if it is impossible for Him to share in this same origin with the Father (for, only the Father has been theologized as the divine Source), this would imply that the Son is the origin of some other, different divinity and by implication has sundered the Spirit from the divinity springing forth from the Father. Or will we, who confess one divinity in the three, concede two different divinities to this One?

Furthermore, how are the Spirit’s two origins—according to the Latins—one? For they cannot demand that we accept their propositions by faith, but neither let them answer as sophists,<sup>84</sup> making one response instead of the other. For when we ask how—according to them—are there two origins of the one Spirit, they assert that the origin of the two is one. We, however, are not asking about the two persons but about the one, since it is for this matter that we are addressing to them the treatise. If the origin of the two is one (which is true), how will there be two origins of the one and how are these two one, according to them?

Therefore, they say, “because the one is from the other.” What, then, of Seth? Has he, therefore, been begotten from one origin because Eve was from Adam? Are there not two origins for this one person [Seth] because the one is from the other? And what of Eve? Is she not a second origin for

those born from her because she had her origin from Adam?<sup>85</sup> And yet, both of them had the generative power, but it was different and in different hypostases. Consequently, neither are these origins one (just as the divine primate of Nyssa stated, as we forementioned), although the one is from the other.

So if here, in this example, where both persons have the generative power, even though it is not one, the origin of the one [Seth] cannot be one, how is it possible in the most high Trinity, in whom there is no communication at all of the generation of divinity, for the two origins (according to them) of the one Holy Spirit to be one? For, only the Father has been theologised as the divinity-generating divinity.

Again, since Eve is only from Adam, she is from one origin. Now consider that Adam is from the earth, but this does not mean that Eve is from the earth and from Adam, since only Adam is from the earth. In view of that, the Latins have two alternatives: either let them say that the Spirit is only from the Son and thus that He is from one origin (which, however, would not be the same origin as the one from which the Son is, and therefore again there will be two origins for the divinity and the Father will no longer be greater than the Son in cause, since He [the Son] will likewise be a cause of divinity), or let them instead say that He [the Holy Spirit] is only from the Father and thus reverently grant one origin to the Spirit, just as to the Son. For, as long as they say that He is from the Son or from both, but not only from the Father, there cannot possibly be one origin of the divinity of the one Spirit.

For when someone joins such things, although he might say that the origin is one, he speaks equivocally, so that it is not one. For, once he divides and looks at the hypostases one by one, necessarily the origins of the one hypostasis clearly become two. Now, they make me marvel at their exceeding folly who say and think that these two ‘origins’, as they say, are one. For if the Son actually communicates with the Father in the generation of divinity by emanating the Spirit, and the generation of divinity is one for them, and this progression from them is likewise one, then this property is natural and there are not two origins, nor are the two one, but simply one, and the Spirit Himself has been estranged from the divine nature, since He does not communicate in the generation of divinity. If, however, the Son does not communicate with the Father in the generation of divinity and the

ability to emanate divinity is not one for them, the progression of the Spirit is hypostatic for the Son. This progression, then, is different from the progression of the Spirit from the Father; for the hypostatic properties are different.

15

How is it possible, then, that the different origins are one, and particularly when the great Dionysius, in the second chapter of his treatise *Concerning the Divine Names*, says, “all that belongeth to the Father and to the Son are also ascribed in common to the divine Spirit”,<sup>86</sup> and how can it be so, when Basil the Great writes in his rebuttal chapters *To the Eunomians*, “all things common to the Father and to the Son are also common to the Spirit”?<sup>87</sup> If it were common both to the Father and to the Son to cause procession, then this causing of procession will also be common to the Spirit, and the Trinity will be a tetrad, since the Spirit also will make another Spirit proceed. But if causing procession is not common to the Father and the Son, as the Latins say, since the Spirit proceeds from the Father mediately—according to them—while from the Son immediately (for this is how they say that the Son has the emanating power hypostatically), then—according to them—both creating and sanctifying and quite simply all natural things will not be common to the Father and the Son, since the Father both fashions and sanctifies through the Son, and again through the mediation of the Son He creates and sanctifies, while the Son does not do so through a son. Consequently, according to them, the Son has the power of creating and sanctifying in His hypostasis, since He acts immediately and not mediately like the Father. And thus, according to them, the natural properties are no different from the hypostatic properties, and so neither is the nature different from the hypostasis, as if—according to them—God were not tri-hypostatic or of a threefold nature.

Now then, were they to say that the Son creates and sanctifies through the Spirit, we respond that, in the first place, it certainly is not customary with the theologians to say that the Son or the Father is the Creator of creatures through the Spirit, but rather in the Holy Spirit. Next, so that even by this argument they may not escape the absurdity shown above (for, again, the Son is not shown to be a Creator through a son as the Father is),

they will have to say that not even creating and sanctifying are common to the Spirit, since He does not effect these things through another, nor does He do so like the Father or the Son. So, according to them, the Spirit has the creating and sanctifying power hypostatically, since He does not create and sanctify mediately as the Father does. And herein, again, according to them, the natural properties are shown to be the same and no different from the hypostatic properties. But if this is so, the nature also is the same and no different from the hypostases. Have those that speak and think these things in this way not obviously fallen away from the Most High Trinity, from the unity of the Faith, and from the communion of the Holy Spirit?

But let us continue from where we digressed. When someone hears, or says, or believes that the Holy Spirit has existence from both the Father and the Son (from the Son immediately, but from the Father mediately) and believes the things that they keep repeating and disseminating, things both adjacent and subsequent and remote – who, when hearing and believing these things, will not be of the opinion that there are two origins for the one Spirit? How would the Son not be a joint cause with the Father, unless to nought the Spirit is said to be from Him? And how would the Spirit not be a creature? For, the Son is a joint cause with the Father with respect to created things.

## 16

And certainly, with respect to creation, for which the Son is also manifestly a cause and a joint cause with the Father since creation received being from the Father through Him and from Him, it is entirely impious to say that creation is not from the Son and that the creative property is of the hypostasis of the Father. Consequently, if the Holy Spirit, who exists by procession, had His being from the Father through the Son and from Son, it would be entirely impious to say that the Spirit is not from the Son and that the property of causing procession is attributed to the Father only.

But since David, the ancestral father of God, and Gregory of Nyssa the most bright, and the God-bearing Damascene are the ones saying these things,<sup>88</sup> then by utter necessity those who say that the Son is jointly a cause with the Father for the All-Holy Spirit and who concede that His existence is from the Father through the Son and from the Son distance

themselves as far from piety as the saints listed above and those who theologize in unison with these saints cling close to it.

17

Now here is another thing that must be necessarily understood, that, just as we have our genesis from the Father through the Son and from the Son, and as we invoke and confess each as a Father and Creator simultaneously and separately, in this way also, if the Spirit had existence from the Father through the Son and from the Son, each simultaneously and separately would be called Father and Generator of the divine Spirit. But all such things, in fusing together the divine hypostases in different ways, clearly prove that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son.

18

Again, it is certain here, according to Gregory the Theologian, that “all things that the Father has are the Son’s apart from the Cause.”<sup>89</sup> What particular cause? The cause of creatures? Banish the thought! For, the origin and Cause of created things is also the Son. Consequently, it means “apart from the Cause and origin of the divinity considered in a Trinity”. And so, the Son has everything of the Father’s, without being Himself the origin and Cause of the divinity of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit, therefore, proceeds from the Father alone, exactly as the Son is begotten from the Father alone. And, according to His existence, He clings to the Father both directly and immediately, just like the Son, although it is through the Son that He acquired the power to be the Father’s Spirit, since the One causing procession is also a Father.

19

Now since the witness of two men is true, according to the word of the Lord, “and by two or three witnesses every word will be established”,<sup>90</sup> although we presently desire to bring more witnesses, on account of the length we shall present to you but three witnesses, who clearly forbid your addition. And on this point, let us present Basil the Great first, since he was also prior chronologically. For, he says in his chapters “Against Eunomius”,



“God begets, not like a man, but He truly begets; and He shines forth what has been begotten from Him, a word, not a human word but a true word from Him. He sends forth the Spirit through His mouth, not like that which is human, since neither does the mouth of God send forth bodily; and the Spirit is from Him, and not from another [source]”.<sup>91</sup> Do you see, then, that the Spirit is not from another source, but is only from the One who begets the Son? As a result, the Spirit is not from the Son, since in this passage the Son has been theologized by Basil the Great as being the Word but not the mouth of the Father. St. Basil indicates in another passage that this Word proceeds from the same mouth, when he says, “for, if you will not believe that the Spirit has come forth from the mouth of God, neither will you believe that the Word [has come forth from the mouth of God].” Do you see clearly that the Son is the Word but not the mouth of the Father, from which mouth, according to Basil the Great, He comes forth, according to His existence, as does the Holy Spirit?

Now in the same manner Gregory, who is his brother and thinks the same with him as a brother, says in his treatise Concerning Divine Knowledge, “the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis. For this sake, David also said ‘the spirit of His mouth’ but not ‘the word of His mouth’, in order to confirm that the property of causing procession is an attribute of the Father alone”.<sup>92</sup>

After this witness of the truth, free from falsehood, Cyril, who became a living luminary of Alexandria, will bear witness, as well. Let him be brought forth. For he says in Concerning the Holy Trinity, “the three worshipful hypostases are recognized and are believed in the beginningless Father, and in the Only-Begotten Son, and in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, not by begetting, as with the Son, but by proceeding, as it has been said, from the only Father as from a mouth, but who has been manifested through the Son and has spoken in all the saints and prophets and apostles”.<sup>93</sup> And, again, in another place, “the Holy Spirit is not from the Son by procession as the Son is from the Father by begetting. Away with the blasphemy and polytheism! For, among us there is one cause and connection for both persons, namely, the Father.”<sup>94</sup>

Is it, then, even possible to bring forth a more convincing refutation of your irreverence? Certainly no man would have thought so. But the Holy Spirit has given to us even this very thing, John from Damascus, having

made him wise. For, he says, “while we say ‘the Spirit of the Son’, yet we do not say ‘the Spirit from the Son’, but we confess that He has been manifested and is communicated to us through the Son.”<sup>95</sup>

Nonetheless, I shall forgo compiling in succession the others because they are very many, nearly as many of the Fathers as are alive in their writings, and from your words I shall judge you. God will certainly judge you, too. For when you yourself say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and you do not add the “only”, do you perhaps consider that the Spirit is not only from these? Do you perhaps not imply the “only”, whether pronounced together with “from the Father and the Son” or not? Or will we enquire, according to your reasoning which is so fond of many processions, so to speak,<sup>96</sup> whether the Spirit proceeds from some other one too, on account of your ignorance concerning the word “only”?

## 20

Nevertheless let me from the same sources once more prepare the medicine for your real wound and draw you out of these irreverent dogmas and words. Tell me, O good man: if someone should ask you concerning the Son—inasmuch as it has been written that “we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father,”<sup>97</sup> and that “I believe in one Son, begotten of the Father before the ages,” and the rest, as many as have been enumerated for you earlier in the treatise, in which the “only” is not placed in the text—would you make an addition and say that the Son has been begotten from the Father “and from the Holy Spirit”, making the very same excuse, that the “only” is not present in the text? Surely, you would say, “Away with the idea! Whoever adds this and does not think that the Word has been begotten only from the Father shall fall away even from the very regeneration from above.” You will correctly say with us that nowhere is the Spirit called “begetter”, nor does He share anything with the Father which is not also shared in common with the Son. Neither does the one proceed from the dyad, nor does it refer back to the dyad; nor did the monad move into a monad and [this] dyad again [move] into another monad, “but the monad moved in a God-befitting manner into a dyad, until it stood as a triad”.<sup>98</sup> And, “our God is one, not only because the divinity is one, but also because the two which are from Him have their reference to

the One. Further, there is one fountainhead of divinity, the Father, who is also the only Cause and only Fount of divinity.”<sup>99</sup> So then, these same things are His individuating characteristics; for He is “only”. Consequently, the Holy Spirit will have no communion with respect to these things, especially seeing that Dionysius, the celestially minded, again in this case would have said, “The attributes of the super-essential divine generation are not interchangeable”.<sup>100</sup>

But congratulations for your perfect harmony in these matters both with the Godly-wise fathers and with us who have been made wise by them! Yet you were caught, as the saying goes, by your own feathers<sup>101</sup> and you were indeed profitably struck by the [foregoing] argument which fought to defend what is right. As far as the argument is concerned, you were not only stricken but also healed, as it has been written as by God, “I shall strike and I shall also heal.”<sup>102</sup>

For, the things which you would have said together with us and with the truth to those who say that the Son has been begotten both from the Father and from the Spirit and make excuses in sins,<sup>103</sup> or rather in impieties, and say as an excuse, among other things, that the “only” is not added to the phrase “begotten of the Father”, you yourself should now hear the exact same things both from us and from the truth, when you say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son and logically attempt to certify this on the basis of other things and that the “only” is not present in the procession from the Father. For one who says that the Spirit is also from the Son will fall away even from the very adoption through the Holy Spirit Himself.

## 21

For where in the God-inspired utterances can someone possibly find the Son named “generator”, although the great theologian Gregory many times enumerated all the appellations of the Son, and not only enumerated but also inspected them? He, in interpreting the meaning of the word “only-begotten”, says, “It does not only mean ‘only the only one, only from Him’, but also ‘in a unique manner’ [μονοτρόπως],”<sup>104</sup> once more interpreting what he had elsewhere also called “uniquely and in a distinctive manner [ιδιοτρόπως].”<sup>105</sup> He used the phrase “the only one” in the sense of “one”,

while by the phrase “only from” he meant one that begat in virginity, which is the same as to say, not from coupling. And so, what else could the first “only” be but that He is only a Son, not also a Father, neither a generator? Now, if the Father is called a Father only, since the Spirit is from the Father it is reasonable for the Spirit to be called the Spirit of the Father, and the Father would also be called the Father of the Spirit, since He is the Cause. For, the great James, the Brother of God, called Him Father of Lights,<sup>106</sup> that is, of the Son and the Spirit, as Athanasius the Great says when he exegetes.<sup>107</sup> But if this holds true, which it does, then the Son would also be called Father of Light, that is, of the Holy Spirit—if, according to you, the Spirit is from Him.

Well, then, if these were the names that we are to give, like “Father of Light” or “Originator of the Holy Spirit”, why did Gregory, who was greatly versed in theology, not place these names before almost all his other designations, though he painstakingly toiled to show the Son’s equality to the Father? And so, he says, “If the Father’s greatness lies in not being moved into being from anywhere, it is not lesser for the Son to be from such a Father. Such a great thing as being begotten belongs to the Son”.<sup>108</sup> If origination, then, belonged to Him, why did he not mention something so important, through which he would prove even more strongly that He is equal with the Father? But he did not say it; so it is not attributed to Him.

## 22

For, this great theologian does not make the thesis that the characteristic of the Spirit is simply “procession”, but rather makes the thesis, “procession from the Father”, surely foreseeing your irreverent addition and overturning it aforehand. And so having said a little above that the Father, on one hand, is Begetter and Originator, while the Son, on the other hand, is not the Originator but only one begotten, he then goes on to say, “but standing firm in our definitions, we introduce the Unbegotten, and the Begotten, and Him who proceeds from the Father.”<sup>109</sup> He did not say that merely procession is the idiom<sup>110</sup> of the Spirit, lest someone think that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son or also from the Son. For, while begottenness conveys the thought of a Father, yet procession is not so. On account of this, he set forth procession “from the Father” as an idiom of the Spirit. For, Basil the Great

says, “the Holy Spirit has this sign, indicative of His property as far as hypostasis is concerned, namely to become known<sup>111</sup> after the Son and with Him, and to subsist from the Father.” So, do you not see that you all were justifiably banned from communion with us, not standing fast upon our definitions and upon piety?

For either you would characterize the Son also as a Father, as has been shown above, so that in your eyes the Spirit may proceed from Him also, or, in your eyes, to proceed from the Father would not be an idiom of the Spirit,<sup>112</sup> nor would you think that causing procession is the idiom of the Father [alone]. But, in that case, you will be theologizing against him that acquired the title of theologian, and in all reality you will be standing with the opposing party and be renounced by us. For, we know that his utterances are revelations of the Holy Spirit. But to return to the topic, just as, when humidity proceeds from bodies of water and has this idiom, it is an idiom also of the bodies of water to cause the humidity to proceed, in this same manner, since the Spirit has an idiom of proceeding from the Father, so too it necessarily belongs to the Father to cause the Spirit to proceed.

Therefore, the procession of the Spirit is only from the Father, and the Spirit always proceeds only from the Father according to His existential, although not in His revelatory, coming forth. For, in those passages in which the phrase “from the Father” is not expressed along with the “proceeds”, [the phrase “from the Father”] is always understood by those who hear with understanding, just as it is understood with the Son in respect to His begottenness. For, every one of us is begotten; but only the Son is begotten from the Father, that is to say, from God the Father. Thus, this appendage “from the Father” is His idiom and is ever understood, even if it be not expressed. In the very same way then, you would say that our own spirit proceeds. Therefore, the idiom of the Holy Spirit is not simply “proceeding” but “proceeding from the Father”; for that one is always Father. So, it is impossible for Him to exist as proceeding from the Son, unless the Son also might be in your eyes a Father. Not only is the fact that it is from the Father implicitly understood with the “proceeding”, but also that it is from the Father alone, precisely as it is understood with the “begotten”. For as the inspired theologians teach us, which we also affirmed above, apart from the manner being by begetting or procession, as the Son

is from the Father so also is the Spirit. And so accordingly, in every way entirely, it is impossible for Him to be also from the Son.

23

Moreover, if the Spirit is also from the Son and through Him has His existence according to you, the Son is the union of the Father and Spirit. Then, how does the same Gregory, great in theology, say, “the unoriginate and the origin and what is with the origin are one God” and “Now the nature is one in three; and the Father is the union, from whom and to whom are led back those who follow, not so as to fuse together, but so that they may possess [their being] themselves”?<sup>113</sup> For, when someone hears that the Spirit is conjoined to the Father through the Son, he may understand that this is said on account of the [doxological] pronouncement<sup>114</sup> that concerns the confession, with the Son placed in the middle; and that He would not be called “Spirit of the Father” for a different reason, except on account of the Son. But how would the Father be the union, unless He relates to each directly, emanating each immediately? But the phrase “not so as to fuse together, but so that they may possess [their being] themselves” shows the direct and immediate relation of each to Him.

24

But why does he say, “the unoriginate and the origin and what is with the origin are one God?” For, if he knew that the Spirit is “from the Son”, he would have said “what is from the origin,” not “what is with the origin.”

25

Therefore, whenever you hear that the Spirit proceeds through [διὰ] the Son, understand Him to be accompanying the Word, because, in doing so, you would not take the word “through” wrongly, in the sense of “from,” but in the sense of “with,” thus harmonizing with the namesake of theology.<sup>115</sup> For, the divine Damascene says, “We have learned the Spirit which accompanies the Word and manifests His energy”.<sup>116</sup> Now “to accompany” means “to follow along with” as he himself says there in that passage. As a result, the Spirit is not “and from the Son” but from the Father together with



the Son, since the procession accompanies the begetting timelessly and without any intervening distance. Now, he said “we have learned” because the God-bearers, who were before him, taught thus, and since by them he was initiated to think in this way, that the Spirit is “through the Son”, he completely forbade us from saying “the Spirit is from the Son.”

Now if Basil the Great says that there is nothing inharmonious in transforming “through” into “from”, yet he said this for created beings. This is why he then brought forth the Apostle, who said, “all things are from Him and through Him and to Him”,<sup>117</sup> For, all beings have been created by Him and through Him are sustained and are returned to Him. And the sacred Damascene in his seventh theological chapter, having first placed once more the passage which we cited earlier above, after some other things, says the following in harmony with the Catechetical Treatise of the inspired, divine Gregory of Nyssa: “The Holy Spirit is an essential power, contemplated itself by its own self in a particular hypostasis, revelatory of Him, that is, of the Word, and not able to be separated from God, in whom He is, nor from the Word, whom He accompanies.”<sup>118</sup> So, is it not clear, from this passage here too, that the Holy Spirit is not also from the Son?

## 26

Nevertheless, since by the theologians sometimes the Father is said to be in the middle of the Son and the Spirit, and sometimes the Son is said to be in the middle of both the Father and the Spirit, and sometimes the Spirit is said to be in the middle of both the Father and the Son, the Spirit would not be the third from the Father neither would He have His being from the Father through the Son. For with three consecutive points, never could one of the endpoints that lie on either side be the midpoint. Instead, when considered, theological middleness is like the three endpoints on the corners of an equilateral triangle. For in that case each point is found to be in the middle of the other two. And if you were to pile up the first number to be in the middle and place it as if on the second dimension, in this way you will actually make the first a triangular number,<sup>119</sup> and whichever one you take of the units that are in it, that unit will be in the middle of the other two. Therefore, should one postulate that the one tip is the origin and cause of

the two, then necessarily that tip will surely, in the same way, have a direct and immediate relationship to each of the other two in the units as well.

27

What then? Do those who say, that each one of them relates to the other not less than to its own self, not then clearly prove that they relate directly to one another?

28

What then of the Theologian, who bids you with poetic utterances, both theologically and paternally, that, should you happen to hear concerning the Son and Spirit, “‘that they have the second position after the Father,’ this is how I urge you to understand the words of deep-bosomed wisdom”;<sup>120</sup> [namely,] that he is ascending to an unoriginate root: he is not dividing the divinity. For if the Spirit were not directly from the Father, he would not have likewise placed Him second from the Father, as he also placed the Son.

29

And certainly procession, wherever indeed it be mentioned, is some type of progression and motion, befitting both the one causing procession and the one proceeding. The progression of the Spirit, however, is proclaimed through the God-inspired Scripture to be twofold. For, He is poured forth from the Father through the Son, or, if you prefer, from the Son as well, upon all those who are worthy, upon whom He rests and indwells. Therefore, this very movement and progression, or, if you prefer, this procession—for, we do not wish to shamelessly join in a debate about names, since David also says, “O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people, when Thou didst traverse the wilderness, the earth was shaken”<sup>121</sup> (the “going forth” here describes the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all flesh believing in Christ, which previously was a wilderness bereft of grace, just as also the shaking of the earth was the transition from idolatry to God)<sup>122</sup>—this progression, then, of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son would certainly not also be through the worthy men, although these are

the same ones in whom the Holy Spirit both dwells and rests by grace. For there is a rest of the Holy Spirit in them, but not a movement of the Holy Spirit from them, rather a cessation of the movement [that occurs] on them; and although some acquired the power of transmission, yet they did so in a completely different way.

Now the progression from the Father through the Son, which we mentioned, is also called the good pleasure of the Father and the Son, as it was assuredly wrought on account of the love of God for mankind. It is also called a sending, and a giving, and a condescension, and it always comes forth temporally and to certain persons and for certain causes, that it might sanctify, and teach, and bring to remembrance, and reprove the disobedient. So then, this is one movement and progression of the Spirit.

But there is also a pre-eternal and supernatural procession and movement and progression of the Spirit, which is causeless and in everything separate and transcendently beyond both good pleasure and love for man, since it is from the Father, not according to will<sup>123</sup> but only according to nature. Therefore, we are obligated to examine: here, too, [as before,] in this inexpressible and incomprehensible movement, does the Spirit, coming forth from the Father, have the one “in whom He rests”, according to the Scriptures, in a God-befitting manner? So, when we enquire, we find that the Father of the only-begotten God was well pleased to teach and reveal this first to John, the Forerunner and Baptist of the Lord, who says, “And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Spirit.”<sup>124</sup> And so “John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.”<sup>125</sup>

But, if someone should say that this is not a sufficient proof for the discovery of what is sought, thinking that these things were said and accomplished by the Father because of the incarnation of the Lord, let him hear the divine Damascene when he writes in the eighth chapter of his dogmatics, “We believe also in one Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son,”<sup>126</sup> and, in the passage concerning the divine place, “the Holy Spirit is God, an enhypostatic<sup>127</sup> power capable of sanctifying, who proceeds from the Father without distance and rests in the Son.”<sup>128</sup> Wherefore also Christ, a genuine Son born from God, both is and

is described as the treasurer of the divine Spirit, which is also what the divine Cyril had shown in his Treasuries, saying, “We must absolutely say the Holy Spirit is of the divine nature, of which He also is the firstfruits, according to the Apostle. But, if this is so, He is not a creature. Instead, He is God, as being from God and in God”.<sup>129</sup> And again, “so the Spirit is God, who exists naturally and possesses all His activity in the Son from the Father”.<sup>130</sup> But also the divine Gregory the Dialogist, in his final treatise, says that “the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and abides in the Son”.<sup>131</sup> For, according to Dionysius, the great revealer of God, “in this way, having been deified, we would find ourselves revering a fountain of life, beholding it flowing into itself and standing over itself.”<sup>132</sup>

And so, as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son according to that aforementioned pre-eternal and incomprehensible procession and progression, how could He possess this progression from the Son on whom He rests? Therefore, if it is theologized that He proceeds from the Son, again, this definitely does not refer to that progression but to another one, which is the manifestation unto us and the transmission to those who are worthy. For, Christ is, according to Gregory the Theologian, the Treasurer of the Spirit, as being both God and Son of God. The Treasurer, however, absolutely does not emanate from Himself what is being given, although God from God naturally has in Himself the Holy Spirit, which also naturally proceeds from Him to the worthy but does not possess existence from Him. Therefore, the Lord Himself says the same: “When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father,”<sup>133</sup> as proceeding from the Father and resting in Him and being in this way sent to those of His household.

But if the Spirit is sent by the Son as having his existence from the Son as through the Son, then He, too, has the Son as His origin and is one of the things that have come into being.<sup>134</sup> Let the voice of the Theologian, once again, testify to this. For, he says, “Let this be observed as my word: There is one God, with both the Son and the Spirit referring back to one cause, and also with respect to the divinity’s one and identical movement and will and the identity of the essence. But, there are three hypostases, with no

coalescence or division or confusion being conceived, with the Father conceptualized and spoken of as unoriginate and origin (as an origin, since He is a cause and a source and everlasting light), while the Son is not unoriginate at all, but is the origin of all things”.<sup>135</sup> So, if the Son were also the origin of the Spirit, the Spirit would be one of all things, according to you; since of these things the Son is also an origin.

So, let me once again repeat the phrase of the Theologian: “Demonstrate that the Spirit came into being and then attribute it to the Son”,<sup>136</sup> that is, that through Him or also from Him He [the Holy Spirit] has acquired existence. This is especially so, since, to those who were claiming that, although the Spirit was from God, yet He was not from Him literally or in an exceptional way (such that the source-from-which might be thought to be consubstantial, insofar as it has been written that all things are also from God), to these the divine Cyril says, “The source-from-which abides in the Holy Spirit literally, because what did not exist came toward existence from God the Father but through the Son.”<sup>137</sup> Demonstrate then, to repeat the Theologian’s words, prove that the divine Spirit is from things which are non-existent [ex nihilo], and then grant Him a hypostasis that is also from the Son, that is to say, from both.

Therefore, if the Spirit exists from both, He cannot but be one of all things, or, what seems perhaps more moderate, the one cannot but have both as causes and each as an origin. For as with all creation that came forth from both, each is the origin of all, so also, according to those who think like the Latins, when the Spirit proceeds from both, each will be an origin of the Spirit, and on this basis there will be two origins of the one divinity.

For if the Son contributes something in this case, too, just as in that case also He doubtlessly co-creates, He, too, is admittedly a cause of the Spirit. If, however, He does not contribute anything, He has been assumed in vain, and so as with a geometric proof the Latin theologians are genuinely proven vain; for they cannot say that “just as with created things, although each divine person exists as an origin, nonetheless the origin is one, so here, too, it is one, even if it is spoken of as from both.” Of course [this cannot stand, since] just as we have said, in the former case, the creative power is actually natural, not hypostatic, and because of this the creative power is one and in both. In the latter case, however, the generative capacity is not in both.

For, a little earlier up we heard from Gregory, the namesake of theology, who said that the Father is a source and an origin of “everlasting light, while the Son is not unoriginate at all, but is the origin of all things”. Wherefore the great Dionysius the Areopagite said, “The Father alone is source of the super-essential Godhead”, and again, “The Father is originating Godhead, while the Son and the Spirit are (so to speak) divine off-shoots and, as it were, blossoms and super-essential shinings of the divinity-generating divinity”; and again, “The differentiated names are the super-essential names and connotations of ‘Father,’ ‘Son,’ and ‘Spirit.’ In these cases the titles cannot be interchanged, nor are they held in common.”<sup>138</sup> Likewise, in his third chapter on Mystical Theology, he says, “from the immaterial and indivisible Good the interior rays if Its goodness have their being, remaining immovably in that state of rest which within their origin and within themselves and each other is co-eternal with the act by which they spring from It,”<sup>139</sup> and again, “The attributes of the super-essential divine generation are not interchangeable.”<sup>140</sup>

### 31

Accordingly, if you were to say that the Son is generator, then the Father would never be generator.<sup>141</sup> For [otherwise] the Father would communicate with the Son with respect to the generation of divinity—but this has been forbidden. Conversely, in the event that you are affirming the Father to be generator, then (as is the case) the Son would not be generator, and therefore the Spirit is not from Him, since of course the only begetter and generator is the only generator of divinity. For, it is in those respects that He is generator of divinity. On this point, Basil the Great also forbids this very same communion and says, writing to his own brother, “While the Holy Spirit is attached to the Son, with whom He is understood together inseparably, yet He has existence dependent on the cause of the Father, from whom He also proceeds, having this as a sign that distinguishes His own hypostatic property, namely to be known after the Son and together with Him and to have His subsistence from the Father. Yet while the Son makes known the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, through Himself and with Himself, being the only one that shone forth as only-begotten from



the unbegotten Light, He has no communion with the Father or the Holy Spirit regarding the individual characteristics.”<sup>142</sup>

Do you see how the Holy Spirit relates both to the Father and to the Son, and what, in particular, are the identifying characteristics of the Son and of the Spirit? Accordingly, he says that the only-begotten Son makes known to us and manifests the Holy Spirit through Himself and with Himself, but He does not also cause procession, lest He have communion in what individuates the Father; since he says that the Holy Spirit “has existence dependent on the cause of the Father,” which is a characteristic of the Father alone. “For, all things whatsoever that the Father has are the Son’s, except the cause,” says the Theologian.<sup>143</sup> So, who of the inspired theologians of any age was heard to have granted the properties of each of the three persons of the one divinity to the two of them, except a theologian that did not guard them unconfused? As for the causing of procession being the property of the Father, that is obvious. For, he says, the Spirit depends upon Him as His cause, from whom He also proceeds, from whom He also has His subsistence—although He is made known after the Son and together with Him.

## 32

Now, since the things which are common regarding the most high and worshipful Trinity exist equally in those in whom they are common, and seeing that being from the Father, according to the Latins, is not an attribute of the Son and of the Holy Spirit equally (for the one has been begotten directly from the Father and from the Father alone, while the other proceeds mediately and not directly, and not from the Father alone, at least as they think)—if, according to them, being from the Father is not an attribute of both equally, then neither is it common to the Son and Spirit. But if this is not common to them, then neither of them is from the Father at all. For, when either one of the two exists from the Father, the other one is expelled and does not share; and both are expelled through each other. In this way, you who think like the Latins will not avoid any of the logical absurdities, just as neither can they escape who say that the Son is from the Spirit. But with whichever arguments you attempt to escape, these very same

arguments will they use, and they will prove to you by their own example that there is no escape from the stream of absurd conclusions.

For if you will say that, when the Spirit is numbered in order, He is named after the Son (which appears to you to be the safest argument but which is no less perilous than the others, at least as I myself would say), these [who say that the Son is from the Spirit] will also show to you that the Son is sometimes spoken of after the Spirit, that is, when the Holy Spirit is numbered prior. But we, along with the truth, will counter both by saying, “O such people! The actual realities do not lie in the order of their names”.

For if this were so, according to this same argument, since the co-numbering and fore-numbering alternate in the divine Scripture, what would prevent the same things from begetting and causing procession on one occasion, but on another occasion from being begotten and from proceeding? For we do not call the Father an initial or a first cause regarding the Spirit while calling the Son a second cause, as you do; these names are applied to the Father on account of the creative cause.<sup>144</sup> And having been called by this name from that [context of creation], He is sometimes so called by the theologians when they are speaking of uncreated things as well, just as He is called Father on account of the Son. There are times, however, when we also name Him thus while making treatises about things below. For we do not revere the Father as a first God, the Son as a second one, and the Holy Spirit as a third, so as to always name the second after the first and after Him the third, [thus] bringing under order by necessity what transcends order and all other things as well.

### 33

For John, golden in tongue, while explaining what was said by Abraham to his own domestic servant, “Put thy hand under my thigh”,<sup>145</sup> advancing in the course of his homily, says, “Let the Holy Spirit be proclaimed, let the Only-Begotten be exalted, let the Father be glorified. Let no one think that the worthiness has been overthrown if we commemorate the Spirit first, then the Son, then the Father, or the Son first, then the Father. For God does not have order, not because He is disorderly but because He transcends order. Neither does God have a form, not because He is formless, but because He is incapable of being represented”.<sup>146</sup>

Therefore, God transcends order and is not subject to order. But even if there is an order for God, because of the tri-hypostatic characteristic of the divinity, it is not known to us on account of it being transcendent to every form of order. For, we certainly know the order used during the exclamation, because we have been taught it by the God-inspired Scripture, from which we are also reverently taught that it alternates. But the order that is attributed to them from the course of [the divine] nature, and especially to the two persons, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, that we do not know at all. Wherefore, the most theological of Gregories says in the second chapter of his Orations of Peace, “We are of this mind and thus do we hold, that the way in which these things exist in respect to relation and order be conceded as known only to the Trinity Itself or to those purified ones to whom the Trinity will reveal it, either now or afterward”.<sup>147</sup>

“But,” they say, “Basil the Great, as one that had been purified by revelation, said in his chapters Against Eunomius that he did learn this. Gregory the Theologian, too, makes allowance for this to be known to those purified ones to whom the Trinity might reveal it”. But if this is so, when Eunomius said that he learned from the saints that the Holy Spirit is third in order and in dignity, why was the divine Basil on the contrary quietly displeased at him and bore it very grievously and said, “He said he learned it ‘from the saints,’ but who the saints are or in which of their particular treatises they have laid down this teaching he cannot say”.<sup>148</sup> It is clear that there are no saints who said this.

Then, seeing that, on the basis that [according to Eunomius] the Holy Spirit was third in order and in dignity, Eunomius concluded that He was also third in nature (although this does not follow from that), the great one conceded and, having accepted it hypothetically, he said, “Even if perhaps the pious tradition hands down that the Holy Spirit is third in order and in dignity (let us even completely concede the point), yet this does not necessitate that He is also third in nature”.<sup>149</sup> So he presented this saying argumentatively, accepting this as though hypothetically but not dogmatizing it himself.

But what he says in the first of the letters Against Eunomius, that “there is a form of order, not according to our positioning, but from the course of nature existing in them”,<sup>150</sup> this he says discoursing not on the Son and the Spirit, but on the Father and the Son, in whom it is known and confessed by

all that the Son is caused while the Father is the cause and is thus necessarily conceptualized before the caused, although not temporally, as he himself says there. Therefore, he asserts without any apprehension or doubt that the Father has indeed been ranked before the Son, while the Son is placed second from the Father. He writes, “While we say that the Father is categorized before the Son with respect to the relationship of the causes with those caused from them, we do not say this with respect to the difference of nature or to a temporally based superiority”.<sup>151</sup> And again, in his third letter he says, “He is second in order from the Father (since He is from Him) and second in dignity, but He is not second in nature.”<sup>152</sup>

So, he confessedly knows that the Son is from the Father, but not also that the Spirit is from the Son. For, if [Saint Basil] held [that the Spirit is from the Son], then there would be no argument at all, nor would he forbid the Holy Spirit from being third in order from the Father, nor would he have been greatly displeased with Eunomius when the latter said this. Furthermore, since it was with much uncertainty and hypothetically that he accepted that the Spirit is second from the Son (not as if he himself was thinking this way), so he shows that neither does he himself know the manner in which the Son and the Spirit have relationship and order between themselves.

As for the admitted order in God—namely, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are simultaneously from eternity, being in each other, possessing each other, and pervading through each other unconfused and unmixed; that each of them constitutes a form both of order and of relationship; that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father at the same time, although not identically so; that the equally honorable are from the equally honorable; that, since causing procession is the idiom of the paternal hypostasis, it cannot be the Son’s; that one who says that the Son also can cause procession creates a confusion of the divine hypostases, irreverently disregarding the admitted order in God—we too acknowledge this admitted order in God. Gregory, too, the namesake of theology, says, “The properties must remain in the Father and the Son, lest there be confusion with respect to the divinity that leads the others also into order.”<sup>153</sup> Thus, we too acknowledge, on one hand, this admitted order in God; on the other hand, neither do we nor do the teachers and defenders of the Church acknowledge

the order that places the Holy Spirit as second from the Son and third from the Father.

Now the Latins—O the simultaneous senselessness and madness!—they actually despise the reverend and confessed order in God. And those things which Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian confess to be beyond their own knowledge, as being ineffable and transcending us, these things the Latins boast that they understand. Yet they innovate regarding the inexpressible and incomprehensible procession of the Holy Spirit, or, to speak more bluntly, they blaspheme, when they say that the procession is both indirect and direct, both proximate and far, by which they risk degrading the Holy Spirit into a creature. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not by necessity nor is He always placed after the Son by the divinely inspired Scripture.

For, this happens to the Latins, who say that the one is from the two, from a first and a second cause, and who do not embrace the God-inspired Scripture in everything, but with their own authority they add and subtract what they wish. But this does not happen to us at all, who with a reverential mindset revere the two as being from one and refer the two to the one.

### 34

But let us even give you opportunity to speak, or rather let us deem you worthy to teach: for what reason is it that for the most part we hymn the Son after the Father and the Spirit after the Son, and in this order it has been handed down in tradition for us to be initiated? The God and Father, the origin of all things, is Father of the Only-Begotten Son, who is straightway understood together with the Father even before He is mentioned. How then could we abandon Him who is understood as near as possible to the Father even before He is named and position the Spirit directly after the Father? Because of this, the Spirit is mentioned after the Son of the Father, because we are not able to pronounce both of them at the same time with our tongue, just as they came forth from the Father. If we position the Spirit joined to the Father before the Son, the Spirit would seem to be a Son, since the name “Father” straightway conveys to our reasoning the Son. Advancing once more and having placed the Son directly after the Spirit, we would be making the Spirit to be considered a Father. For the Son is the

Son of a Father and He brings the Father to mind, especially the one mentioned before Him. So, when the Son is placed directly with the Father, He preserves His own only-begottenness without hindering the Spirit from being from the Father by procession. This is also what Gregory of the Nyssans says, whose height of thought the Latin-minded could not comprehend. So, they think that the Spirit is far from the Father—O the irreverence!—yet proximate to the Son. But the fact that the Father and the Son bring each other to mind, being in this respect proximate to one another, is not a reason why [one should think that] the Spirit is far from the Father and not directly next to Him. But these matters are for later.

But now, so as to give you understanding by all means, let us propose a second cause, which also came to be on account of the preceding one. At the first, our race came to know the Father as God and God as a Father. His divinity had been manifested and believed indistinctly, as was, of course, to our profit. For if, being equally a Father and an Originator, He was instead preached not as Father but as Originator or as one causing procession, how could we have received it, since at that point, on account of still being childlike, we were not able to contain the knowledge of the innate richness of the divinity? The name “Father”, however, is closer to us, and we share it, as it were, with those hypostases that are from Him and are consubstantial with Him though magisterial for us. While they possess it by nature and transcendentally in comparison to us, yet He has deemed us worthy to call Him by this name on account of His love for mankind; and so the Jews also were saying, “We have God as Father.”<sup>154</sup> Therefore, He very wisely beguiled our understanding, or better, by being proclaimed as Father, He indicated and introduced the divinity of the Only-Begotten so that He may draw us away from bondage to the wicked one and away from false belief and false worship, drawing us to His own dominion, to the knowledge of God. After Him, the Son has been manifested to the world: He was seen bodily and conversed with us.<sup>155</sup> Together with Himself, He was also indirectly indicating the Spirit, assuring everywhere in His words and deeds that the Spirit is joined by nature and equally honorable with Himself and the Father. After the Son the Holy Spirit sojourned in the world, being sent, on the one hand, from the Son, not as instead of God or instead of Christ, and was being sent not simply or unconditionally, but temporally and to certain people and for a cause. On the other hand, He



proceeds from the Father not for any cause at all, nor temporally, nor to certain men, but simply and entirely unconditionally, as the same God, of the same substance, and united to the very same cause and origin as the Son, while coming of Himself as Lord and self-determining.

Finally, the theologians had a third particular reason for pre-senting (for the most part) the connection and perfection and consubstantiality of the Spirit's divinity with the Father as being after the Son and from the things of the Son. Namely, after the mania of the many against the Son was quenched and transformed, as His con-naturality and equality of honor to the Father had been proven and plainly declared and most firmly established in many ways, then the war against the Divine Spirit was rekindled more openly. That is why the whole argument for the theologians is not about the mode of existence but about the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Son, although the Latins do violence to the words, dragging the theologians' intellect down to their own poorly connected train of thought.

### 35

Nevertheless, since the one God in three hypostases has been expressed to us thus, thus He is also glorified. And in this way, since there is one image and form of the only formless, worshipful Trinity—"For the Trinity, on the one hand, is joined without interval and, on the other hand, is eternally together and shines forth one and the same image," as Athanasius the Great says<sup>156</sup>—since, then, in this way there is one image of the revered Trinity, we call the Son the form and image of the Father while calling the Spirit an image of the Son. For, this is how it pleased Him to make Himself known to us. And we say that the Spirit is in relation to the Son in the way in which the Son is in relation to the Father. For both are similarly related to the Father apart from the mode of existence, as has been demonstrated above in many ways. Now, the Son has become known to us as immediately proximate to the Father, and through Him who is known as proximate the Holy Spirit has been manifested, proclaimed, and sent in His name, just as the Son came earlier in the name of the Father. And we say that the Son has all things which are the Father's apart from the cause, while the Spirit has all things of the Son apart from sonship. For the Son and the Spirit in a

similar way have all that is the Father's, except for the cause, which embraces both of the existential hypostatic differences. Consequently, we sometimes also place the Spirit before the Son, although more rarely, while for the most part we place Him after the Son and after the Father, so that we may bear in mind a continual and ceaseless remembrance of the three greatest works and most providential and God-befitting economies wrought for our sakes, and render the briefest possible thanksgiving for all things.

36

But Eunomius and, after him, those who think like the Latins, have not heard with understanding this thanksgiving of the Fathers to God, nor were they able to understand the *economia* used in the rebuttals toward the heterodox. Therefore, they wrongly deduced from this [thanksgiving] that the Holy Spirit is third from the Father. But neither did they understand this, that if in fact this were true and if by it the natural order of the Son to the Father and of the divine Spirit to the Son were being displayed, then, when the doxological proclamation of the three worshipful persons is alternated in the divine scripture, there would be no instances of the Son being placed after the Spirit, that is, with the Holy Spirit numbered before Him. Likewise, Gregory, great in theology, says that "These same ones are both numbered before and numbered after in the Scripture due to the natural equality of honor",<sup>157</sup> and in the presence of the bishops from Egypt he also exhorts us to theologize in this way saying, "Theologize together with Paul, who was taken up into the third heaven and would sometimes count together the three hypostases and do this in alternation, without holding the orders strictly, numbering the same one as first, middle, and last."<sup>158</sup>

But neither is the phrase "through whom" assigned only to the Son by the Holy Scripture. For, the divine Cyril in his *Treasures* says, "The Spirit is of Christ, because God the Word is indwelling in us through the Spirit".<sup>159</sup> Therefore, having taken no account of these things, both Eunomius and the race of the Latins dogmatized that the Holy Spirit is third in order and dignity, not in the order [pronounced] during the confession, but in the natural order, which is wrong. From there Eunomius, at any rate, certainly dogmatized in addition that He is third from the Father in nature as

well, as differing from both according to His nature, while the Latins construct their argument that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son.

37

But we, along with the sacred Fathers, for the most part position the Spirit after the Son and the Son after the Father, so that we may always render the briefest possible doxology and thanksgiving and remembrance for the three greatest works and most providential economies wrought on our behalf as befits God. We do not do so because they are second or third in honor or in worth (for there is equality of honor), nor do we thus make the dyad an origin of the one, nor are we referring the one back to a dyad. But for us there is one God, with the Son and the Spirit referring back to one cause, from which cause alone each of them has existence; and also because there is one origin, namely, the Father, as also Gregory the Wonderworker says, and it is therefore in this respect that there is one God; and also because there is one nature in the three; for, by themselves [the terms] “the two” and “the three” and the “from Him” and the “referring back to Him” do not divide the nature but are divided in connection with it, and so, of course, neither do they strictly derive from the nature, although they cannot be apart from it, nor do they refer to it, although they cannot be without it. For, how would it be possible for the one both to beget and to emanate His own self and to refer back to Himself? So, the one is not an origin and that which are from it, nor is it a cause and itself its own caused. Accordingly, since all of these references, in their chief sense, correspond to that in which they are also divided, and that is the three hypostases or three persons of the Divinity one in nature, therefore, whenever the Latins say that the one is from both, they are speaking of the persons, since it is with reference to this that they are called ‘both’; for the one would never be called “both”.<sup>160</sup>

Therefore, since they say “the one is from the two” in the same sense in which the origin and the cause are understood and spoken of, they mean that the one is from two origins and thus they introduce two origins and two causes and polytheism. For, there is one God not only because there is one nature, but also because those that are from Him have one person as [their point of] reference, and because those from the origin refer back to one cause and one origin, not only both of the two, but also each one of them

separately. And therefore one is the origin of divinity and there is one God even with respect to this reference, because each refers back to one directly. For, if the Spirit was not directly from the Father, this mediation would necessarily create two causes for the Spirit, both a middle and an end, and with such a reference it would be impossible for the three to be one God. Or rather, what is from the Father through a mediating divinity cannot be God at all: the Father came by a mediating divinity only in the case of created things, according to the theologians.

38

For He did not create these things as Father but as God. Now the Son is one God with the Father. Therefore, created things are from the Father through the Son as from one God, and the origin of created things is one, that is, God. God begets and causes procession as Father of the lights coeternal with Him. If, therefore, the Holy Spirit is from the Father through the Son as from one [as the Latins say], He will not be as from one God, from the Father and the Son, but as from one Father, namely, the Father and the Son. And what could be more absurd than this confusion? And so, fleeing this the Latins say, “as from one God,” which is totally impossible, as has become apparent, especially seeing that the Spirit is also one God, with the Father and the Son.

Consequently, forasmuch as the Father is entirely and in every respect one, then, the Son and the Spirit, not only both but also each one separately, have only one origin and cause, the Father. And this is how there is one origin of the divinity, even if the Latin-minded, when challenged with “How do you say that there are two origins of the divinity?”, think they are defending themselves by claiming that they believe the origin of both the Son and the Spirit to be one. For they insist on this, wishing to deceive us, as we said before at the outset. But this is precisely the accusation which we lay against them: how exactly do they on the one hand affirm that the origin of the Son and the Spirit is one, but on the other hand say that there are two origins for the one Spirit? When, however, they are asked about the one, they sophistically make a response about the two, fooling their own selves rather than the inquirers.

So then, Father and origin and cause are altogether and entirely one with respect to God. For He has never been called an originator by any of the Apostles or Evangelists; instead of this, the name of Father was enough for them. And when I speak of origin, I refer not to the [temporal] beginning, nor to the creative origin, nor to what is a name of the dominion.<sup>161</sup>

And consequently, the God and Father, insofar as He is a Father, is an origin and a cause; insofar as He is an origin, He is the Father of Lights, meaning, of the Son and the Spirit, and insofar as He is a cause, He is a cause and an origin and a Father. So, if the Son is a cause of the Spirit, as cause He will necessarily also be both a father and an origin. For as with man, since [only] man has the capacity of understanding, he that has the capacity of understanding cannot but be a man, so it is also with God. Since the Father, inasmuch as He is a Father, is an origin and cause, he that is a cause cannot but be also an origin and a Father. And so, Gregory the Theologian writes, “In this way is the Son, properly speaking, a Son, because He is not also a Father”.<sup>162</sup>

Do you see that the monarchy has been clearly disregarded, as also the hypostatic singularity of the Father, by those who say that the Spirit is also from the Son and who do not lead each of the persons up to one and only fount, the fount of divinity? For, all men are also one nature, but they are not all one man. Even though we could be led through each other, or rather through those before us, up to the one forefather, yet in the immediate [past] the causes are many, and we are not from one; therefore we are not one. So you who think like the Latins, are you not clearly innovating?

Unless prior to you our gospel was deficient, which was “preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world”;<sup>163</sup> unless likewise deficient was “the grace of God that bringeth salvation”<sup>164</sup> and the knowledge of God that comes by it, which has been revealed to all and has taught all; unless the

“faith is made void”;<sup>165</sup> unless the [articles] of the confession are corrupted, for which “the cloud of witnesses surrounding us”<sup>166</sup> struggled and ascetically strove, as also did the replete registry of the sanctified, the God-taught brotherhood of teachers, all who bore witness to the truth in deed and in word and in their own sufferings, for the sake of which they stood steadfast doing well even unto death, and not for the sake of truth alone or for themselves but also for our own strengthening—unless all these things and the faith of those called after Christ are deficient, truly you are vainly inventing additions and you innovate against your own soul.

For had they actually known that the Spirit is also from the Son, why did they not boldly continue to preach it and confirm it through the many sacred councils which many times occurred? But it was not known to them, was it? Then neither was it true. For He that was known among us for our sake, He made known all things to them. The Spirit also taught them all things, according to the promise,<sup>167</sup> and it was for this reason that He taught them, that they might teach us as they had been taught, as was also mentioned above.<sup>168</sup> For if you dare to say this, that the theologians before us did not know the truth, we shall dismiss this too as nothing less than blasphemy.

For who are you that dare mutter this? What sort of council [testifies to your claims], equal in number [with previous councils], or better, how many are there and where, to which the Spirit has borne witness, who has attested together with those saints, both when they were alive and when they had gone out from among men, and who always attests, and will attest, by wonders that are wrought, and will be wrought, upon their tombs? Yet the Latin says, “I also have many of the Fathers who attest to my addition.” What, then? Were these same fathers delivering one thing to the Church when they convened publicly and dogmatizing something different by themselves? Absolutely not. Rather, either you yourself are falsifying them or you are misled by fallacious reasoning and so misunderstand them, not interpreting with the Spirit things that have been said through the Spirit.

Nevertheless, even if we were to assume this (which is not possible), must not the things that have been handed down publicly be accepted rather than



what has been spoken by each privately? For, because those writings belong to all, they cannot be attacked by the malicious workers and by the efforts of deceitful people to recoin the Word of truth, since they are known to all, both the educated<sup>169</sup> and to the private laymen, and are ever borne in their speech. But writings not so familiar are suspicious, and especially as they are produced by the Latins, who through their addition have plotted even against the conspicuous Symbol of Faith. For having invented and audaciously ventured an addition into a text that is in the mouths of all true Christians and which is proclaimed many times every day, what else would they not have done in the texts unknown to the masses? Therefore, writings which are not common nor familiar are held in suspicion, for fear lest an evil man have sown tares among them. These very writings, if in fact they agree with the common confession, must be received, but if they do not, they cannot be received.

In a second discourse, however, we shall look at what things appear to corroborate your innovation and, God willing, refute them; not refuting them—banish the thought!—but refuting you who take wrongly the things that have been spoken well and who do not reconcile, as much as possible, the unclear statements with the clear ones and what has been said in secret with what has been said with bold certitude.

But now, let us summarize the present treatise, and then let us thus add what is left.

1.) Therefore, at the first, it was proven that their excuse for the addition is entirely vain.

2.) Then, it has been shown that the “only” is implied whenever it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, since, when we hear in the same Symbol that the Son has been begotten from the Father, we accept without any argument that the “only” is implied.

3.) To this we add in order that, even if it were possible to say without censure that the Spirit is from the Son, it still should not have been added to the Symbol by the Latins, since, even if in the future it should be shown to be good, it should not be added; furthermore, because nothing that was shown to be pious was added by our forebears, although they had all gathered, even the superiors of Old Rome themselves, and examined the matter at hand together.

4.) Hence, it was demonstrated that it is just, first, to demand from them to remove this addition and not to reject those who concluded their life with a blessed end (testified by God) in deference to the prominent position of the present Pope; and then to discuss with them whether this should be tolerated.

5.) After this, we say to those listeners that are receptive of the arguments: when hearing that both are from the Father, we must understand “only from” as implied, even if it is not expressed in the text.

6.) But also when we say that the Spirit is from the Father by way of procession, we attribute causing procession to the paternal hypostasis. For the essence is in every way and entirely one for the three. It is not, then, possible for the Son to have that which is of the paternal hypostasis. Therefore, the Spirit is not also from the Son.

7.) After this, it was proven that the Latin-minded are no longer able to maintain that the two persons of the divinity are from one, since they place the cause in two persons, and differently at that. But neither are they able to say that God is one, on account of such a reference back to the one. For neither is a grandfather, a father, and a son one man, according to the wise primate of Nyssa, forasmuch as the cause refers to two persons. Besides this we proved that, just as two are the caused, [so the causes will also be two, according to them,] inasmuch as they themselves say that what is caused is in two persons.

8.) Furthermore, according to the divinely wise theologians, as the Son is from the Father, so also is the Spirit, except for being by begetting or procession. Thus, if the Son is directly and not also from the Spirit but from the Father alone, the Spirit will also be directly from the Father and not also from the Son.

9.) We have also demonstrated that, since the Spirit is called the mind of Christ, just as is the case with the individual intellect of each one of us, according to energy the Holy Spirit is His and from Him, while according to hypostasis He is His naturally, yet not from Him but only from the Father.

10.) Moreover, it has been shown that the Spirit has existence only from the Father by the fact that He is from the Father not by grace but by nature;

11.) And from the fact that each of them possesses all things of the Father, apart from unbegottenness, begottenness, and procession, according to the theologians.

12.) Hence it was shown plainly that the Latins added to the Symbol of Faith on the basis of their reasoning, while we did not add to the reverential reasoning of the divine Symbol on the basis of external argumentation.

13.) We accused the Latins of dogmatizing things from which flows [the idea of] two origins of the one Holy Spirit. They, however, said that there is nothing to prevent these from being one, forasmuch as the one [the Son] is from the other [the Father]. They have been proven to be blaspheming in this regard, as well.

14.) Afterward, resuming our discussion concerning the origin, we have shown that there cannot in any way exist two origins of the Holy Spirit.

15.) Based on the fact that what things are common to the Father and to the Son are also testified to be common to the Spirit, we presented that to cause procession is not also the Son's; for if this were so, it would also be the Spirit's. Herein, we censured them for rendering the hypostatic properties of no difference from the natural properties. But if this be so, then they are also making even the divine nature of no difference from the worshipful hypostases.

16.) From the fact that it is irreverent to say that creation, which acquired being creatively through the Son, is not from the Son, but rather to attribute the creative property to the Father alone, we necessarily concluded that it follows that, if the Spirit had existence also from the Son by means of procession, it would have been impious to say that the Spirit is not from the Son and that the processional property is only the Father's. Since, however, those who say these things thus are not only pious but also God-bearers, then impious are those who say that the Spirit is also from the Son.

17.) Also we showed that, if the Spirit were through the Son, then, both together and separately, each would be called Father and Originator, as in creation each of them is called Creator and Father.

18.) From it being theologized that the Son has all things of the Father except the cause (which would not be the cause of created things and so it would be the cause of the Son and Spirit), we have demonstrated again that the Spirit does not proceed also from the Son.

19.) We also presented witnesses who forbid the Latin addition.

20.) We have shown, again, that the Spirit does not have being from the Son on the basis that the Son also does not have existence from the Spirit.

21.) Then, from the names of the Son that have been enumerated and inspected by the saints, we presented that the Holy Spirit is not also from the Son.

22.) Again, from the fact that the property of the divine Spirit is not simply to proceed, but to proceed from the Father, we presented that the theologians witness that the Holy Spirit is only from the Father;

23.) And from the fact that the Father is the union of the Son and the Spirit; for the medial position of each of the others is found in the names;

24.) And from the fact that the Spirit is said to be not from the origin but with the origin, when the Son is theologized as being the origin;

25.) And that he sins who says that the Spirit has existence through the Son and interprets “through” as meaning “from”. For, the Spirit is said to be through Him and not from Him, since He accompanies the Word; but the Spirit proceeds together with Him, who was begotten from the Father.

26.) Again, from the fact that each of the three persons is theologized as a middle point of the other two hypostatically.

27.) And that they are related to one other as each is related to Himself.

28.) And by the Spirit being called second from the Father, just as the Son, it has been shown that each exists directly from the Father, since theological middleness is not likened to three points lying in a row but to the three points of the corners of a triangle.

29.) After this, when it was clearly shown that the procession of the Spirit is twofold, it was also shown that each of the processions has a corresponding resting point. This shows again that the Holy Spirit does not have being also from the Son.

30.) Again, by saying that the Son also is an origin of the divine Spirit, the Latin-minded have been plainly shown to place the divine Spirit in the same rank as creatures.

31.) Again, from the fact that the Father and the Son cannot share in the generation of divinity, it is presented that the Holy Spirit does not have being from the Son.

32.) In addition to this, from the fact that the things which are common for the Most High Trinity likewise belong to each of the divine hypostases, it was shown that the Latin-minded say that neither the Son nor the Spirit is from the Father and that God does not have hypostatic differences.

33.) Next, after we had made an argument concerning the order in God, we have demonstrated that it is not known to the saints how the Son and the Holy Spirit have order and relationship in relation to each other. We further presented that the great theologians agree in this, Basil and Gregory and John the golden theologian. Besides this, we also presented and further clarified the pious and traditionally confessed order of God. And in this, the Latin-minded have been refuted, shown to be ignorant of this pious order, boasting that they exactly know those things which the theologians admit they do not know as they transcend us, and thus they innovate and blaspheme regarding the procession of the All-Holy Spirit.

34.) We have put forward an explanation showing in many ways for what reason, for the most part, we hymn the Son after the Father and the Spirit after the Son and why we traditionally hand this down to those that are being initiated.

35.) And that the theologians who followed the initiating word well say that, inasmuch as all things are perceived as common in the three, the Spirit is related toward the Son as the Son is related toward the Father.

36.) And we showed that Eunomius first, and later the Latin-minded, not having listened wisely to this, dogmatized the Holy Spirit as third from the Father. It was on this basis that Eunomius dogmatized that He is third also by nature, while the Latins dogmatized that He has existence also from the Son.

37.) We further show that the Son and the Spirit refer directly to the Father not only together but also each of them separately; and that, unless this is so, God will not be one.

38.) Furthermore, from the fact that God the Father creates as God, not as Father, while he begets and causes procession as Father, we show that, if according to the Latins the Spirit is from the Father and from the Son as from one, it will not be as from one God but as from one Father, from the Father and the Son.<sup>170</sup> And so the Latin mindset is absolutely checked, as it impiously states that the Spirit is existentially both from the two of them and as from one God, the two of them.

39.) Further, we speak concerning the origin, and that those minded like the Latins answer like sophists to those enquiring whether they hold that there are two origins of the divinity of the Spirit.

40.) Thenceforth, once again, given that the Father is theologized as Father of the Lights according to the Apostle,<sup>171</sup> it has been demonstrated that the Latin-minded [stance] implies that the Son is a Father and they are clearly despising the monarchy and the hypostatic singleness of the Father.

41.) We show that even from ancient times our dogma is venerable, and, since it lacked nothing, there is no need for an addition at all.

42.) Then, we also said this, that what has publicly been spoken by the Fathers must be affectionately embraced, rather than those things said privately by certain of them, and that the unfamiliar texts are suspect, especially when they are produced by the Latins, who interfere even with texts in plain sight. We have promised, with God's help, in a second treatise to prove that what appears to be discordant is actually harmonious.

And so, these points have been thoroughly and logically demonstrated above in the treatise, and also that we and our confession are safe in every way and it is our crown of boasting and a hope which cannot be put to shame. For if this were not so and we are deficient with respect to this confession, then the men of old would have been much more deficient, who were initiated from above and who, being moved by God, initiated our race: the apostles, the prophets, the many and numerous revered councils of the Fathers. But if they knew differently (as the race of the Latins is now contending), and since they have not clearly revealed this to us, even though the Lord said to them, "That which you heard in the darkness, proclaim it in the light,"<sup>172</sup> how would they not be liable? But herein God vindicated them through the greatest works.

For they were not thinking like the Latins—far from it—as this has already been shown. On the contrary, they have both known and delivered to us that there is one, and only one, source of divinity, one unbegotten Father, one Son, who comes forth from Him by being begotten, one co-eternal Holy Spirit, Himself also proceeding from the Father before the ages and unto the ages and, furthermore, glorified with the Father and the Son now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen.3:1. *Δεινός* in the sense of clever, as the context elaborates.



2. The parallelism is to the Trinity, the fount of goodness, in contrast. The Trinity has a single head, the Father.
3. Gen. 3:15. Cf. Rom. 16:20.
4. Cf. Ps. 72:8.
5. Arianism: A heresy named for its notorious proponent, Arius (250-336), who asserted that Christ was not equal to the Father in divinity. Arius's confrontation with Saints Alexander and Athanasius led to the calling of the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 AD, where he was condemned and the original Nicene Creed was proclaimed. Christ was proclaimed consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father, which remains the foundation of Orthodox Christology.
6. Eunomianism: A subsequent and more extreme form of Arianism. Aëtius, its founder, was influenced by Arius in Alexandria and Antioch. Influential from the middle of the fourth century until 380 AD, Aëtius applied Aristotelian syllogisms to defend his doctrines, and claimed Christ was *anomoios*, *unlike* the Father, in order to contradict the orthodox definition of *homoousios*. Eunomius carried on his teachings through dialectic and a strict doctrine of divine simplicity that proclaimed man's ability to comprehend the divine essence. "God knows no more of His own substance than we do."
7. Macedonianism (also known as Pneumatomachianism): Named for its founder, Macedonius, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, whom he claimed to be a creation of the Son, and a servant of the Father and the Son. They also held to a semi-Arian belief of Christ being of "similar substance" (*homoiousios*) but not of the "same essence" (*homoousios*) of that of God the Father. It was condemned by the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381.
8. The familiar biblical metaphor is that the church was a fruitful plant and that the evil one sought to ravage ("λυμῆνασθαι") the vineyard of the Lord. This word is used here, and again in the second treatise. The evil one did lay waste to the Latin church. So Saint Gregory is comparing the two churches: the Latin has been ravaged in Treatise 2, here the Church of God survived. Cf. Is. 5:1-2: "Now will I sing to my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My well beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: <sup>2</sup> And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes." The next verse is an amplification of the thought, with the causal particle, explaining how it was not laid waste. "For, his fangs also were in turn shattered by those who had been pierced by him, meaning, by those who have truly made Christ their own Head." Cf. Psalm 80:8-11, "<sup>8</sup> Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. <sup>9</sup> Thou preparedst room before it, and

didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land.<sup>10</sup> The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars.<sup>11</sup> She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.”

[9.](#) Cf. the 6<sup>th</sup> priestly prayer of Orthros (“crush under their feet the invisible and warring enemies”) and Rom. 16:20.

[10.](#) Cf. Gen. 3:14.

[11.](#) The Greek word here translated as “looking out”, “ἐπιτηρητής”, comes from the same root as the verb translated as “bruise” in Gen. 3:15: “he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise [τηρήσεις] his heel”.

[12.](#) According to Aristotle, common principles (κοινὰ ἀρχαί) are the foundational laws of logic, including the law of non-contradiction, namely, the laws of identity, non-contradiction, and the excluded middle. Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV (Γ), 1003-6.

[13.](#) Cf. St. Gregory the Theologian, “Nor is the Spirit Son because He is of God, for the Only-begotten is one” (“οὔτε τὸ πνεῦμα υἱὸς ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἷς γὰρ ὁ μονογενής”, Fifth Theological Oration §9; NPNF2 7.320).

[14.](#) This is a paraphrase of the logical law of non-contradiction. Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*: “τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὑπάρχειν τε καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό... αὕτη δὲ πασῶν ἐστὶ βεβαιότατη τῶν ἀρχῶν”: “It is impossible that the same thing belong and not belong to the same thing at the same time and in the same respect...this is the most certain of all principles” (1005b19-20, 22).

[15.](#) *Phronema* is notoriously difficult to convey in English. The mind stops like brakes at truth and is fixed on it. Hence a mindset. Theologically, the Church is said to “have the phronema of Christ”. The Church as the continuation of the Incarnation is indwelt with the same animating and life-giving Spirit, and thus the very way of thinking, or mindset, of Christ, which is preserved among Orthodox Christians. Experiencing the phronema of Christ presupposes two things. First, the hesychastic and mysterial life are the immediate means of connecting to the phronema of the Church. Secondly, it is actualized more deeply by our ascetic participation in the Cross, in other words, by repentance.

[16.](#) Compare his later statement, concerning the Creed: “you are refuted by those who recorded the minutes of all the Holy Councils, and by the very harmony of the four patriarchal thrones...which retain the original exposition unchanged and unaltered.”

[17.](#) Rom. 3:19.

- [18.](#) Or an alternative reading: “what is ambivalent may be made more firmly supported by relating it to the one confession”.
- [19.](#) “Monarchial” literally means “of one arche [ἀρχή]”, which can mean both “rule, reign” and “origin, beginning”.
- [20.](#) Cf. John 15:26, “But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me.”
- [21.](#) Cf. Gal.4:6, “And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, ‘Abba, Father’”.
- [22.](#) Cf. John 14:18-23, “I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you. Yet a little while and the world seeth Me no more, but ye see Me. Because I live, ye shall live also. At that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and you in Me, and I in you. He that hath My commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me; and he that loveth Me shall be loved by My Father, and I will love him and will manifest Myself to him.” Judas (not Iscariot) said unto Him, “Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?” Jesus answered and said unto him, “If a man love Me, he will keep My words; and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him and make Our abode with him.”
- [23.](#) Cf. John 1:18, “No man hath seen God at any time; *the only begotten Son*, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.” “Only” also in the sense, as St. Gregory says elsewhere, from the Father. As the Son is only from the Father, so the Spirit is only from the Father.
- [24.](#) Cf. Gal. 4:19, “My little children, over whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.”
- [25.](#) Cf. Eph. 3:16-19, “that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which surpasseth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.”
- [26.](#) Cf. James 1:17, “Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.”
- [27.](#) Saint Paul teaches that man is body, soul and spirit (1Thes. 5:23). Thus as a microcosm, he possesses sensual knowledge, like the beasts (2 Pet. 2:12), knowledge of himself, of his psyche (cf. 1 Cor. 2:14), and most importantly he possesses a knowledge of God, (John 17:3) which is possessed by beings who are *noeros*, intellectual, capable of spiritual cognition.

- [28.](#) Cf. Rev. 2:24.
- [29.](#) Cf. 2 Cor. 2:11, “lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.”
- [30.](#) Cf. St. Gregory the Theologian, *Theological Oration* 5.
- [31.](#) Cf. John 18:37, “to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.” Also, cf. John 10:27.
- [32.](#) John. 15:26.
- [33.](#) Cf. Acts 7:51.
- [34.](#) Cf. John 16:13.
- [35.](#) James 1:17.
- [36.](#) Cf. Mark 4:10-11, “And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable.<sup>11</sup> And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables.”
- [37.](#) Cf. Prov. 1:6: “To understand a proverb [‘parable’ LXX], and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.”
- [38.](#) Cf. John.16:13, “Howbeit when he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come.”
- [39.](#) Cf. John 15:15, “Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth: but I have called you friends; For all things that I have heard of my father I have made known unto you.”
- [40.](#) Cf. John 18:37-8, “Pilate therefore said unto him, art thou a King then? Jesus answered, thou sayest that I am a King period to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth here with my voice.”
- [41.](#) The role of the Fathers is not to be merely chosen in a representative sense, but they are chosen in the sense of being chosen to be instruments, being spiritually moved, to compose the Definition. Secondly, they are chosen in the sense of being holy. The Fathers, as elect or chosen vessels, were spiritually moved, in a way similar to the description given by St. Peter concerning the biblical authors. “Holy men of God spake as they were moved the Holy Ghost” (2 Pet.1:21). The spiritual dimension is brought out in the Synaxarion of the Sunday of the Holy Fathers, which reads, “Upon the conclusion of the Council, Saint Constantine summoned all of those holy

men: they all came, and after praying for sometime, confirmed that it was the Queen of cities and dedicated it to the Mother of the Word, by order of the Emperor. And thus, each of the Saints returned home.”

[42.](#) Cf. 2 Ti. 2:15.

[43.](#) John 14:28.

[44.](#) The text which supports this is generally held to be Canon 7 of the 4th Ecumenical Council, as follows: “Canon VII. When these things had been read, the holy Council decreed that it is unlawful for any man to bring forward, or to write, or to compose a different (ἐτέραν) Faith as a rival to that established by the holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicæa. But those who shall dare to compose a different faith, or to introduce or offer it to persons desiring to turn to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from Heathenism or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, shall be deposed, if they be bishops or clergymen; bishops from the episcopate and clergymen from the clergy; and if they be laymen, they shall be anathematized. And in like manner, if any, whether bishops, clergymen, or laymen, should be discovered to hold or teach the doctrines contained in the Exposition introduced by the Presbyter Charisius concerning the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten Son of God, or the abominable and profane doctrines of Nestorius, which are subjoined, they shall be subjected to the sentence of this holy and ecumenical Council. So that, if it be a bishop, he shall be removed from his bishopric and degraded; if it be a clergyman, he shall likewise be stricken from the clergy; and if it be a layman, he shall be anathematized, as has been afore said” (Schaff, Phillip, ed. *Seven Ecumenical Councils*. Vol. 14. Peabody, MA: CBD, 2001, 437).

[45.](#) The subject is the love for debate, which is personified. For the sake of the reader, it is changed to “he”, the Latin.

[46.](#) Cf. Ott, 62: “*Since the 9th century*, the Greek Orthodox Church has taught that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone. A Council at Constantinople in the year 879, under the Patriarch Photius, rejected the ‘filioque’ of the Latins as heretical. In contrast to this, the Second General Council of Lyons (1274) declared... (The Holy Ghost eternally proceeds from the Father and Son as from one principle and only one spiration.)”

[47.](#) The Saint characterizes the Symbol of Faith as “a revered tower” (or lit. “a tower of piety”), the godly converse of the tower of Babel (cf. Gen. 11).

[48.](#) Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 2.4: “[Nimrod] said, ‘He would be revenged on God, if He should have a mind to drown the world again: for that he would build a Tower too high for the waters to be able to reach.’”

[49.](#) Cf. Doxastikon of the Vespereal Verses for the feast of Pentecost, “Of old the tongues were confounded because of the audacity in the building of the tower, but now the tongues are made wise because of the glory of Divine knowledge. There God condemned the impious because of their offence, and here Christ hath enlightened the fishermen by the Spirit. At that time confusion of tongues was wrought for punishment, but now the concord of tongues hath been inaugurated for the salvation of our souls.”

[50.](#) Cf. Acts 17:27.

[51.](#) Cf. Isa. 19:22.

[52.](#) Namely, ‘Theotokos.’

[53.](#) I.e. even though the two natures and wills and energies of Christ were many times proclaimed in council, in obedience to the Second Ecumenical Council the Fathers never made any addition to the Symbol of Faith lest they cause unnecessary discord.

[54.](#) 1 Cor. 8:6.

[55.](#) St. Athanasius the Great, *Testimonies from Scripture*, 48 (PG 28:72,49).

[56.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against the Sabellians and Arius et the Anomoeans*, 7 (PG 31:616,39).

[57.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit Oratio 31*, 14.

[58.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 3, 5 (49).

[59.](#) The Greek term is *proedros*, literally president, which, if translated as such, carries modern connotations. St. Gregory was elected bishop of Nyssa in 372, from which he was deposed in 376, but subsequently regained it in 378. Present at the Council of Antioch in April 379, he attempted reconciliation of heretical groups. Notably as a primate, he participated in the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, in 381.

[60.](#) St. Gregory of Nyssa, ‘That When We Speak of Three Persons in the Godhead We Do Not Speak of Three Gods: To the Greeks, From the Common Notions’ (PG 45:180).

[61.](#) John 1:14.

[62.](#) John 8:42.

[63.](#) John 6:46.

[64.](#) St. Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, *Exposition of the Right Faith*, 9.

[65.](#) 1 Cor. 2:12.

[66.](#) See 1 Cor. 2:16.



- [67.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 5 (PG 29:733,13).
- [68.](#) St. Dionysios the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names*, 2,5. The exact text is “Μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ὄντος υἱοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲ πατρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ, φυλαττόντων δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῶν ὕμνων εὐαγῶς ἐκάστη τῶν θεαρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων”: “The Father alone is the source of the super-essential Godhead, and the Father is not a Son, nor is the Son a Father; for the divine persons all preserve, each without alloy, His own particular attributes of praise.”
- [69.](#) St. Athanasios the Great, *On Dionysius* 18 et seq., *Homily I Against the Arians*, 19.
- [70.](#) “The one who is adopted is not ‘only from’ but is from the Father through the Son”: In order to show that the *filioque* relegates the Spirit to a position of adoption, Saint Gregory brings in the theology of adoption. We are sons from the Father through the Son. Our adoption (θέσις) is by grace, not by nature. If the Spirit is from the Father through the Son as the *filioque* teaches, this would make Him to be a creature. Saint Gregory will argue this later.
- [71.](#) 1 Cor. 6:17.
- [72.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Pentecost, Oration 41* (PG 36:441,41).
- [73.](#) Ibid., *On Those Who Came From Egypt, Oration 34* (PG 36:252,4).
- [74.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 1, 8.
- [75.](#) That the Holy Spirit is “only” from the Father. See section 2.
- [76.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Theophany, Oration 38* (PG 36:325,20).
- [77.](#) Job 33:4.
- [78.](#) Ps. 32:8.
- [79.](#) Monarchy (Gr. μοναρχία), from μόνος (alone) and ἀρχή (see footnotes 19 and 83): there is but a single origin in the Trinity.
- [80.](#) Isa. 41:4. This phrase has been translated anew to best capture the meaning most relevant to the present context.
- [81.](#) Ps. 109:3.
- [82.](#) Rev. 3:14.
- [83.](#) In this passage, the words “origin”, “beginning”, and (in its first instance) “dominion” are all rendering the one Greek word “ἀρχή”, which has all of these related but not identical meanings. On the contrary, the word “καταρχή” only has the meaning of a temporal beginning, while the second occurrence of “dominion” translates the word “δεσποτεία”, another narrower synonym of “ἀρχή”.

- [84.](#) Cf. the preamble, where sophistry is a characteristic of the serpent.
- [85.](#) Aquinas, *ibid.*, “Reply to Objection 1. In every action two things are to be considered, the “suppositum” acting, and the power whereby it acts; as, for instance, fire heats through heat. So if we consider in the Father and the Son the power whereby they spirate the Holy Ghost, there is no mean, for this is one and the same power. But if we consider the persons themselves spirating, then, as the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and from the Son, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father immediately, as from Him, and mediately, as from the Son; and thus He is said to proceed from the Father through the Son. So also did Abel proceed immediately from Adam, inasmuch as Adam was his father; and mediately, as Eve was his mother, who proceeded from Adam; although, indeed, this example of a material procession is inept to signify the immaterial procession of the divine persons.”
- [86.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names* 2, 1.
- [87.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 5 (PG 29:712,3).
- [88.](#) Psalm 32:6; St. Gregory of Nyssa, ‘That When We Speak of Three Persons in the Godhead We Do Not Speak of Three Gods: To the Greeks, From the Common Notions’ (PG 45:180); St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1,7.
- [89.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Those Who Came From Egypt, Oration 34*, 10 (PG 36:252,1).
- [90.](#) Mt. 18:16.
- [91.](#) SSt. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 5 (PG 29:736,23).
- [92.](#) This is a reference to a work by St. Gregory of Nyssa, or, at least here attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa by St. Gregory Palamas, *Περί Θεογνωσίας*, which has been lost. The Psalmic reference is Ps. 32:6.
- [93.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, Oration 2* (PG 75:724A).
- [94.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Confession of Faith*, Johannes Vegelinus, *De sacrosancta Trinitate* 1604, p. 121.
- [95.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 1, 8.
- [96.](#) So as to describe the Latin reasoning, St Gregory coined the word “*φιλοπολυεκπόρευτον*” (“fond of much procession”), which is why he excuses himself with “so to speak”.
- [97.](#) John 1:14.
- [98.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Son, Oration 29*, 2.
- [99.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names*, 2, 5.

[100.](#) Ibid.

[101.](#) Cf. Aeschylus, Fragment 139; said of the eagle, shot by an arrow adorned with eagle's feathers.

[102.](#) Dt. 32:39.

[103.](#) Cf. Ps 140:4.

[104.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Son, Oration 30*, 20.

[105.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit, Oration 31* (or 25, 16).

[106.](#) James 1:17.

[107.](#) Commentary on Psalm 32, 15.

[108.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Son, Oration 29*, 11 (PG 36:87C).

[109.](#) Ibid.

[110.](#) An idiom, in theological usage, is equivalent to a natural property or personal attribute.

[111.](#) Or "recognized".

[112.](#) Ott, 63. "That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son as from One Single Principle and through One Single Spiration, is clear from John 16, 15: "All that the Father has, is mine." If the Son, by virtue of His eternal generation from the Father, possesses everything that the Father possesses except the Fatherhood and the ungeneratedness which are not communicable, then He must also possess the power of spiration (*vis spirativa*) and with it the being a Principle in relation to the Holy Ghost."

[113.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *The Last Farewell, Oration 42*, 15 (PG 36:476,12).

[114.](#) "Doxological pronouncement": a translation of *ekphonesis*; for instance, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit".

[115.](#) I.e. Saint Gregory the Theologian.

[116.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 1, 7.

[117.](#) Rom. 11:36. Cf. St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* 5.

[118.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 1, 7 (PG 94:806C).

[119.](#) In geometry, triangular numbers represent numbers arranged in the form of an equilateral triangle. See Figure 1. In the Latins' view, the Trinity is like three consecutive points: the Father begets the Son and together they make the Holy Spirit to proceed. This is a straight line, which is one-dimensional. To make it into a two-dimensional shape, i.e. into a plane (*ἐπίπεδον*), width must be added to length by pushing the midpoint upwards, thus "piling [it] up" over the other two

(Fig. 2.2). The result is the second triangular number (Fig. 1 and 2.3). The units that St. Gregory mentions are the three dots that make up the triangle.

[120.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Theological Songs, On the Holy Spirit* v. 54-57 (PG 37:412 A).

[121.](#) Psalm 67:8 et seq. The Greek for “going forth” (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) is the same word as the one translated “proceeding” when with reference to the Holy Spirit.

[122.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 31*, 25.

[123.](#) The statement from Aquinas is worthy of repetition: “I answer that, the procession of love in God ought not to be called generation. In evidence whereof we must consider that the intellect and the will differ in this respect, that the intellect is made actual by the object understood residing according to its own likeness in the intellect; whereas the will is made actual, not by any similitude of the object willed within it, but by its having a certain inclination to the thing willed. Thus the procession of the intellect is by way of similitude, and is called generation, because every generator begets its own like; whereas the procession of the will is not by way of similitude, but rather by way of impulse and movement towards an object. So what proceeds in God by way of love, does not proceed as begotten, or as son, but proceeds rather as spirit; which name expresses a certain vital movement and impulse, accordingly as anyone is described as moved or impelled by love to perform an action” (Summa Question 27; article 4; objection 3).

[124.](#) John 1:33.

[125.](#) John 1:32.

[126.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 8 (PG 94:808C).

[127.](#) “Enhypostatic” is defined by Maximus the Confessor in his *Different Definitions*: “enhypostatic is what is common, according to the essence; that is, the form, which is in reality substantiated in individuals under it, and which is not conceived simply notionally.” Put simply, hypostatic is what is in reality existent; enhypostatic is existent in a hypostasis, not merely the ahypostatic (i.e. not realized) form, or eidos. He is simply stating that this is natural, pertaining to the bestowal of substance.

[128.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 13 (PG 94:852B).

[129.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* (PG 75:601C).

[130.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* (PG 75:580C).

[131.](#) St. Gregory the Dialogist, *Dialogue 2* (PL 66:203 B).

[132.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *Epistle 9* (PG 3:1104A).

- [133.](#) John 15:26.
- [134.](#) Cf. John 1:3.
- [135.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 20*, 7 (PG 35:1073,4).
- [136.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit, Oration 31*, 12 (PG 36:153C).
- [137.](#) St. Cyril, *Treasures*, 33 (PG 75:569A).
- [138.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names* 2.5, 2.7, 2.3 respectively (PG 3:645A).
- [139.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *On Mystical Theology* 3 (PG 3:1033).
- [140.](#) St. Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names* 2, 5 (PG 3:644D).
- [141.](#) “Generator” is here used as a monolexical translation of “προβολεύς”, which precisely means “one that causes emanation.”
- [142.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Epistle* 38, 4 (PG 32:329D).
- [143.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Son, Oration 30* (PG 36:116,11C). Cf. John 17:10.
- [144.](#) Cf. “In the creation [of the bodiless powers] understand the Father to be the originating cause of what came to be, the Son to be the creative [cause], the Spirit to be the perfecting [cause]. Thus, [understand] the ministering spirits to exist by the will of the Father, to be led to being by the action [ἐνεργεία] of the Son, and to be perfected by the presence of the Spirit”. Basil the Great, *De spiritu sancta*, 38, (PG 32:136B).
- [145.](#) Gen. 24:2
- [146.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *On the Saying of Abraham* 2 (PG 56:555).
- [147.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Peace, Oration 23*, 11 (PG 35:1161,45).
- [148.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 5 (PG 29:557,21).
- [149.](#) Ibid. 3, 1.
- [150.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 1, 20 (PG 29:262,1).
- [151.](#) Ibid.
- [152.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomiums* 3, 1 (PG 29:656,11).
- [153.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 31* (PG 36:163B).
- [154.](#) Cf. John 8:41.
- [155.](#) Baruch 3:37.

- [156.](#) St. Athanasius the Great, *To the Sebellianizers* (doubtful) 11.
- [157.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit, Oration 31*, 20 (PG 36:156B).
- [158.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 34*, 15 (PG 36:253C).
- [159.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* (PG 75:569C).
- [160.](#) Cf. the second paragraph of section 13 above.
- [161.](#) See footnote 99 above.
- [162.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 29*, 5 (PG 36:80B).
- [163.](#) 1 Tim. 3:16.
- [164.](#) Tit. 2:11.
- [165.](#) Rom. 4:14.
- [166.](#) Heb. 12:1.
- [167.](#) Cf. John 14:26.
- [168.](#) See the tenth paragraph of the Preamble, or second paragraph before the beginning of section 1 above.
- [169.](#) Lit. ‘wise.’
- [170.](#) The Greek text in brackets is missing from Christou’s edition of 1981 and was supplied hereinto from the edition of 1627.
- [171.](#) James 1:17.
- [172.](#) Mt. 10:27.









## ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Πάλιν ὁ δεινὸς καὶ ἀρχέκακος ὄφης, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν καθ' ἡμῶν διαίρων, ὑποψιθυρίζει τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντίθετα. Μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν μέν κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρῷ συντριβεῖς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ γενεάς πειθομένων ταῖς ἀπολουμέναις ὑποθήκαις αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος ἕκαστον καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς ἀντὶ μιᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὕδραν ἀναδούς κεφαλὰς, δι' αὐτῶν ἀδικίαν εἰς τό ὕψος λαλῶν οὐκ ἀνίησιν. Οὕτως Ἀρείους, οὕτως Ἀπολιναρίους, οὕτως Εὐνομίους καὶ Μακεδονίους, οὕτω πλείστους ἑτέρους προσαρμοσάμενος τῷ αὐτοῦ προσφύντας ὀλκῷ, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γλώττης τὸν οἰκεῖον κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπαφῆκεν ἰόν, ἀντ' ὀδόντων ἰδίων τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις χρησάμενος καὶ περιπεύρας τούτους τῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχῇ, οἷόν τι ρίζη νεαρῶς καλὸν τεθελότος φυτοῦ καὶ καρποῖς ὠραιότατοις βρίθοντος, οὐ μὴν τούτῳ καὶ λυμήνασθαι ἴσχυσε· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν δηχθέντων αὐθις συνετρίβη τὰς μύλας, ὑπὸ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῶν ποιησαμένων Χριστόν.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ νοητὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπάρατος ὄφης, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευταῖον κακόν, ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ τὴν χαμερπῇ καὶ γῆϊνῃ πονηρίαν ἀεὶ σιτούμενος, ὁ τῆς πτέρνης, δηλαδή τῆς ἀπάτης, ἐπιτηρητῆς ἀκάματος, ὁ πρὸς πᾶσαν θεοστυγῇ δόξαν ποριμώτατος σοφιστῆς καὶ ἀμηχάνως εὐμήχανος, μηδαμῶς ἐπιλελησμένος τῆς οἰκίας κακοτεχνίας, διὰ τῶν αὐτῷ πειθηγίων Λατίνων περί Θεοῦ καινὰς εἰσφέρει φωνάς, μικράν μέν δοκούσας ἔχειν ὑπαλλαγὴν, μεγάλων δὲ κακῶν ἀφορμὰς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ φερούσας, τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔκφυλά τε καὶ ἄτοπα, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι φανερῶς δεικνύσας, ὡς οὐ μικρόν ἐν τοῖς περί Θεοῦ τό παραμικρόν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄντων ἑνὸς ἀτόπου τὴν ἀρχὴν δοθέντος πολλὰ τὰ

ἄτοπα γίνεται, πῶς οὐ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν οἶον ἀναποδείκτων ἀρχῶν ἐνός ἀήθους δοθέντος οὐκ εὐσεβῶς πολλὰ γενήσεται παρά τοῦτο τὰ ἀτοπήματα;

Πρὸς ἃ καὶ φανερώς τό Λατίνων γένος ἐκπεπτώκασιν ἄν, εἰ μή παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τῇ καινοφωνίᾳ τοῦ δόγματος τῆς κακοδοξίας τό πλεῖστον περιηρεῖτο. Καί γάρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔστιν ὅτε συστέλλονται ὡς καὶ διανοίας ἡμῖν εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς λέγειν, διαφωνοῦντας τοῖς ῥήμασι, σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀπορίας καταψευδόμενοι. Ἡμῶν γάρ οὐχί καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ λεγόντων εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπαρξιν, ἐκείνων δέ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τῶν ἀδυνάτων εἰς μίαν ἀμφοτέρους συνάγεσθαι ἔννοιαν· εἷς γάρ ὁ μονογενὴς καὶ μία ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπαρξίς ἐστιν. Ἡ γοῦν ἀπόφασις τῇ καταφάσει ἀεὶ ἀντίκειται καὶ ἀεὶ ψευδὴς ἢ ἑτέρα, εἰ ἀληθὴς ἢ ἑτέρα· καὶ τό αὐτό περί τοῦ αὐτοῦ καταφῆσαι καὶ ἀποφῆσαι σὺν ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἔνι.

Ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ λέγουσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονοῦσι τὰ ἐναντία, οὐδεὶς οἶμαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων καὶ μὴ ὁμοφρονούντων ἐκείνοις ἀντερεῖ. Ὡς δε οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντιδογματίζουσι λόγῳ, ὃς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀμείωτος καὶ ἀναυξής καὶ τό πᾶν ἀμεταποίητος διαπεφύλακται, πάντες μὲν ὑμεῖς καὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως ἀκριβῶς ἴστε, το τῶν εὐσεβούντων λέγω πλήρωμα. Δειχθήσεται δέ ὅμως, Θεοῦ διδόντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, ὡς ἂν καὶ «πᾶν στόμα» το ἀντιλέγον «φραγῇ», καὶ πρὸς μίαν ὁμολογίαν στηριχθῇ το ἀμφίρροπον.

Ἀλλ', ὦ Θεέ τοῦ παντός, ὁ μόνος δοτήρ καὶ φύλαξ τῆς ἀληθινῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν δογμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ἡ μόνη μοναρχικωτάτη τριάς, οὐ μόνον ὅτι μόνη τοῦ παντός ἄρχεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μίαν ἐν σεαυτῇ μόνην ἔχεις ὑπεράρχιον ἀρχήν, τὴν μόνην ἀναίτιον μονάδα, ἐξ ἧς προάγεσθον καὶ εἰς ἣν ἀνάγεσθον ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀναιτίως ὁ Υἱός τε καὶ τό Πνεῦμα, Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, τό κύριον, τό ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτῶς τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ τοῖς ὀρθῶς πιστεύουσιν εἰς σέ καὶ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον καὶ φαινόμενον· Υἱέ μονογενές, ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός γεννητῶς τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν εἰς σέ πιστευόντων ἐμμορφούμενος καὶ ἐνοικῶν καὶ ἀοράτως ὁρώμενος· Πάτερ ἀγέννητε μόνε καὶ ἀνεκπόρευτε, καὶ, τό σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, ἀναίτιε, ὁ μόνος πατήρ τῶν ἀνεκφοιτήτων καὶ ὁμοτίμων σοι φώτων, ἐν κράτος, μία δύναμις, ἡ δημιουργός τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρά σοι φώτων, ἡ πάσης γνώσεως δότειρα, ἡ πολυειδεῖς ιδέας παραγαγοῦσα γνωστικῶν τε καὶ γνωστῶν καὶ

καταλλήλως τοῖς γινώσκουσι καί φυσικῶς ἐνθεῖσα τάς γνώσεις, τοῖς μέν νοεροῖς ἀπλᾶς καί ἀπαθεῖς νοήσεις, τοῖς δέ αἰσθητικοῖς πολυμερεῖς καί παθητάς αἰσθήσεις, τοῖς δέ μικτοῖς ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρᾳ ἢ καί τήν περί σοῦ κατά τό ἐγγωροῦν γνῶσιν μόνοις τοῖς λογικοῖς σου κτίσμασιν ἀφάτῳ χρηστότητι χαριζομένη, δός καί ἡμῖν ἀρτίως εὐαρέστως σοι θεολογήσαι καί τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἔργῳ σοι καί λόγῳ εὐαρεστήσασι συμφώνως ὥς ἂν καί τούς μή θεαρέστως σε θεολογοῦντας ἀπελέγξωμεν, καί τούς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σε ζητοῦντας πρός τήν ἀλήθειαν στηρίζωμεν, ἵνα σε γινώσκωμεν πάντες μίαν μόνην πηγαίαν θεότητα, τόν μόνον Πατέρα τε καί προβολέα, καί σοῦ Υἱόν ἓνα καί Υἱόν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐχί καί προβολέα, καί σόν ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καί πρόβλημα μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐχί καί ποίημα καί δοξάζοιμεν ἓνα Θεόν, ἐν μιᾷ μέν καί ἀπλῇ, πλουσίᾳ δ', ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, καί ἀστενοχωρήτῳ θεότητι, καί ἀντιδοξαζοίμεθα παρά σοῦ ἐν πλουσίᾳ θεώσει καί τρισσοφαεῖ φωτοχυσίᾳ, νῦν καί εἰς τούς ἀκαταλήπτους αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Κοινή μέν ἦδε ἡ εὐχή πᾶσι τοῖς μίαν σέβουσιν ἀρχήν. Ὑμεῖς δέ τί φατε οἱ τάς δύο λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀρχάς; Τί γάρ, εἰ μή φανερώς τοῦτο λέγετε, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν λέγετε τοῦτο συνάγεται; Τοιαῦτα τά βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, τά τοῦ πονηροῦ μυστήρια, ἃ τοῖς ὑπέχουσιν αὐτῷ τά ὧτα ψιθυρίζει οὐ χαλῶν καί ὑπεκκλύων τόν τόνον τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλά τό βλαβερόν ὑποκρύπτων τοῦ νοήματος. Οὕτως καί τῇ Εὐᾷ ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ἐψιθύρισεν.

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς διδασκόμενοι ὑπό τῆς θεοσοφίας τῶν Πατέρων αὐτοῦ τά νοήματα μή ἀγνοεῖν, ἀφανῆ τήν ἀρχήν ὡς ἐπίπαν τοῖς πολλοῖς τυγχάνοντα, οὐδέποτε ἂν ὑμᾶς κοινωνοῦς δεξαίμεθα μέχρις ἂν καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα λέγητε.

Ἄρα γάρ οὕτω λέγοντες οὐ φανερώς διατελεῖτε προστιθέντες πρῶτον μέν τῇ περί τοῦ ἁγίου καί προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκφαντορικῇ θεολογίᾳ τῆς αὐτοαληθείας Χριστοῦ, ὅς Θεός ὢν προαιώνιος δι' ἡμᾶς καί θεολόγος ἐγεγόνει, ὅς αὐτόχρομα ὢν ἀλήθεια διά φιλανθρωπίαν κῆρυξ ἡμῖν ἀναπέφηνε τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅς διά τοῦτο εἰς τόν κόσμον ἦλθεν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, οὗ καί πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας καί ταύτην ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ζητῶν, ἐπαῖει τῆς ἀληθινῆς φωνῆς;

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πρῶτῳ μέν τούτῳ ἀντιπίπτετε τῷ καί πρῶτῳ πάντων οὕτω θεολογήσαντι («τό Πνεῦμα γάρ, φησί, τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρά τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται»), ἔπειτα τοῖς αὐτόπταις καί αὐτηκόοις γεγεννημένοις μαθηταῖς καί ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δέ πρό τούτων καί αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ὃ καί ἦλθε κατά τήν δεδομένην ὑπό τοῦ Σωτῆρος αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελίαν, ὃ καί

ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τὰ πάντα, ὃ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν ὡς οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται τῶν φώτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ; Εἰ γάρ οὕτω τούτους τοῦτο ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἂν οὕτοι ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διδαχθέντες τε καὶ φωτισθέντες ἀπεστάλησαν, ἵνα διδάξωσιν ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν, ἵνα φωτίσωσιν ὡς ἐφωτίσθησαν, ἵνα κηρύξωσιν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, ὃ εἰς τό οὗς ἀκούσειαν, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ πάντων, ἵν' εἴπωσιν ἐν τῷ φωτί, δηλονότι φανερώς τοῖς πᾶσιν, ἃ τούτοις εἴρηται ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐν ὑπερφώτῳ γνόφῳ, ἔστω δέ καὶ παραβολικῶς, καὶ οἷος ὁ παρά τῷ Σολομῶντι σκοτεινός λόγος ὁ τῷ μετειληχότῃ τῆς σοφίας τρανούμενος. Εἰ δέ βούλει, τό κατὰ μόνας ἡ σκοτία δηλούτω καὶ ἀποκρύφως καὶ μήπω τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένως.

Ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὃ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ὃ μὴ τούτοις εἴρηται τοῖς παρρησιασασμένοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὃ μὴ ἀνήγγειλε τό Πνεῦμα τό πᾶσαν ἀπαγγεῖλαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὃ μὴ ἐμαρτύρησεν ἢ ἐγνώρισεν ὁ πάντα ὅσα ἤκουσε παρά τοῦ Πατρός τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς γνωρίσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλθὼν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πῶς ὑμεῖς τοῦτο τολμᾶτε λέγειν οὕτως ἔκφυλον εἰσάγοντες προσθήκην ἐν τῷ τῆς πίστεως ὄρῳ, ὃν οἱ πρόκριτοι πατέρες κοινῇ συνειλεγμένοι πνευματοκινήτως, σύμβολον ἀψευδοῦς δόξης τῆς εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καὶ βάσανον εἰλικρινοῦς θεογνωσίας καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀσφαλῆ πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθοτομεῖν προηρημένοις τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας συνεγράψαντό τε καὶ παραδεδώκασιν;

# 1

Ἦν γάρ ὑπολογίζεσθε πρόφασιν, ὡς ἔστιν ὧν λεγόντων οὐκ ἴσον εἶναι τῷ Πατρί τὸν Υἱόν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτός ἔχει τό ἐκπορεύειν, ὑμεῖς ἴσον δεικνύναι σπεύδοντες τὴν προσθήκην εἰσηνέγκατε ταύτην, οὐδαμόθεν ἔχει τό εὐλογον. Εἰ γάρ τινες φαῖεν χρῆν εἶναι καὶ τό γεννᾶν ἔχειν τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ τούτου προσόντος τό ἴσον ἀφαιρουμένου, ἀνάγκη προστιθέναι καὶ τοῦτο πειθομένους τοῖς ἀσυνέτοις· καὶ ἀπλῶς μὴ μείζω λέγειν τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸν Πατέρα, ἵνα μὴ τό πρὸς αὐτόν ἴσον τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀθετήσωμεν.

Ὅπερ ἄρα δοκεῖτε καὶ ὑποβάλλειν δολίως πρὸς ἀντίθεσιν τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν δογμάτων καὶ διδαγμάτων· ὁ γάρ καὶ τὸν Υἱόν αἷτιον θεότητος λέγων αὐτόν ἀθετεῖ τὸν Υἱόν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ σαφῶς εἰπόντα «ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστιν», οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Θεοῦ, τῷ τῆς θεότητος αἰτίῳ. Διὸ καὶ οὐχ ὁ Θεός εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Πατήρ· οὐ γάρ ὡς Θεός

μείζων τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἅπαγε τῆς ἀσεβείας, ἀλλ' ὡς αἷτιος θεότητος, καθάπερ καί οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες ἡμῖν ἡρμήνευσαν. Τούτοις οὖν ὡς ἔοικε τοῖς θεοφόροις καί Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν θεοφόρων ἀντιλέγετε, τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν οὐκ ἴσον κατὰ τὸ αἷτιον λέγουσιν.

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς καί τὸ ἴσον ἴσμεν τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καί τὸ μείζον τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμολογοῦμεν κατὰ τὸ αἷτιον, ὅπερ ἅμφω, τὸ τε γεννᾶν καί ἐκπορεύειν, συμπεριβάλλει. Καί αὐτοῖς δέ τοῖς συγγραψαμένοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ συμφυΐας, ταὐτό δ' εἰπεῖν ὁμοτιμίας, οὔσης τῆς ἀγωνίας, χωρὶς τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν προσθήκης ἀποχρῶν ἐνομίσθη τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον.

Οὐκουν εὐλόγως οὐδέ εὐσεβῶς ταύτην εἰσάγετε τὴν προσθήκην ἐν τῷ τῆς πίστεως ὄρω, ὃν οἱ πρόκριτοι πατέρες κοινῇ συνειλεγμένοι, πνευματικινῆτως συνεγράψαντό τε καί παραδεδώκασιν. Ὡ καί προσθῆναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν ὅλως οὐκ ἐφεῖται μετὰ τὴν τῷ χρόνῳ δευτερεύουσιν ἐκείνης τῶν ἀγίων σύνοδον, δι' ἧς καί ὁ τοῦτο τολμήσων ἀραῖς ὑποβάλλεται καί τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλεται, καί ταῦτα προσθήκην οὐκ εἰρημένην ὡς εἴρηται τῷ λόγῳ, οὐκ ἀποκεκαλυμμένην τῷ Πνεύματι, οὐχ εὐρημένην ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἀναγράπτοις λογίοις.

Οἷς συμφώνως καί οἱ ἐκθέμενοι τὸν τῆς πίστεως τοῦτον θεῖον ὅρον ἐξέθεντο καί οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς γεγονότες συνέθεντο, εἰ καί μὴ συνεξέθεντο. Οὐ γάρ ἔχετε λέγειν, ὡς οὐχί οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐξέθεντο, οἱ δέ τοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκθεμένοις συνέθεντο, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀναγραφάντων τὰ καθέκαστα τῶν ἀγίων ἀπασῶν συνόδων ἐξελεγχόμενοι, καί αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνων μέχρι καί νῦν, μᾶλλον δέ καί ἐσαεὶ συμφωνίας τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, καί αὐτῶν τῶν πολλῶν καί διαφόρων καί γενῶν καί γλωσσῶν ἀδιάφορον φερουσῶν τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκθεσιν καί ἀμεταποίητον.

Καί τοίνυν αἱ μὲν ἐκφαντορικαὶ κοιναὶ φωναὶ τῶν θεοφόρων θεολόγων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, ἀποστόλων, καί τῶν πρό αὐτῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος προφητῶν οὕτως ὁμολογουμένως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος καί οὕτως ὁμολόγως τῷ Θεανθρώπῳ λόγῳ· πρὸς δέ καί αἱ κατὰ διαφοροὺς αἰτίας καί καιροὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας συγκροτηθεῖσαι πᾶσαι σύνοδοι, ταὐτό δε σχεδόν εἰπεῖν πᾶσα γλῶσσα θεοφόρος· ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ γάρ τῶν συνόδων τούτων καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τεθεολόγηται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ἐδειξα δ' ὠφειδᾶν ἀρτίως τοῦτ' αὐτό καί τοὺς θεηγόρους πάντας αὐθις ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει στέργοντας ἀπαραλλάκτως διὰ τῶν ιδίως ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἐξενηνεγμένων λόγων ἐφεξῆς.



Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέξεται το φίλερι τοῦ λατίνου μακροῦς ἡμῶν ἀποτεινόντων λόγους, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσῃ λέγον· πῶς οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ πόθεν εὐρόντες τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην, παρὰ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοεῖτε το Πνεῦμα το ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεσθαι, διό καὶ ἡμᾶς ἑτεροδόξους οἶεσθε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο μὴ εἰπόντος, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τῶν ἐκείνου μαθητῶν τινος;

Πρὸς ὃ νῦν ἡμεῖς εὐθύς ἀπαντήσομεν, οὕτω λέγοντες. Το τῶν εὐσεβούντων πλήρωμα χεῖλος γεγονότες ἔν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, πύργον εὐσεβείας ὠκοδόμησαν, δυσσεβείας νοητοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ παντάπασιν ἀνώτερον. Ἐπεδήμησε γάρ καὶ αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἢ τελεσιουργός τῶν ἀγαθῶν τριάς οὐ συγγέουσα, ἀλλὰ συνδέουσα καὶ τὰς δόξας καὶ τὰς γλώσσας εἰς εὐσεβεστάτην καὶ ὀρθόδοξον ὁμοφροσύνην. Αὐτοῦ τοίνυν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ὀχυρώματος ἰστάμενοι τοὺς ἀπεναντίας τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων φερομένους πρῶτον μὲν ἐντεῦθεν εὐστοχώτατα καὶ γενναιότατα βαλοῦμεν, ἅμα δέ καὶ λυσιτελῶς αὐτοῖς, εἰ βούλονται. Μετά τοῦτο δέ τὰς πολλαχόθεν, μᾶλλον δέ τῶν πανταχόθεν ἀναφαινομένων ἀποδείξεων τῆς ἀληθείας, ἔστιν ἅς προκομίσομεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς πόθον ταύτης καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαίροντες, ἵν' εἴπω κατὰ τό γεγραμμένον· «εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὴν καὶ εὖροιεν, καὶ γε οὐ μακρὰν ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῶν». Νῦν δέ μᾶλλον τούτους οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτό τό οἷον λογικόν τῆς εὐσεβείας περιτείχισμα καὶ βαλεῖ καὶ πατάξει καὶ τροπώσεται, εἰ δέ βούλει, καὶ ἰάσεται. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεῖος ὅρος οὗτος· οὐ περιβάλλει μόνον τοὺς ἐμμένοντας καὶ καθίστησιν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προπολεμεῖ καὶ ἀνυποστάτως ἀντιτάττεται τοῖς ἐπανισταμένοις· τὸ δ' ὅπως, ἄκουε.

## 2

«Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, πατέρα, παντοκράτορα», «καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱόν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρό πάντων τῶν αἰώνων». Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ συννοεῖται οὐδέ συνυπακούεται τό μόνου, οὐδ' ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγέννηται, εἰ καὶ μὴ προστέθεται τό μόνου; Καί πάνυ μὲν οὖν συνυπακούεται, καὶ οὐχ ἥττον ἢ προσκείμενον, εἰ ὅλως εὐσεβεῖν ἐθέλεις, εἴποις ἅν. Ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν καὶ περί τοῦ Πνεύματος διδάσκου. Καὶ ἡνίκ' ἅν ἀκούοις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβόλου, «τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον», εὐθύς ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνυπακουόμενον νόμιζε τό «μόνου» καὶ μὴ προσθήκην ἄλλως νόμιζε ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀθέτησιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς

διαλέξεσι προστιθέντων ἀκροώμενος. Εἰ δέ μή, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεννήσεως ἐάσεις συνυπακούεσθαι τό «μόνου»· καὶ οὕτω σου πολυπλασιάσεις τό δυσσέβημα.

3

Καὶ τοῦτο δέ μοι λάβε κατὰ νοῦν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς πίστεως συμβόλου τόν Υἱόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀκούοντες γεννηθέντα πρό πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς συννοούμενόν τε καὶ συνυπακουόμενον ἔχοντες τό «μόνου», καθάπερ ἂν καὶ αὐτός ἡμῖν συμφήσais, ὅμως οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε τό «μόνου» προσέθηκεν ἐκεῖ, ὥστε καὶ τήν σὴν δόξαν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται, εἰ καὶ ἀνωμολογημένον ἦν, καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπλῶς πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ συνδοκοῦν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐχρῆν ἐν τῷ τῆς πίστεως συμβόλῳ προστεθῆναι παρ' ὑμῶν.

4

Ἦν οὖν ἄρα τῶν δικαιοτάτων μηδέ λόγου ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς, εἰ μή τοῦ προστιθέναι τῷ ἱερῷ συμβόλῳ παύσησθε· τῆς δέ παρ' ὑμῶν προσθήκης παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκβεβλημένης πρότερον, ἔπειτα ζητεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ οὐχί καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, καὶ τό ἀναφανέν τοῖς θεοφόροις συνδοκοῦν κυροῦν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτω προστιθέναι τῷ συμβόλῳ τῆς πίστεως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τοῦ ἐνός Χριστοῦ φύσεων καὶ θελημάτων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, τῆς τε καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσεως καὶ τοῦ ἐπωνύμου τῆς παρθενομήτορος, οἱ πρό ἡμῶν πεπράχασι καλῶς τε καὶ φιλευσεβῶς, ὡς μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἀντιποιούμενοι, καίτοι πολλάκις ἔπειτα κοινῇ συνειλεγμένοι, συνεκκλησιαζόντων ἢ συνευδοκούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρούς τῆς παλαιᾶς Ρώμης ἀρχιερατικῶς προΐσταμένων. Οὐκ οὖν ἔχει τις ὑπολογίζεσθαι τήν τοῦ περιόντος πάπα περιωπὴν· οὐ γάρ διὰ τοῦτον ἢ τούτους τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνους ἀποστερκτέον τοὺς τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτους καὶ μακαρίῳ τέλει τήν ἡγιασμένην καὶ πολυειδῶς παρά Θεοῦ μεμαρτυρημένην κατακλείσαντας ζωὴν.

5

Ἀλλὰ γάρ οὐ μόνον τό τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως σύμβολον,—δεῖ γάρ τῶν εὐγνωμόνως ἀκουσομένων ἔνεκα λέγειν·—μή μόνον οὖν τό τῆς πίστεως

σύμβολον, ἀλλά καί πᾶσα σχεδόν γλῶσσα θεολόγος ἐκ Πατρός γεννηθέντα τόν Υἱόν κηρύττουσα καί παρά τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκπορευόμενον, οὐ προστίθησι τό «μόνου» ὥς κἂν μή προσκείται, ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνυπακουόμενον, καί τοῦτ' εἴσῃ ἀνελίπτων καί διεξιὼν αὐτάς τάς θεολόγους βίβλους. Σήν δ' ὁμῶς χάριν, καί ἡμεῖς ὀλίγ' ἄττα προενέγκωμεν καί διά βραχέων γεγραμμένα. Ὁ γοῦν μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, «τί ἐστι», φησί, «Θεός; Ἡ πάντων ἀρχή κατὰ τόν Ἀπόστολον, λέγοντα, “εἷς Θεός ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα”, καί γάρ ὁ λόγος ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννητῶς καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευτῶς». Ὁρᾷς ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τό ἐξ αὐτοῦ καί οὐδαμοῦ ρήματι προσκείμενον τό «μόνου»; Καί σύ τοίνυν ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἢ τήν σήν προσθήκην λήψη ἢ τό μόνου ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνυπακουόμενον νοήσεις.

Τί δέ ὁ μετ' αὐτόν εὐθύς τῷ χρόνῳ καί οὐ μετ' αὐτόν τῇ μεγαλειότητι παρά Θεῷ, τό φερωνύμως βασίλειον ιεράτευμα, ἅρ' οὐ συμφωνήσῃ τε καί συμφρονήσῃ; Ἀλλ' ἄκουε καί μάθανε ὁ κυρίως ὁ Υἱός ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπειδή ὁ Υἱός ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐξῆλθε καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός γεννητῶς, τό δέ ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ». Ἰδοὺ πολυπλάσιως ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τέθεικε τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἔχεις οὖν ὅλως λέγειν ἔτι, ὡς οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, ὅτι μή πρόσκειται τό «μόνου»;

Βούλει δὲ καί τοῦ μεγάλου θεολόγου ἀκοῦσαι Γρηγορίου, ἐν βραχεῖ τό πᾶν συνάγοντος καί τήν σήν ὥσπερ τινί σμιλίῳ ἀποσμιλεύοντος προσθήκην καί ἀμφοτέροις τό ἐκ μόνου ἐφαρμόζοντος; καί τό θαυμασιώτερον, οὐχ ὅτι προστίθησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μή προστίθησιν. «Ἡμῖν εἷς Θεός», φησὶν, «ὅτι μία θεότης, καί πρὸς ἓν τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τήν ἀναφοράν ἔχει, κἂν τρία πιστεύηται». Ἀκήκοας; Ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ἄμφω. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ νοήσομεν τὸ «μόνου», ἀλλὰ νοήσομεν τὸ «οὐκ ἐκ μόνου», καί φρονήσομεν καί προσθήσομεν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός καί ἐξ ἐτέρου τινός προέρχεται ἀμφότερα, ὅτι μή πρόσκειται τό «μόνου», καί τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ τῆς ἀνωτάτω Τριάδος διά τοῦτο ἐκπεσούμεθα; Μή σύ γε τοῦτο πάθῃς, μᾶλλον δέ μή διαμείνης ἀνίατος παθῶν ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ἤδη γέγονέ σοι τό ὀρθόν.

Καί μήν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός φαμεν εἶναι τόν Υἱόν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας γεννηθέντα, δηλονότι κατὰ τήν πατρικὴν ὑπόστασιν ἢ γάρ οὐσία μία τῶν τριῶν ἐστίν ὥστε τό γεννᾶν τῇ πατρικῇ ὑποστάσει ἐφαρμόζεται καί οὐκ

ἔστιν εἶναι τόν Υἱόν ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ αὐτό κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκπορευόμενον ἐστίν· ἡ γάρ οὐσία πάντη τε καὶ πάντως μία τῶν τριῶν. Οὐκοῦν τό ἐκπορεύειν τῇ πατρικῇ ὑποστάσει ἐφαρμόζεται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἶναι τό Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὰ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως ἔχειν τόν Υἱόν.

Κατὰ γάρ τόν ἱερόν Δαμασκηνόν, «τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων ἐν μόναις τρισὶν ιδιότησιν ἐπιγινώσκουμεν, τῇ ἀναιτίῳ καὶ πατρικῇ, τῇ αἰτιατῇ καὶ υἱικῇ, καὶ τῇ αἰτιατῇ καὶ ἐκπορευτῇ». Ὅρᾳς ὡς ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασις οὐχὶ καὶ αἰτία, ἀλλ' αἰτιατὴ μόνον ἐστὶ; Μόνην γάρ, φησί, ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ιδιότητα, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Συνορᾷς δέ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἡ πατρικὴ, καθό πατρικὴ ιδιότης, ἅμφω τό γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκπορεύειν συμπεριβάλλει; Τοιγαροῦν, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς αἰτίος τε ἅμα καὶ Πατὴρ ὡς αἴτιος.

7

Οὐκ οὐν ἐνὶ τι τῶν τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως ἔχειν τόν Υἱόν· εἰ δ' ἔχει, ἢ δύο ἔσονται τὰ αἴτια, ὡς ἐν δυσὶν ὑποστάσεσι τοῦ ἐκπορεύειν ὄντος (οὕτω γάρ δύο καὶ τὰ αἰτιατά, ὡς τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ ἐν δυσὶν ὑποστάσεσι θεωρουμένου), ἢ συνδραμοῦνται εἰς μίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός. Ἐκ μόνου ἄρα τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, καὶ προσεχῶς καὶ ἀμέσως ἐκ Πατρός, ὡς καὶ ὁ Υἱός ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός γεννᾶται.

Διό καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης θεῖος πρόεδρος, «τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου», φησί, «πρόσωπα πάντα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου κατὰ τό προσεχές ἔχει τό εἶναι, ὡς πολλά καὶ διάφορα εἶναι πρὸς τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια. Ἐπὶ δέ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος οὐχ οὕτως· ἐν γάρ πρόσωπον καὶ τό αὐτό τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Υἱός γεννᾶται καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται. Διό καὶ κυρίως τό ἓνα αἴτιον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν ἓνα Θεόν φαμεν τεθαρρηκότως».

Ἄρα νοῦν ἔλαβες πληγεῖς τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγῳ καὶ μεταμανθάνεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πείθῃ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Θεόν πατράσιν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἀκούων τό Πνεῦμα συνυπακούειν τό ἐκ μόνου καὶ μηκέτι ἐκ διαφόρων προσώπων τὴν ὑπαρξιν αὐτῷ παρέχειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός, τοῦ Πατρός, κατὰ τό προσεχές θεολογεῖν, οὐ τόν Υἱόν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐν πρόσωπον τό αἴτιον τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν εἶναι δοξάζων τόν Θεόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ

ἐν αἰτίον ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας τὰ δύο πρόσωπα λέγων τοῦ ἐνός, οὕτω γάρ πολλά γίνεται τὰ αἷτια, ὡς ἐφ' ἡμῶν συμβαίνει, καί οὐκέτι Θεός εἷς, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς εἷς οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωπος, εἰ καί τῆς αὐτῆς ἐσμεν οὐσίας;

Ἄρ' οὖν πείθῃ κατὰ ταῦτα Θεῷ καί τοῖς κατὰ Θεόν θεολογοῦσιν ἢ ζητεῖς ἔτι καί διά βροντῆς ἀκηκοέναι κατὰ τούς μετὰ τὰς πολλές Ἰησοῦ θεοσημίας σημεῖον ζητοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανῶν ἰδεῖν; Ἄκουε δὴ καί τῆς βροντῆς, Ἰωάννου καί θεολογικωτάτου τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ὅς φησιν· «εἶδομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός». Τί οὖν, οὐκ ἐροῦμεν τὸν μονογενῆ παρὰ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, ἐπεὶ μὴ πρόσκειται τοῦ «μόνου»; Ἀλλὰ καί ὁ Κύριος αὐτός πρὸς Ἰουδαίους λέγων, «εἰ ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἦν, ἠγαπᾶτε ἄν ἐμέ, ἐγὼ γάρ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἤκω», καὶ πάλιν, «οὐχ ὅτι τις ἐώρακε τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος ἐώρακε τὸν πατέρα», πῶς οὐ προσέθηκε τό «μόνου» λέγων “ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός μόνου ἐξῆλθον”, ἢ “ὁ ὢν παρὰ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός”, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης συννοούμενον;

Τοσαυτάκις οὖν εἰρημένου περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός καὶ μηδαμοῦ τοῦ «μόνου» προσκειμένου, αὐτός τε πανταχοῦ συνυπακούεις τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ συνυπακούουσιν οὐ δυσχεραίνεις. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς μὴ συννοοῦσι τοῦτο ἐς τὰ μάλιστα δυσχερανεῖς καὶ ὡς δυσσεβέσιν ἢ καὶ ἀσεβέσιν ἐγκαλέσεις. Περὶ δέ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἀκούων, εἶτα τί παθῶν, οὐ συννοεῖς τό ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνυπακουόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐξετράπης δόξαν, ὃ ἂν ἐνεκάλεσας δικαίως τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κακῶς νοοῦσι, τοῦτ' αὐτός ἀδίκως πεπονθῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς ὅλως τό δυσσεβές προξενούσης ἀφορμῆς;

Οὐ γάρ μόνον ὅτι λέγεται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα, ὡς ὁ Θεός Λόγος πρό αἰώνων παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρὰ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον νοεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν μάρτυρα τῆς ἀληθείας Ἰουστίνον, «ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὕτω καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, πλήν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως· ὁ μὲν γάρ γεννητῶς ἐκ φωτός ἐξέλαμψε, τό δέ, φῶς μὲν ἐκ φωτός καὶ αὐτό, οὐ μὴν γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς προῆλθεν». Εἰ ὁ Υἱὸς ἀμέσως ἐκ Πατρός, καὶ τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρός ἀμέσως· καὶ εἰ ὁ Υἱὸς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος,

καί τό Πνεῦμα οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· καί εἰ ὁ Υἱός ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός. Ἐπεὶ γάρ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκπορευτόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς ὁ Υἱός γεννητός ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, τό δέ ὡς ὁ Υἱός γεννητός ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτόν, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτόν, τό Πνεῦμα ἄρα τό ἅγιον ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός μόνου ἐκπορευτῶς προερχόμενος.

Ταῦτα ἄρα καί ὁμοίως λέγεται τε καί ἔστιν, ὁμοῦ τε καί χωρίς ἐκάτερον, διά μέν τοῦ ὁμοίως εἶναι τήν ἀπόδειξιν ἡμῖν τῆς ἀληθείας αἰτιώδη παρεχόμενα, διά δέ τοῦ ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι τεκμηριώδη· οὐ γάρ ὅτι ἅμα ἐξ αἰδίου ὁ Υἱός τε καί τό Πνεῦμα, διά τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τά τοῦ Πνεύματος γνωρίσομεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γνωριμώτερα ἡμῖν ἐστι τά τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐκ τῶν γνωριμωτέρων τούτων καί τό Πνεῦμα ἀποδείξομεν. Ἄλλως τε οὐδέ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι ὡς ὁ Υἱός τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρός, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ὑπάρχον ἀποδέδεικται.

9

Καί μήν κατὰ τόν θεῖον Παῦλον Πνεῦμα καί νοῦς λέγεται Χριστοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, καθάπερ ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Εὐνομιανούς περί τοῦ Πνεύματός φησιν γράφων· «τό ἐκ Θεοῦ τό Πνεῦμα εἶναι τρανῶς ἀνεκήρυξεν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγων, ὅτι “τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν”· καί τό δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηγῆναι σαφές πεποίηκεν, Υἱοῦ Πνεῦμα ὀνομάσας αὐτό καθάπερ Θεοῦ, καί νοῦν Χριστοῦ προσειπὼν, καθάπερ καὶ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα, ὡς τό τοῦ ἀνθρώπου».

Καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος τόν οἰκεῖον ἔχει νοῦν καί αὐτοῦ μέν ἐστιν ἐκάστου τούτων ὁ οἰκεῖος νοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐπερ καί αὐτός, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοίνυν ἐκάστου ὁ οἰκεῖος νοῦς, εἰ μή ἄρα κατ' ἐνέργειαν, οὕτω καί τό θεῖον Πνεῦμα φυσικῶς ἐνυπάρχον ὡς Θεῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, καί Πνεῦμα καί νοῦς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ. Καί κατὰ μέν τήν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ ἐστι καί ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐμφυσώμενον καί πεμπόμενον καί φανερούμενον, κατὰ δέ τήν ὑπαρξιν καί τήν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ μέν ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δέ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος αὐτόν.



Ἦν οὖν σοι πανταχόθεν τάς κατά τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκκρούσωμεν λαβάς, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, φύσει ὢν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, φύσει γεννᾶται, ἀλλ' οὐ χάριτι γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἐπεὶ δέ ὁ γεννῶν πηγαία θεότης καὶ πηγή θεότητος, πηγάζεται ὁ γεννώμενος. Ἐπεὶ δέ μόνος πηγή θεότητος καὶ πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μέγας συνωδὰ φθέγγονται, ἐκ μόνου ἄρα ὁ φύσει Υἱὸς ὑπάρχει τοῦ Πατρὸς· ὁ δέ θέσει οὐκ ἐκ μόνου ἀλλὰ δι' Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καίτοι οὐχ Υἱὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πνεῦμα χάριτί ἐστιν· «ὁ γὰρ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔν Πνευμά ἐστι», φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος. Τό δέ Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον οὐ χάριτι, ἀλλὰ φύσει ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τό δέ φύσει ὄν Πνεῦμα ἐκ Θεοῦ φύσει ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τό δέ φύσει ἐκπορευόμενον πηγάζεται ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τό δέ πηγαζόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς πηγαίας θεότητος πηγάζεται, ἥτις ἐστὶ μόνος ὁ Πατήρ. Τό Πνεῦμα ἄρα τό ἅγιον φύσει Θεός, ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός μόνου ἐκπορευτῶς πηγαζόμενον.

## 11

Εἰ δέ τις τοῦτ' οὕτως ἔχειν οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κακῶς δοξάζων ἐξελεγχθήσεται. Τῇ γάρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδείξει ταύτη συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ὁ θεολογικώτατος Γρηγόριος, «τί», φησὶν, «οὐ προσαγορεύεται τό Πνεῦμα ὢν ὁ Υἱὸς, πλήν γεννήσεως»; Καὶ «πάντα ὅσα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλήν τῆς υἰότητος». Δαμασκηνός δε ὁ θεῖος, «διὰ τόν Πατέρα», φησί, «τουτέστι διὰ τό εἶναι τόν Πατέρα, ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τό Πνεῦμα πάντα ἃ ἔχει, τουτέστι διὰ τό τόν Πατέρα ἔχειν αὐτά, πλήν τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως».

Ἐκάτερον ἄρα τούτων οὐκ ἔχει τό γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκπορεύειν· καὶ ὡς τό Πνεῦμα κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἔχει τήν γέννησιν, οὕτω ὁ Υἱὸς κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἔχει τήν ἐκπόρευσιν. Τοιγαροῦν ὁ αὐτός Υἱοῦ καθάπερ ὅρος καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλήν τοῦ γεννητῶς τε καὶ ἐκπορευτῶς, καθ' ἃ καὶ μόνον διενηνόχασιν ἀλλήλων.

Καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα τηρητέον ἐφ' ἅπασιν τόν μή βλασφημεῖν ἀλλὰ θεολογεῖν ἐθέλοντα. Ὡς γάρ εἷς καὶ μόνος γεννητὸς ὑπάρχει, ὁ Υἱὸς, διόπερ καὶ μονογενής, οὕτως ἔν καὶ μόνον ἐκπορευτὸν ὑπάρχει, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καὶ ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς γεννητὸς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς ἀμέσως ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννητὸς, οὕτω καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκπορευτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀμέσως.

Ὅρᾳς ὅτι τό μέν παρ' ἡμῶν προσκείμενον ἔκφανσίς ἐστι τῆς ἀληθείας συνεκφωνουμένη διά τήν σήν πρός τήν ἀλήθειαν ἀθέτησιν; Καί γάρ παρόν τε καί ἀπόν τό αὐτό δίδωσι νοεῖν. Τό δέ σόν οὐ προσθήκη λέγοιτ' ἂν κυρίως, ἀλλά σαφῆς ἐναντιότης καί ἀνατροπή τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς φρονήματος· περιτρέπει γάρ τήν τῶν ἀκουόντων διάνοιαν εἰς τοῦναντίον καί ἀντί μιᾶς δύο δίδωσι δοξάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ἀρχάς καί τῇ πολυθέῳ πλάνη πάροδον παρέχει. Τίς γάρ τό ἓν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούων ἢ λέγων ἢ πιστεύων ἑτέρως ἂν φρονῆσαι;

Ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἄτοπον, φησίν, εἴ τις δύο μέν ἀρχάς λέγει, οὐκ ἀντιθέτους μέντοι, ἀλλά τήν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας, ὥς καί Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φησιν, «ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή»· οὕτω γάρ πάλιν μία ἔσται ἡ ἀρχή καί τό τῆς μοναρχίας δόγμα περισώζεται. Πρός ὃ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι καί Θεόν ἐκ Θεοῦ φαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύο ποτέ θεοῦς.

Ἄλλως τε τό δημιουργικόν ταύτης σημαινούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ δύο μόνον ἂν εἴποι τις, εἰ καί μή καλῶς, ἀλλά καί πλείους. Τρισυπόστατος γάρ αὕτη ἡ ἀρχή· φύσει δέ οὕσα καί κοινή ἐστι· κοινήν δέ οὕσαν πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι καί τό Πνεῦμα ταύτην τήν ἀρχήν; Καί ὁ τῷ Ἰώβ δέ προσδιαλεγόμενος ὑπέρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνης Ἑλιούς, «Πνεῦμα, λέγων, Κυρίου τό ποιῆσάν με» οὐ ποιητικὴν ἀρχήν τό Πνεῦμα λέγει; Καί ὁ θεῖος ᾠδικός Δαβίδ, «λόγῳ μέν Κυρίου τοὺς οὐρανοὺς στερεωθῆναι» ψάλλων, «Πνεύματι δέ τὰς τῶν οὐρανῶν δυνάμεις» οὐχ ὥσπερ τῷ Υἱῷ, οὕτω καί τῷ Πνεύματι, τήν δημιουργικὴν ἀρχήν προσμαρτυρεῖ; Εἰ τοίνυν διά τό γεγράφθαι «ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή» δύο εἰπεῖν ἀρχάς οὐδέν κωλύει κατὰ σέ, οὐκοῦν καί διά τό γεγράφθαι καί τό πνεῦμα ποιητήν, δύο ποιητάς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν κωλύει· ἢ διά τό «Λόγῳ Θεοῦ καί Πνεύματι τήν κτίσιν στερεοῦσθαι», ταυτό δ' εἰπεῖν συνίστασθαι, τρεῖς ἀρχάς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν ἄτοπόν ἐστιν.

Ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ τῶν θεολόγων εἶπέ τις οὔτε δύο οὔτε τρεῖς. Ὡς περ γάρ Θεόν ἐκάστην τῶν τριῶν προσκυνητῶν ἐκείνων ὑποστάσεών φαμεν καί Θεόν ἐκατέραν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ παρά τοῦτο τρεῖς ἢ δύο ποτέ θεοῦς, οὕτω καί ἀρχήν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύο ποτέ ἀρχάς· δευτέραν γάρ ἀρχήν οὐδέπω καί τήμερον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἀκηκόαμεν, ὥσπερ οὐδέ θεόν

δεύτερον. Ἄλλ' εἷς ἡμῖν Θεός καί μοναρχία τό προσκυνούμενον, οὐκ ἐκ δύο θεῶν, οὐδ' ἐκ δύο ἀρχῶν συνιόντα εἰς ἓν· ἐπεὶ μηδέ κατὰ ταυτά μεριστόν ἡμῖν τό σεβόμενον. Καί μὴν οὐδέ κατὰ τό αὐτό μερίζεται τε καί συνάγεται· διαιρεῖται μὲν γάρ ταῖς ὑποστατικαῖς ιδιότησι, ταῖς δέ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐνοῦται. Εἰ γοῦν δύο ἀρχάς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν κωλύει, λοιπὸν αὐταὶ εἰσι, καθ' ἃς μερίζεται· ἐνωθῆναι τοίνυν αὐθις κατ' αὐτάς ἀδύνατον· οὐκ ἄρ' αἱ δύο μία.

Μᾶλλον δέ ἀναλαμβάνοντες καί ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν τῷ λόγῳ δόντες τὰ τῆς μοναρχικωτάτης ἀρχῆς εἰς δύναμιν διατρανώσωμεν, ὥς ἂν φερωνύμως ἔχοντά τε δείξωμεν τὸν τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμον καί ἀπελέγξωμεν τοὺς τοῦ ἐνός ἁγίου Πνεύματος δύο δογματίζοντας ἀρχάς, ὅτι τε τοῦτο δογματίζουσι καί ὅτι οὐ καλῶς.

#### 14

Ἡ δημιουργικὴ ἀρχὴ μία ἐστίν, ὁ Πατήρ καί ὁ Υἱός καί τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον. Ὅταν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μή ὄντος προηγμένα λέγωμεν, τὴν τε ἀγαθότητα, δι' ἣν τό εἶναι ἔσχον, καί τὴν ἐγγεγεννημένην χάριν, ὅθεν ἕκαστον τοῦ εὖ εἶναι καταλλήλως μετεσχήκασι, καί τὴν ἐπιγεγεννημένην ὕστερον, δι' ἣν πρὸς τό εὖ εἶναι τὰ διαπεπτωκότα ἐπανῆλθον, ὅταν ταῦτά τε καί περί τούτων ποιῶμεθα τοὺς λόγους, ἀρχὴν καί πηγὴν καί αἷτιον τὸν Υἱόν ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι φαμεν, οὐχ ἑτέραν ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὡς τοῦ Πατρός δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καί προάγοντος καί ἐπανάγοντος καί συνέχοντος καλῶς τὰ πάντα. Ὁ δέ Πατήρ πρὸς τῷ πηγῇ τῶν πάντων εἶναι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καί πηγὴ καί ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ θεότητος μόνος θεογόνος ὢν. Καί τοῦτ' ἐσμέν εἰδότες κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ ἀπόδειξιν, διὰ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων τρανῶς ἐκπεφασμένον.

Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ὅτι ὁ Υἱός, «ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή» καί «ὁ καλῶν αὐτόν ἀπὸ γενεῶν ἀρχήν» καί «μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου», τῶν δημιουργημάτων νόει, καθάπερ καί Ἰωάννης ἀριδῆλως ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει περὶ αὐτοῦ βοᾷ, «ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ», οὐχ ὡς καταρχή, ἄπαγε, Θεός γάρ, ἀλλ' ὡς δημιουργὸς αὐτῶν· κοινωνός γάρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς, ἢ καί τῆς πάντων δεσποτείας ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον.

Τοῦ δέ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱόν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς σημασίας ταύτης πῶς ἂν φαίη τις, εἰ μὴ καί τό Πνεῦμα δοῦλον καί κτιστόν; Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ Θεός τό Πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ Υἱός, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὡς θεότητος ἀρχή.

Εἰ δέ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεότητος ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχή, κοινωνεῖν δέ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Πατρὶ ἀμήχανον, μόνος γάρ τεθεολόγηται πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ, ἑτέρας ἄρα διαφόρου τινὸς θεότητος ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχή καὶ διέσπασε τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς πηγαζούσης ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς θεότητος. Ἡ δὺο διαφόρους θεότητας δώσωμεν τούτῳ τῷ ἐνί, οἱ καὶ τοῖς τρισὶ μίαν ἀνομολογοῦντες θεότητα;

Πῶς δέ καὶ αἱ δύο κατὰ Λατίνους τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀρχαὶ μία ἐστὶν ἀρχή; Οὐ γάρ ἀξιώσουσιν ἡμᾶς πιστεῖν δέχεσθαι τούτων τὰ προβλήματα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σοφιστικῶς ἀποκρινέσθωσαν, ἄλλην ἀντ' ἄλλης ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. Ἡμῶν γάρ ἐρωτῶντων πῶς δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐνὸς Πνεύματος ἀρχαὶ, μίαν ἐκεῖνοι δισχυρίζονται τῶν δύο εἶναι τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἡμεῖς δέ οὐ περὶ τῶν δύο προσώπων ἐρωτῶμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐνός· περὶ τούτου γάρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιούμεθα τὸν λόγον. Ὡς ἐπεὶ τῶν δύο μία ἡ ἀρχή καλῶς, πῶς τοῦ ἐνός δύο ἔσονται ἀρχαὶ καὶ πῶς αἱ δύο μία κατ' αὐτοὺς;

Φασὶν οὖν, διότι ἡ μία ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας. Τί οὖν Σήθ, ἐκ μιᾶς ἄρα γεγέννηται ἀρχῆς ὅτι ἡ Εὐὰ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, καὶ οὐ δύο εἰσὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐνός ἀρχαὶ, ὅτι ἡ μία ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας; Τί δέ ἡ Εὐὰ, οὐ δευτέρα ἀρχή τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἀδάμ; Καίτοι ἀμφοῖν τὸ γόνιμον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ διάφορον καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ὑποστάσεσι· διόπερ οὐδέ μία ἐστὶν αὗται αἱ ἀρχαὶ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νύσσης θεῖον πρόεδρον ἀνωτέρω προηνέγκαμεν εἰπόντα, καίτοι ἡ μία τούτων ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας.

Εἰ γοῦν ἐνταῦθα οὐ εἰ καὶ μὴ ἓν, ὅμως ἐστὶ τὸ γόνιμον ἀμφοῖν, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ ἐνός μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχήν, πῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ Τριάδος αἱ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐνός ἁγίου Πνεύματος μία εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ, ἐν ἧς μηδαμῶς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ θεογόνον κοινωνία; μόνος γάρ τεθεολόγηται θεότης θεογόνος ὁ Πατήρ.

Πάλιν ἡ Εὐὰ ἐκ μόνου οὕσα τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἐκ μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρχῆς· ὁ δέ Ἀδάμ ἐκ γῆς ἐστὶν. Ἄλλ' οὐ παρά τοῦτο ἡ Εὐὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Ὁ γάρ Ἀδάμ μόνος ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Ἡ τοίνυν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μόνου λεγέτωσαν τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς λεγέτωσαν, ἑαυτοῖς μὲν ἀκολουθῶς ἄλλ' οὐκ εὐσεβῶς, οὐ γάρ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ Υἱός, κἀντεῦθεν πάλιν δύο εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀρχαὶ καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ μείζων ὁ Πατήρ τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐπίσης γάρ καὶ αὐτός αἴτιος θεότητος, ἢ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸ λέγοντες μίαν καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ὡς καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ εὐσεβῶς διδόντες ἀρχήν. Μέχρι γάρ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων λέγωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἔστι μίαν εἶναι τῆς θεότητος τοῦ ἐνός Πνεύματος ἀρχήν.

Συνάπτων γάρ τις ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων, εἰ καὶ μίαν φαίη τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ ὁμωνύμως, ὥστε οὐ μία. Εἰ δὲ διαιρῶν κατὰ μίαν ὁρᾷ τὰς ὑποστάσεις, τῆς μιᾶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης δύο φανερώς γίνονται ἀρχαί. Ἐμοί δ' ἔπεισι θαυμάζειν καὶ τό ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἀνοίας τῶν τὰς δύο ταύτας, ἃς φασιν ἀρχάς, μίαν λεγόντων τε καὶ οἰομένων· εἰ μὲν γάρ κοινωνεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τό θεογόνον ὁ Υἱός προβαλλόμενος τό Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἔν αὐτοῖς τό θεογόνον καὶ ἡ ἐκ τούτων αὕτη πρόοδος, τῆς φύσεως ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ οὐ δύο εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, οὐδ' αἱ δύο μία, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς μία, καὶ ἀπεξένωται τῆς θείας φύσεως αὐτό τό Πνεῦμα, μὴ καὶ αὐτό κατὰ θεογόνον κοινωνοῦν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ κοινωνεῖ ὁ Υἱός κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πατρὶ, μηδὲ ἔν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τό προβάλλειν, καθ' ὑπόστασιν τῷ Υἱῷ ἡ πρόοδος τοῦ Πνεύματος· διάφορος ἄρα αὕτη τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος προόδου· τὰ γάρ ὑποστατικά διάφορα.

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Πῶς οὖν μία αἱ διάφοροι ἀρχαί, καὶ μὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Διονυσίου ἐν δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ Περί θείων ὀνομάτων λόγου λέγοντος «ὅσα ἐστὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ θεαρχικῷ Πνεύματι κοινῶς καὶ ἡνωμένως ἀνατίθεται», καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Εὐνομιανούς Ἀντιρρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίοις γράφοντος, «πάντα τὰ κοινὰ Πατρὶ τε καὶ Υἱῷ κοινὰ εἶναι καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι»; Εἰ μὲν κοινόν ἐστι Πατρὶ τε καὶ Υἱῷ τό ἐκπορεύειν, κοινόν ἔσται τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ τετράς ἔσται ἡ Τριάς· καὶ τό Πνεῦμα γάρ ἐκπορεύσει Πνεῦμα ἕτερον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ κοινόν ἔστι κατὰ Λατίνους τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τό ἐκπορεύειν, ὥς τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς ἐμμέσως κατ' αὐτούς, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ἀμέσως ἐκπορεύοντος τό Πνεῦμα, οὕτω γάρ καὶ ὑποστατικῶς ἔχειν τόν Υἱόν τό προβλητικόν φασιν, οὐκοῦν κατ' αὐτούς καὶ τό δημιουργεῖν καὶ ἀγιάζειν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα τὰ φυσικά οὐ κοινὰ Πατρὸς τε καὶ Υἱοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Πατήρ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κτίζει τε καὶ ἀγιάζει, καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦ Υἱοῦ δημιουργεῖ καὶ ἀγιάζει, ὁ δὲ Υἱός οὐ δι' Υἱοῦ. Τοιγαροῦν κατ' αὐτούς ὑποστατικῶς ἔχει τό δημιουργεῖν καὶ ἀγιάζειν ὁ Υἱός· ἀμέσως γάρ καὶ οὐχ ὥς ὁ Πατήρ ἐμμέσως· καὶ οὕτω κατ' αὐτούς τὰ φυσικά τῶν ὑποστατικῶν διενήνοχεν οὐδέν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ φύσις τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὥς μὴ τρισυπόστατον ἢ τριφυᾶ κατ' αὐτούς εἶναι τόν Θεόν.

Εἰ δ' ἄρα φαῖεν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τόν Υἱόν δημιουργεῖν καὶ ἀγιάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ σύνηθες τοῖς θεολόγοις διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τόν Υἱόν ἢ τόν Πατέρα δημιουργόν εἶναι λέγειν τῶν κτισμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγίῳ

Πνεύματι. Ἐπειτα πρὸς τῷ μὴδ' οὕτω τὸ ἀνωτέρω δεδειγμένον ἄτοπον αὐτοὺς ἐκφεύγειν, οὐ γάρ δι' Υἱοῦ πάλιν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀναφαίνεται δημιουργὸς καθάπερ ὁ Πατήρ, συμβήσεται τούτοις μὴδέ κοινόν εἶναι λέγειν καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι τὸ δημιουργεῖν καὶ ἀγιάζειν, ὥς μὴ δι' ἑτέρου, μὴδέ ὥς ὁ Πατήρ ἢ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐνεργοῦντος. Κατ' αὐτοὺς οὖν ὑποστατικῶς ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ δημιουργεῖν καὶ ἀγιάζειν, ὥς οὐκ ἐμμέσως καθάπερ ὁ Πατήρ κτίζον τε καὶ ἀγιάζον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πάλιν κατ' αὐτοὺς, ταῦτά τε εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάφορα δείκνυται τοῖς ὑποστατικοῖς τὰ φυσικά. Εἰ δέ τοῦτο, καὶ ἡ φύσις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι ταῦτόν τε καὶ ἀδιάφορον. Ἄρ' οὐ σαφῶς τῆς ἀνωτάτω Τριάδος ἐκπεπτώκασι καὶ τῆς ἐνότητος τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οἱ ταῦθ' οὕτω λέγοντές τε καὶ φρονοῦντες;

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανελθωμεν ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν. Τίς γάρ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πατρός ἀκούων ἢ λέγων ἢ πιστεύων καὶ παρά μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀμέσως, παρά δέ τοῦ Πατρός ἐμμέσως καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν θρυλλούμενά τε καὶ περιαδόμενα προσεχῇ τε καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ πόρρω, τίς ταῦτ' ἀκούων καὶ πιστεύων οὐ δύο δοξάσει τοῦ ἐνός Πνεύματος ἀρχάς; Πῶς δέ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ συναίτιος, εἰ μὴ μάτην λέγεται καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ; Πῶς δέ οὐκ ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα εἴη κτίσμα; Ἐπὶ γάρ τῶν κτισμάτων τῷ Πατρὶ συναίτιος.

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Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως, ἐφ' ἧς φανερῶς αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συναίτιος, ὥς ἐκ Πατρός δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι λαβούσης, ἀσεβές παντάπασιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν κτίσιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν καὶ ὅτι τὸ δημιουργικὸν ἰδιότης ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρός ὑποστάσεως. Τοιγαροῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευτῶς ὑπάρχον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι εἶχεν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὅλως εὐσεβοῦς εἰπεῖν, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν καὶ ὥς ἡ ἐκπορευτικὴ ἰδιότης τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ πρόσσεστιν.

Ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες Δαβὶδ ἐστὶν ὁ θεοπάτωρ καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Νυσσαέων φανότατος φωστήρ καὶ Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ θεοφόρος, κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην οἱ συναίτιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν αὐτῷ διδόντες, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχουσι τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὅσον ἀντέχονται ταύτης οἱ προαπηριθμημένοι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἱ τούτοις συνωδὰ θεολογοῦντες.

Καί τοῦτο δέ συνορᾷν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὡς καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ καί ἐξ Υἱοῦ τήν γένεσιν ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς, Πατέρα καί ποιητήν ὁμοῦ τε καί χωρίς ἐκάτερον ἐπικαλούμεθα καί ἀνομολογοῦμεν, οὕτω καί τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὁμοῦ τε καί χωρίς ἐκάτερος Πατήρ ἂν ἐλέγετο καί προβολεύς, εἴπερ ἐκ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ καί ἐξ Υἱοῦ τήν ὑπαρξιν τό Πνεῦμα εἶχεν. Ἀλλά τά τοιαῦτα πάντα πολυειδῶς συγγέοντα τὰς θείας ὑποστάσεις παρίστησι σαφῶς, ὡς οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τήν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον.

Καί μέν δή, «πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστι», κατὰ τόν θεολόγον Γρηγόριον, «ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας. Ποίας αἰτίας; Τῆς τῶν κτισμάτων; Ἄπαγε· τούτων γάρ ἀρχή καί αἴτιος καί ὁ Υἱός. Τοιγαροῦν ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας καί ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Τριάδι νοουμένης θεότητος· πάντα οὖν ἔχει ὁ Υἱός τοῦ Πατρός, ἄνευ τοῦ ἀρχή καί αἴτιος εἶναι καί αὐτός τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐκ μόνου ἄρα τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, καθάπερ ὁ Υἱός ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός γεννᾶται, καί προσεχῶς καί ἀμέσως τοῦ Πατρός ἔχεται καθ' ὑπαρξιν, καθά καί ὁ Υἱός, εἰ καί διά τοῦ Υἱοῦ Πατρός εἶναι Πνεῦμα ἔσχεν, ὡς τοῦ ἐκπορεύοντος ὄντος καί Πατρός.

Ἐπεὶ δέ καί δύο ἀνθρώπων ἡ μαρτυρία ἀληθῆς ἐστι κατὰ τόν τοῦ

Κυρίου λόγον, «καί διά δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ρῆμα», καί ἡμεῖς τό νῦν εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέμενοι διά τό μῆκος τρεῖς παραστήσομέν σοι μάρτυρας, σαφῶς ἀπαγορεύοντάς σου τήν προσθήκην. Καί δὴ παρίτω πρῶτος ὁ καί τῷ χρόνῳ πρότερος Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας· ἐν γάρ τοῖς Κατ' Εὐνομίου κεφαλαίοις, «γεννᾷ», φησίν, «ὁ Θεός οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, γεννᾷ δέ ἀληθῶς· καί τό γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκφαίνει λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐκφαίνει δέ λόγον ἀληθῆ ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ἐκπέμπει Πνεῦμα διά στόματος, οὐχ οἷον τό ἀνθρώπινον, ἐπεὶ μηδέ στόμα Θεοῦ σωματικῶς· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δέ τό Πνεῦμα καί οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν». Ὅρᾳς ὅτι οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνου τοῦ καί τόν Υἱόν γεννῶντος; Ὡστε οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, ἐπεὶ καί λόγος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐ στόμα τοῦ Πατρός ἐνταῦθα τῷ μεγάλῳ



τεθεολόγηται. Ὅς ἀλλαχοῦ δεικνύς καί τόν λόγον τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προϊόντα στόματος, «εἰ γάρ τό Πνεῦμα μή πιστεύεις», φησίν, «ἐκ στόματος Θεοῦ προεληλυθέναι, οὐδ' ἂν τόν λόγον πιστεύσεις». Ὁρᾷς σαφῶς ὅτι Λόγος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐ στόμα τοῦ Πατρός· ἐξ οὗ στόματος κατά τόν μέγαν Βασίλειον πρόεισι καθ' ὑπαρξιν ὡς τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον;

Τόν αὐτόν δέ τρόπον καί ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτῷ καί ἀδελφά φρονῶν Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ Περί θεογνωσίας λόγῳ, «Πνεῦμα δέ», φησί, «τό τῆς πατρικῆς ἐκπορευόμενον ὑποστάσεως. Τούτου γάρ ἕνεκα καί Πνεῦμα στόματος ἀλλ' οὐχί καί τόν λόγον στόματος ὁ Δαβίδ εἶρηκεν, ἵνα τήν ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα τῷ Πατρί μόνῳ προσοῦσαν πιστώσῃται».

Μετ' αὐτόν τόν ἀψευδῆ τῆς ἀληθείας μάρτυρα, ὁ ζῶν φωστήρ γεγονώς Ἀλεξανδρείας Κύριλλος, συμμαρτυρήσων παρελθέτω· φησί γάρ ἐν τῷ Περί τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος· «αἱ προσκυνηταὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις γινώσκονται καί πιστεύονται ἐν Πατρὶ ἀνάρχῳ καί ἐν Υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καί ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὐ γεννητῶς καθάπερ ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευομένῳ καθάπερ εἶρηται ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ὡς ἀπό στόματος, πεφηνότι δέ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καί λαλήσαντι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι προφήταις τε καί ἀποστόλοις». Καί ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν· «οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ Υἱός ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός γεννητῶς οὕτω καί τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευτῶς, ἅπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας καί πολυθείας· εἷς γάρ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν προσώποιν αἴτιος καί σύνδεσμος, ὁ Πατήρ».

Ἄρ' ἔστι τρανότερον ἔλεγχον τῆς σῆς δυσσεβείας παρελθεῖν; Ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔδοξεν. Ἀλλά καί τοῦθ' ἡμῖν τό Πνεῦμα δέδωκε τόν ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ σοφίσαν Ἰωάννην· «τό Πνεῦμα γάρ», φησίν οὗτος, «τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν λέγομεν, ἐκ δέ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν· δι' Υἱοῦ δέ πεφανερῶσθαι καί μεταδιδόσθαι ἡμῖν ὁμολογοῦμεν».

Ἀφείς δέ σοι τούς ἄλλους συνείρειν ἐφεξῆς ὅτι πλείστους ὄντας καί σχεδόν ὅσοι τῶν πατέρων οὐδέν ἤττον ἢ ζῶντες ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς συγγράμμασι λαλοῦσιν, ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου κρινῶ σε· πάντως δέ καί ὁ Θεός. Σοῦ γάρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός καί τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό Πνεῦμα καί τό «μόνων» οὐ προστιθεμένου, ἄρ' οὐδ' ἐκ τούτων μόνων τό Πνεῦμα ἐννοεῖς, οὐδέ συνυπακούεις τό μόνων, κἂν μή συνεκφωνῇς; Ἀλλά ζητήσομεν κατά τήν σήν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, φιλοπολυεκπόρευτον διάνοιαν, καί ἐξ ἄλλου του ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό Πνεῦμα διὰ τήν σήν περί τοῦ μόνου ἄγνοιαν;

Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἵνα πάλιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σοι συσκευάσω τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς πληγῆς τό ἴαμα καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἐκσπάσω καὶ δογμάτων καὶ ρημάτων, εἶπέ μοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, εἴ τις ἔροιτό σε περί τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ἐπειδήπερ γέγραπται ὅτι, «εἶδομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρά Πατρός», καὶ ὅτι «πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Υἱόν τόν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρό αἰώνων γεννηθέντα», καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ὅσα σοι ἀνωτέρω ἀπηρίθμηται, οἷς οὐ πρόσκειται τό «μόνου», ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος προσθεῖς φαίης ἂν γεγεννηῆσθαι τόν Υἱόν, τοῦτ' αὐτό προφασιζόμενος ὅτι μὴ πρόσκειται τό «μόνου»; Ἄπαγε δήπου, φαίης ἂν. Καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσοι τῆς ἄνωθεν ἀναγεννήσεως ὁ τοῦτο προστιθείς καὶ μὴ ἐκ μόνου δοξάζων γεγεννηῆσθαι τοῦ Πατρὸς τόν Λόγον. Οὐδαμοῦ γάρ γεννήτωρ εἴρηται τό Πνεῦμα σὺν ἡμῖν καλῶς ἐρεῖς, οὐδέ κοινόν ἔχει τι Πατρί, ὃ μὴ ἔστι κοινόν καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ· οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς δυάδος προάγεται τό ἓν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν δυάδα ἀναφέρεται· οὐδ' ἡ μονάς εἰς μονάδα κινηθεῖσα καὶ εἰς ἑτέραν αὖθις μονάδα ἢ δυάς, «ἀλλ' ἡ μονάς θεοπρεπῶς εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα, μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη». Καὶ «εἷς ἡμῖν Θεός· οὐ μόνον ὅτι μία θεότης, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ εἰς ἓν ἀμφοτέρα τά ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφοράν ἔχει. Καὶ μία πηγαία θεότης, ὁ Πατήρ καὶ μόνος αἷτιος καὶ μόνος πηγὴ θεότητος». Οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τά ἰδιάζοντα τῶν γνωρισμάτων· μόνος γάρ· οὐδεμίαν ἄρα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔξει πρὸς ταῦτα τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ «τά τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεογονίας οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει πρὸς ἀλληλα», Διονύσιος αὖθις ἂν εἶπεν ὁ οὐρανόφρων.

Ἄλλ' εὐγέ σοι τῆς ἐν τούτοις πρὸς τε τοὺς θεοσόφους τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων σοφισθέντας ἀπαραλλάκτου συμφωνίας. Ἐάλως δ' ὅμως, τό τοῦ λόγου, τοῖς σαντοῦ πτεροῖς καὶ λυσιτελῶς ὄντως ἐπατάχθης τῷ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ προπολεμοῦντι λόγῳ· τό γάρ εἰς αὐτόν ἦκον, οὐ μόνον ἐπατάχθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰάθης κατὰ τό εἰρημένον ὡς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, «πατάξω καὶ ἰάσομαι».

Ἄ γάρ ἂν εἶπες μεθ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ Πατρὸς τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγοντας γεγεννηῆσθαι τόν Υἱόν, ἄλλας τε προφάσεις προφασιζομένους ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, μᾶλλον δέ δυσσεβείαις, καὶ ὅτι μὴ προστέθεται τῷ γεγεννηῆσθαι ἐκ Πατρὸς τό “μόνου”, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτός ἀρτίως ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἄκουε, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγων ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον· ἐτέρωθέν τε τοῦτο πειρώμενος πιστοῦσθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ προσκεῖσθαι τῷ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τό

“μόνου”· καὶ αὐτῆς γάρ ἐκπεσεῖται τῆς διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος υἰοθεσίας ὁ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα λέγων.

21

Ποῦ γάρ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων προβολέα τόν Υἱόν εὔροι τις ἂν ὀνομασμένον, καίτοι Γρηγορίῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ θεολόγῳ τῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ προσηγοριῶν πασῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀπηριθμημένων καὶ οὐκ ἀπηριθμημένων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τεθεωρημένων; Ὅς καὶ τό “μονογενής” ἐξηγούμενος, «οὐχ ὅτι», φησί, «μόνος ἐκ μόνου καὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μονοτρόπως»· ὁ ἀλλαχοῦ μόνως εἶπε καὶ ἰδιοτρόπως, τοῦτ’ αὖθις ἐξηγούμενος. Τό δέ “μόνος” ὡς εἷς· τό δ’ “ἐκ μόνου” ὡς ἐν παρθενία γεννήσαντος, ταῦτό δ’ εἶπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀπό συζυγίας. Τό δέ “μόνον” τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ ὅτι μόνος Υἱός, ἀλλ’ οὐχί καὶ Πατήρ οὐδέ προβολεύς; Εἰ δέ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ, Πατήρ μόνον λέγεται, εἰκότως – καὶ γάρ ἐκ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα – καὶ Πατρός λέγεται Πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγοιτ’ ἂν ὡς αἷτιος· Πατέρα γάρ τῶν φώτων τοῦτον εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφόθεος, τουτέστιν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, ὡς καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μέγας ἐξηγούμενος λέγει. Εἰ δέ τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει, λέγοιτ’ ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱός Πατήρ φωτός, τουτέστι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ σέ τό Πνεῦμα.

Εἰ γοῦν ταῦτ’ ἦν ὀνομάσαι, οἷον Πατέρα φωτός ἢ προβολέα τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, πῶς ἂν οὐχί τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ σχεδόν πάντων ὀνομάτων ὁ μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος προὔθηκε, καίτοι τό πρός τόν Πατέρα ἀγωνιζόμενος δεικνύναι; Διό φησιν· «εἰ μέγα τῷ Πατρί τῷ μηδαμόθεν ὠρμῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔλαττον τῷ Υἱῷ τό ἐκ τοιούτου Πατρός. Καὶ πρόσσεστιν τῷ Υἱῷ τό τῆς γεννήσεως πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτον». Εἰ γοῦν προσῆν τό προβολέα εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶπε πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτον, δι’ ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν δεικνύειν ἔδοξεν ἴσον τῷ Πατρί; Ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἶπεν· οὐκοῦν οὐδέ πρόσσεστιν.

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Ὁ γάρ μέγας οὗτος θεολόγος οὐδ’ ἀπλῶς οὕτω τό ἐκπορευόμενον ἴδιον τίθησι τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, προορῶν δήπου καὶ προανατρέπων σου τήν δυσσεβῆ προσθήκην. Ἀνωτέρω γάρ μικρόν εἰπών, τόν μὲν Πατέρα γεννήτορα καὶ προβολέα, τόν δέ Υἱόν προβολέα μὲν οὐ, γέννημα δέ μόνον, προΐων, ἡμεῖς δέ, φησίν, «ἐπὶ τῶν

ἡμετέρων ὅρων ἰστάμενοι, τό ἀγέννητον εἰσάγομεν καί τό γεννητόν καί τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον». Οὐκ εἶπε τό ἐκπορευόμενον ἀπλῶς ἴδιον τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μή τις ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι νομίσῃ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον· τό μέν γάρ γεννητόν συνεισάγει τῇ διανοίᾳ τόν Πατέρα, τό δέ ἐκπορευτόν οὐχ οὕτω. Διά τοῦτο τό ἐκ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον ἴδιον τέθηκε τοῦ Πνεύματος· «τοῦτο γάρ», φησί καί Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας, «γνωριστικόν τῆς κατά τήν ὑπόστασιν ιδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχει τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, τό μετά τόν Υἱόν καί σύν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι καί ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ὑφεστάναι». Ἄλλ' ὁρᾷς, ὅπως παρ' ἡμῶν δικαίως ἀπελήλασθε τῆς κοινωνίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅρων καί τῆς εὐσεβείας ἰστάμενοι;

Ἡ γάρ καί τόν Υἱόν Πατέρα προσερεῖς, ὡς καί ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται, ἵν' ἐκπορευόμενον εἴῃ σοι καί ἐξ αὐτοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, ἢ τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεσθαι οὐκ ἂν ἴδιον εἴῃ σοι τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐδέ τό ἐκπορεύειν ἴδιον εἶναι νομίσεις τοῦ Πατρός, καί ἀπ' ἐναντίας θεολογήσεις τοῦ τό θεολογεῖν ἐπωνυμίαν κτησαμένου καί πρός τήν ἐναντίον ὄντως μοῖραν στήσῃ καί παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκκήρυκτος γενήσῃ· τάς γάρ αὐτοῦ φωνάς ἐκφαντορίας οὕσας ἴσμεν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἀλλά γάρ, ὥσπερ τῆς νοτίδος ἐξ ὑγρῶν σωμάτων ἐκπορευομένης καί τοῦτ' ἴδιον ἐχούσης καί τῶν ὑγρῶν σωμάτων ἰδιόν ἐστι τό νοτίδα ἐκπορεύειν, τόν αὐτόν τρόπον καί τοῦ Πνεύματος ἴδιον ἔχοντος τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεσθαι καί τοῦ Πατρός ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἰδιόν ἐστι τό τό Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύειν.

Μόνου ἄρα τοῦ Πατρός ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις· καί αἰεὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται τό Πνεῦμα καθ' ὑπαρκτικὴν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκφαντικὴν προέλευσιν. Καί ἐν οἷς γάρ τῷ ἐκπορευτῷ μή συνεκφωνεῖται τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, συνυπακουόμενόν ἐστιν αἰεὶ τοῖς συνετῶς ἀκούουσιν, ὥσπερ καί ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῷ γεννητῷ συνυπακούεται. Γεννητός γάρ καί ἡμῶν ἀπάντων ἕκαστος· γεννητός δέ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ταυτόν δ' εἰπεῖν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός, μόνος ὁ Υἱός, ὥστε τό συνημμένον τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καί αἰεὶ συννοεῖται, κἂν μή συνεκφωνεῖται. Τόν αὐτόν οὖν τρόπον ἐκπορευτόν ἂν εἴποις καί τό πνεῦμα τό ἡμέτερον. Οὐκοῦν οὐ τό ἀπλῶς ἐκπορευτόν ἴδιον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτόν· ἐκεῖνος γάρ αἰεὶ Πατήρ. Τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευτόν ὑπάρχειν, εἰ μή καί ὁ Υἱός εἴῃ σοι Πατήρ. Οὐ μόνον δέ τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός τῷ ἐκπορευτῷ συνυπακούεται, ἀλλὰ καί τό ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, καθάπερ καί τῷ γεννητῷ· ὥς γάρ οἱ ἔνθεοι θεολόγοι διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς, ὃ καί ἀνωτέρω

ἔφημεν, χωρίς τοῦ γεννητῶς τε καί ἐκπορευτῶς, ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καί τό Πνεῦμα· τοιγαροῦν παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον εἶναι καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

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Πρός δέ, εἰ καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα καί δι' αὐτοῦ τήν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει κατὰ σέ, αὐτός ἐστίν ἕνωσις Πατρὸς καί Πνεύματος. Πῶς οὖν ὁ αὐτός μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριός φησιν, «ἄναρχον καί ἀρχή καί τό μετά τῆς ἀρχῆς εἷς Θεός», «φύσις δε τοῖς τρισὶ μία· ἕνωσις δέ ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ καί πρὸς ὃν ἀνάγεται τά ἐξῆς, οὐχ ὡς συναλείφεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχεσθαι»; Ἀκούων γάρ τις διά τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τῷ Πατρί συναπτόμενον, νοεῖν ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτο λεγόμενον, διά τήν κατὰ τήν ὁμολογίαν ἐκφώνησιν, μέσου κειμένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καί ὅτι Πατρός Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως λέγοιτο, εἰ μή διά τόν Υἱόν. Ἐνωσις δέ ὁ Πατήρ πῶς ἂν εἴη, εἰ μή προσεχῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἀμέσως προβαλλόμενος ἐκάτερον; Ἀλλά καί τό οὐχ ὡς συναλείφεσθαι δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχεσθαι, τήν προσεχῇ καί ἄμεσον ἐκατέρου σχέσιν πρὸς αὐτόν δηλοῖ.

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Τί δέ, ὅτι «τό ἄναρχον καί ἡ ἀρχή καί τό μετά τῆς ἀρχῆς εἷς Θεός»; Εἰ γάρ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα ἦδει, τό ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἂν εἶπεν, οὐ τό μετά τῆς ἀρχῆς.

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Οὐκοῦν ὅταν ἀκούσης διά τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὡς συμπαρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ νόησον. Οὕτω γάρ καί τήν “διά” οὐκ εἰς τήν “ἐκ” κακῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς τήν “μετά”, τῷ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπωνύμῳ συνάδων μεταλήψη. «Πνεῦμα γάρ», φησί, «μεμαθήκαμεν», Δαμασκηνός ὁ θεῖος, «τό συμπαρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ καί φανεροῦν αὐτοῦ τήν ἐνέργειαν». Συμπαρομαρτεῖν δέ ἐστι τό συνακολουθεῖν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός ἐκεῖ φησιν ὥστε οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλά σύν τῷ Υἱῷ τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς, συνακολουθούσης ἀδιαστάτως τε καί ἀχρόνως τῇ γεννήσει τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως. Μεμαθήκαμεν δέ εἶπεν, ὡς τῶν πρό αὐτοῦ θεοφόρων οὕτω διδασκόντων, παρ' ὧν μνηθεῖς οὕτω νοεῖν τό Πνεῦμα δι' Υἱοῦ, τό ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦτο λέγειν παντάπασιν ἀπηγόρευσεν.

Εἰ δ' ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος οὐδέν εἶναι φησιν ἀπᾶδον εἰς τὴν “ἐκ” τὴν “διά” μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν κτισμάτων, διό καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον προήγαγεν εἰπόντα, «ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν τὰ πάντα», παρ' αὐτοῦ γάρ δεδημιούργηται καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ συνέχονται καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐπιστρέφονται τὰ ὄντα πάντα, ὁ δέ ἱερός Δαμασκηνός κἀν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Θεολογικῶν αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίων προθεῖς πάλιν ὃ καὶ ἀνωτέρω ἔφημεν, μετὰ τινα συνάδων τῷ Κατηχητικῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Νύσσης ἐνθέου Γρηγορίου, «τό ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δύναμιν εἶναι φησιν οὐσιώδη, αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ ὑποστάσει θεωρουμένην καὶ αὐτοῦ, δηλονότι τοῦ Λόγου, οὔσαν ἐκφαντικὴν, οὐ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστι καὶ τοῦ Λόγου ᾧ συμπαρομαρτεῖ δυναμένην», ἅρ' οὐ σαφές κἀντεῦθεν, ὥς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον;

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Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων ποτέ μὲν ὁ Πατήρ μέσος εἶναι λέγεται Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, ποτέ δέ ὁ Υἱός μέσος τοῦ Πατρὸς τε καὶ Πνεύματος, ποτέ δέ τό Πνεῦμα μέσον Πατρὸς τε καὶ Υἱοῦ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τό Πνεῦμα τρίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό εἶναι ἔχοι. Τοῖς γάρ ἐφεξῆς τρισὶ σημείοις, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ποτέ τι τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν κειμένων ἄκρων μέσον· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας μεσότης νοουμένη τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν γωνιῶν τοῦ ἰσοπλεύρου τριγώνου σημείοις ἄκροις· ἐκεῖ γάρ ἕκαστον μέσον ἐκατέρων εὐρίσκεται. Ἄν δέ καὶ τὸν μεσότητα πρῶτον ἔχοντα ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἐπισωρεύσας ὥς ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ θῆς, οὕτω τὸν τε πρῶτον ἐνεργείᾳ τρίγωνον ἀποτελέσεις ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἦν ἂν λάβοις τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μονάδων μέση δυοῖν ὑπολοίποιν ἔσται. Εἴ τις οὖν ἀρχὴν καὶ αἴτιον τῶν δύο κέντρων ὑποθοῖτο τό ἓν, προσεχῶς καὶ ἀμέσως ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνο πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἔχει κἀν ταῖς μονάσι δήπου τὸν αὐτόν τρόπον.

27

Τί δέ, οἱ λέγοντες ὥς ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχει πρὸς τό ἕτερον οὐχ ἥττον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτό, ἅρ' οὐκ ἀριδῆλως ἀμέσως ἔχειν παριστῶσι πρὸς ἄλληλα;

28

Τί δ' ὁ ἐμμέτροις Ἑπεσι θεολογικῶς τε ἅμα καί πατρικῶς ἐγκελευόμενος, ὥς εἶπερ ἀκούσαις περί Υἱοῦ καί Πνεύματος, «ὥς ρα Θεοῦ τὰ δεύτερα Πατρός ἔχουσιν, οὕτω νοεῖν κέλομαί σε λόγους σοφίης βαθυκόλπου»· ὥς εἰς ρίζαν ἄναρχον ἀνέρχεται, οὐ θεότητα τέμνει. Εἰ γάρ μή ἀμέσως ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἂν δεύτερον καί τοῦτ' ἀπό τοῦ Πατρός ἐτίθει, καθά καί τόν Υἱόν.

29

Καί μήν ἐκπόρευσις, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἂν λέγοιτο, πρόοδος τις καί κίνησις ἐστι, κατάλληλος τῷ τε ἐκπορεύοντι καί τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ. Ἡ δέ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρόοδος διττή διά τῆς θεοπνεύστου κηρύττεται Γραφῆς· προχεῖται γάρ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός διά τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἰ δέ βούλει καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐπὶ πάντα τοὺς ἀξίους, οἷς καί ἐπαναπαύεται καί ἐνοικεῖ. Αὕτη οὖν ἡ κίνησις τε καί πρόοδος, εἰ δέ βούλει καί ἐκπόρευσις – οὐδέ γάρ περί τῶν ὀνομάτων ζυγομαχοῦντες ἀσχημονήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καί ὁ Δαβίδ λέγει, «ὁ Θεός ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι σε ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ἐν τῷ διαβαίνειν σε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, γῇ ἐσείσθῃ», ἐκπόρευσιν ἐνταῦθα λέγων τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκχυσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα τὴν εἰς Χριστόν πιστεύσασαν, ἥτις ἔρημος ἦν πρότερον τῆς χάριτος, ὥσπερ καί σεισμόν τῆς γῆς τὴν ἐξ εἰδωλολατρίας πρὸς Θεόν μετάθεσιν – αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός καί τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρόοδος τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐκ ἂν εἴη πάντως καί διά τῶν ἀξίων· καί ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν, ἐν οἷς οἰκεῖ τε καί ἀναπαύεται χάριτι τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον. Ἀνάπαυσις γάρ ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνησις τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κινήσεως παῦλα· κἂν τινες μεταδιδόναι δύναμιν ἐκτήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ πάντως τρόπῳ.

Ἡ μέντοι ἐκ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ, ἣν ἔφημεν, πρόοδος τοῦ Πνεύματος καλεῖται καί εὐδοκία Πατρός τε καί Υἱοῦ, ὥς διά φιλανθρωπίαν πάντως τελεσθεῖσα, καί ἀποστολή καί δόσις καί συγκατάβασις, καί χρονικῶς ἀεὶ προάγεται καί πρὸς τινὰς καί δι' αἰτίας, ἵνα ἀγιάσῃ καί διδάξῃ καί ὑπομνήσῃ καί τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς ἐλέγξῃ· μία μὲν οὖν αὕτη κίνησις καί πρόοδος τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Ἔστι δέ καί ἡ ἀναιτίως τε καί ἀπολελυμένως πάντα καί ὑπὲρ εὐδοκίαν καί φιλανθρωπίαν, ὥς μή κατὰ θέλησιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν μόνην ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός οὕσα προαιώνιος καί ὑπερφυεστάτη τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις καί κίνησις καί πρόοδος. Ζητῆσαι δὴ χρεὼν ἡμᾶς καί κατὰ ταύτην τὴν



ἄφραστόν τε καί ἀπερινόητον κίνησιν τό Πνεῦμα προερχόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ἃρ' ἔχει κατὰ τάς γραφάς καί «ἐν ᾧ ἀναπαύεται» θεοπρεπῶς; Ζητοῦντες οὖν εὐρίσκομεν εὐδοκιμήσαντα τόν Πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ διδάξαι καί ἀποκαλύψαι τοῦτο πρῶτον Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου προδρόμῳ τε καί βαπτιστῇ, ὅς φησι· «κἀγώ οὐκ ἤδειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν· ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδοις τό Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον καί μένον ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ». Διό «καί ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγων ὅτι τεθέαμαι τό Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστεράν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καί ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν».

Ἀλλ' ἵνα μή τις, νομίσας διὰ τήν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ταῦτα λεχθῆναί τε καί τελεσθῆναι παρά τοῦ Πατρός, οὐχ ἱκανόν εἶναι δεῖγμα τοῦτ' εἴπη πρὸς εὗρεσιν τοῦ ζητουμένου ἀκουέτω Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ θείου γράφοντος ἐν ὀγδόῳ τῶν Δογματικῶν, «πιστεύομεν καί εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τό ἐκ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον καί ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον», καί ἐν τῷ περί θείου τόπου, «Θεός τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιόν ἐστι, δύναμις ἁγιαστική ἐνυπόστατος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἀδιαστάτως ἐκπορευομένη καί ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυομένη». Διό καί ταμίας τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὁ Χριστός ἐκ Θεοῦ γνήσιος Υἱός ἐστί τε καί λέγεται. Ὁ καί ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν Θησαυροῖς δεικνύς, «ἀνάγκη πᾶσα», φησί, «τῆς θείας φύσεως εἶναι λέγειν τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, ἧς καί ἔστιν ἀπαρχή κατὰ τόν ἀπόστολον· εἰ δέ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστι κτίσμα, Θεός δέ μᾶλλον ὥς ἐκ Θεοῦ καί ἐν Θεῷ». Καί πάλιν, «Θεός ἄρα τό Πνεῦμά ἐστι τό ἐν Υἱῷ παρά Πατρός φυσικῶς ὑπάρχον καί ὅλην αὐτοῦ τήν ἐνέργειαν ἔχον». Ἀλλά καί ὁ τοῦ Διαλόγου θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ φησίν, ὅτι «τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορεύεται καί ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ μένει». «Οὕτω γάρ ἂν θεώμενοι σεφθείμεν πηγὴν ζωῆς εἰς ἑαυτήν χεομένην καί ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐστῶσαν ὀρῶντες», κατὰ τόν μέγαν θεοφάντορα Διονύσιον.

Καί τοίνυν τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον κατὰ τήν προαιώνιον ἐκείνην καί ἀπερινόητον ἐκπόρευσίν τε καί πρόοδον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον καί ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον, πῶς ἂν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἀναπαύεται ταύτην ἔχει τήν πρόοδον; Οὐκοῦν εἰ καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πάλιν προέρχεσθαι θεολογεῖται, οὐ κατ' ἐκείνην πάντως, ἀλλά καθ' ἑτέραν πρόοδον, ἥτις ἐστίν ἡ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φανέρωσις καί πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους μετάδοσις. Ὁ γάρ Χριστός ἐστι κατὰ τόν θεολόγον Γρηγόριον ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταμίας, ὡς Θεός τε καί Θεοῦ Υἱός. Ὁ δέ ταμίας οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πάντως τά διδόμενα προβάλλεται, καίτοι φυσικῶς ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεός καί φυσικῶς ἐξ

αὐτοῦ προϊόν εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους, ἀλλ' οὐχί τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτός ὁ Κύριος, «ὅταν ἔλθῃ», φησὶν, «ὁ παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς», ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ οὕτω πεμπόμενον πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους.

30

Εἰ δ' ὡς τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς δι' Υἱοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ τό Πνεῦμα πέμπεται, ἀρχὴν οὐκοῦν ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο τὸν Υἱόν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἐστὶν ἓν. Καὶ μαρτυρεῖται πάλιν ἡ θεολόγος φωνή· «τηροῖτο γάρ», φησὶν, «ὡς ὁ ἐμός λόγος, εἷς μὲν Θεός, εἷς ἓν αἷτιον καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων, καὶ κατὰ τό ἓν καὶ ταυτόν τῆς θεότητος, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, κίνημά τε καὶ βούλημα καὶ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ταυτότητα. Αἱ δέ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις μηδεμιᾶς ἐπινοουμένης συναλοιφῆς ἢ ἀναλύσεως ἢ συγχύσεως, Πατὴρ μὲν ὡς ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐπινοουμένου καὶ λεγομένου, ἀρχῆς δέ ὡς αἰτίου καὶ ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ὡς αἰδίου φωτός, Υἱοῦ δέ ἀνάρχου μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἀρχῆς δέ τῶν ὅλων». Εἰ οὖν καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἴη ἀρχὴ ὁ Υἱός, ἓν τῶν ὅλων ἔσται κατὰ σέ τό Πνεῦμα· τούτων γάρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ Υἱός.

Ἴν' οὖν αὐθις εἴπω τό τοῦ θεολόγου, «δεῖξον ὅτι γέγονε τό Πνεῦμα καὶ τότε τῷ Υἱῷ δός», ὥστε δι' αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν κεκτηῖσθαι,— ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' οὐ κυρίως οὐδ' ἐξηρημένως, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ὁμοούσιον νοῆται τό ἐξ οὗ, γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐκ Θεοῦ «μένει», φησί, «τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι κυρίως τό ἐξ οὗ, διὰ τό ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατὴρ πρὸς τό εἶναι τὰ οὐκ ὄντα δραμεῖν, δι' Υἱοῦ δέ»—δεῖξον οὖν, ἵνα πάλιν εἴπω, τό θεῖον Πνεῦμα ἐκ μὴ ὄντων, καὶ τότε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῷ παράσχου, ταυτό δ' εἰπεῖν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων. Ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ὑπάρχον τό Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔστι μὴ ἓν τῶν πάντων εἶναι ἢ τό τάχα μετριώτερον δοκοῦν, μὴ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους τό ἓν αἰτίους ἔχειν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐκάτερον. Ὡς γάρ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῆς κτίσεως ἀπάσης προηγμένης ἐκάτερός ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων, οὕτως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορευομένου, κατὰ τοὺς λατινικῶς φρονοῦντας, ἐκάτερος ἔσται τοῦ πνεύματος ἀρχή, καὶ δύο κἀντεῦθεν ἔσονται ἀρχαὶ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος.

Εἰ γάρ συντελεῖ τι κἀνταῦθα, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖ δήπου συνδημιουργεῖ, αἷτιος ὁμολογουμένως καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος· εἰ δὲ μὴ συντελεῖ τι, μάτην εἴληπται καὶ ὡς ἐκ γεωμετρικοῦ πορίσματος μάταιοι ὄντως ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ

λατῖνοι θεολόγοι · οὐ γάρ ταῦτ' ἔχουσι λέγειν. Ὡς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δημιουργημάτων ἐκατέρου ὑπάρχοντος ἀρχῆς, μία οὐδέν ἤττον ἐστὶν ἀρχή, οὕτω δὴ κἀνταῦθα μία ἔσται, κἂν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων λέγεται. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, καθάπερ ἔφημεν, φυσικὴ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑποστατικὴ, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δημιουργικὴ δύναμις μία καὶ ἀμφοῖν· ἐνταῦθα δέ οὐχὶ τό γόνιμον ἀμφοῖν.

Ἦκούσαμεν γάρ μικρόν ἀνωτέρω τοῦ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπωνύμου, τὸν μὲν Πατέρα πηγὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν εἰπόντος αἰδίου φωτός, τὸν δέ Υἱὸν ἀναρχον μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀρχὴν δέ τῶν ὅλων. Διό καὶ «μόνη πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ», ὁ μέγας εἶπε Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης· καὶ αὖθις· «ἔστι πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ δέ Υἱός καὶ τό Πνεῦμα τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος, εἰ οὕτω χρή φάναι, βλαστοὶ θεόφυτοι καὶ οἶον ἄνθη καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα»· καὶ πάλιν· «διακεκριμένα δέ ἐστὶ τό Πατρός ὑπερούσιον ὄνομα καὶ χρῆμα καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν τούτοις ἀντιστροφῆς ἢ ὅλως κοινότητος ἐπεισαγομένης». Κἂν τῷ Περί μυστικῆς θεολογίας τρίτῳ, «ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ», φησί, «καὶ ἀμεροῦς ἀγαθοῦ τά ἐγκάρδια τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐξέφυ φῶτα, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις συναϊδίου τῇ ἀναβλαστήσει μονῆς ἀπομεμένηκε ἀνεκφοίτητα»· καὶ αὖθις· «τά τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεογονίας οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει πρὸς ἄλληλα».

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Εἰ τοίνυν εἴποις προβολέα τὸν Υἱὸν ὁ Πατήρ οὐδέποτε· ἂν εἴη προβολεύς· κοινωνήσει γάρ κατὰ τό θεογόνον τῷ Υἱῷ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἀπείρηται. Εἰ δέ τὸν Πατέρα φαίης, ὥσπερ οὖν ἐστὶν, ὁ Υἱός οὐκ ἂν εἴη προβολεύς, οὐκ ἄρα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τό Πνεῦμα· μόνος γάρ θεότης θεογόνος ὁ μόνος γεννήτωρ καὶ προβολεύς· κατὰ ταῦτα γάρ καὶ θεογόνος. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἀπαγορεύων πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ γράφων ἀδελφόν, «τό Πνεῦμα», φησί, «τό ἅγιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἥρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται· τῆς δέ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τό εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται, τοῦτο γνωριστικόν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ιδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχον, τό μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σύν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι. Ὁ δέ Υἱός τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίζων, μόνος μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωτός ἐκλάμπας, οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τό ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἢ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον».

Ὅρᾳς ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τε τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τίνα Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τὰ γνωρίσματα; «Γνωρίζει τοίνυν ἡμῖν», φησί, «καὶ φανεροῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὴς Υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκπορεύει, ἵνα μὴ κοινωνίαν ἔχη κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῷ Πατρί. Τῆς γάρ τοῦ Πατρὸς, φησὶν, αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἥτις ιδιότης μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστὶ· «Πάντα γάρ», φησὶν ὁ θεολόγος, «ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶν, ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας». Τίς οὖν ἐκ τοῦ παντός αἰῶνος τῶν ἐνθέων θεολόγων τὰ ἴδια ἐκάστου τῶν τριῶν τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος προσώπων τοῖς δυσὶν ἠκουσται προσνείμας, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀσύγχυτα φυλάξας; Ὅτι δέ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδιον τὸ ἐκπορεύειν δῆλον· Τῆς γάρ αὐτοῦ, φησὶν, αἰτίας ἐξῆπται τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται, παρ' οὗ καὶ ὑφέστηκεν· εἰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεται.

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Ἐπεὶ δέ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος ἐπίσης ἔνεστιν, οἷς ἐστὶ κοινὰ, τὸ δέ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους οὐκ ἐπίσης πρόσεστι τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,—ὁ μὲν γάρ προσεχῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ δέ ἐμμέσως καὶ οὐ προσεχῶς ἐκπορεύεται καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὥς γε αὐτοὶ φρονοῦσιν—εἰ οὖν κατ' αὐτούς οὐκ ἐπίσης πρόσεστιν, οὐδέ κοινόν Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι τὸ εἶναι ἐκ Πατρὸς· εἰ δέ μὴ κοινόν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὅλως οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν. Θάτερον γάρ ὁποιοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχον, θάτερον ἐκβάλλεται μὴ κοινωνοῦν, καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀμφότερα. Οὕτως οὐδέν ἂν διαφύγοις τῶν ἀτόπων ὁ λατινικῶς φρονῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰπόντες τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσης διαφεύγειν, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασι κἀκεῖνοι χρήσονται καὶ σοι δι' ἑαυτῶν ἄφυκτον ἀποδείξουσι τὸν τῶν ἀτόπων ἐσμόν.

Εἰ γάρ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα ὑπαριθμούμενον ἐρεῖς, ὃ σοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἀσφαλέστερον, ὥς ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἄλλων σφαλερόν, κἀκεῖνοί σοι τὸν Υἱὸν δείξουσιν, ἔστιν οὐ λεγόμενον μετὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα, προαριθμουμένου δηλαδή τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἀμφοτέροις δέ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντεροῦμεν λέγοντες, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὧ οὗτοι, κεῖνται τὰ πράγματα.

Εἰ γάρ τοῦτο, τί κωλύει κατὰ τόν αὐτόν λόγον τῆς συναριθμήσεώς τε καί προαριθμήσεως ἐπαλλαττομένης παρά τῇ θεῖᾳ Γραφῇ, ποτέ μὲν γεννᾶν τε καί προβάλλειν, ποτέ δέ τὰ αὐτά γεννᾶσθαι τε καί προβάλλεσθαι; Οὐδέ γάρ προκαταρκτικόν, οὐδέ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς ὑμεῖς, τόν Πατέρα λέγομεν, δεύτερον δέ τόν Υἱόν, εἰ καί διὰ τό δημιουργικόν αἴτιον ταῦτα καλεῖται ὁ Πατήρ. Κακεῖθεν οὕτω κεκλημένος, ἔσθ' ὅτε παρά τῶν θεολόγων οὕτως ὀνομάζεται καί περί τῶν ἀκτίστων τόν λόγον ποιουμένων, ὥσπερ καί Πατήρ διὰ τόν Υἱόν καλεῖται. Ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καί περί τῶν κάτω ποιούμενοι τούς λόγους, οὕτω τοῦτον ὀνομάζομεν· οὐδέ γάρ πρῶτον μὲν Θεόν τόν Πατέρα σέβομεν, δεύτερον δέ τόν Υἱόν, τρίτον δέ τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, ἵν' αἰεὶ τό δεύτερον μετὰ τό πρῶτον λέγωμεν καί μετ' αὐτό τό τρίτον, ὑπό τάξιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄγοντες τὰ ὑπεράνω τάξεως, ὥσπερ καί τῶν ἄλλων πάντων.

### 33

Ὁ γάρ χρυσοῦς τήν γλῶτταν Ἰωάννης ἐξηγούμενος τό παρά τοῦ Ἀβραάμ πρὸς τόν οἰκεῖον οἰκέτην εἰρημένον, «θές τήν χειρά σου ὑπὸ τόν μηρόν μου», κατὰ τήν ὁμιλίαν προΐων φησι· «κηρυττέσθω Πνεῦμα ἅγιον· ὑψούσθω ὁ μονογενής· δοξαζέσθω ὁ Πατήρ. Μηδεὶς ἀνατετράφθαι τήν ἀξίαν νομιζέτω, εἰ Πνεύματος πρῶτον μνημονεύομεν, εἶτα Υἱοῦ, εἶτα Πατρός· ἢ Υἱοῦ πρῶτον, εἶτα Πατρός. Οὐ γάρ ἔχει τάξιν ὁ Θεός, οὐχ ὡς ἄτακτος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ τάξιν ὢν. Οὐδέ γάρ σχῆμα ἔχει ὁ Θεός, οὐχ ὡς ἀσχήμων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀσχημάτιστος».

Ὑπὲρ τάξιν οὖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τάξιν ὁ Θεός. Εἰ δ' ἔστι καί τάξις ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τό τρισυπόστατον τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐγνωσμένη διὰ τό ὑπὲρ πᾶν εἶδος τάξεως εἶναι. Τήν μὲν γάρ κατὰ τήν ἐκφώνησιν τάξιν ἴσμεν, διδαχθέντες παρά τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς, παρ' ἧς καί ἐπαλλαττομένην ταύτην εὐσεβῶς διδασκόμεθα. Τήν δ' ἐκ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας προσοῦσαν, καί μάλιστα τοῖς δυσὶ προσώποις, τῷ τε Υἱῷ καί τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, οὐδαμῶς ἴσμεν. Διό Γρηγορίων ὁ θεολογικώτατος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Εἰρηνικῶν φησιν, «οὕτω φρονοῦμεν καί οὕτως ἔχομεν, ὡς ὅπως μὲν ἔχει ταῦτα σχέσεώς τε καί τάξεως, αὐτῇ μόνη τῇ Τριάδι συγχωρεῖν εἰδέναι καί οἷς ἂν ἡ Τριάς ἀποκαλύψη κεκαθαρμένοις, ἢ νῦν ἢ ὕστερον».

Ἀλλ', ὁ μέγας, φασί, Βασίλειος, ὡς κεκαθαρμένος ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως, τοῦτο μαθὼν εἶπεν ἐν τοῖς Κατ' Εὐνομίου. Συγχωρεῖν δέ καί Γρηγόριον τὸν θεολόγον εἰδέναι ταύτην, οἷς ἂν ἡ Τριάς ἀποκαλύψη κεκαθαρμένοις. Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, πῶς τοῦ Εὐνομίου μαθεῖν εἰπόντος ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τρίτον τῇ τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δυσχεράνας οὖμενον ἡρέμα τούτῳ καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθῶς ἐνεγκὼν ὁ θεῖος Βασίλειος, «παρά τῶν ἁγίων», φησίν, «εἶπε μεμαθηκέναι ἵτινες δέ οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ ἐν ποίοις αὐτῶν λόγοις τὴν διδασκαλίαν πεποιήνται εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει»; Δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ὄντων τῶν εἰπόντων ἁγίων.

Εἶτα, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ τρίτον εἶναι τῇ τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τρίτον εἶναι καὶ τῇ φύσει συνήγαγε, καίτοι μηδὲ παρά τοῦτο συναγόμενον, ἐνδούς ὁ μέγας καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν παραδεξάμενος, «εἰ καὶ τρίτον εἶναι», φησί, «τῇ τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἴσως παραδίδωσι λόγος, ἵνα καὶ ὅλως συγχωρήσωμεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη παρά τοῦτο τρίτον εἶναι αὐτό καὶ τῇ φύσει». Ὡς οὖν καθ' ὑπόθεσιν παραδεξάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο δογματίζων αὐτός, ἀμφισβητικῶς ἔχοντα τὸν λόγον προήγαγεν.

Ὁ δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς αὐτὸν Εὐνόμιον, ὡς «ἔστι τάξεως εἶδος οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν θέσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνυπαρχούσης ἀκολουθίας», οὐ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν διάλεξιν φησιν, ἐν οἷς ἐγνωσμένον τε καὶ ἀνωμολογημένον ἅπασιν αἰτιατόν μὲν εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, τὸν δέ Πατέρα αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ προεπινοούμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης, εἰ καὶ μή κατὰ χρόνον, ὡς αὐτός ἐκεῖ φησι. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ χωρὶς ἐνδοιασμῶν τε καὶ ἀμφισβητήσεων, τὸν μὲν Πατέρα προτετάχθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ φησι, τὸν δέ Υἱόν δευτερεύειν τοῦ Πατρὸς, γράφων· «ἡμεῖς δέ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν αἰτίων πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν σχέσιν, προτετάχθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸν Πατέρα φαμέν, κατὰ δέ τὴν τῆς φύσεως διαφοράν οὐκέτι, οὐδέ κατὰ τὴν τῶν χρόνου ὑπεροχήν». Ἐν δέ τῳ τρίτῳ πάλιν, «τάξει μὲν», φησί, «δεύτερος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀξιώματι, φύσει δέ οὐκέτι δεύτερος».

Οὕτως οἶδεν ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐξ Υἱοῦ. Εἰ γάρ τοῦτ' ἐγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἂν ὅλως ἠμφισβήτει, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπηγόρευε τρίτον εἶναι τῇ τάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀλλ' οὐδέ κατὰ τοῦ Εὐνομίου καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπόντος λίαν ἐδυσχέραινε. Πρὸς δέ τούτοις καὶ τὸ δευτερεύειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα σὺν ἀμφιβολίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς αὐτός δοξάζων παραδεξάμενος,

δείκνυται μηδ' αὐτός εἰδέναι, ὅπως ἔχουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα ὁ Υἱὸς τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα σχέσεώς τε καὶ τάξεως.

Ὅτι μὲν γάρ ἅμα ἐξ αἰδίου ὁ Υἱὸς τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν ἀλλήλοις τε ὄντα καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενα καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀφύρτως τε καὶ ἀμιγῶς χωροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι τούτων ἕκαστον τάξεώς τε καὶ σχέσεως εἶδος, καὶ ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἅμα, εἰ καὶ οὐχ ὡσαύτως, καὶ ὅτι ὁμοτίμα ἐξ ὁμοτίμου, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ιδιότης ὃν τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως οὐκ ἔστιν εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὁ λέγων καὶ τὸν Υἱόν τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ἔχειν σύγχυσιν ποιεῖ τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων, δυσσεβῶς ἀθετῶν τὴν ἀνωμολογημένην τάξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ—«δεῖ γάρ», φησί καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος, «τάς ιδιότητας μένειν Πατρί καὶ Υἱῷ, ἵνα μὴ σύγχυσις ἢ παρά θεότητι τῇ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰς τάξιν ἀγούσῃ»—ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνωμολογημένην τάξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν· τὴν δὲ δεύτερον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τρίτον δὲ ἀπὸ Πατρὸς τιθεῖσαν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐθ' ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν οὔτε οἱ διδάσκαλοι καὶ προασπισταὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Λατῖνοι δέ, ὧς τῆς ἀνοίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπονοίας, τὴν μὲν εὐσεβῇ καὶ ἀνωμολογημένην ἐκείνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τάξιν ἀθετοῦσιν, ἃ δὲ Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ὑπὲρ τὴν οἰκείαν γνῶσιν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι ὡς ἀπόρρητα ὄντα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, αὐτοὶ καταλαβεῖν ἀνχοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄφραστον τε καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ Πνεύματος καινοφωνοῦσι, βλασφημοῦσι δὲ εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, ἔμμεσόν τε καὶ ἄμεσον αὐτὴν λέγοντες καὶ προσεχῇ καὶ πόρρω, δι' ὧν κινδυνεύουσι καὶ εἰς κτίσμα κατασπᾶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Διὸ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως οὐδ' ἀεὶ μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν παρά τῆς θεοπνεύστου τίθεται Γραφῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Τοῦτο γάρ Λατίνοις συμβαίνει, τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δύο, πρώτου αἰτίου καὶ δευτέρου, λέγουσι τὸ ἓν καὶ μὴ κατὰ πάντα στέργουσι τὴν θεόπνευστον Γραφήν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἅττα βούλονται προστιθεῖσιν τε καὶ ἀφαιροῦσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός εὐσεβοφρόνως σέβουσι καὶ εἰς ἓν ἀναφέρουσι τὰ δύο, ἥκιστα.

Ἵνα δέ σοι καὶ λόγον δῶμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταξιώσωμεν διδάξαι· τίνος ἔνεκεν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν ἡμῖν ὑμνεῖται, καὶ μυεῖσθαι παραδέδοται; Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ, ἡ πάντων ἀρχή, Υἱοῦ Πατὴρ ἐστὶ μονογενοῦς, ὅς καὶ πρὶν ἢ προστεθῆναι τῷ



Πατρί συννοεῖται πάραυτα. Πῶς οὖν ἀφέντες τόν καί πρίν ἢ λεχθῆναι προσεχέστατα τῷ Πατρὶ νοούμενον, εὐθύς ἂν τό Πνεῦμα μετά τόν Πατέρα θεΐημεν; Διά τοῦτο μετά τόν τοῦ Πατρός Υἱόν λέγεται τό Πνεῦμα ὅτι μή δυναμένων γάρ ἡμῶν ἄμφω προφέρειν διά γλώττης ἅμα, ὥσπερ ἄρα καί ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός προῆλθον, εἰ πρό τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα τῷ Πατρὶ συνημμένον θεΐημεν, δόξαι ἂν Υἱός τό Πνεῦμα ὅτι γάρ “Πατήρ” ὄνομα εὐθύς συνεισάγεται τῇ διανοίᾳ τόν Υἱόν ὡς προϊόντες δ’ αὐθις καί μετά τό Πνεῦμα προσεχῶς εὐθύς τιθέντες τόν Υἱόν, Πατέρα τό Πνεῦμα ποιήσομεν νοεῖσθαι. Ὁ γάρ Υἱός, Πατρός Υἱός καί συνεισάγει τῇ διανοίᾳ τόν Πατέρα καί μάλιστα τόν πρό αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον ὁ δέ Υἱός προσεχῶς τῷ Πατρὶ τιθέμενος καί τό μονογενές ἑαυτῷ φυλάττει καί τό ἐκπορευτῶς ἐκ Πατρός εἶναι τό Πνεῦμα οὐ κωλύει. Ὁ καί ὁ Νυσσαέων Γρηγόριος φησιν, οὕτινος οἱ λατινικῶς φρονούντες τό ὕψος τῆς διανοίας μή χωρήσαντες, πόρρω μὲν τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς τῆς ἀσεβείας, δοξάζουσι τό Πνεῦμα, προσεχές δέ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ τε καί Υἱός ἄλληλα εἰσάγουσι τῇ διανοίᾳ κατά τοῦτο ὄντα προσεχῇ, διά τοῦτο πόρρω τό Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρός καί οὐκ ἀμέσως ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλά περί μὲν τούτων, ὕστερον.

Νῦν δ’ ἵνα καί δευτέραν αἰτίαν ἀποδῶμεν, ἥτις καί αὕτη, ἵνα διά πάντων συνετίσωμέν σε, διά τήν προειρημένην γέγονε ὁ πρῶτον ἡμῶν τό γένος Θεόν ἔγνω τόν Πατέρα καί Πατέρα τόν Θεόν, τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος φανερωθείσης τε καί πιστευθείσης ἀμυδρῶς, ὥς γε συνήνεγκεν ἡμῖν. Εἰ γάρ ἐπίσης ὡς Πατήρ καί προβολεύς, τόθ’ ἡμῖν οὐ Πατήρ ἀλλά προβολεύς ἢ ἐκπορευῶν ἐκηρύττετο, πῶς ἂν παραδεξάμεθα, μή δυνάμενοί πω χωρῆσαι διά τό νηπιῶδες ἔτι, τήν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἐμφύτου πλούτου τῆς θεότητος; Τό δέ “πατήρ” ὄνομα καί πρός ἡμῶν ἐστι καί οἷον κοινόν ἔχομεν αὐτό ταῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁμοουσίαις μὲν αὐτῷ ἡμῖν δέ δεσποτικαῖς ἐκείναις ὑποστάσεσιν. Εἰ κἀκεῖνοι μὲν φύσει καί ὑπέρ ἡμᾶς ἔχουσιν αὐτό, ἡμῶν δ’ ὑπό φιλανθρωπίας καλεῖσθαι κατηξίωσε – διό καί Ἰουδαῖοι ἔλεγον, «ἡμεῖς Πατέρα ἔχομεν τόν Θεόν» – σοφῶς οὖν ἄγαν καί οἷον ὑποκλέπτων τήν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δέ ἡμᾶς ἀπό τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ δουλείας καί ψευδοδοξίας καί ψευδολατρίας ἐπὶ τήν οἰκείαν δεσποτείαν πρός θεογνωσίαν ὑφαιρούμενος καί τήν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑπεμφαίνων συνεισέφερε θεότητα, Πατήρ κηρυττόμενος αὐτός. Μετ’ αὐτόν ὁ Υἱός πεφανέρωται τῷ κόσμῳ, διά σαρκός ἡμῖν ὀφθείς καί συναναστραφεὶς ὅς σὺν ἑαυτῷ καί τό Πνεῦμα ὑπεδείκνυ, λόγοις τε καί ἔργοις διά πάντων πιστούμενος, συνημμένον φύσει καί ὁμότιμον ἑαυτῷ καί τῷ Πατρὶ. Μετά τόν Υἱόν τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐπεδήμησε τῷ κόσμῳ, παρά

μέν τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεμπόμενον, ὥς οὐκ ἀντίθεον οὐδέ ἀντίχριστον, καί πεμπόμενον οὐχ ἀπλῶς καί ἀπολύτως, ἀλλά χρονικῶς καί πρὸς τινὰς καί δι' αἰτίαν· παρά δέ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον οὐ δι' αἰτίαν ὅλως, οὐδέ χρονικῶς ἢ πρὸς τινὰς, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς καί ἀπολύτως πάντῃ, ὥς ὁμόθεον καί ὁμοούσιον καί τῆς αὐτῆς οὐχ ἦττον ἐξημμένον τῷ Υἱῷ αἰτίας καί ἀρχῆς, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δέ ἐρχόμενον ὥς κύριον καί αὐτεξούσιον.

Ἐπεγένετο δέ καί τρίτη τις αἰτία τοῖς θεολόγοις, δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καί ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ παριστᾶσιν ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τό συναφές καί τέλειον καί ὁμοούσιον Πατρί τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Πνεύματος· ὅτι μετὰ τό κατευνασθῆναι καί μετασκευασθῆναι τὴν πλειόνων κατὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μανίαν, πολυειδῶς ἀποδειχθείσης καί ἀναφανείσης καί στηριχθείσης ἀσφαλέστατα τῆς τούτου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα συμφυΐας καί ὁμοτιμίας ὁ κατὰ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ἐμφανέστερον ἀνερριπίσθη πόλεμος. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καί τοῖς θεολόγοις ὁ λόγος ἅπας, οὐ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ὁμοουσιότητος τοῦ Πνεύματος, εἰ καί Λατῖνοι βιάζονται τὰς ρήσεις, μεθέλκοντες αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κακόνοιαν.

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Ἀλλὰ γάρ οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν εἷς Θεὸς ἐκπεφασμένος, οὕτω καί δοξάζεται· καί οὕτω μιᾶς εἰκόνος οὔσης καί μορφῆς ἐπὶ τῆς μόνης ἀνειδέου καί προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος – «ἡ γάρ Τριάς συνάπτεται μὲν ἀδιαστάτως, σύνεστι δέ ἀϊδίως, εἰκόνα δέ προφαίνει μίαν καί τὴν αὐτήν», Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μέγας λέγει – μιᾶς οὖν οὕτως εἰκόνος οὔσης ἐπὶ τῆς σεπτῆς Τριάδος, τὸν μὲν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς μορφήν τε καί εἰκόνα λέγομεν, τό δέ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Οὕτω γάρ ἡμῖν ὥς εὐδόκησεν ἑαυτὴν ἐγνώρισε καί οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν τό Πνεῦμα λέγομεν, ὥς αὐτός πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· ὁμοίως γάρ ἀμφοτέρα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, πλὴν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως, ὥς ἀνωτέρω διὰ πλειόνων ἀποδέδεικται. Προσεχῶς δέ τῷ Πατρί ὁ Υἱὸς ἐγνώσται ἡμῖν καί διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς τούτου ἐγνωσμένου τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἐφανερώθη, κηρυχθέν τε καί πεμφθέν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ὥς καί οὗτος πρόφην ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὀνόματι. Καί πάντα λέγομεν ἔχει τὸν Υἱὸν τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας, πάντα δέ τὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα ἄνευ τῆς υἰότητος. Πάντα γάρ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοίως ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς τε καί τό Πνεῦμα ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας, συμπεριβαλλούσης ἅμφω τὰς ὑπαρκτικὰς καθ' ὑπόστασιν διαφοράς. Διὸ καί πρό τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔστιν οὗ τίθεμεν τό Πνεῦμα, εἰ

καί ὡς ἐπ' ἔλαττον, ὡς δέ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα τοῦτον, ἵνα τῶν τριῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καὶ θεοπρεπῶν καὶ προμηθεστάτων οἰκονομιῶν, συνεχῇ καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον τὴν μνήμην φέροντες, συντομωτάτην διὰ πάντων ἀποδιδῶμεν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.

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Εὐνόμιος δέ καί μετ' αὐτόν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες μὴ συνετῶς ἀκηκοότες τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τοιαύτης εὐχαριστίας τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους ἀντιρρήσεσιν οἰκονομίας μὴ δυνηθέντες συνιδεῖν, συνήγαγον κακῶς ἐντεῦθεν τρίτον ἀπὸ Πατρός εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μηδὲ τοῦτο συνιδόντες, ὡς εἶγε τοῦτο ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο «ἡ φυσικὴ τάξις τοῦ τε Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ἐδείκνυτο, οὐκ ἂν, ἐπαλλαττομένης ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ τῆς συνεκφωνήσεως τῶν τριῶν προσκυνητῶν προσώπων, ἔστιν οὗ μετὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Υἱὸς ἐτίθετο, προαριθμουμένου δηλαδή τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολογίᾳ φησὶ Γρηγόριος, ὅτι «τά αὐτά καὶ προαριθμεῖται καὶ ὑπαριθμεῖται παρὰ τῇ Γραφῇ διὰ τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν τῆς φύσεως»· ἐν δέ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἡμᾶς οὕτω παραινεῖ θεολογεῖν, «μετὰ Παύλου», λέγων, «θεολόγησον, τοῦ πρὸς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀναχθέντος, ποτέ μὲν συναριθμοῦντος τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνηλλαγμένως, οὐ τετηρημένως ταῖς τάξεσι, προαριθμοῦντος, ἐναριθμοῦντος, ὑπαριθμοῦντος τὸ αὐτό».

Ἀλλ' οὐδέ τὸ “δι' οὗ” μόνῳ τῷ Υἱῷ παρὰ τῆς θείας ἀπονενέμῃται

Γραφῆς· ὁ γάρ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν Θησαυροῖς φησι, «Χριστοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου διὰ Πνεύματος ἡμῖν ἐνοικιζομένου». Τούτων οὖν Εὐνόμιος τε καὶ τὸ τῶν Λατίνων γένος, μηδένα ποιησάμενοι λόγον, τρίτον εἶναι τῇ τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐδογμάτισαν, οὐ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τάξει ἀλλὰ τῇ φυσικῇ, κακῶς. Ὁ γε μὴν Εὐνόμιος ἐντεῦθεν τρίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός εἶναι καὶ τῇ φύσει, ὡς ἀμφοτέρων κατ' αὐτὴν διαφέρον, προσεδογμάτισεν, οἱ δέ Λατῖνοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατασκευάζουσιν.

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Ἡμεῖς δέ σὺν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πατράσιν ὥς ἐπὶ τό πλεῖστον τό Πνεῦμα μετὰ τόν Υἱόν τιθέαμεν καί μετὰ τόν Πατέρα τοῦτον, ἵνα τῶν τριῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καί θεοπρεπῶν καί προμηθεστάτων οἰκονομιῶν συντομωτάτην ἀποδιδῶμεν διὰ πάντων τήν δοξολογίαν καί τήν εὐχαριστίαν καί τήν ἀνάμνησιν· οὐχ ὅτι δεύτερα καί τρίτα τῇ τιμῇ καί τῇ ἀξίᾳ – καί γάρ ὁμότιμα – οὐδέ τήν δυνάδα ποιοῦντες τοῦ ἐνός ἀρχήν, οὐδ' εἰς τήν δυνάδα ἀναφέροντες τό ἓν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἡμῖν Θεός, εἰς ἓν αἷτιον καί Υἱοῦ καί Πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων, ἐξ οὗ μόνου ἔχει καί τήν ὑπαρξιν ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν· καί ὅτι μία ἀρχή, ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς καί ὁ θαυματουργός Γρηγόριος λέγει, κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν εἷς Θεός· καί ὅτι μία φύσις τοῖς τρισίν, αὐτά γάρ τά δύο καί τά τρία καί τό ἐξ αὐτοῦ καί τό ἀναφέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτόν οὐ τήν φύσιν διαιρεῖ, ἀλλά περί αὐτήν διαιρεῖται, οὐδέ γοῦν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστι κυρίως, εἰ καί μή χωρίς αὐτῆς, οὐδ' εἰς αὐτήν ἀναφέρεται, εἰ καί μή ἄνευ ταύτης· τό γάρ ἓν, πῶς ἂν αὐτό ἑαυτό γεννήσῃ τε καί προβάλοιτο καί εἰς ἑαυτό ἀναφέροιτο; Οὐδ' ἀρχή τοίνυν καί τά ἐξ αὐτῆς, οὐδέ αἷτιον καί αἰτιατόν αὐτό ἑαυτοῦ τό ἓν. Εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ' ἅπαντα, κατὰ ταῦτα κυρίως καθ' ἃ καί μερίζεται, ταῦτα δ' ἐστίν αἱ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, εἴτ' οὖν τά τρία πρόσωπα τῆς μιᾶς τῇ φύσει θεότητος, ὅταν οἱ Λατῖνοι λέγωσιν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τό ἓν, τῶν προσώπων δηλαδή φασι· κατὰ τοῦτο γάρ καί ἀμφοτέρα, τό γάρ ἓν οὐκ ἂν ρηθεῖη ποτέ ἀμφοτέρα.

Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν κατὰ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δύο τό ἓν, καθ' ἃ καί ἡ ἀρχή καί τό αἷτιον καί νοεῖται καί λέγεται, ἐκ δύο ἀρχῶν λέγουσι τό ἓν καί δύο ἀρχάς καί δύο αἷτια καί πολυθεΐαν εἰσάγουσιν. Οὐ γάρ μόνον ὅτι μία φύσις εἷς Θεός, ἀλλ' ὅτι καί ἓν πρόσωπον τήν ἀναφοράν ἔχει τά ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καί εἰς ἓν αἷτιον καί μίαν ἀρχήν τά ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρεται· οὐ τά δύο μόνον ἄμφω, ἀλλά καί ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χωρίς. Καί διὰ τοῦτο μία τῆς θεότητος ἀρχή καί εἷς Θεός ἐστι καί κατὰ ταύτην τήν ἀναφοράν· ὅτι καί ἐκάτερον ἀναφέρεται εἰς ἓν ἀμέσως. Εἰ γάρ μή ἀμέσως καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρός, τό ἐμμέσως τοῦτο δύο ἐξ ἀνάγκης τά αἷτια ποιεῖ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τό τε μέσον καί τό ἄκρον, καί οὐκ ἓνι διὰ τήν οὕτως ἔχουσιν ἀναφοράν ἓνα Θεόν τά τρία εἶναι· μᾶλλον δέ οὐδέ Θεόν εἶναι τό διὰ μέσης θεότητος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός· ἐπὶ γάρ τά κτίσματα ἦλθεν ὁ Πατήρ διὰ μέσης θεότητος κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους.

Οὐ γάρ ὡς Πατήρ ταῦτ' ἔκτισεν, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεός. Ὁ δέ Υἱός εἷς Θεός μετὰ Πατρός· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ ὡς ἐξ ἐνός Θεοῦ κτίσματα καί μία ἡ ἀρχή τῶν κτισμάτων, ὁ Θεός. Γεννᾷ δέ ὁ Θεός καί ἐκπορεύει ὡς Πατήρ τῶν αὐτῶ συναϊδίων φώτων. Εἰ γοῦν ἐκ Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ ὡς ἐξ ἐνός ἐστι τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ ἐνός ἔσται Θεοῦ, τοῦ Πατρός καί τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἐνός ὄντος Πατρός, τοῦ Πατρός καί τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καί ταύτης τῆς συγχύσεως τίς ἂν ἀτοπωτέρα γένοιτο; Διό καί ταύτην οἱ Λατῖνοι φεύγοντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐνός φασι Θεοῦ· ὁ χώραν οὐδαμόθεν ἔχει, καθάπερ ἀναπέφηνε· καί ταῦθ' ὅτι καί τό Πνεῦμα εἷς Θεός ἐστι μετὰ Πατρός τε καί Υἱοῦ.

Τοιγαροῦν, ἐπειδήπερ πάντη τε καί πάντως εἷς ὑπάρχει ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ ἄμφω ὁ Υἱός τε καί τό Πνεῦμα, ἀλλά καί χωρίς ἐκάτερον μίαν ἀρχήν καί ἓν αἷτιον ἔχει μόνον, τόν Πατέρα. Καί οὕτω μία τῆς θεότητος ἀρχή, κἂν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες ἐγκαλοῦμενοι, πῶς δύο λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀρχάς, ἀπολογεῖσθαι οἴωνται μίαν ἀρχήν ἰσχυριζόμενοι δοξάζειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τε καί τοῦ Πνεύματος· σοφίζεσθαι γάρ ἡμᾶς βουλόμενοι τοῦτο διαβεβαιοῦνται, ὡς καί τήν ἀρχήν ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες. Αὐτό γάρ τοῦτό ἐστι τό παρ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαλούμενον αὐτοῖς· πῶς Υἱοῦ μέν καί τοῦ Πνεύματος μίαν τήν ἀρχήν φασι, τοῦ δέ ἐνός Πνεύματος δύο λέγουσιν ἀρχάς; Ἐκεῖνοι δέ περί τοῦ ἐνός ἐρωτώμενοι, σοφιστικῶς περί τῶν δύο τήν ἀπόκρισιν ποιοῦνται· σφῶν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πυνθανομένων κατασοφίζόμενοι.

### 39

Πατήρ μέν οὖν καί ἀρχή καί αἷτιον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ πάντη τε καί πάντως ἓν· προβολεύς γάρ παρ' οὐδενός τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐκλήθη, ἀλλά καί ἀντί τούτου ἡ τοῦ Πατρός ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς φωνή. Ἀρχήν δέ λέγω οὐ τήν καταρχήν, οὐδέ τήν δημιουργικήν, οὐδ' ἢ τό τῆς δεσποτείας ἐστίν ἐπώνυμον.

### 40

Καί τοίνυν ὁ Θεός καί Πατήρ, καθό Πατήρ, ἀρχή καί αἷτιός ἐστι· καί καθό ἀρχή, Πατήρ τῶν φώτων, δηλαδή Υἱοῦ καί Πνεύματος· καί καθό αἷτιος, αἷτιος, ἀρχή τε καί Πατήρ. Εἰ οὖν καί ὁ Υἱός αἷτιός ἐστι τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐξ ἀνάγκη ἔσται καί ἀρχή καί Πατήρ ὡς αἷτιος· ὡς γάρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καθό ἀνθρώπου ἐπιστήμης δεκτικοῦ ὑπάρχοντος, τόν ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν οὐκ ἔνι

μή καί ἄνθρωπον ὑπάρχειν, οὕτω καί ἐπὶ Θεοῦ· ἐπεὶ ὁ Πατήρ, καθό Πατήρ, ἀρχή καί αἰτιός ἐστι, τόν αἴτιον ὑπάρχοντα οὐκ ἔνι μή καί ἀρχήν εἶναι καί Πατέρα, καίτοι τοῦ θεολόγου Γρηγορίου γράφοντος, «οὕτως εἶναι Υἱόν κυρίως τόν Υἱόν, ὅτι μή ἔστιν οὗτος καί Πατήρ».

Ὅρᾳς ἀθετουμένην σαφῶς τήν μοναρχίαν καί τό καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνιαῖον τοῦ Πατρός ὑπό τῶν λεγόντων καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα καί μή ἀναγόντων ἐκάτερον τῶν προσώπων εἰς μίαν μόνην, τήν τῆς θεότητος πηγὴν; Μία γάρ φύσις καί οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' οὐχ εἷς οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωπος. Καίτοι δι' ἀλλήλων, μᾶλλον δέ διά τῶν πρό ἡμῶν, ἀναχθείμεν ἂν εἰς ἓνα τόν προπάτορα, ἀλλ' εὐθύς πολλά τά αἴτια, καί οὐκ ἐξ ἑνός ἡμεῖς διά τοῦτο καί οὐχ εἷς. Ἄρ' οὐ φανερώς καινοτομεῖς ὁ λατινικῶς φρονῶν;

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Καί εἰ μή πρό ὑμῶν ἐλλιπές ἦν τό καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ «ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ», καί «ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτήριος χάρις» καί ἡ κατ' αὐτήν θεογνωσία, ἡ πᾶσιν ἐκφανεῖσα καί διδάξασα πάντας, εἰ μή «κεκένωται ἡ πίστις», εἰ μή διέφθαρται τά τῆς ὁμολογίας, αἷς καί ἐνήθλησαν καί ἐνήσκησαν «τό τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν περικείμενον νέφος», ὁ τῶν ὁσίων παμπληθὴς κατάλογος, ὁ τῶν διδασκάλων θεοδίδακτος θίασος, πάντες οἱ ἔργῳ καί λόγῳ καί τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς παθήμασι μαρτυρήσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καί μεχρι θανάτου καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἐνέστησαν, καί οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μόνον ἢ καί ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ καί ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου στηριγμοῦ – εἰ μή ταῦθ' ἅπαντα καί ἡ τῶν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ καλουμένων πίστις ἐλλιπής, διακενῆς ὄντως σὺ προσθήκας ἐξευρίσκεις καί κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ καινοτομεῖς ψυχῆς.

Εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐγίνωσκον καί ἐξ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, τίνας ἔνεκεν οὐ παρρησία διατέλεσαν κηρύττοντες καί διά τῶν ἱερῶν συνόδων πολλῶν καί πολλάκις γενομένων βεβαιώσαντες; Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγνωσμένον ἦν αὐτοῖς; Οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἦν οὕτω τάληθές· πάντα γάρ ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐγνωσμένος καθ' ἡμᾶς. Καί πάντα κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τό Πνεῦμα καί διά τοῦτ' ἐδίδαξεν, ἵν' ἡμᾶς οὗτοι διδάξωσιν, ὥς ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὥς καί ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται. Εἰ γάρ τοῦτο λέγειν τολμήσεις, ὥς οὐκ ἐγνώσαν οἱ πρό ἡμῶν θεολόγοι τάληθές, ὥς καί τοῦτο μηδέν ἥττον βλάσφημον ἀποπεμψόμεθα.

Τίς γάρ εἰ ὁ τοῦτο γρύξαι τολμῶν; Ποία δ' ἰσάριθμος σύνοδος, μᾶλλον δέ πόσαι καί ποῦ μαρτυρηθεῖσαι παρά τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὃ καί ζῶσιν ἐκείνοις

καί γεγονόσιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων συνεμαρτύρησε, καί ἀεί συμμαρτυρεῖ τε καί συμμαρτυρήσει διά τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σοροῖς τούτων τελουμένων τε καί τελεσθησομένων θαυμάτων; Ἀλλ' ἔχω καὶ γώ, φησί, πολλοὺς τῶν πατέρων συμμαρτυροῦντάς μοι τῇ προσθήκῃ. Τί οὖν, ἕτερα μὲν οὗτοι κοινῇ συνειλεγμένοι παρεδίδουν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἕτερα δέ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐδογματίζον; Οὕμενον. Ἀλλ' ἢ παραχαράττεις αὐτός ἢ παραλογίζῃ καί παρεξηγῇ, μή μετά τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐρμηνεύων τά εἰρημένα διά τοῦ Πνεύματος.

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Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τοῦτο θείμεν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ προσδεκτέα μᾶλλον τά κοινῇ παραδεδομένα τῶν ιδίως εἰρημένων ἐκάστῳ; Ἐκεῖνα μὲν γάρ πρὸς τῷ πάντων εἶναι καί ἀνεπιχείρητα τοῖς κακουργοῦσι καί τῷ παραχαράττειν δολοῦσι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον, πᾶσιν ἐγνωσμένα σοφοῖς τε καί ιδιώταις καί διά στόματος ἀεί φερόμενα. Τά δέ μή ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καθωμιλημένα ὑποπτά ἐστι καί μάλιστα προαγόμενα παρά Λατίνων, οἳ καί τῷ φανερωτάτῳ τῆς πίστεως συμβόλῳ διά προσθήκης ὑπεβούλευσαν. Οἱ γάρ τῷ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς χριστιανῶν ἀπάντων στόμασι κειμένῳ καί τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης πολλάκις ἀνακηρυττομένῳ προσθήκην ἐπινοήσαντές τε καί τολμήσαντες, τί οὐκ ἂν ἔδρασαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγνοουμένοις παρά τῶν πλειόνων; Τά γοῦν μή κοινὰ μηδέ καθωμιλημένα ὑποπτά ἐστι, μή πονηρός ἄνθρωπος ἐνέσπειρεν αὐτοῖς ζιζάνια. Ταῦτα ἄρα, κἂν μὲν ὁμολογῶσι τῇ κοινῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, προσδεκτέα ἂν δέ μή, οὐχί.

Ὅμως ἐν δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τά δοκοῦντα συμμαρτυρεῖν σου τῇ καινοτομίᾳ ὀψόμεθα καί ἀπελέγξομεν, Θεοῦ διδόντος, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα, ἅπαγε, ἀλλὰ σέ τά καλῶς λελεγμένα ἐκλαμβάνοντα κακῶς, καί μή τοῖς σαφέσι τά ἀσαφῇ καί τοῖς παρρησίᾳ εἰρημένοις τά ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ συμβιβάζοντα πρὸς δύναμιν.

Νῦν δ' ἀνακεφαλαιωσώμεθα τὸν νῦν λόγον, κἄθ' οὕτω τά λείποντα προσθῶμεν.

1.) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐξελήλεκται κενή τυγχάνουσα παντάπασιν ἡ τῆς προσθήκης τούτων πρόφασις.

2.) Ἐπειτα δέδεικται συνυπακουόμενον τὸ “μόνου”, ὅταν λέγῃται παρά τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὅτι ἐπεὶ κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ συμβόλῳ παρά τοῦ Πατρός ἀκούοντες γεννηθέντα τὸν Υἱόν, ἐκτός ἀντιλογίας πάσης δεχόμεθα συνυπακουόμενον τὸ “μόνου”.



3.) Τούτῳ συνείρομεν ἐξῆς· ὥς εἰ καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως εἶχε τό λέγειν καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, τῷ συμβόλῳ προστεθεῖσθαι παρά Λατίνων οὐκ ἐχρῆν. Ἐπεὶ κἂν εὖ ἔχον εἰς τό ἐξῆς ἀναφανῇ, προσθετέον οὐκ ἂν εἴη· καί τοῖς πρό ἡμῶν γάρ, καίτοι συνεληλυθόσι καί συνεζητακόσι πᾶσι καί αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς παλαιᾶς Ρώμης προεστῶσιν, οὐδέν τῶν ἀναφανέντων εὐσεβῶς ἔχειν προσετέθη.

4.) Κάντεῦθεν ἀνεφάνη τῶν δικαίων ὃν πρῶτον ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτούς τήν προσθήκην ἐξελεῖν καί μή διά τήν περιωπήν τοῦ περιόντος πάπα τούς μεμαρτυρημένῳ παρά Θεοῦ τέλει κατακλείσαντας τόν βίον ἀποστέργειν, εἴτα συζητεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι περί αὐτῆς.

5.) Μετά τοῦτο πρός τούς εὐγνωμόνως τῶν λόγων ἀκροωμένους λέγομεν, ὥς καί ἀμφοτέρω ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἀκούοντες, ἔχομεν συνυπακούειν τό “ἐκ μόνου”, κἂν μή συνεκφωνῇται.

6.) Ἀλλά καί ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτῶς τό Πνεῦμα λέγοντες τό ἐκπορεύειν τῇ πατρικῇ ὑποστάσει ἐφαρμόζομεν· ἡ γάρ οὐσία πάντη τε καί πάντως μία τῶν τριῶν, οὐκ ἔνι δέ τῇ πατρικῇ ὑποστάσεως ἔχειν τόν Υἱόν· ὥστε οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα.

7.) Μετά τοῦτο ἐξηλέχθησαν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες μηκέτι ἐξ ἐνός δύνασθαι τά δύο πρόσωπα τῆς θεότητος φρονεῖν, ὥς ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις τό αἴτιον τιθέμενοι καί ταῦτα διαφόρως, ἀλλ' οὐδέ Θεόν ἓνα λέγειν διά τήν τοιαύτην πρός τό ἓν ἀναφοράν· οὐδέ γάρ εἷς ἄνθρωπος πάππος, πατήρ τε καί υἱός, κατὰ τόν σοφόν τῆς Νύσσης πρόεδρον, ἐπειδήπερ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα τό αἴτιον ἀναφέρεται. Καί πρός τούτῳ παρεστήσαμεν, ὥς, καθάπερ δύο τά αἰτιατά, ἐπειδήπερ τό αἰτιατόν ἐν δυσὶν φασιν αὐτοὶ προσώποις.

8.) Πρός δέ τούτοις, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τούς θεοσόφους θεολόγους, ὥς ὁ Υἱός ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστίν, οὕτω καί τό Πνεῦμα, πλήν τοῦ γεννητῶς τε καί ἐκπορευτῶς, εἰ ὁ Υἱός ἀμέσως καί οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἀμέσως, ἀλλ' οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

9.) Προσαπεδείξαμεν ὥς, ἐπεὶ καί νοῦς λέγεται Χριστοῦ τό Πνεῦμα, καθάπερ καί ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ὁ οἰκεῖος, κατὰ μέν τήν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ ἐστίν καί ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δέ τήν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ μέν ἐστίν φυσικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός.

10.) Πρός τούτῳ τοῦ μή χάριτι, φύσει δέ εἶναι ἐκ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἔχειν τήν ὕπαρξιν ἐδείχθη.

11.) Καί ἀπό τοῦ πάντα ἔχειν ἐκάτερον τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἄνευ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους.

12.) Κάντεϋθεν ἀναπεφήνασιν οἱ μὲν Λατῖνοι προστιθέντες καὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐν τῷ τῆς πίστεως συμβόλῳ· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναπεφήναμεν μηδὲ κατὰ τὸν ἕξω λόγον τῇ κατὰ τὸ θεῖον σύμβολον εὐσεβεῖ διανοίᾳ προστιθέντες.

13.) Κατηγορήσαμεν τῶν Λατίνων ὡς ἐκεῖνα δογματιζόντων, ἐξ ὧν δύο ἀναφέρονται τοῦ ἐνὸς Πνεύματος ἀρχαί. Οἱ δὲ μηδὲν κωλύειν πρὸς τὴν μίαν εἶναι ταύτας ἔφησαν, ἐπειδήπερ ἡ μία ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας· καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο βλασφημοῦντες.

14.) Εἴτ' αὖθις ἡμεῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον, ἐδείξαμεν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον δύο εἶναι τοῦ ἐνὸς Πνεύματος ἀρχάς.

15.) Παρεστήσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ Πατρί τε καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι κοινὰ εἶναι μαρτυρεῖσθαι, ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν· ἦν γάρ ἂν τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος· ἐν ᾧ προσεξηλέγξαμεν αὐτούς, ἀδιάφορα τοῖς φυσικοῖς τὰ ὑποστατικά ποιοῦντας. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ταῖς προσκυνηταῖς ὑποστάσεσι τὴν θεῖαν φύσιν.

16.) Ἐκ τοῦ ἀσεβές εἶναι τὴν δημιουργικῶς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι σχοῦσαν κτίσιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὴ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δημιουργικὴν ιδιότητα μόνῳ διδόναι τῷ Πατρί, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀκολούθως συνηγάγομεν, ὥς, εἰ καὶ ἐκπορευτῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι εἶχε, δυσσεβοῦς ἦν ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν καὶ ὥς ἡ ἐκπορευτικὴ ιδιότης μόνον τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστίν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ ταῦθ' οὕτω λέγοντες οὐκ εὐσεβεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοφόροι, δυσσεβεῖς οὐκοῦν οἱ λέγοντες καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα.

17.) Καὶ ὥς, εἰ δι' Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὁμοῦ τε καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάτερος Πατὴρ ἂν λέγοιτο καὶ προβολεύς, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως, ποιητὴς τε καὶ Πατὴρ.

18.) Ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ἔχειν θεολογεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱόν τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας, ἥτις οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν κτισμάτων εἴη, τοιγαροῦν ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστίν, ἀπεδείξαμεν αὖθις οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι.

19.) Καὶ μάρτυρας παρηγάγομεν ἀπαγορεύοντας τὴν λατινικὴν προσθήκην.

20.) Ἐδείξαμεν αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τὸν Υἱόν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχει.

21.) Εἴτα, ἐκ τῶν ἀπηριθμημένων καὶ τεθεωρημένων τοῖς ἁγίοις ὀνομάτων τοῦ Υἱοῦ, παρεστήσαμεν ὥς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν ἐστι.

22.) Πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ μή ἐκπορευτόν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλά τό ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευτόν ἴδιον εἶναι τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, τοὺς θεολόγους μαρτυρεῖν παρεστήσαμεν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον.

23.) Καί ἀπό τοῦ ἔνωσιν Υἱοῦ καί Πνεύματος εἶναι τόν Πατέρα· ἡ γάρ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκατέρου μεσότης ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεῖται.

24.) Καί ἀπό τοῦ μή ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τό Πνεῦμα λέγεσθαι, ἀλλά μετά τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀρχῆς εἶναι θεολογουμένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

25.) Καί ὡς ὁ δι' Υἱοῦ καθ' ὕπαρξιν τό Πνεῦμα λέγων καί εἰς τήν 'ἐκ' τήν 'διά' μεταλαμβάνων ἀμαρτάνει. Ὡς γάρ συμπαρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ δι' αὐτοῦ τό Πνεῦμα λέγεται καί οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἀλλά σύν ἐκείνῳ, γεννηθέντι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, καί τό Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται.

26.) Αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ θεολογεῖσθαι τῶν τριῶν προσώπων ἕκαστον, τῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐτέρων δύο μέσον.

27.) Καί πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχειν ὡς ἕκαστον πρὸς ἑαυτό.

28.) Καί τῷ δεύτερον ἀπό τοῦ Πατρός καί τό Πνεῦμα λέγεσθαι, καθά καί ὁ Υἱός, ἀμέσως ἐκάτερον ὑπάρχον ἐκ Πατρός ἐδείχθη μή ἐοικυίας τῆς θεολογικῆς μεσότητος τοῖς κειμένοις ἐφεξῆς τρισὶ σημείοις, ἀλλά τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ τριγώνου γωνιῶν.

29.) Μετά τοῦτο διττῆς φανερώς δειχθείσης τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος προόδου, προσεδείχθη καί τῶν προόδων ἐκατέραν κατάλληλον τήν παῦλαν ἔχειν. Κάντεῦθεν πάλιν, ὡς οὐχί καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό εἶναι ἔχει τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον.

30.) Πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν καί τόν Υἱόν ἀρχήν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ἀναπεφῆνασιν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες τοῖς κτιστοῖς συντάττοντες τό θεῖον Πνεῦμα.

31.) Αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ μή ἔχειν κοινωνίαν κατὰ τό θεογόνον τόν Πατέρα καί τόν Υἱόν παρίσταται μή εἶναι καί ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τό Πνεῦμα.

32.) Πρὸς δέ τούτοις, ἐκ τοῦ τά κοινά τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ Τριάδος ἐπίσης εἶναι τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων ἐκάστη, ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες μήτε τόν Υἱόν μήτε τό Πνεῦμα λέγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, μηδ' ὑποστατικάς ἔχειν τόν Θεόν διαφοράς.

33.) Εἴτα περὶ τῆς ἐν Θεῷ τάξεως ποιησάμενοι τόν λόγον προσαπεδείξαμεν μή γνωστόν εἶναι τοῖς ἀγίοις, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεώς τε καί τάξεως ὁ Υἱός τε καί τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον· καί συμφωνεῖν κἀν τούτῳ παρεστήσαμεν τοὺς μεγάλους, Βασίλειον καί Γρηγόριον καί Ἰωάννην τόν χρυσοῦν θεολόγον, πρὸς δέ καί τήν εὐσεβῆ καί

άνωμολογημένην ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τάξιν παρεστήσαμεν τε καὶ διευκρινήσαμεν. Κάντεῦθεν ἀπηλέγχθησαν οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες τὴν μὲν εὐσεβῇ τάξιν ἀγνοοῦντες, ἃ δὲ οἱ θεολόγοι μὴ εἰδέναι ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, αὐτοὶ ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἀκριβῶς αὐχοῦντες καὶ οὕτω καινοφωνοῦντές τε καὶ βλασφημοῦντες περὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.

34.) Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ λόγον ἐκδεδώκαμεν πολυειδῶς δεικνύοντες τίνος ἔνεκεν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν ἡμῖν ὑμνεῖται καὶ τοῖς μυουμένοις παραδίδοται.

35.) Καὶ ὡς ἐπόμενοι καλῶς οἱ θεολόγοι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς μυσήσεως, ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν κοινῶς ἐνθεωρουμένων τοῖς τρισίν, οὕτω φασὶν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὁ Υἱός.

36.) Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο μὴ συνετῶς ἀκούσαντες Εὐνόμιος τε πρότερον καὶ οἱ λατινικῶς πεφρονηκότες ὕστερον, τρίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐδογματίσαν τὸν Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· κάντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Εὐνόμιος τρίτον καὶ τῇ φύσει, Λατῖνοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν προσεδογματίσαν.

37.) Ἦτι δείκνυμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄμφω μόνον ὁ Υἱὸς τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χωρὶς, ἀμέσως ἀναφέρεται πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· καὶ ὡς, εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐδὲ Θεὸς εἷς ἔσται.

38.) Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα ὡς Θεὸν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς Πατέρα κτίζειν, γεννᾶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπορεύειν ὡς Πατέρα, δείκνυμεν, ὡς εἰ κατὰ Λατίνους ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς [Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς] ἔσται Πατὴρ, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ οὕτω τὸ λατινικὸν φρόνημα τελῶς ἐξελέγχεται, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν δυσσεβῶς καθ' ὕπαρξιν τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγον καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων.

39.) Ἦτι μετὰ τοῦτο περὶ ἀρχῆς φάμεν, καὶ ὡς οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες σοφιστικῶς ἀποκρίνονται πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας αὐτούς, εἰ δύο λέγουσιν ἀρχὰς τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Πνεύματος.

40.) Ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ Πατέρα φώτων θεολογεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν κάντεῦθεν Πατέρα λέγοντες οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες ἀποδείκνυται· καὶ ἀθετοῦντες σαφῶς τὴν μοναρχίαν καὶ τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνιαῖον τοῦ Πατρὸς.

41.) Ἀναφαίνομεν τὸ αἰδέσιμον ἔχειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγμα, καὶ ὡς ἀνελλιπές μηδαμῶς προσθήκης δεῖσθαι.

42.) Ἐπειτα καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπόντες, ὅτι τὰ κοινῶς εἰρημένα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων στερκτέα μᾶλλον τῶν ἰδίως τισὶ τούτων εἰρημένων ἐκάστῳ, καὶ

ὅτι τὰ μή καθωμιλημένα ὑποπτά ἐστι, καί μάλιστα παρά Λατίνων προαγόμενα τῶν καί τοῖς φανεροῖς παρεγγχειρούντων, ὑπεσχέθημεν, σύν Θεῷ δ' ὁ λόγος ἐν δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τὰ διαφωνεῖν δοκοῦντα συμφωνοῦντα παραστήσειν.

Ταῦτα μέν οὖν ἀνωτέρω διά πλειόνων ἀποδέδεικται· καί ὡς ἡμεῖς καί ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁμολογία πανταχόθεν ἔχει τό ἀσφαλές καί στέφανος ἡμῖν ἐστι καυχήσεως καί ἀκαταίσχυντος ἐλπίς. Εἰ γάρ μή οὕτω καί ἡμεῖς κατά ταύτην ἐλλιπεῖς, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἱ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καί μυηθέντες ἄνωθεν καί τό καθ' ἡμᾶς γένος θεοκινήτως μύησαντες ἀπόστολοι, προφηταί, σεπταί σύνοδοι πατέρων πολλαί τε καί πολυάριθμοι. Εἰ δέ καί γινώσκοντες ἐτέρως, ὡς νῦν ἰσχυρίζονται τό τῶν Λατίνων γένος, οὐ πεφανερώκασιν ἡμῖν, καί ταῦτα τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπόντος, «ἅ ἠκούσατε ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, κηρύξατε ἐν τῷ φωτί», πῶς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ὑπευθύνων εἶεν; Ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός αὐτοὺς δι' ἔργων κἀνταῦθα μεγίστων ἐδικαίωσεν.

Οὐ γάρ ἐφρόνουν κατά τοὺς Λατίνους, ἅπαγε, ὡς καί τοῦτο δέδεικται, ἀλλὰ καί ἐγνώκασι καί παραδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν μίαν καί μόνην ἀρχὴν τῆς θεότητος, ἓνα Πατέρα ἀγέννητον, ἓνα Υἱόν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννητῶς προερχόμενον, ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον συναϊδίον, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καί αὐτό ἐκπορευόμενον πρό αἰώνων καί εἰς αἰῶνα· καί ἔτι καί συνδοξαζόμενον τῷ Πατρί καί τῷ Υἱῷ νῦν καί ἀεὶ καί εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

SECOND APODICTIC TREATISE  
ON THE PROCESSION  
OF THE HOLY SPIRIT



1

Earlier, to the best of our ability, we went through the things that were necessary even to the register of the pious themselves, both for clarification and for confirmation of the correct mindset,<sup>1</sup> and by which in short course the entire impiety of the objecting Latins comes to light, but as for the things which the Latins themselves propose both against us and against piety and by which they claim that they do not innovate at all but think and speak in harmony with the divine words of Christ Himself and not out of harmony at all with those who have theologized according to Christ, we have not yet brought all these things into the light nor refuted them in order. Let us now individually look at what things they assert and what rationales or even scriptural expressions and concepts they used, or rather abused, and so have fallen from the God-chosen confession which was handed down from the Fathers. And the most fearful thing of all is that they do not desire to return and safely hold on to that from which they have fallen. Instead, like truly ill-bred men,<sup>2</sup> they are displeased to the highest degree and gainsay those giving their hand, the power of the word of truth leading up to the truth, unto correction.<sup>3</sup>

2

So, to fall away from what is right was something common to all the churches, as evil laid waste sometimes to the one, sometimes to another, through the length of time. But that a fallen one no longer return, this only occurred with the church of the Latins, even though she is both the largest



and chief and possessing the most eminent summit of the patriarchal thrones. The same thing befell her, who is the greatest of the churches, that befell the elephant, which is the greatest of the animals. They say that it does not lay itself down on the ground for rest even during sleep, but it rests awhile by crouching for a little time on its sides; and if it were to suffer something and fall down, it is no longer able to get itself up again. But for the elephants, the cause is actually the weight of the body and the sheer enormity of their flesh, which is cumbersome and weighs them down, just like an overlying piece of lead weighing many talents. In contrast, with the Latins I gather that it is only pride—I would almost say, an incurable passion—which, according to the Apostle, is also most particularly the crime belonging to the only evil one, which is the reason why that one is forever incurable.

But should this tribe of the Latins push him back (they are able, since indeed they are human), immediately all we of the right mindset, gathered together into one, using as it were some sort of trunks, which nature has also provided as a help from the elephants that are not lying down for those that have fallen, thus having used the God-inspired oracles, we would raise them up and set them standing on their feet and unswervingly maintaining the rule of piety. Yet those who willingly lay themselves down will not profit at all, even if the remedy for pseudodoxy were to be prepared and administered by the celestial intellects themselves. For theirs is the saying that has been expressed by the prophetic words, “We have healed Babylon, but she was not is healed.”<sup>4</sup>

### 3

Accordingly, whoever gives his hand to them gives it almost in vain, having very well handed out to himself only this and rendered to God the proof of his own goodness. But as for them, he has proven that they are only deliberately doing wrong and has perhaps checked them so as not to proceed to further fallacies. And now, unless they wish to obviously speak discrepantly, what better medicine could they have for their restoration than that the Holy Spirit has His hypostasis only from the Father and not also from the Son? This has previously been proven by many other proofs as well as by the hinting of the “only”, while the orthodox understanding

concerning the unerring theology of the Holy Spirit has become more distinct and their addition has been clearly refuted as contrary to the rightly dividing proclamation of the Truth.

But even apart from these things, we do not see anywhere any necessity compelling us to alter the spirit-incited decisions of the sacred synods of old concerning the reverence toward God or to change the Symbol of piety handed down by Tradition from the Fathers, so as to add and assert that the Holy Spirit has His existence also from the Son. Why? If in the God-inspired Scripture there are things that appear to disagree with what has been expressed in common by the theologians and hence acknowledged by all of us, will we not rather harmonize, to the best of our ability, those things with the truth, since it possesses indisputability from every angle? Shall we instead fall away from the truth because of them? Furthermore, if something exceeds our reasoning, will we not admit it and leave it to some others to understand these matters (whoever might be deemed worthy—even if he be one of the last—of the deep and hidden mysteries of the Spirit), and having judged ourselves unworthy of them, will we not humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God? But oh what a misfortune! Will we even become ignorant of God Himself because of being unwilling to admit ourselves ignorant of anything at all, just like those that became ignorant of the divinity of the Son on account of what had been obscurely written regarding Him? Certainly not. For these scriptural witnesses, which have not been taken as they should, would neither be able to assist them in their untimely excuses nor to snatch them from their impiety and from the resulting eternal condemnation. Instead, they shall pay eternal damnation, because they despised the clear voices and searched out the unclear ones, being puffed up with knowledge, or rather they did not search nor were they obedient to those who truly did search, and so from this same puffed-up knowledge they have justly reaped genuine foolishness.

And yet there are multitudes of such expressions which, for all but the most discerning, take away both the shared dignity and the cobegininglessness of the Son in relation to the Father and even His dominical dignity and unending kingdom. For he says, “The Son also shall be subject”<sup>5</sup> and “He

must reign till some point”<sup>6</sup> and “the Father is greater”<sup>7</sup> and “wisdom hath been builded”<sup>8</sup> and “He is ignorant of something of what has been made by Him”<sup>9</sup> and “He can do nothing of Himself”<sup>10</sup> and “He came down not to do His own will”<sup>11</sup> and “He continued all night in prayer to God”<sup>12</sup> and “He learned”<sup>13</sup> and “increased”<sup>14</sup> and “was lifted up”<sup>15</sup> and “was glorified”<sup>16</sup> and “has been perfected,”<sup>17</sup> and as many things as be proofs of the lowliness of our own substance, and of the gratitude, that I may so say, of the Begotten toward the Begetter, and of not being against God, and as many as be for us models of virtue through works.

What then? Should the so indescribable divine height which is testified to the Son from elsewhere be set at naught because of the foregoing statements, since “He was in the beginning, and He was with God, and He was God”<sup>18</sup> and “He is brought forth before all the hills”<sup>19</sup> and “before the sun doth His name continue”<sup>20</sup> and “This is our God and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison of Him.”<sup>21</sup> For He it is who “after these things conversed with men,”<sup>22</sup> since He and the Father are one,<sup>23</sup> and He is in the Father and the Father in Him,<sup>24</sup> and he that hath seen Him hath seen the Father,<sup>25</sup> and “with Him is dominion in the day of His power,”<sup>26</sup> “and He shall have dominion after the moon be taken away,”<sup>27</sup> and “every knee shall bow to Him, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth,”<sup>28</sup> and “His kingdom is an eternal kingdom”<sup>29</sup> and “shall not be left to another king.”<sup>30</sup>

Therefore shall we, on account of the humbling statements, drag down together with them these so marvellous, these so lofty, these so unsurpassable proclamations and whatever else resembles them? Will we not rather both seek out and ardently embrace the loftiness that has been hidden in the seemingly lowly expressions, and, once we have become of the pious understanding, will we not dissolve what gives offence? Will we instead both stumble upon appearances and fall and remain in the letter? Certainly not; for the letter indeed killeth,<sup>31</sup> dragging down from the heights those who do not look upwards to the Spirit.

Therefore we too, as many as theologize concerning the Spirit purely, as many as do so just as He personally clarified Himself, as many as neither

think nor proclaim anything unworthy of Him, nor anything resulting from what we do say; we therefore, even if something should appear not to be in agreement with the theology concerning the only Holy and worshipful Spirit, although it too was given by the Holy Spirit, we shall understand these things spiritually and distinguish and scatter the stones of stumbling and demonstrate in every way that the later Fathers actually agreed in confession with those that were prior, both publicly together and privately by themselves, and that we ourselves agree with them, and that all of us in common agree with our common Master by nature and Father by grace.

Because the Latins distort and divert nearly all the passages of Scripture that they fail to understand toward their own cacodoxy, either out of perplexity or out of ill will, (and the things they do not understand are more than those which they deem indisputable, which they use as if obvious to deceive the multitude around them), we shall mention these things presently and, once we have proven, with the help of God, that they have been improperly understood by the Latins, once we have drawn them out from underneath like some foundations, we shall demonstrate that the entirety of their irreverent edifice is rotten.

6

Come now, let us set first propose for discussion what previously in their eyes seemed to be altogether incontrovertible, since it had been said by the word of truth: “He breathed upon them and said, ‘Receive ye Holy Spirit.’”<sup>32</sup> Do you see, they say, how clearly the Holy Spirit is also from the Son? So, because he breathed upon them and said, “Receive ye Holy Spirit,” was the Holy Spirit the breathing-upon,<sup>33</sup> so that the procession is identified with what He bodily breathed upon them? Or do they infer, from the fact that it was bestowed by breathing upon them, that the Holy Spirit is also a breathing-upon of the divinity of Christ and therefore conclude that He proceeds from the Son? But whichever one of them they are saying, let their mouths be bridled by the very same passage through brief arguments first. For, the Lord did not breathe upon them and say, “Receive ye the Spirit,” but He said it without the article, “receive ye Holy Spirit,” namely, some portion of the Spirit. So then, it is clear that He bestowed but a particular energy of the Spirit by breathing upon them, not His nature or

hypostasis. For, both the nature and hypostasis of the divine Spirit is altogether indivisible. But why did He bestow whatever He bestowed by breathing upon them? He did this so as to prove that His own energy and the divine Spirit's energy are one, and so that from this He might show the conjunction and connaturality and equal honour of each, of Himself and of the Spirit, precisely as Chrysostom the theologian says when he writes, "Some actually say that He did not bestow the Spirit, but rendered them fit to receive Him, by the breathing-upon. Yet one would not be wrong in asserting that even then they received some spiritual power and grace, so as to remit sins. Wherefore He added, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them,"<sup>34</sup> showing what particular kind of energy He was bestowing. For, the grace of the Spirit is ineffable and the gift is multiform. But this comes to pass, that you may learn that the gift and the power of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is one."<sup>35</sup>

7

But let us give them as it were a more expanded answer. If the Lord's breathing-upon was the Holy Spirit, then the breath He was using, through which His breathing-upon happened, was the Holy Spirit as well. This means that He did not become a man as we are, but was either an illusion, like the illusion of the *Acephali*, or, even before He conversed with men, He had the fleshly nature constituted from the beginning in some such way, according to the senselessness of Apolinarius. And yet, the Lord Himself also said, at any rate, "The words that I speak, they are Spirit, and they are life."<sup>36</sup> But if they are Spirit, they are also Holy Spirit; for how could they not be? So, according to the interpretation of the Italians concerning the breathing-upon, the Spirit is also the Word, even God's Word. What greater novelty than this could be heard? Or better yet, the Spirit would be words, even God's words, for "the words" are many.

Here also we ought to pay attention to the fact that neither in this case did He say, "the words that I speak are 'the' Spirit," but without the article, indicating that these very things are not the hypostasis of the Spirit but are completely full of the energy of the divine Spirit and that the life-giving energy of the Spirit is supplied through them. And so when He breathed upon them and said, "receive holy Spirit," this is what He forthrightly

meant, namely, that this breathing-upon is completely full of the authority of the divine Spirit to bind and loose.

8

Now as relates to our current discourse, the words of the Lord are also declared by us, since he says, “With my lips have I declared all the judgments of Thy mouth.”<sup>37</sup> Does this mean that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from us? But all those things, to which he drags down the Spirit who does not interpret the things of the Spirit by the Spirit, are<sup>38</sup> both searched and meditated and observed and practiced and understood; and the same holds for the amount of difference between the words of the Lord: commandments, laws, testimonies, statutes, judgments. “The word of the Lord came unto John the son of Zacharias,” according to the divine evangelist Luke,<sup>39</sup> and “as the Lord spake by His holy prophets to perform mercy,”<sup>40</sup> says Zacharias, and “Now the Word of the Lord came to Jonah, the son of Amittai,”<sup>41</sup> and “The Word that came to Isaiah”<sup>42</sup> and other times to others, and “The Lord said unto Moses” and unto so-and-so or so-and-so and to so many that it is not easy even to enumerate them perfectly.

What then? Were all these things the Holy Spirit? Did He not speak through the prophets as it has been written, but was Himself actually spoken through them or to them? Away with this blasphemy! Now if these words which were spoken bodilessly from the bodiless God cannot be the Holy Spirit, then much more neither were the words of Christ, pronounced with His body, the Spirit. And if these are not the Spirit, then neither is the breathing whereby He forms them and pronounces them. And if this is not the Spirit, then neither is His breathing-upon which happened through it. And beside this, neither is the Holy Spirit what was spoken by Him as a riddle. So although it is completely impossible, nevertheless let it be assumed that the breathing-upon is not of the Son’s flesh but of His divinity; or rather, so that we may present the very thing said by the Latins, let it be assumed that the Savior was signifying the noetic by the sensible. In the beginning, however, the same One also breathed into the face of the first formed. And what did He breath into him? A breath of life.<sup>43</sup> What is a breath of life? A living soul.<sup>44</sup> Let Paul instruct you: “the first man was made a living soul.”<sup>45</sup> And what is “living”? Ever living, immortal, which



is the same as to say rational (since what is rational is immortal), and not only this, but also divinely graced. For such is truly a living soul. And this is the same as being according to the image and, if you will, according to the likeness as well. O the injurious loss! From what into what we have been changed!

9

The eyes of the angels were beholding at that time the soul of man joined with sense and flesh, and they were beholding another God, which had not only come into existence upon the earth on account of divine goodness, being the same in both intellect and flesh, but had also been formed according to the grace of God on account of the exceeding greatness of this same goodness, so that the same man might be flesh and intellect and spirit and so that his soul might completely possess being according to the divine image and likeness, since it is unitary in intellect and reason and spirit. But the envious eye also beheld him. The principal source of vice, the serpent, did not bear it. He was patient, I think, just as much as was enough for to mix a more potent poison under the tongue and as if to prepare and mingle with deceit, with a sweet word, the aural poison. He came; he captivated; he wounded—O my docility and his malignity! He injected the virus into the soul, he killed what was living off of it (I am referring to the body), while he blackened the soul which had life in itself. We have lost the divine beauty; we have been deprived of the divine form; we cast away the light; we corrupted the likeness to the highest light itself. We put on darkness as a garment,<sup>46</sup> alas! and as with a double cloak we endued ourselves with darkness. But—to be succinct—He freely had mercy, He whose nature is goodness and the consequent mercy; and for me who had fallen He descended and He has become, just as the Apostle says, “a quickening Spirit,”<sup>47</sup> so that, having quickened, He may renew the tarnished image.

Accordingly, accomplishing this now and showing that He was the same one who also created in the beginning through His breathing-upon, He breathes upon His disciples and through His own word manifests the gift. He does not say, “I am once again emplacing a soul” but “a Spirit, and I am once again making the soul a divine Spirit, by the communication of gifts.” Tell, O Paul, how is this done? For you have received the word; and I know



that you are the mouth of Christ. He says, as [Christ] would have said, “By joining the soul with my spirit, and it is as if my disciples breathe with me and have by grace, through the connection to me, the authority to loose and to bind, which is by nature present in the divine Spirit.” For he says, “We have the mind of Christ,”<sup>48</sup> and, “He that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit.”<sup>49</sup>

10

But do you see how, on the one hand, this breathing-upon hints that the Spirit is present and is perfectly accomplishing the renewal of the human soul to that which is better, which renewal we believe to be accomplished from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, while on the other hand it bestows a spirit, even a Holy Spirit, but in relation to the gift and the power and the grace and the energy (which is to bind and to loose the sins of men), not the very hypostasis of the All-Holy Spirit? For this is not able to be received by anyone. However, the gifts of the Spirit, the natural powers and activities, while being in no way separated from Him, are received by those who are worthy to be energized by the Spirit, who, on account of being united with Him and anointed by His energy (for the only Christ<sup>50</sup> alone has been anointed by the entirety of the Anointer, according to him who said<sup>51</sup> that He is Christ on account of His divinity, which sanctifies not by energy like the other christs but by the presence of the entire Anointer)—so at any rate in having been united through the divine energy from Him and having been called instruments of the Spirit, they are said to manifest through themselves that they received the Holy Spirit and that He is given to them through the Son or, if you will, from the Son as well. The Lord showed this when He breathed upon His disciples and said to them: “Receive ye Holy Spirit,” as the divine from Damascus taught us. For after he stated, “We do not say that the Spirit is from the Son; but we do name Him Spirit of the Son and confess that He has been manifested and transmitted to us through the Son,” he immediately added, “For He breathed upon His disciples and said to them, ‘Receive ye Holy Spirit.’”<sup>52</sup> So is it not completely clear that from this breathing-upon the Damascene Father understood and proved that the Holy Spirit is not also from the Son but is only manifested and transmitted through Him?

The Latins, however, insanely consider and dogmatize in a way contrary to that man. For they do not comprehend that these gifts and energies, by which the Holy Spirit is supplied through the Son, are bestowed not only by the Son but also by the Most High Father Himself. For he says: "Every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights."<sup>53</sup> But what is more perfect than the authority to bind and loose sins? And they are not only from the Father and the Son, but are also through and from the Holy Spirit Himself; for God said through the prophet Joel: "I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh."<sup>54</sup> The Spirit bestowed by Christ to His disciples by the breathing-upon is by all means part of this effusion as well. And he says, "To one is bestowed by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge"<sup>55</sup> and all the things that have been enumerated in order by that elect vessel of charisms Paul, to whom also was fittingly apportioned the greatness of revelations by the Spirit. Wherefore he also says, "God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit,"<sup>56</sup> not only the things that were unknown to those Fathers renowned for virtue and piety but even things that transcend the very knowledge of the angels. John, the most theological of the Apostles, says, "We know these things by the Spirit, which we have received from Him."<sup>57</sup> And simply all the supply of good things upon the creation springs from Him. And Basil the Great says, "There is absolutely no gift which comes to the creation without the Holy Spirit."<sup>58</sup> This man, after he also enumerated all things, both the gifts and the charisms and the energies of the Spirit, then says, "The Holy Spirit eternally has all these things, but what springs from God is enhypostatic, while the things which spring from Him are His energies."<sup>59</sup> So then, does the Holy Spirit also proceed from His own self, since all the supply of good things is both from Him and through Him, in which supply is also entirely the authority to lose and bind, which the Lord granted to His disciples by breathing upon them? Away with the absurdity. But the bestowing is common for the three hypostases, as the Apostle also testifies. For he says, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God."<sup>60</sup>

Therefore, both the divine powers and the energies are truly common to the only holy and worshipful Trinity, whereby God indwells and walks among those who are worthy, according to the promise.<sup>61</sup> By them He acts and is known. Not only the Father and the Son but also the Holy Spirit are theologized as the fount of these divine energies, as Basil the Great also says in his Rebuttal Chapters *Concerning the Holy Spirit*, when he writes, “Now what are the energies of the Spirit? They actually cannot be described on account of their magnitude, but also on account of their multitude they cannot be reckoned.” And again: “All things are perfect in the Holy Spirit: love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness,<sup>62</sup> wisdom, understanding, counsel, security,<sup>63</sup> piety, knowledge, sanctification, redemption,<sup>64</sup> faith, workings of spiritual powers, charisms of healing, and whatever things resembling these. He has no acquired thing in Himself. Instead, He possesses all things eternally, since He is the Spirit of God and has shone forth from Him, having the cause in Himself as His own fount from whence He springs forth. He too is the fount of the previously mentioned good things; but what springs from God is enhypostatic, while the things which spring from Him are His energies.” These same things are the characteristic boasts of the divine nature.

Willing, therefore, to show Himself consubstantial with the Father and the Spirit with respect to His divinity, our Lord Jesus Christ Himself gives to the disciples by grace this same natural energy of the divinity, just like the Father also previously provided some such energies to the prophets. And when the Holy Spirit descended after the ascent of the Savior, He too gave to the disciples these energies, whereby showing Himself to be also consubstantial with the Father and the Son. So, the divine gifts to us from the Trinity as well as the bestowal of them are actually many and common to the only holy and worshipful Trinity. In contrast, the procession of the Holy Spirit is one and eternal and specifically from the Father.

But so that I may seal up the defense and that “every opposing mouth may be stopped,” I shall put forth a witness of the truth, the very Word of truth

Himself, whom, as regards the present discourse, I had shown for us that He resounds in harmony with those who were before us. When He that is separated from nowhere<sup>65</sup> was ascending from earth to the heavenly Father, “He commanded” those who had endured steadfastly to the end with Him “not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father you heard from Me,” as He said.<sup>66</sup> But what exactly was the promise? It is that “Ye shall be baptized,” as He said, “in the Holy Spirit, in not many days.”<sup>67</sup> So they had not yet attained the promised before the Ascension of the Savior. Therefore the Holy Spirit was not given through the breathing-upon—since this was the promise. On this point, when did the disciples hear these things promised by the Savior? When He was about to willingly die for us. O the magnitude of His disposition toward us! Not only was He delivering Himself to the slaughter for us, but He was also making us covenantally heirs of His belongings and opening to us His treasures and delivering even the inexhaustible wealth of the Spirit, which is of the same nature and transcends all creation. And so He says, “I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever.”<sup>68</sup> Then, after a little while, “But the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things.”<sup>69</sup> Then again, after those sweet admonitions, after those words given to guide their souls, after the exhortations to the preservation of the wealth, He says, “When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.”<sup>70</sup> Did you see the bars of the true treasury being successively opened? Or better yet, to express it more theologically, do you see illuminations successively illuminating us?

But for the sake of our present argument, let us look at the promise. The expression “not many days after,” when was it? Shortly after stating these words of His, He also then foretold this, with the greatest of things comforting His own out of His love for mankind. For he says: “It is to your advantage that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you.”<sup>71</sup> So how can one dare say that He came to the disciples of the Lord through His breathing-upon before His Ascension? ‘Alright, granted,’

[the other man] says, ‘since the other Comforter was not given before the Ascension of the Savior. [But] are you able to say this too, that He Himself did not clearly promise to His disciples saying, “Whom I will send to you,”<sup>72</sup> and “if I depart, I will send Him to you”?’<sup>73</sup>

You did well in presenting this one after that one (one could say to the questioner), since it is also inferior in power than what you consider to be aid from the Scriptures. For although this, too, is a word of the Word of truth, yet ‘to breathe upon’ and ‘to send’ do not prove in the same way that it is from Himself. For certainly one who breathes upon something breathes with absolute necessity from His own self by His own spirit, which is the same as saying, by the breathing-upon that proceeds from himself. Not everyone who sends, however, sends only what both is and proceeds from himself, but also what has come to him from another. On account of this also the Lord, taking pains lest anyone be misled into thinking that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from Him, gave the breathing-upon, which seemed more to represent this, at that time at which He denied the coming of the Spirit and placed it in the future; and after He had previously said, “I will send,” He appropriately added, “from the Father.” “For although ‘I shall send,’” He says, “yet not from Myself, but having received from the Father, from whom He proceeds. And that is because only that one, the Father, sends from Himself, as He possesses Him proceeding from Himself, in fact always having Him proceeding, not going to proceed at that time only when I myself ‘will send,’ neither being sent from Me without distance even as proceeding from the Father. For when I said ‘I shall send,’ I did not add, ‘what has proceeded from the Father,’ lest the notion of ‘once’ be conceived in relation to the Father. And when I was about to add ‘which proceedeth from the Father,’ once I came to it, I did not say ‘whom I send’ but ‘whom I will send,’ so that the notion of ‘always’ might not be conceived in relation to Me.”<sup>74</sup> For the ability to send the Holy Spirit to the worthy ones is common from eternity to the Father and to the Son, and within time each sends, or rather both, whenever it becomes necessary.

So, these can be accepted as applying both to the appointed time [of the promise] and to the future time. The ability to cause procession, however,

does not in any way precede the causing of procession, nor will it ever be attributed as part of the promise, nor could it possibly be accepted as applying to the future. Away with the blasphemy, which happens to those who think that the sending forth of the Spirit from the Son is eternal. For He was sent to certain individuals and given to the disciples from the Son, who temporally received Him from the Father. The sending was generated even later than the recipients themselves, and for a cause, or rather for many causes. He says, “That He may abide with you forever,”<sup>75</sup> “That He may teach you and bring all things which I spoke to you to remembrance,”<sup>76</sup> “That He may testify of Me”<sup>77</sup> and that He may testify to what pertains to Me along with you, who bear witness from the beginning to the end, “That He may reprove the world”<sup>78</sup> as responsible for sin, which called my own righteousness sin—a righteousness which cast the very Prince of sin out of his dominion over sinners and justly condemned him, because he unrighteously brought Him that was truly righteous under the same chastisement with sinners—“That He may glorify Me,” having led you to all the truth. For He is “the Spirit of truth” and does “not speak of Himself but whatsoever He hears from the Father,”<sup>79</sup> just as I also have “spoken nothing of Myself.”<sup>80</sup> And seeing that the Father is Mine and “all things that the Father hath are Mine,”<sup>81</sup> “He receives from Mine and proclaims it.”<sup>82</sup> For both the wealth and the gifts are common to us.’

Accordingly, He was sent from the Father and the Son temporally to certain people and for a cause, yet He proceeds only from the Father timelessly and causelessly<sup>83</sup>, having as His own cause only Him, the only unbegotten Father, who makes all things from non-being only for the common good of Himself and of them while from the beginning He has had the Son who has been begotten and the Holy Spirit who proceeds.

So have you grasped the point, you opposer, and has the light of knowledge shined upon you from the word of truth? Or rather, at the very least, have you yourself begun to open your eyelids and look with steadfastness at the light, even if not perfectly but at any rate indistinctly sharing in the piercing and not indistinct dawn, so that you may handle and see that both the phrase “He will give” and the phrase “He will send,” which have been said so



many times, have nowhere been said without a cause nor without a person as recipient, because of whom He is sent, but the only God and theologian has rendered [these phrases] always yoked to the causes, while He has placed What proceeds absolutely independent of any cause whatsoever? For while He attributed the sending forth that is eternal and independent of cause only to the Father, yet He unveiled the other sending, which is subject to time and always joined with the cause, since it is common, as belonging to His own self and to the Father, so that being aware of this you may no longer blaspheme with respect to the procession, thinking and saying that the sending is identical to the procession or conjecturing the one from the other and saying, on account of this, that the divine Spirit has His hypostasis from the Father and from the Son. For just as God is causeless, so also the existence of God is causeless, possessing as His own cause Him from whom He exists causelessly, not existing from Him on account of a cause. But just as God and the existence of God are causeless, in the same way what came to be for a cause is common both to the uncaused Himself and to those causeless who exist from Him. But what is common to them is not an idiom of a divine hypostasis. Consequently, “to be sent” does actually exist both for the Son and the Spirit, just like “to send” exists for the three, since it is for a cause. But “to proceed” or “to make proceed” is not the Son’s as well, since it is not for a cause. So, whenever you hear that the Holy Spirit is sent from the Son or also through the Son or also from both to certain ones, take it to mean the progression which is temporal and for a cause, not that unrelated procession from the Father, which is both transcendent of cause and eternal.

What then? Have we finally persuaded you and disclosed to you the light, or do we still need to continue stringing together demonstrations and breaking up the darkness of your ignorance? How great and deep is this darkness which you have covering the eyes of your understanding, if even now you have not somehow seen through to the truth, although the “I will give” is identical to the “I will send”. For neither is the Sent transferred in relation to space, nor is the Sender Himself separated from the Sent, since both the Sender and He that is sent by Him (or, if you prefer, “from Him”,



since our piety does not rest in words) are ever contemporaneous and everywhere. Accordingly, since the Sender and the Sent are not divided by location and are not circumscribed locally, does the Sender then not bestow? The Lord Himself enlightening us said just now, “whom the Father will give” and now again, “whom the Father will send”, employing the same meaning for both. But also concerning the Lord Himself it is written at one time that He was sent from the Father while at another time that He was given, since in these examples ‘to send’ and ‘to give’ are the same.

But of course, how could He that is “everywhere present and filling all things”<sup>84</sup> and permeating through all come or be given? Namely, by manifesting and actualizing the energy of His graces. Consequently, to be sent and to be given is nothing other than to be made manifest. So, since the Latins dogmatize that such a sending from the Son is eternal, they must consequently also believe that the manifestation of the Spirit is eternal. Furthermore, those to whom the manifestation occurs must also be necessarily co-eternal. And it follows that neither in this way can the existence of the divine Spirit from the Son be proved.

## 18

Now if the Latins state that the existence is conjectured on the basis of His manifestation, we nevertheless have been enriched in the confession of faith not by following conjectures but utterances spoken by God. And we know that the Spirit Himself also comes and is manifested from His own self, but we will not grant that He proceeds from Himself because of this. Accordingly, one who bestows or sends the Holy Spirit does not cause procession because of sending; rather, He makes Him manifest. For the Lord also did this before His own Ascension, when He manifested the Spirit moderately to His own disciples through Their common grace, which had been moderately bestowed by Them at that time. This, at least as I personally would say, is also the cause why in the beginning the soul of man was fashioned through a breathing-upon.

For since, when all things were being created, both the speaking Father and the All-Powerful Word of His were being proclaimed while a manifestation of the Spirit still had not occurred (yet when man was made it was needful that none of the persons of the Trinity should remain unknown,

of which he was being formed as a mystic initiate and an earthly worshipper), for this reason the phrase “He breathed in” is further added both by the Word and by the Speaker, (which is to say by the Son and the Begetter), thus revealing the hypostasis of the Spirit. The Lord did this as well when He was renewing us; for since He was the Son, from this the Father was being indicated and by an breathing-upon the Spirit was being proclaimed. Their common work is both our fashioning in the beginning and the latter grace of our refashioning.

In this way then, when the Only-Begotten Son of the Father appeared for us like us upon the earth, before His own Ascension He moderately manifested the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, hinting at it through the gift given to His disciples through the breathing-upon, measuring out the teaching according to the capacity of those who were receiving it. After His own Ascension, however, He sent the coming one, perfectly manifesting Him who is also made manifest by His own self and who shows Himself by Himself in His own hypostasis. For this here is the mystery of the *economia*, that God be believed in as one and Three and that the one be believed in as the only common cause of the Two. Because of this, every gift and power is common to them, yet they divide the time among Themselves, Each one being made manifest by Himself and always manifesting along with Himself the rest.

19

First the Father has been manifested,<sup>85</sup> bestowing by grace the boasts of the divine nature, the idiomatic properties of the divinity, its natural and essential energies, to the prophets, so that He might at the same time show that He is subsistent by Himself and is not from another, but that He is the Origin of divinity. And what is more, since He also shows that the others are from Him and are united to Him, He is proclaimed as creating before all by an breathing-upon and by a Word.

After Him, the Son has been manifested, bestowing by grace the same boasts of this same nature, the idiomatic properties of the divinity, Its natural and essential energies, from whence issue the charisms of healing, the operations of powers, and the things that are related to them, to His own disciples, so that He also might show at the same time that He is both

subsistent by Himself (for what is not subsistent by itself cannot possess or provide energies) and that He Himself is not an origin but that He is from an origin. And in this way, through Himself He was indicating the Father (since He is a Son), while by breathing-upon He was bestowing the spiritual charisms and calling them a divine Spirit, thus showing in addition that the Holy Spirit is united to Himself. Since this one was manifested once He had assumed our nature, He did not only show through works but also verbally proclaimed the divinity of the Father and the Spirit and what is the only cause and what Others are from Him.

20

After Him the Holy Spirit has been manifested, likewise providing by grace to the Apostles the same boastings of the same nature, the properties of the divinity, His natural and essential energies. For the kingdom of God, the betrothal pledges of which the saints acquire in this [life], just as the divine Maximus says in his scholia *To Thalassios*: “There is a communication by grace of what are attributes naturally to God; which man also immediately received from God in the beginning when he was fashioned,”<sup>86</sup> as also the divine Cyril says in his epistle *To Soimos*, writing that “Once God had formed man, He brought him forth with a soul, having the spiritual gifts, wisdom, righteousness, and whatever else is essentially present in God. For at the same time the Spirit was placing life within His formation and stamping the impressions of His own self as befits God.”<sup>87</sup> So, whenever you hear Him saying that the Holy Spirit is from both, as being poured forth through the Son from the Father essentially, piously consider that He is teaching the communication of these natural powers and energies of God, not the pouring forth of the Hypostasis of the Spirit.

After the Son, accordingly, through granting the very same powers and energies to those who are worthy, the Holy Spirit has been made manifest, so that He might show at the same time both that He too is subsistent by Himself and that He made the disciples wise and endued them with spiritual power, and so that He might make them understand the proclamations of the Savior and that through them He might proclaim these proclamations unto all. By them He, too, is proclaimed as being not after the Son existentially but with the Son, nor in the manner of the Son but in His own manner, to

have been substantiated from the only Father, being joined naturally to Him and to the Son, without distance and eternally. In the previous discourse<sup>88</sup> we have given the causes why the Spirit has not been manifested to the world straightway after the Father, even though He also is immediately from the Father, why instead the Son has been manifested previously, and why the theologians present the things of the Spirit from the Son.

21

But since the works of the trihypostatic divinity are common, and since manifestation also is one of the works, for this reason He both came to us from Himself and is sent from the Father and the Son, who make manifest Him that is also manifested from Himself, exactly like the Son before Him. Consequently, the Holy Spirit is manifested as sent also from the Son, but He does not proceed. If this is not so, neither can the mission and its related sending-forth be a manifestation but rather a procession; since earlier the Son was also sent from Him (I am speaking of the Holy Spirit and of the Father). For He says: “the Lord and his Spirit hath sent me.”<sup>89</sup> Is the Son then either begotten or proceeding from the Father and the Spirit? Away with this impiety! And if someone says that the Son was sent as a Man, the answer is close. For He really was sent as a man. “And if He is also sent as God, what does this mean? Consider the good pleasure of the Father to be a sending,”<sup>90</sup> as Gregory, the namesake of theology, bids you. And I bid you consider it to be the good pleasure of the Son and of the Spirit, since I am persuaded by him and by the truth.

Therefore, since the Son is sent also as God and from both, from Father and Spirit, He too must have, according to the Latins, His generation from both of them, if the Spirit really proceeds from both, from both Father and Son, because He is sent by both of them. And if they say that they do not consider the sending to be a procession but are simply conjecturing the latter from the former, then I suppose this sending will also be a sure sign of the generation of the Son.

Besides, what is the difference between considering the sending to be a generation or a procession and saying that the Spirit eternally sends the Son and the Son the Spirit? The former just now sent the Son later into the world, while the latter sent the Spirit to His own disciples, having returned

thither whence he descended. The Son, however, both is God and has become man; therefore he was sent also as a man. The Spirit did not become man.

22

Therefore, since He, being God, was sent from the Father, and since we need to think that the sending is good pleasure, according to the Theologians, and since good pleasure is good will, and since the Latins think that the sending is identical to the procession, therefore, according to them [the Latins], the procession is will. And forasmuch as the Holy Spirit has existence by procession, therefore according to them He has His existence by will. Oh the impiety! He is no longer uncreated! For it was by will, not by nature, that the God and Father brought Him forth, just as with creation, if it is granted that the procession is God's good pleasure and will. For, according to the theologians, God brought forth the creatures not by nature but by will. The pre-eternal and everlasting begetting is a work of nature, while creation, in contrast, is a work of divine will.

On the one hand, the Arians were saying that the Son came forth into being by the will of the Father, pretentiously constructing this from the claim that He did not receive being from the Father without His will. The Latins, on the other hand, demonstrate that the Holy Spirit came forth into being by the will of the Father or of the Son as well, from the basis of the thought that the procession is a sending by good pleasure and by will. So we shall say to them exactly what Athanasius the Great said to the Arians, that "what is according to nature transcends willing, and nature is not subject to will."<sup>91</sup> Therefore, as the begetting is not good pleasure and will but transcends good pleasure and will (for it shows that the Son is from the Father by nature, as being genuine and consubstantial with Him, not by will like created things), similarly neither is the procession of the Spirit a sending or good pleasure or will; for the procession shows that the Holy Spirit is from the Father by nature, as being genuine and consubstantial with Him, not by will like created things.

Of course, since the Latins say that the procession is identical to the sending of the divine Spirit, by all necessity they represent the Spirit as being created. Of course, inasmuch as both the sending of the Son as God

from both Father and Spirit and the sending of the Spirit from both Father and Son is the good pleasure of the Father, as we have been taught (for, when each of them willed in due time to approach us, the Father also was well-pleased), this good pleasure occurred entirely for no other reason than because of His love for mankind. Therefore, if, according to the Latins, the procession is identical to the sending of the Spirit, and the sending was because of love for mankind, then also, according to them, both the Spirit's pre-eternal procession from the Father and His existence are not beyond cause, but occur because of love for mankind. What thing more irreverent and innovative than this could be heard?

23

Now in addition to these things, if sending and procession are identical, then it is on my account that the Spirit (I am amazed at this cacodoxy! I cannot speak it without fear and amazement)—the Spirit proceeds from the Father. For He has been sent because of me. But if He was sent because of me, He must also be in every sense after me, or not very much prior to me, but subject to time just as I am, not co-eternal with the Father and the Son. And not only this, but He is also subject to dominion. Oh, where do the senseless servants drag down Him that by nature possesses the lordship of every creature! For He says, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath: therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath."<sup>92</sup> Do you see how far removed the sending is from the procession? As much as eternity is removed from time and God from created things and the Master of creation by nature from those who are servants by nature.

24

Accordingly, one who has been initiated by God and by those who are truly theologians, when he hears that the Spirit is breathed in, considers that through the breathing-upon it is signified that He is both present and con-natural with Him who breathed in, but not that He Himself is an breathing-upon so as necessarily to have existence from Him from whom came the breathing-upon. And if he hears Him being sent, he considers Him being manifested; and if he hears Him being bestowed, he also acknowledges the



junction of both Sent and Sender. And if he hears that He is received by us, he knows that in the manner of God He is unreceivable, although the charisms which are from Him are receivable by us. And should he hear that He is sent, bestowed, breathed in, from the Son, he immediately understands along with the other things this as well, that He proceeds from the Father, as Gregory, great in theology, wisely demands we understand. For he says, “whatever is said concerning the Holy Spirit in more lowly fashion, as that He is given, sent, divided, that He is the charism, the gift, the breathing-upon, or any other expression of the sort, is to be referred back to the First Cause, so that the source-from-which may be shown,”<sup>93</sup> (namely, the Father: for He is the first cause), “and lest three divided principles be accepted in a polytheistic way,” which, in fact, you yourself have suffered by not being led up to the first cause through these expressions.

25

And you are not embarrassed to preach clearly that there are two origins, by dogmatizing that the Spirit has existence from the Father and the Son, while letting the third origin be deduced from the things which you say. For if, by being sent from the Son, the Spirit also proceeds from Him (and considering that the Spirit also sends the Son, not as a man only but also as God, just as it has been shown above, but also that both the Son and the Spirit send the Father, as John the Golden Theologian accepted while interpret that prophetic passage, “The Lord and His Spirit hath sent Me”<sup>94</sup>), behold! For you the Spirit is an origin as well, and the Son is either begotten or proceeds from the Father and the Spirit.

For I avoid speaking of the Father, reverencing the magnitude of the excessiveness, even if this too would result from the Latin innovation. And one could see that neither do the rest of the absurd conclusions fall behind in excessiveness for the worse. For they are shown to be refuted by each other, if by the sending we consider the procession or the begetting. For if we consider these things in terms of the sending, then each of them is not a mode of existence, even if they be pre-eternal; but if we were to consider the sending to us in terms of the pre-eternal procession and begetting, there



will be some type of timeless and eternal sending to us or some temporal existence of the Son and of the Spirit.

Now the understanding listener must also know this, that Gregory, the namesake of theology, also enumerated “to be sent” along with the things which are said more lowly concerning the Holy Spirit. In contrast, to proceed is great and more than great. “If the Father’s greatness lies in not being moved into being from anywhere, it is not lesser for the Spirit to proceed from such a Father.”<sup>95</sup> So sending and procession are not identical. For the sending expresses His purpose of condescension to us, while the procession is the name of the existence of the Spirit by Himself from the Father. And the one is that according to which we participated in well being, while the other presents the Holy Spirit, being with the same honour united by nature with the Father, differing from Him and from the Son only with respect to His hypostasis.

## 26

But as you see that division is resulting from your arguments because of your innovations and is already dividing you from God (for what is proximity and distance other than close to division?), therefore, so as to escape once more from what you are constructing, you create a very great gap in your theologies. We, however, have both seen mysteries of God in those who write by the Spirit and we believe and proclaim that they are in each other, are contained through each other without mingling, and each one does not relate more to itself than to each other. And if each relates to itself without distance and immediately (for how could this not be?), how can they relate mediately to each other? But whenever we seek to determine the cause of that ineffable relation to each another which transcends every intellect and the cause of the exceeding great connaturality and of the ungraspable and unspeakable interpenetration, again we find and proclaim the Father Himself, knowing that He is the union, He is the bond, He is both Father and Generator and the embracing Sustainer both of the Begotten and of the Emanation, and thus we assert that He is their midpoint and origin.

But from whichever one of them (I refer to the Son and Spirit) we see the other Paraclete being manifested economically to us, because of this we are at once led back to the first and only Origin. For when the Son sends or

gives the Spirit, from where does He have Him, except from the first and only Origin? So this is how He sends and gives, as having Him been given substance from the Father, but He Himself does not jointly cause procession or jointly give substance. And by sending and giving, He shows this same thing to us, that while He is Mine, He is from the Father, not from Me.

27

Now Athanasius, who was truly very great in theology, noted this, or, rather, was enlightened, and so transmitted the light to us by his word. In one of the epistles to Serapion he says, “Since the Son, the Living Word, is one, the sanctifying and enlightening life must be one and complete, being His energy and gift. This of course is said to proceed from the Father, since it shines forth and is sent from the Word which is from the Father.<sup>96</sup> ‘For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son’,<sup>97</sup> while the Son sends the Spirit.”<sup>98</sup> For this is the exact same thing, which was said a little further up by Gregory, the namesake of theology, that whatever may be spoken in a more lowly way concerning the divine Spirit, the charism, the gift, and if there is some other such thing, it must be referred back to the first cause, that the source-from-which may be shown. For once Athanasius the Great had said in this passage that the Holy Spirit is a more lowly gift and energy of the Word, and once he had showed that his treatise about the Spirit does not concern the existence nor the hypostasis of the Spirit (for, while the energy is actualized rather than effectually acts, the Holy Spirit, in contrast, is able to provide and transmit His gifts), so after he clearly made it plain that he speaks not concerning the procession which was before the ages, he brought forth that He “shines forth and is sent from the Word which is from the Father.”

28

What exactly? Because He shines forth and is sent from the Word do we consider that He proceeds from Him? ‘Banish the thought!’ he says; ‘you are throwing as far as possible from the mark.’ But we consider and say that He proceeds from the Father, since He is both given and sent from the Son. For since the Son has the Holy Spirit as having been substantiated together

with Him from that source from before the ages, He now both sends and gives Him to us. And since the gift is illumination (and those that have been initiated know this, as many as have seen and experienced the brightness of God, as many as beheld the glory of the Lord ‘as of the only begotten of the Father,’<sup>99</sup> as many as have been utterly engulfed by the light of divinity on the mountain, and in addition who have safely believed in them)—therefore, since the gift is illumination, instead of saying that He is both given and sent from the Son, he says that He shines forth and is sent from the Son. And he shows this still more clearly from the construction of the saying: he says, “While the God and Father has given His Son on our behalf, the Son has given the Spirit.”<sup>100</sup>

But certainly, just as the giving or sending of the Son from the Father for the salvation of the world is not a begetting (it would of course be far and infinitely far from being the pre-eternal begetting), in this way neither is the giving or sending of the Holy Spirit from the Son a procession, how much more so and immeasurably more so [not] the procession from the Father, which did not come to be before the ages—away with this!—but which was even before them and is cobeginningless with the Father.

Is someone still able to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son because of the sending? I myself at least do not think so, unless he clearly wanted to fight God. “But,” he rejoins, “the Spirit is also of the Son Himself and is said to be His own. For, the Apostle says: “God sent forth the Spirit of His Son in our hearts crying, Abba, Father.”<sup>101</sup>

## 29

Well done! For you have abandoned the preposition “from”, you at least, whoever you are that were recently opposed, and now you propose “His” without that preposition. Or is the phrase that He is “His” considered and constructed by you, the dialectician of the incomprehensible, so as to mean that He is “from Him”? Tell me, on this point: are you not also of yourself? In this, at any rate, I think you will escape us. For you do not seem to me to have heard the one who says, “Become your own, O man.”<sup>102</sup> For, if you had heard and obeyed, you would have fervently loved what has been handed down in tradition concerning God and would not have made any attempt on the words and deeds that surpass man, and innovating at that.

But if man is of himself, then according to you, man is from himself. As for why we do not say “Son of the Spirit”, that is reasonable, he says. For, we would think that the Spirit is a father, since the Son introduces the Father to the reasoning. For this reason accordingly we do not say “Son of the Spirit”, lest you think that the Son is from the Spirit. However, we do say “Spirit of the Son”; but this does not mean that He is “from the Son” as well. For He is called His Spirit, not because He is from Him, but as being in Him.

Be taught this as well from the Apostle, when he is saying, “No one knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him.”<sup>103</sup> So, just as it is said to be “the spirit of man”, yet not as being from the man but as being in the man, similarly the divine Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, not as being “from the Son” but as being in the Son naturally from eternity, and thus He completely evades the apparently ineluctable conclusions from your syllogisms.

For, on the basis of a division [a disjunctive syllogism] the Latin-minded syllogises and says, “since the Spirit is ‘of the Son’, it is either as being supplied through Him, or as consubstantial, or as proceeding from Him. And it is certainly not as being supplied, since the Spirit of the Son exists before the ages, while to be supplied is a later occurrence. Neither is it as consubstantial, for in that case ‘Son of the Spirit’ would also be said. Accordingly, what remains is that He is and is called the Spirit of the Son as proceeding from Him.” What does this mean then? If, in fact, something should appear outside of this same analysis, according to which thing the Spirit could be said to be “of the Son”, would not this hypothetical syllogism of yours, based on this analysis, become absolutely logically incoherent?

For the Spirit is “of the Son” since from eternity and unto the ages He proceeds from the Father and exists naturally in the Son and rests in Him, and because of this He is called the Spirit of the Son, but He is not said to be “from the Son”. The intellect of man also originates from God and exists in him, that is, in the man. And while “the intellect of man” is said, “man of the intellect” is not said. Neither is the intellect said to be “from the man”, at least as pertains to the essence. For, here the present explanation does not concern energy. So, the Spirit is not “from the Son”, unless you call the grace and the energy “Spirit”. For, you would say that the intellect also is

from the man (whenever “intellect” indicates the energy), in the sense that is being expressed and transmitted.

30

But one could see that the theologians say that the Holy Spirit is the intellect of Christ as well. For the divine Cyril says in the [thirty-]fourth chapter of *The Treasuries*: “Since He is the mind [nous]<sup>104</sup> of Christ, He has converse with His disciples [about] everything which is in Him.”<sup>105</sup> So, precisely as for us the intellect is of a man with respect both to essence and to energy (and while the intellect is indeed His with respect to essence, yet it is not from him, whereas with respect to energy it is both his and from him), in this way also the Holy Spirit is of Christ as of God according to both essence and energy. But on the one hand, according to the essence and the hypostasis He is His but not “from Him.” On the other hand, according to energy He is both His and “from Him”. But when the Latins are saying, “the Spirit is of the Son,” but not also “of the Son, yet not from the Son,” they annul and despise the very essence and hypostasis of the all-holy Spirit.

31

So, the conclusion from the disjunction of the Latin hypothetical syllogism has been completely dissolved and has departed to non-being or rather to the complete opposite. And should someone perceive the things annulled by the Latin himself so that the one option might necessarily be shown to be irrefutable, he would see that the Latin is clearly antithetical to the saints. For he says, “The Spirit both is and is called the Spirit of the Son not because He is supplied or manifested through Him (insofar as He is timelessly the Spirit of the Son, while to supply is not without beginning), nor is it in the sense of being consubstantial. For then the Son also would be called ‘Son of the Spirit’.”

But Basil the Great, whose mere improvised saying is much stronger than the Latin syllogisms and disjunctions, says, then, in his treatise *Concerning the Holy Spirit*, “The Apostle has made it clear that the Spirit has shone forth through the Son, having named Him the Spirit of the

Son.”<sup>106</sup> Do you see that “the Spirit of Christ” is said in the sense both of being supplied and of shining forth from Him? So, the Spirit both is and is called “the Son’s” timelessly. The Son, however, timelessly has even the ability of supplying itself. For, there is no additional reception or removal there, although since the recipients are under time, they received their supply temporally.

But “the Spirit of the Son” could also be said in the sense of being connatural and consubstantial, as the same Basil the Great says in his eighteenth Chapter *To Amphilochios*: “The Spirit is called ‘of Christ’ since He is by nature familiar with Him.”<sup>107</sup> And Cyril the divine says in his masterfully argumentative treatise *Concerning the Holy Spirit*, “Just as the Holy Spirit, according to essence, is of the God and Father, so also He is the Son’s according to essence, as proceeding ineffably from the Father along with the Son, who was begotten essentially.”<sup>108</sup> Further, he says in his exegesis of the *Gospel According to Luke*, “as the finger is fastened to the hand, being not alien to it but in it naturally, so also the Holy Spirit is connected by reason of His consubstantiality but is in it naturally, so also the Holy Spirit is, by reason of His consubstantiality, connected toward union with the Son, although He proceeds from the God and Father.”<sup>109</sup> So, the Spirit could be said to be “of the Son” also in the sense of being of the same nature, while the Son is not said to be “of the Spirit” lest you think that the Spirit is a Father.

So I am forced to marvel at the extreme excess of the Latin insanity as I consider that, while the Spirit is said to be “of the Son” in all of the aforementioned ways but is not at all described thus only in one sense, they indeed irreverently both ignored and set those all aside, paid attention to what had not been said at all (and irreverently at that), and dogmatised that the Spirit has existence from the Son on the basis that He both is and is said to be the Son’s. But let us buttress our thoughts on this upon a sure foundation, setting our seal upon them with a most clear and God-breathed argument. You know the John that kindled a torch from Damascus and completely enlightened the entire world with the light of divine knowledge. Does he not clearly say that “while we say the ‘Spirit of the Son’, yet we do



not say ‘the Spirit from the Son’?”<sup>110</sup> “Yes,” he responds; “and I am not able to say that this person has not spoken thus, but I am able to say that it is with respect to the first cause that ‘from the Son’ is not said.”

Really! So is there in your eyes another cause in the divinity except the first? For this has been said by the fathers with reference to us who have been created, and thus the “first” has a reason [to be used] regarding the cause, since both the Son and the Spirit are joint causes. Wherefore, Basil the Great has also said that the Father is the initial cause.<sup>111</sup> And just as in the proper sense He is Father of the Only-Begotten yet He is also said to be the Father of us who have not been begotten but have been created by Him, so again He is called first cause in the proper sense because of us. This term, however, is also used by the theologians in the former case as being indicative of the Father’s hypostasis, but not as if it were an indication that the Son is a joint cause for the divinity.

### 33

Therefore the initial, first cause concerns not the beginningless Spirit (away with that blasphemy!) but those that possess a temporal beginning, in respect to whom the Son also is a joint cause with the Father.<sup>112</sup> Yet truly, regarding those whose first cause (in the proper sense) is the Father, that is the creatures, it is not pious to say, “While we say that creation is the Son’s, yet we do not say it is from the Son.” Therefore, if the Father was a first cause also with respect to the uncreated Spirit, as with the Son being a joint cause, it would have been impious to say, “We do not say He is from the Son.” But since he that says this is not only pious but counted among the saints, therefore impious is he that calls the Son a joint cause to the Father with respect to the Spirit and who, because of this, calls the Father a first cause with respect to the supreme Trinity. For the Father is called by this name because of us who have been made through the Son, wherefore each one of Them is also a creator and so also a Father. And if the Father along with the Son is said to be one creator and Father regarding us as well, yet it is in the sense that They are rich in the one and the same creative power. There, however, there is in every way and entirely one Father, one cause; for the generative power is not in both, but rather there is one fount of divinity, the Father. Well then, where at all is there room for the “first



cause” there? Is it as if the caused one were a joint cause? This saying is impious: let it be thrown to the crows, lest it render you partner of the noetic crows.

How is it then that this man John, who was wise more than anyone in divine matters, would unqualifiedly propose what requires qualification, and in fact do this as he was setting forth precisely the unerring belief concerning God? And will we not be making room for any of the things that have been foolishly said by the cacodox, if we should allow the qualification of what has been unqualifiedly expressed concerning the trihypostatic divinity? For it follows that, as God is Spirit, each of the three is separately called Spirit. So if someone was innovatively saying that the Son is from the Spirit because the Son is God and is from God and God is Spirit, and if we then rejoined that, while God is Spirit and is called the Spirit of God, yet God is not said to be from Spirit, would he be able to say that it is not said in reference to the first cause? Not at all.

34

Now, should someone dare to say that the Son is not a Creator, would we then have excused him saying that it is with reference to the first cause that he does not affirm the Son to be the Creator? Away with the idea! But again we piously say, “There was not a time when the Son was not.”<sup>113</sup> If someone was qualifying and saying that it was not in the sense of eternally but rather temporally, that the expression does not encompass also the *eternal* age but only time, would he not immediately hear from us, “This which you say, my friend, is a clear despising of things which have been commonly confessed and a perversion of pious texts”? Thus, the occasion and root and fount for all irreverence is to qualify matters which have already been theologized by our Godbearing Fathers without qualification. And scarcely this alone of all things mixes up what cannot be mixed and spins together, as the saying goes,<sup>114</sup> what cannot be spun together, the most polemically opposed points with each other, piety with impiety, and deceitfully displays those that hold each position as not being opponents at all. And the Latins abuse this so much that when they hear even the saints theologizing without further qualification that only the Father is the origin and root and fount of divinity, they qualify all these things (or rather,

through their qualification they deceitfully dogmatize against them), although they ought to walk at the same time by all the expressions of those theologians who were made wise by God. These God-wise theologians say in some passages that the Spirit is only from the Father, wherefore the Father is the only cause and fount of divinity, while elsewhere they say that from the Son we should sum up the Holy Spirit into one and consider that He is only from the Father, but not that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son.

35

But by making connections and using the first cause as an excuse, they fabricate each, saying that, just as there are times when the Father is said to be the only true God although the Son is also a true and good God, in the same way is the Father said to be the only Fount and cause of divinity, as being first; and so there is no impediment for the Son being a cause of divinity as well. They do not comprehend that by this they drag the Son and especially the Holy Spirit down into being a creature. For, whenever we say that only the Father is the true God, we are not differentiating the Uncreated from one another, neither are we in that case simply separating the Father, but rather the only nature contemplated in three hypostases, from created things. Accordingly, if this is how we explain it and if the Father is the only cause of divinity as we speak of Him that He is the only good one, the Holy Spirit, who even according to them is not a cause of divinity, will be numbered with created things.

However, for those for whom there are times when only the Father is spoken of as the first and as the initial cause, as if the Son were a joint cause and a sharer in those things with the Father, there are not only cases when the Father is said to be “the only true God” and “only creator” and “only Good One” and such titles, but there are also times when only the Son could be said to be these things; and not only the Son, but the Spirit as well. For, since this “only” separates the uncreated nature from created beings, and since the uncreated nature is trihypostatic and its entirety is indivisibly considered in each of the hypostases, with whichever one of the three natural hypostases you call it, you are referring to the entire trihypostatic nature.

Therefore, just as we piously state that Christ only is the God of all, would anyone be able to say (or better, has anyone ever been heard to have said even this) that only the Son is the cause and fount of divinity of the Spirit? Or also be able to say that even the Spirit Himself is the only cause and fount of divinity, who even according to the Latins is not possibly a cause of divinity? And yet this also would be a possibility, assuming this is how the Father was said to be the only cause of divinity, as if the Son were a joint cause.

Accordingly it is clear, or rather completely clear, that when the word “only” is spoken in reference to hypostatic things, it is distinguishing not the created from the uncreated but one particular uncreated hypostasis from the others. And who does not know that for the divinity the cause is hypostatic? So then, if only the Father is a cause and only He is a beginning and a fount of divinity, therefore none other of the divine hypostases is a cause and beginning and fount of divinity. Nevertheless, if, when the cause for the divinity is theorized to be in two persons according to the Latins, there is nothing to prevent us from saying that only the Father is a fount of divinity, then when what has been caused is also theorized to be in two persons, nothing will prevent us from saying that only the Holy Spirit, or only the Son, exists as caused, which no one at any time even from the heretics dared to say.

And yet, if we grant the definition of what has already been theologized by the saints in an undefined manner, even this could easily be arranged by anyone who wanted it. Immediately, however, this man, unless he repent, will completely fall under the anathema. For it is said: “If any man proclaim what has not been proclaimed by us, let him be anathema.”<sup>115</sup> But what are you saying, you who say that the Spirit is “also from the Son” and because of this are defining what has been already theologized in an undefined manner by the saints and with your definition are deceitfully contradicting the one who theologizes that the Spirit is not said to be also from the Son? Are you, then, able to show that you do not happen to be almost entirely similar to the one who lies under this condemnation? He says, “I am able to show that many of the theologians are opposed to this theology of the Damascene and that they allow us to think that procession is the Son’s.”

Really! Is there in a word among the theologians a contradiction, and in fact upon the absolutely necessary things, on which our entire faith hangs? Or is it entirely possible for the contradictions to be theologies or for their respective supporters to both be theologians? Not at all. So according to you we shall exclude either him or the others from the choir of the Orthodox. But why? Since such are the evangelic and apostolic words and since it is in this way that they clarify the things of the Spirit, as we previously demonstrated, will we not in every way reconcile what seems to disagree with the meaning of piety that has been revealed through them? And if we were not able to conform some one of the Patristic words to that understanding, will we not just leave it, as not having been able to understand it, and will we not nonetheless keep on holding fast to the commonly confessed piety? It is, I suppose, clear to all that we shall be attentive in every way to the meanings of piety that have been proclaimed by the evangelic and apostolic words.

But come now, let us endeavor to display that the patristic voices proposed by the Latins on behalf of their own opinions are orthodox in reference to those meanings. And if, on the one hand, we shall be able to adequately dissolve the apparent contradiction, thanks be to God who has provided even to us, who lie on the borders of ignorance and dwell far from the dispassionate life, knowledge in harmony with the truth that is in Him. On the other hand, in the event that we be not able to provide an explanation for everything, if someone is perfect in Christ and wise in divine and spiritual matters, let this very man accept us from our disposition and teach from himself a better explanation to us who long and wish as much as possible to become disciples, and let him make up for what is lacking on our part and more perfectly turn about those who try to infer from these patristic voices the opposites of piety.

Well, now. Tell us who they are and what has been said by them. For, it is not possible for all the God-bearers not to be in agreement with one another and with Christ the God of the God-bearers, seeing there is one inspiration

for them from the one Spirit of Christ. In addition to this and after nearly all of them there is this Damascene, and he was also taught by them all and he testifies for himself to his agreement with them when he says not “I say” but “we say”, and through himself he presents to us that nowhere at all do these same Fathers say that the Spirit is existentially from the Son. It seems to me, though, that you have not arrived at the lofty greatness of their concepts and for this reason you have such thoughts about them. For, the Father also is said by everyone to be the first cause, but you have heard how it is said;<sup>116</sup> and Athanasius the Great said that the Holy Spirit shines forth from the Word, but you have heard how he said it;<sup>117</sup> and we say that the Son indeed is an image of the Father and the Spirit is an image of the Son, but you have heard how we say it;<sup>118</sup> and they have clearly reasoned very many other things, which appear to be in your favour but are agreeing with us, not with you. Yet at the opening of our mouth the Spirit will give an explanation in what follows.

But who is it that says that the ability to cause procession is also the Son's? They say, Gregory himself, who has the title for theologizing, since he says, “the Son has all things which are the Father's except unbegottenness.”<sup>119</sup> Accordingly, since He has all things of the Father's except unbegottenness, how could He not also have the ability to cause procession? Truly, they are not of the Spirit that speaks in Gregory; for if they were, they would not have been uttering such complete lies against the saint, who also says, “whatever is said concerning the Holy Spirit in more lowly fashion than the Son is to be referred back to the First Cause, so that the source-from-which may be shown.”<sup>120</sup> So, who is the first cause? Is it not the Father only? But he also says, “the Son has all things which are of the Father apart from the cause, that is to say, apart from himself being a cause of divinity.”<sup>121</sup> For this man perpetually preaches one cause and one origin, the unbegotten Father, in reference to God and acknowledges the unique as divine. And because of this he says, “For us there is one God, because to one cause those that are from Him have their reference,”<sup>122</sup> not saying “the one that is from them”, as the Son is from God and the Holy Spirit is God from God. It is not a God—away with the blasphemy!—but rather the created things that he considers as being substantiated from God through a middle God. In this respect he sets down the Father as the first cause, saying in the second oration of peace that “as much as God is more

honorable than creatures, so much is it more majestic for the first cause to be an origin of divinity rather than of creatures and to have come to the creatures through a mediating divinity.”<sup>123</sup>

But you—O the blasphemy!—who think like the Latins, you say that the Father came to bring forth the Holy Spirit through the mediation of the Son, which is the same as to say through mediation of the divinity of the Son. And your innovation does not even stop at this but you also say that it is common for the Father and the Son to cause the Spirit to proceed also from the Son, on account of this here theologian saying to those who sailed in from Egypt that the Son has all things which are the Father’s apart from unbegottenness only. For herein you must accept the word “only”, even if it is not expressed; and that is why I am clearly adding it for you.

But tell me, does not this the same theologian himself add, “and all things, as many as are of the Son, are also of the Spirit, apart from sonship”?<sup>124</sup> So, if, per chance, to cause procession is also the Son’s, this will also be the Spirit’s; for to cause procession is not a characteristic of sonship. Otherwise the Father also would be a Son, since He too would be able to cause procession. Yet the same man also says in his treatise *Concerning the Holy Spirit*, speaking of the Holy Spirit Himself, “What can He not do of the great things that God can do? And what was not ascribed to Him of the things that are ascribed to God, apart from unbegottenness and begottenness?”<sup>125</sup> Therefore, we also will not call the Spirit an originator. And according to you, He will have the power to cause procession like the Son, and from this vantage even twice as much as the Son; for He will not only have the Father’s power but the Son’s as well, according to your belief concerning the Son. Do you see into how many absurd fallacies a person falls when he hears that the Son has all things which are the Father’s and does not think they are only things of the nature but instead connects even some of the hypostatic things with the natural?

Therefore there is certainly not any compelling reason to produce a further argument concerning this, seeing you, at any rate, have been refuted, but at least for the sake of the good, and lest anyone attribute blame to the blameless, in the following we shall demonstrate that the utterance of the saint is actually sound, yet because of ignorance it is wrongly understood by those who think as the Latins. I believe the argument will considerably contribute to the resolution of the matter before us. We must pay as much attention as possible.

With respect to God, to say “unbegotten” and to say “uncaused” are the same thing. Wherefore, even if you read through all the theological books nowhere will you find the Holy Spirit described as being unbegotten, although He is not begotten. And by saying in the eighth chapter of his dogmatics that “all things, as many as the Father has, also belong to the Spirit Himself, apart from unbegottenness,”<sup>126</sup> Damascene the Godbearer showed that not only is the unbegotten identical to the uncaused but also the uncaused is identical to the cause in the case of God. For with respect to God, the cause corresponds to the uncaused, and I am referring to the cause of the divinity of the Son and the Spirit. So, wanting to say that the Spirit has all things of the Father apart from being uncaused and apart from being a cause, which, namely, is to beget and to cause procession, he said “apart only from unbegottenness,” as this encompasses everything, as many idioms as belong to the Father.

Therefore, God is unbegotten and uncaused. And the uncaused God is the cause of the divinity. Thus, being the cause of innate wealth, as His own self lacks in nothing, He would be plotting against Himself if He were the cause of one and only and thus turned His wealth into poverty. Furthermore, what is in every way and completely one is imperfect, wherefore it was receivable to the Jews who were imperfect in their knowledge of God. Not even, however, by being the cause of a consubstantial dyad, begetting the one while emanating the other by procession, in an infinitely beautiful manner, so to speak, would He be brought forth more, while in fact circumscribing all infinitude within Himself and within those from Him. Furthermore, neither is there any other mode of innate existence; and so what goes beyond this is not divinity but a fall from divinity. This therefore is the polytheism of the godless Hellenes.



As the monad, however, has been moved to a dyad and has not proceeded further, that is, when the all-effecting God the Father has been moved to the begetting and progression of His Son, who is the Creator of all things and who brings all things to perfection, neither is the Son through the Spirit (for in that case, if He was begotten through the perfecting Spirit, He would be imperfectly from the Father), nor is the Spirit through the Son. For besides being imperfectly from the Father (He, the Perfecter of all things!), He would also be one of the creatures. For they came into existence through that one, but through the Son the Spirit came to be known. And in the light, in the Spirit, we see light, the Son (to speak prophetically and at the same time patristically), that as a result we might know not only that they exist from a single origin, but also that they relate to each other without intervening distance and exist in each other and display each other and are manifested through each other, but not that they are through each other or even from each other or of each other; for, the source-from-which is one.

And accordingly, the one who theologized that the Son has all things that are the Father's except unbegottenness has said that He has all things except cause, since he also clearly defined it this way in other passages of his writings. Now if the Son has all things which are the Father's apart from being a cause, I mean, apart from being a cause of divinity, and if the Father is a cause not only by begetting the Son but also by causing the Spirit to proceed, then the Son has all things which are the Father's apart from both begetting the Son and causing the Spirit to proceed, which properties, being only the Father's, bear witness to His unbegottenness. Wherefore also the theologian from Damascus says in his treatise *Concerning the Holy Trinity*, "Because of the Father, that is, on account of the Father's being, the Son and the Spirit have all things which They have. That is, because the Father has these same things they also have these things, apart from unbegottenness and begottenness and procession."<sup>127</sup>

Now if unbegottenness indicates what is completely and in every way the cause in respect to God, then by all necessity begottenness will indicate that

what has been begotten can in no way at all be a cause of divinity, just as procession indicates what exists by procession from the Father. And if the Son cannot in any way exist as a cause of divinity, how would the Spirit be from Him? Or how would the Father be the first cause of the Spirit, followed by the Son, as if the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him as well? That is how the Latins suppose we must believe, becoming delirious, as I see it, and misinterpreting the sense of the patristic sayings. For does not this man, worthily named the Theologian, say that “the Son has all things of the Father apart from unbegottenness,” which is the same as to say, apart from the cause, which is the same as to say, apart from begetting and causing procession? For it is with respect to these things that the cause is a cause.

And all things, whatever the Son has, are the Spirit’s, apart from sonship, or (if you prefer) apart from begottenness. For, we will not fear lest the Holy Spirit be uncaused, if it is discovered that He Himself is also a cause inasmuch as He does not have begottenness. He is not uncaused either, although He is not begotten. For what does not have begottenness as being uncaused, that is itself by itself in every way uncaused and is in every way a cause of divinity. This is how we speak in harmony with those who theologize in the Spirit, and this is how we refute those who do not speak harmoniously, demonstrating that the scriptural witnesses they have proposed are against their own selves.

43

For that argument—from the same theologian [John], which the tribe of the Latins thinks advances their own belief—that the Lord was indicating His own dignity to His initiates when He said, “I myself will send the Holy Spirit,”<sup>128</sup> this they advance against their own selves without knowing it. Since sending the Spirit is truly great and transcends greatness and belongs to God alone (for having previously said that the Father will send the Paraclete,<sup>129</sup> then He Himself says “I will send,”<sup>130</sup> indicating His very own dignity, so that the fact itself proclaims it with a loud voice and the namesake of theology exegetes it), if the Lord knew that the Holy Spirit proceeded and had existence not only from the Father but also from His own self, why did He not add and say, “the Spirit which proceedeth from the Father and from Myself”? For He was not speaking at that time more

humbly about Himself to explain why He would have concealed and omitted this thing only. So it is clear even to a blind man, as they say, that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son.

So the ability to send the divine Spirit is indeed a great dignity, and is so great that it shows the Son to be co-natural and equal and of the same honor with the Father, just as also the fact that the Son is sent not only by the Father but also by the Spirit Himself proves the Spirit consubstantial and of the same honor with the Father. In any case, this very dignity is most definitely natural, not hypostatic. For if the ability to send were hypostatic, it would not be common to the Father, Son, and Spirit. So, the other Paraclete is true God. How then can He who sends Him not be true God? And if the Son sends the Paraclete, who comes also by Himself as it were self-called, how could He not be of one will and authority with Him? And if they are of one authority and will, how would they not also be of one nature?

44

Do you see that the sending of the divine Spirit proves the oneness of will and the consubstantiality of the one sending with the one sent? This sending is an exceedingly great dignity, being nevertheless properly and God-befittingly attributed to the three, as showing the free will<sup>131</sup> of those who are thus sent. But whoever says that this dignity [of sending] is not divine but emanative,<sup>132</sup> such a man first of all actually shows not only that the Son is a cause of the divine Spirit, but also that the Spirit is a cause of the Son. Besides this, he also unwarrantedly rejects the self-will of each one of them (sometimes the Son's, sometimes the Spirit's) in coming to us when dogmatizing that the sending to us is not from will but from nature and so, consequently, it is also beginningless. For things which are from God not by the will but by nature, such things are prebeginningless [προάναρχα], not having a beginning.

Besides, the namesake of theology says to those who thought that the Son is lesser on account of being sent from the Father that this sending is a certain proof of the good pleasure of the Father but not of His pre-eternal existence.<sup>133</sup> So it is in madness that the Latins consider the sending of the Spirit from the Son as proof that He exists from Him pre-eternally.

Furthermore, it is written He has been raised up and taken up by the Father, but it is also written that He has raised up Himself and assumed Himself again to heaven. The former are of His good pleasure: the latter, of His authority. So too, although the Holy Spirit was sent from the Son, yet He also came to us of His own self, and therefore we should say that the former is of His good pleasure while the latter is of His authority. Nevertheless we should not recklessly innovate in this regard about the mode of existence of the divine Spirit.

45

Besides Gregory, who was titled for his theology, neither was Basil the Great found anywhere saying that the Spirit is from the Son; and if He has said in his chapters *To the Eunomians Concerning the Holy Spirit*<sup>134</sup> that He is from the Father “through” the Son, yet he personally became his own interpreter in these same chapters and thoroughly clarified the matter saying that this speaks about the transmission of the Spirit and writing: “The apostle distinctly proclaimed that the Spirit is from God when he says that we have received the Spirit that is from God;<sup>135</sup> and he made it clear that the Spirit was manifested through the Son since he named Him the Spirit of the Son just as he named Him the Spirit of God. He also named Him the mind of Christ, just as he also named Him the Spirit of God, as is the case with the spirit of man.”<sup>136</sup>

Do you see that He has being from God, that is, from the Father, but through the Son He is transmitted and manifested? And that He is named the Spirit and mind of the Son, yet He is still not from the Son, just as with man? For man’s own spirit and mind are his but not from him, except in the sense of activity [energeia]. This great theologian elsewhere makes this point clearer, saying: “While the Spirit depends upon the Son, with whom He is understood together inseparably, yet He has existence dependent on the cause of the Father, from whom He also proceeds, having this as a sign that distinguishes His own hypostatic existence, namely to be acknowledged after the Son and together with Him and to receive His substance from the Father. Yet while the Son makes known the Spirit, Which proceeds from the Father, through Himself and with Himself, being the only one that shone forth as only-begotten from the unbegotten Light,

He the Son has no communion with the Father or the Holy Spirit regarding the individuating characteristics.”<sup>137</sup>

Do you hear that the characteristic sign of the hypostasis of the divine Spirit is for Him to become known through the Son, but it is not for Him to have His hypostasis from Him, which instead is substantiated from the Father? When even the Lord Himself says in the Gospels, “When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father,”<sup>138</sup> does He not actually show that the individuating characteristic of the Spirit is to proceed, while the individuating characteristic of the Father is to cause procession, since each of these properties is hypostatic, and the hypostatic are what individuate? And so, according to Basil the Great, the Son will not be able to cause procession, since He has no communion at all with the individuating characteristics of the Father.

46

On account of this, the same man says again *To the Eunomians Concerning the Holy Spirit*: “Son of God, holy fruit from the Holy, eternal from eternal, provider of the Holy Spirit for the existence<sup>139</sup> and shaping of creation.”<sup>140</sup> Do you see that the Son is a provider of the Spirit but not a bestower of His existence?<sup>141</sup> And that the supply from the Son is done for a cause, that He might give existence and shape to creation by the Spirit? At this point, note also the following wherein he says: “Whoever takes out the Son takes out the origin of the creation of all things, for the Word of God is the origin of the existence of all things, through whom they have come into being.”<sup>142</sup> Do you see? The Word of God is the origin of the existence of all things, but is not the origin of the existence of the Holy Spirit. For He is the origin of the creation of all things, but not of the existence of the Holy Spirit. In this regard, since Basil the Great wanted to exalt the Son, if in fact he had been able to say that the Son is the origin of the divine Spirit (in the sense that the Spirit took being through Him), why did he not say it? Why did he say instead that He is only a provider of the Spirit, that He is an origin only of the creation which took being through Him?

47

But, they say, the golden-mouthed theologian says, “Christ came to us, He gave to us the Spirit that is from Him and assumed our body.”<sup>143</sup> And again: “Because the body of Christ became a temple of the divine power upon the earth, you also may become a temple in His likeness; For you receive the Spirit sent from Him. So then, just as in coming to know Christ you have come to know God, in the same way you also received the Spirit of Christ as God.”<sup>144</sup>

So, concerning [the last part about] the “coming to know,” the matter is self-evident.<sup>145</sup> As for the sending and the transmission, we have also spoken about that previously. Nevertheless, here, too, we need to understand, first, what does our Father Chrysostom mean when he says that the Spirit is taught and received? Is it the very essence and hypostasis of the Spirit, or is it His grace and energy? But that we may not exhaust ourselves searching, let us again put forth this golden theologian himself as an interpreter of what we are now discussing. On one hand, in his treatise *Concerning the Spirit* he says: “The gift is sent; the Spirit is not sent forth.”<sup>146</sup> On the other hand, having heard John the Forerunner and Baptist speaking about Christ, that He received not the Spirit by measure from the Father (for he says, “the Father gives the Spirit not by measure,” but “has given all things into His hand”<sup>147</sup>), he exegetes and says, “By ‘Spirit’ here he means energy; for this is what is divisible. For we have all received the energy of the Spirit in measure, but He received all the energy in its entirety. But if His energy is measureless, much more the essence.”<sup>148</sup> And elsewhere, putting forth that psalmic passage for exegesis, “grace hath been poured forth on Thy lips,”<sup>149</sup> he says, “Do you see that he is speaking of His *economia*?”<sup>150</sup> And a bit later, “Here he is referring to the grace that came upon the flesh, since all the grace was poured forth upon that temple: ‘For the Father giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.’<sup>151</sup> But we have a small portion, even a drop, from that grace: ‘for of his fulness have we all received,’<sup>152</sup> as one might say, ‘from the overflowing, from the excess’. And again, He did not say, ‘I give the Spirit’, but ‘I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.’<sup>153</sup> And the grace which is given in so many regions of the world is some part of the gift and an earnest [engagement]. For he says, ‘He hath given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.’<sup>154</sup> He means the part of the energy, for, of course, the Paraclete is not divided.”<sup>155</sup>



Therefore, as that Temple received this same energy, so Christ then bestows it from Himself to those who are worthy. And so you now, when you hear the golden speaker saying, “Christ has given to us,” remember those words which we have said earlier,<sup>156</sup> that God and the existence of God is not for another, nor is it given to anyone. Rather He is causeless, having as a cause Him from whom He exists causelessly, not existing from Him on account of a cause. Now just as God and the existence of God are causeless, so what came to be for a cause is common both to Him who is uncaused and to those who exist causelessly from Him. And so, although it has been said many times both by the theanthropic Word and by the God-bearers that the Spirit is sent and given from the Son, yet nowhere is it said without a cause, nor without a person as recipient, on account of whom He is also sent. On the contrary, the only God and Theologian has always rendered [these phrases] yoked to the causes, while He has also laid down that what proceeds is absolutely independent of any cause whatsoever, and afterward so did also all those speaking through Him, by whom we are taught that it is not the hypostasis of the All-Holy Spirit that is from the Son, neither is it given nor received by anyone, but that rather the divine grace and energy are received. Now, if not everyone nor always mentions the persons or the causes, it is not because they do not think this way but because these things have already been said many times and they are therefore agreed upon. And because the Latin-minded did not pore over this or give attention to it, they have misinterpreted and wrongly and completely twisted many sayings of the great Athanasius and of the divine Cyril.

“But what could one say,” such men retort once more, “when hearing the instructor on God, Gregory of Nyssa, saying: ‘The Son is conceived of as before the Spirit’s hypostasis by reason of the cause?’”<sup>157</sup> What actually *would* someone say? Will we in rejoinder say something other than what is true and most familiar to those who pay but a little attention, that is, that the hypostasis of the Son is considered to be from the Father prior than the hypostasis of the Spirit by reason of the cause, not by reason of the cause of



the Spirit but by reason of His own hypostasis from the Father, which is to exist by begetting from the Father. For when someone hears “Father”, immediately he considers Him to be Father of an offspring; and whenever he hears that the offspring is a Word, then he enters into the conceptual understanding of the divine Spirit.<sup>158</sup> So on account of this, the Son is in no way at all existentially prior to the Spirit. Wherefore this divine president of Nyssa in the first of his disputations *Against Eunomius* says: “As the Son is bound to the Father, and, while deriving existence from Him, is not existentially after Him, so again the Holy Spirit clings closely to the Only-begotten, who is conceived of as before the Spirit’s hypostasis only notionally, by reason of the cause.”<sup>159</sup>

What then is being shown by the saint in this passage? Entirely nothing other than that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are contemporaneous; and neither does the Son’s being from the Father in any way prevent the Son from being contemporaneously with the Father from eternity, nor does the fact that the Son is considered prior (only notionally, by reason of His own cause, namely, as a Son from the Father) in any way prevent the Spirit from clinging close to the Son and being with Him contemporaneously from the Father. We must also consider this, which the saint clearly added, namely, that he did not simply say, “notionally” but “only notionally is the Son conceived of as before to the Spirit.” Furthermore, he said that the Son is from the Father, while for the Holy Spirit he said that He clings closely to the Son, that is, that He exists contemporaneously with the Son from the Father, not that He has His being from Him.

They say, “But the same instructor on God from Nyssa in another passage clearly places the Son in the middle position between the Father and the Spirit, and he hands down<sup>160</sup> the Spirit through the Son being immediately with the Father.<sup>161</sup> For this, he says, is how He will also be only-begotten. And what if we proved that he testifies that the property to cause procession belongs only to the Father and that he says the Father is the only cause of the Son and Spirit and that the Son and Holy Spirit are from the one and same person and that both are immediately from Him, and that he shows

that a person not minded this way is polytheistic, what would they say then? For when he was teaching how God is one in three persons he says, “All the persons of mankind do not have being from the same person with an immediate connection, since the causes as well as the caused are many and diverse. But in the case of the Holy Trinity, it is not like this, for there is one and the same Person, the Father’s, from whom precisely the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. It is principally for this reason that we boldly say that the one cause along with those caused by Him is one God.”<sup>162</sup> Now he tried with such diligence to point out that the property to cause procession is attributed to the Father only that he even brought forth a witness, David the divine musician among the kings, who said not only that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father but that He proceeds from His very hypostasis. For he says in his treatise *Concerning the Knowledge of God*, after he had philosophized not a little about the Father and the Son, that “the Spirit is the one who proceeds from the paternal hypostasis; for this reason has David said ‘Spirit of His mouth’, that he may give assurance that the property to cause procession is attributed only to the Father.”<sup>163</sup> What could be clearer or more certain, or more invincible, or more indicative than these words, that the Spirit does not proceed also from the Son?

For if He was also from the Son, then each would not be from one person immediately, nor would we have the boldness to say that we revere one origin of divinity and affirm that the three persons are one God. If (as is the case with what is caused) that which causes were likewise in two persons, as it is seen in our case; if the Son also had the ability to cause procession, then the property of causing procession would not be only the Father’s. But now Gregory of the Nyssans himself assures us that it is attributed only to the Father, and he brings forward David, the ancestor of God, or better yet, the Holy Spirit, who spoke through the prophets, as also affirming this.

Do you see that you are clearly holding positions contrary to the Spirit, dogmatizing opposite to Him, even warring against Him? That instead of theologizing about the Spirit you have become a wicked arbitrator of the

divinity-generating divinity and a robber of the Father's characteristic idioms, moving and transferring the immovable properties and for your own part stirring up and all at once disturbing the very peace which transcends every intellect?<sup>164</sup> Do you not tremble at hearing these things? Do you not run as fast as possible away from the terrible cacodoxy and then bewail your previous life since you did not traverse it piously?

Let us nevertheless look at the testimony of the Nyssan which has recently been proposed by them and once we have looked at it again let us clarify for all, as much as possible, what is herein hard to understand, which in general has also effected their error. If only we could purify and deliver them from deceit! But direct all your attention, I beg you, who are now and will be dealing with this. Indeed all the words of this man have such depth of understanding, but especially the words that concern God and of these particularly that which will be now set before you. For in writing *To Ablabios* regarding why, although we name one divinity with regard to Father and Son and Holy Spirit, we forbid from saying there are three gods, having presented the complete oneness of the divine nature he says, "If, however, any one cavils at our argument, on the ground that by not admitting the difference of nature it leads to a mixture and confusion of the persons, we shall make to such a charge this answer;—that while we confess the invariable character of the nature, we do not deny the difference with respect to cause and caused, by which alone we apprehend that one person is distinguished from another;—by our belief, that is, that one is the cause, and another is of the cause; and again in that which is of the cause we recognize another distinction. For one is directly from the first cause, and another is through that which is directly from the first cause; so that the attribute of being Only-begotten abides without doubt in the Son, and the interposition of the Son, while it guards His attribute of being Only-begotten, does not shut out the Spirit from His relation by way of nature to the Father."<sup>165</sup>

About this point the following must be said to the Latins: forasmuch as you think that not only the caused but also the cause is in two persons (for you place the cause of the divine Spirit in two persons and in each of them in a

different way), if it were assumed that this most brilliant luminary of Nyssa really was thinking like you, he would have divided the cause before the caused. But since he did not do this at all, it is clear that he had not even consider that which you are trying to draw from his arguments. From his arguments even the opposite of your dogmas becomes apparent to the one that looks at them correctly. For this is what he says, that the Son does not prevent the immediate relationship of the Spirit to the Father, even though only He is a Son. And then, neither should we neglect to observe that he said, “We do not deny the difference with respect to cause and caused,” naming the Son together with the Spirit as “caused”. Then he added: “by which alone we apprehend that one person is distinguished from another,” clearly forbidding the Latin innovation that the Son is not only caused but also a cause, and quickly shaking off all invented differences of theirs, such as that while the Father is the first cause of the Spirit, yet the Son is the second cause, and many other things like this. He says that only in the cause and the caused do we apprehend the divine nature, and while we indeed theorize that the cause is not in two persons, we consider that this very difference in the two persons belongs only to the caused. This difference is not that the one of them is also a cause while the other is only a caused (as the Italians opine, or rather, are out of their mind), but that the one indeed is a Son while the other is not a Son. And further, this is not prevented by the natural union of the Son with the Father. For having said earlier in his treatise what these three are, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (that they are one superessential essence), and then having shown how these three exist (whether they are caused at all, and have a cause, or are rather completely uncaused), he says that one of them is the cause while the other has existence by being caused, and he says that it is the Son and the Holy Spirit that have being by being caused.

So did he not prove in this argument here that there is only one cause, the one which was taken out from the three, clearly the Father only? Then, wanting to show how each of the two persons is caused, lest someone might think, like the Latins, that he introduces again that difference of cause and caused for the Son and Spirit as well, he clearly says that we note another

difference in their respect. The Latins, however, in opposition say that it is not different but the same; and again, when the saint intended to say how the Son has being by being caused, these men mischaracterize him as saying how the Son is a cause. For this God-bearer is nowhere shown to speak or think that the Son is actually a cause in any way whatsoever, and least of all in the recently articulated expressions of his texts. To the contrary he is shown to believe that, while the Son (just like the Holy Spirit) exists by being caused, yet it is caused by being begotten, while the Holy Spirit exists also by being caused, but not by being begotten.

For since both are said [to be] “of the Father” and “from the Father”, I mean the Son and the Spirit, this great intellect said that the Son is immediately related to the Father, and he said that through the interposition of Him who is immediately related to the Father the Spirit is considered from the Father, not that He proceeds through the mediation of the Son. Thus he is repeating, as it were, the position that since He who is the cause and (as the cause) is first both is and is called the Father of Lights,<sup>166</sup> that is, of the Son and Spirit (since both, not only the Son, take second place to the Father, as Gregory the Theologian says in his odes<sup>167</sup>)—so since He who is first toward both of them is said to be the Father of Lights, which are from this Cause (for among the [inspired] sayings you would not find any other designation for Him), then the Light that comes by begetting from the Light is considered immediately with the Father. In the same way the Nyssan himself asserts, writing in his second chapter *To Eunomius*, “A Father separated from Himself could not be conceived, if the Son were not united together with Him by the expression of ‘Father’;”<sup>168</sup> and again, “having our faith in the Father, as soon as we hear ‘Father’ we also accept the Son in our understanding.”<sup>169</sup>

Therefore, the Son indeed is from the Father, and is considered so. The Holy Spirit, however, would be (and be considered to be) from an Originator, not from a Father, on account of His own self,<sup>170</sup> but through the Son being considered immediately from a Father, the Spirit would also be from a Father, who, on one hand, causes the Spirit Himself to proceed while, on the other hand, begetting the Son. Therefore how could the non-

begotten Spirit be said to be from the Begetter? Would it not be because of the Son, who is only-begotten and as a result of this is immediately directly thought of along with Him who begets, who also makes begottenness his only idiom and preserves it so, while also showing that the Spirit is not from the Father by being begotten? So it is through the Son that the Spirit has the ability to be (and be considered to be) from a Father—but by Himself He, too, is from an Originator who originates Him immediately. That is why, just as we said, He did not call the Son a cause but only a caused and equally caused with the Spirit, and in a similar way it was with respect to the cause that he distinguished them from the Father, although, according to the received understanding of the Latins, he should not have spoken thus.

But, just as we have said, if he was thinking like the Latins he should have first divided the cause between the indirect one and the direct one, according to them, since the cause is also witnessed thus in two hypostases according to them; then, proceeding in his treatise and having said that the Son is considered immediately from the Father and having added the cause, he should have said, “so that the Son may be shown to be not only caused but also a cause.” But he does not in any way actually say this. Instead, he says, “so that He may be shown to be the only begotten one,” which is the same as to say, “caused, in this particular manner.” Where, then, in this passage do you see the Son being proclaimed as not only caused?

Now consider this for me. This great man has not said that the interposition of the Son collaborates but rather that it does not exclude, that is, that it does not hinder the Spirit from proceeding immediately from the Father. But let us make the rationale as clear as possible through model examples as well. Both light and smoke proceed immediately from fire. For one is not through the other. So when fire has received fuel it naturally both smokes and enlightens at the same time. The light, on the one hand, is like begetting, while the smoke is like causing procession. Thus while the light is immediately from the light source and is also by itself considered to be from it, likewise also the smoke is from the source of the smoke. Now if someone were to say that the smoke is from the source of the light, he

would be saying this because of the light, because through the light he considered the smoke as being from the light source; and the interposition of the light preserves its only-begottenness and does not exclude the smoke from its relation to the source of the light, I mean, it does not impede it from being immediately from it.

But if you prefer, for the sake of greater clarity, let us add another model example, neither new nor unfamiliar to the theologians. Cain was Adam's son and was his only begotten, before the others were born, while Eve was a part of Adam. Therefore when Adam became a father, Eve was a part of the father; and in all truth she then became and was considered to be a part of the father, having acquired the ability to be and to be considered and to be called a part of the father through Cain. The interposition of this son Cain at that time also kept intact his own only-begottenness without preventing Eve from being a part of the father. But this does not mean that in the beginning Eve was taken from Adam indirectly and not immediately. So leaving behind the temporal beginning and the distance and the birth from a union and all other matters that are not the most appropriate for the divinity, compare this example to the words of the saint and you will understand the truth.

56

So through the Son we consider the Spirit, which does not exist as begotten, to be from the Begetter, which is the same as to say from the Father. For He is and is called a Father on account of the Son. But through the Spirit Himself, as He is not begotten but proceeding, we consider Him to be immediately from the Causer of procession, that is to say, from an originator. For to what other purpose does Gregory the great, who is named after theology, name the sole source of divinity not 'Father' only, but also 'Originator'? Is He not, on the one hand, the Father of His Offspring, but on the other hand, the Originator of the Emanation? For just as the offspring relates to the begetter, in the same way will the emanation also relate to its originator; that is, each one is immediately related. So if you say, "the Emanation of the Father", you will say it on account of the Son.

57



Now I wanted to demonstrate the meaning of the preposition “through” through more examples, yet what further need of arguments is there, as this has been interpreted for us through the Holy Spirit Himself? Because I, for my part, when examining who was the first to have said that the Holy Spirit is “through” the Son, or rather, who it was that has handed this tradition down to us through divine inspiration (for our theology bears no single word which has not been expressed at the very start through divine revelation)—so when I was examining who it was, the first man to have said this, I found the Holy Spirit Himself revealed and at the same time interpreted this very thing regarding His own self through John the most theological among the Apostles to Gregory the Wonderworker, following the exhortation of the Mother of God. The author of Gregory’s wonderful biography and of the revelation therein, who shares the name and is no less worthy of mention, is Gregory of the Nyssans, whose saying we elucidated a short while ago and we found that the Spirit is considered but does not proceed from the Father through the Son. Doing it exceptionally well, he laid before us words for word that revelation, which thus very briefly explained the things of the Spirit. For he says, “One is the Holy Spirit, He too having His existence from the Father and manifested through the Son, that is to say, to men.”<sup>171</sup> Do you see how it is that we must consider and say that the Spirit is through the Son? In other words, that He was manifested to men through Him. This is how you yourself should consider it, whenever you find that the Holy Spirit is given and sent from the Father through the Son. That is, of course, if in fact you do not want to be against God, but rather desire to be God-fearing and God-instructed.

But should you prefer the preposition “from” to be inserted instead of “through”, we shall not censure you at all. Only be mindful of the truth and insert it, and say that the Spirit has been manifested to us from the Son. But if you say that the Holy Spirit has existence through the Son, as though His existence exists from the Son, in this case, inasmuch as you exist outside of the pious understanding we shall also set you outside the church. For since “we have been taught that the divine Spirit accompanies the Word, being a power which is perceived individually in its own hypostasis, expressive of

the Word, unable to be separated from God, in whom He is, or from the Word, whom He accompanies,”<sup>172</sup> inasmuch as the Son’s begetting is accompanied by His own procession without distance and timelessly, how will we not sin if, regarding the procession, we convert the preposition “through” into “from”? So if in any place it should be found that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, we shall devoutly understand and convert the preposition “through” not into the preposition “from” but into the preposition “with”, along with Gregory, the namesake of theology, who says, “for us there is one God, the unoriginate Father; the Origin of all things, the Son, and He who is not from the Origin but is along with the Origin and together with the Origin from the Father, the Holy Spirit.”<sup>173</sup> Wherefore the divine Cyril personally concludes through many examples in his Treasuries<sup>174</sup> that the Spirit naturally exists from the Father in the Son, and writes that the Spirit, naturally and essentially from the Father, pervades the Son, through whom He anoints and sanctifies all things. So while from the Father in the Son He pervades eternally, yet into those who are being sanctified He comes from the Father through the Son, whenever this should be demanded.

59

This also is one the things most needful to examine, that whenever it makes no difference to say “from the Father through the Son” and “from the Father and from the Son” and when in theology, in this way, the “from” and the “through” are equal to each other, this does not prove the division or difference of the Holy Trinity but rather the union and the indistinguishability, which pertains to the natural characteristics and which thus shows that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one and the same energy and will.

But from these prepositions the Latins endeavor to show the difference of the divine hypostases, and that the Spirit has His hypostasis from two hypostases and from each of them differently. It is clear, then, that while the prepositions stand fast piously and soundly with the saints, yet they are understood unsoundly and irreverently by the Latins. And Basil the Great clearly proves that a word like “through” displays the union and the immutability, when he writes in his eighth chapter *To Amphilochius*, “The

fact that the Father creates through the Son neither causes the Father's creation to be imperfect nor implies that the Son's activity is weak; rather it presents the union of their will."<sup>175</sup>

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So whoever says that the Holy Spirit comes forth through the Son and from the Son according to the supply has soundly presented the mutual will of the Father and the Son; for the Holy Spirit is supplied to those who are worthy by the good will of the Father and of the Son and by His own joint good will. But one who says that the Spirit has existence through the Son and from the Son irreverently presents the Spirit as a work of will and a creature by necessity, not as the fruit of the divine nature. According to the sacred Damascene,<sup>176</sup> the creation is a work of divine will, but not the divinity, away with the thought! For, again according to the same Father, neither is the pre-eternal and ever-lasting begetting and procession a work of will but rather of the divine nature.

But how do you yourself, O Latin-minded, say that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son and from the Son? For we know that the manifestation is temporal, but we also know that all temporal things came to be through the Son. And so while we say that the Spirit is manifested from Him and through Him, we do not say that He proceeds from or through Him. So how is it you say the Spirit is through Him? If you mean it transitively, in the sense of crossing through or passing by, what impiety! For you think that the Spirit passes through the Son as through a channel. But then He who fills all things and is ever complete will be empty of Himself in between, and the Spirit will be circumscribed as in a location in the Son, and the area in which the Spirit will be circumscribed will be the boundary of the Son (for a place is the boundary of its container<sup>177</sup>), and the Son will not be of the same nature as the Spirit, for the nature of a place is not the same as the nature of what is in it. Furthermore, how can the Son Himself be in the Spirit that passes through Him transiently?

61

But if He is as it were through an instrument, this also is irreverent. For the nature of an instrument is one thing and the nature of what is done through it is something different; and again the nature of him that executes what is done through it is also different. So what still is left for you to say is this, that just as all things are from the Father through Him, not transitively but creatively, not as through an instrument but as through a co-creator, this is also how the Spirit is through Him. Do you see, O man, to where you degrade the most high Spirit and with what things you classify the God over all? Nevertheless, he says, “I am referring to Him not as co-creator but as co-processor.” Consequently if the Spirit also jointly causes procession, He will also in effect complete Himself, just as in jointly creating He brings all things to completion. Rather He will not complete Himself but some other spirit, indistinguishable from Himself and contemplated in his own hypostasis. Besides, what has been given substance is something altogether different from the Father who creates through the Son in the Holy Spirit, and, when the Father both begets and causes processes before the ages, although the two that issues from His own self are consubstantial, yet each is different from Him and from each other in respect to hypostasis.

62

But if someone may be found saying that the Son is greater than the Spirit, yet another is found saying that the Spirit is greater than the Son, as Cyril the divine says in his *Treasures*. For after he quoted the saying spoken by the Savior, “but if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God,”<sup>178</sup> he made a further inference: “If God is glorified in driving demons out by the energy of the Spirit, how is that by which He is glorified not greater than Him?” From this premise he argues that the Holy Spirit is uncreated. For how could the Lord, with what He said, have bestowed the distinction of being in this way greater to a creature? Such things are said about both the Son and the Spirit not because they are each other’s causes—away with the thought!—but because of the variety and many forms of the wisdom of God in His dispensation toward us, showing by each other the equality of both in all things—I am speaking of the Son and the Spirit.

“But,” they say, “Cyril of Alexandria says that the Son naturally has in Himself the properties and exceptional characteristics of the Father, that the

particular property of the one who begat is naturally communicated to Him, that the Spirit is from the substance of the Son, that being poured forth from the Father through the Son He sanctifies the creation, and that He is essentially<sup>179</sup> poured forth from both.<sup>180</sup> And once again in the seventh chapter of his published treatises *To Hermias* concerning the Son He makes the same point thoroughly clear, saying, ‘In releasing from sin the one attached to Him, He anoints him by His own Spirit, which He Himself indeed infuses, as being the Word from God the Father, and which from His own nature He springs forth to us. And He gives the Spirit not as having Him by measure, according to the declaration of John,<sup>181</sup> but He Himself infuses from Himself, as the Father also does.’”<sup>182</sup>

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At this point, it is time for us to address the individual who advances such ideas: are you still without understanding and have not understood very well what has been said many times by us further up, that God and the existence from God is without cause and transcends time? For in this passage Cyril says that He is poured forth and sanctifies creation. Therefore when you hear that the pouring forth is temporal and for a cause (since He is poured forth after and because of the creation that is being sanctified, for how could it be otherwise?), and furthermore that He is given from the Son for the remission of sins (just as He is also given from the Father of course), and when you hear that He springs forth not absolutely but to certain individuals, do you not remember what you have been taught from us and from the truth, namely that the pre-eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father is not for a cause nor to certain people nor temporal at all? Now if he said that He is poured forth from both essentially, this is no innovation. For He is poured forth as sojourning with the Apostles and working more perfectly in them, as Gregory the Theologian also says: “One could say He is essentially present and residing with us”.<sup>183</sup> Why, was the sending of the Word to us not essential? Was it not from both the Father and the Spirit? The sending, however, was not a begetting. For the Son has not been begotten from both. He was begotten only from the Father, not on account of us, nor after us, but before the ages. Then, after us, because of us, He descended essentially, when He became united to our nature

hypostatically and had become like us for our sake. So the Holy Spirit was also sent essentially, perfectly, from both, or, if you prefer, has been poured forth from both; for He has been called living water.<sup>184</sup> “John indeed baptized with water,” says the Lord, “but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.”<sup>185</sup> How else would they have been baptized, unless living water had been poured forth?

64

So He has been poured forth essentially for us and after us. For He was manifested through Himself, providing the divine power; but He is also always present with us essentially, certainly in His hypostasis as well, even though we do not partake in the least of His essence or hypostasis, but of His grace. In contrast, He proceeds not only before us but also before the ages causelessly from only the Father. Peter, simultaneously both the foundation and the pinnacle of the Church, made known to us the distinction of the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit from both. For, he says, “Having received the promise of the Spirit from the Father, the Son poured forth this which ye now see and hear,”<sup>186</sup> boldly repeating the statement of the Lord and Teacher, that “when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father.”<sup>187</sup>

And so the Spirit is poured forth to us from the Father as also from Himself, and from the Son since the Son receives Him from the Father. As a result, the Son does not possess the Spirit of Himself, neither does the Spirit have existence through the Son; the Father, however, does have the Spirit of Himself, proceeding from Himself immediately, causelessly, and pre-eternally. But he also says that the Son springs Him forth to us as from a well from His own nature. This makes sense and is completely truly, for the nature of the three is one and they naturally inhere in one another. Further, as many times as this God-bearer Cyril says that the Spirit is from the Son, he is presenting Him as consubstantial, not that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. This follows, as he has written things like this to those who were disputing the consubstantiality. Consequently the Holy Spirit indeed is called living water, and the Father is the fount of this water,<sup>188</sup> who says through the prophets concerning the Jews, “they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out broken cisterns.”<sup>189</sup>



The Son is a fount of this water as well, as when Chrysostom writes about baptism, “the Savior points to His own self as the fount of life and to the Holy Spirit as the living water.”<sup>190</sup> But Christ shows that the Holy Spirit Himself is a fount of this water as well, for he says, “whosoever drinketh from the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give, namely, the Holy Spirit, shall become in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.”<sup>191</sup>

Therefore, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are at the same time a fount of living water, that is, of the divine grace and energy of the Spirit. For the golden-mouthed father says that the Scripture calls the grace of the Spirit sometimes fire, sometimes water, showing that these names are not referring to the essence but to the energy.<sup>192</sup> For the Holy Spirit is not comprised of different essences, since it is invisible and of one form. “But,” they counter, “the Holy Spirit springs forth from the divine nature, and this is the Son’s, as well).” Let it be referring even to His eternal existence, if you so prefer. So, He springs forth from the divine nature, but only from the paternal hypostasis. For this reason no one among the devout theologians at any time since time began said that the Spirit is from the hypostasis of the Son, but rather said that He is from the hypostasis of the Father. And if by chance someone might say that He is from the nature of the Son and naturally from Him, yet he would say this insofar as the nature of the Father and of the Son is one and the same.

Let me speak in accord with Cyril the divine himself, as he writes *To Hermias*: “The Son would not be considered to be different from the Father, insofar as natural identity, and certainly not different from the Holy Spirit.”<sup>193</sup> About this matter, when exegeting that passage in the Gospel, “for He shall not speak of Himself,”<sup>194</sup> this same man says, “The Holy Spirit does not exist as something different from the Son, insofar as identity of nature.”<sup>195</sup> And according to the great Dionysius, “A fount of life is the divine nature, diffused into Itself, and resting in Itself, and ever contemplated through Itself.”<sup>196</sup>



“But it is impossible,” they counter, “for the Spirit to be from the essence of the Son and not be from His hypostasis.” For they do not comprehend that, whenever something is of one essence and hypostasis, that which has existence in whatever way from that essence also has existence from that hypostasis; and conversely, whatever happens to be from that hypostasis is also from that essence. But whenever something happens to be of one essence but not of one hypostasis but of many, then what is from that one essence is not from the remaining hypostases of that nature, but from one of them in particular. Therefore, since our most high and worshipful Trinity is one nature in three hypostases, what has its existence from the essence is not from the remaining hypostases but from one of them in particular, namely, from the Father’s, since it is impossible for it not to be from this hypostasis. Consequently, it cannot be from another, but, insofar as it is from one, it shall be only from one.

This is clear in the example of men; for while each one of us is from the essence of Adam, yet each of us is not also from his hypostasis, because while the essence of men at this time is one, yet there are many hypostases. But in the beginning when there was one human essence and hypostasis, that of Adam, Eve was from the essence of Adam, and was also from his hypostasis. But also before Cain came into being, when there was one male essence and hypostasis, Cain existed from the one and same male essence and hypostasis, that of Adam. When, however, there were already two complete men in regard to hypostasis, Cain’s son Enoch indeed existed from the essence of Adam but not also from his hypostasis, since instead he existed only from the hypostasis of Cain.

So, when the Latin-minded maintain to the uttermost that the Spirit is also from the hypostasis of the Son inasmuch as it is theologized that He is from the nature, except for the divine Spirit’s, they are shown to think that, just as there is one essence, so also there is one hypostasis in God, completely setting at naught the Father, and showing only the Son as existing in His hypostasis, and presenting the Holy Spirit as having existence only from the Son.

So, if someone considers the Spirit to be from Son's hypostasis because he hears that the Spirit is from the Son's nature, he makes the Son be of the same hypostasis with the Father, on the basis that He is consubstantial. Alternatively, he considers that there is both a difference and a distinction even in the divine nature, not only in the three divine hypostases. He listens neither to the others nor particularly to Chrysostom the theologian, who teaches "that the distinguishing order of the divine hypostases has been set down as known to the saints, yet distinction of natures in the holy Trinity is rejected."<sup>197</sup> For, as Basil the Great says to the consecrated virgins, "the essence was not divided from the Father into a Son, nor did it beget having flowed."<sup>198</sup>

So a man could soundly say that the Spirit is not from the hypostasis of the Son but is instead from Him naturally and from the essence of the Son, because of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. And herein is seen the divine Spirit's consubstantiality with the Father and the Son, not the different existence of the Spirit from the Father. It is equivalent to saying that the Spirit is also from the essence of the Son because of the consubstantiality, and that the Spirit is of the same essence with the Son. Now, the consubstantiality of the Spirit is shown on the basis of the consubstantiality of the Son because the latter is more evident and foretold and previously believed on: "The Son naturally has in Himself the properties and exceptional characteristics of the Father, since the particular property of the one who begat is naturally communicated to Him."<sup>199</sup> It is not the hypostatic properties and exceptional characteristics of the Father that are communicated, since the Son has neither beginninglessness nor unbegottenness nor the capability to generate. Rather it is the natural and characteristic boasts of the Father's nature, which the Holy Spirit also naturally possesses.

Cyril the divine was diligently making this point, that no one should believe that the Holy Spirit is from the hypostasis of the Son. And so, as often as he says "from His nature" and "naturally" and "in accordance with nature," he says that the Holy Spirit springs also from His nature, with respect to which the Son Himself is with the Father; but nowhere at all in his treatises does

he say that He is from His hypostasis. And he always theologizes that He has the particular characteristics of the Father both naturally and essentially and according to nature.

In fact, when Cyril was falsely accused of believing that the Holy Spirit has existence from the hypostasis of the Son, he asserted this very thing, that he was being falsely accused, strenuously maintaining that the Spirit is the Son's own, and not different, yet not from the Son. And this lies inscribed unto the manifest and outstanding accusation of the Latins. They, from the arguments from which they ought all the more to turn from their unsound conjecture, from these very arguments they justify themselves in being lead to think wrongly that not only the Father but also the hypostasis of the Son is the cause of the hypostasis of the divine Spirit. But whoever says that the Spirit is from the hypostasis of the Son because Cyril the divine said that the particular characteristic of Him who begat is communicated naturally to the Son, let him be put to flight by the same Cyril, who writes in his *Treasures*: "How can the Spirit not be God, as He possesses in Himself, by essence, the entire particular characteristic belonging to the Father and to the Son, whose Spirit He also is, as He is supplied to creation through the Son"?<sup>200</sup> For, according to the Latins' understanding, which they possess in the theological writings of the God-bearers, the Spirit will at the same time be both generated and Generator. What thing more innovative than this could ever be heard?

But we have spoken these things as it were superabundantly just now to those who strenuously maintain that the Spirit is from the hypostasis of the Son since He is said to be from the nature. For in this regard, Cyril the divine says that from the nature springs not the nature nor the hypostasis, but the energy,<sup>201</sup> which, according to the Damascene theologian, springs forth from one hypostatic nature.<sup>202</sup> As for that the energy of the divine nature is certainly uncreated and is called natural and essential, Athanasius the Great will also present this briefly in his treatises *Against Macedonius* writing, "The Father and the Son do not act each one by a different providence, but by the one and same essential activity of the divinity."<sup>203</sup>

But that an energy like this springs from the trihypostatic nature and not from a particular one of the hypostases, let Dionysius the Great bear witness to it, when he writes in the fourth chapter of his book *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, “All things participate in the providence which wells forth from the divinity which is the cause of all.”<sup>204</sup> As for that when the divine Cyril says in this passage that the Spirit is given us from the Father and the Son he means neither the nature nor the hypostasis of the Spirit but rather His uncreated and natural grace and energy, a clear sign of this is, among other things, to also remember the saying of the Forerunner and Baptist concerning Christ in the Gospel, which says that the Spirit is not given by measure from the Father to the Son. For John Chrysostom when exegeting this passage from the Gospel according to John the Theologian says: “In this passage, he calls the energy Spirit; for we all have received in measure the energy of the Spirit, but He received the entirety. Now if His energy is without measure, much more so His essence.”<sup>205</sup>

Thus the force of the truth of our interpretations conquers everything, making your doubtful disputations an opportunity for solutions and by itself thoroughly refuting the deviating lines as a multitude of crooked lines [of argumentation] are refuted by one straight one.

Thus there are indeed enough Scriptural arguments in regard to this.

## 70

Since, however, the Latins employ not only scriptural passages but also their own reasonings against us, or rather, against their own selves, let us see what seems indisputable to them, along with which all the rest will be brought down, having been dissolved, or better, these reasonings will even be deprived of their name which comes from the word “reason”, since they will be shown to be irrational. It is not necessary to pass through these reasonings individually, especially since, though we had no purpose to lengthen our treatise beyond the average, it has just now been extended to a great length, stretching out alongside their doubtful disputations sprung from their ignorance.

But what seems to them to be the unshakeable support for their irreverence? They say that everything that proceeds from something proceeds through something, and so it is for all things, even if the speaker

does not indicate it verbally. But, again, when a thing is through something, it is also said to be from that through which it is; so through whom else could the Spirit be, if not through the Son? Therefore the conclusion is clear: the Spirit proceeds through the Son and from the Son.

What do we say then to these arguments? We certainly will not grant them the “through” while forbidding the “from”, which many have suffered, not knowing what they have suffered. For what is spoken “through” a mouth is clearly also expressed “from” a mouth. And it has been written that God spoke to Job “through a cloud” and again “from the cloud”.<sup>206</sup> Yet even in the case of things created and proceeding according to nature we will not take the “through something” as implied, even when it is not said. Yet we certainly shall not, on account of this, liken what transcends nature to things which are according to nature. For at this point, answer me, you who intrude into things which you have not seen: is not also every son that is begotten from someone begotten through someone, and does this not hold true for all created things, whether the speaker indicates this verbally or not? So will we because of this set at naught the earthly and temporal generation of the Only Begotten, which was above nature from only a Virgin Mother, and the heavenly and eternal generation from only a virgin Father, searching what it means to be through something and from something, in a way befitting your destructive counsels and your unsyllogistic syllogisms? Not at all, but through this generation which was manifested even upon the earth we shall also acknowledge the procession of the Holy Spirit as immediately from the Father and will undo your addition, which subordinates what transcends nature to what properly belonging to nature.

But you who are an examiner of things unexaminable, do you not understand this, that everything that proceeds is not only through something but also forever into something? Therefore, either you grant to us into what the Holy Spirit proceeds before the ages (and thereby it will be proven that instead of the only pre-eternal and revered Trinity you revere a tetrad, the from-which, the through-which, the to-which, and the proceeding Spirit Himself), or, if you will not grant this, neither will we accept your

argument.<sup>207</sup> Since both [prepositions] accompany every proceeding thing, for what reason should the one be accepted and the other not?

And yet, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son has been both written by the theologians and revealed when the Savior was baptized in the Jordan, and we confess that this is so, not using the beings to conjecture on what transcends all beings, but being taught what transcends conception from things ineffably performed. Where then in your eyes is the “through the Son” and “from the Son” with reference to the existence of the divine Spirit, if in fact in proceeding from the Father the Spirit clearly comes to the Son and it is theologized that He rests in Him?—just as the sacred Damascene says word for word<sup>208</sup> and as Gregory the theologian,<sup>209</sup> showing this very thing, announces that, as the Son of God, Christ is the treasurer of the divine Spirit. And the divine Cyril in his *Treasures* concludes that the Spirit naturally exists from the Father in the Son and says the Spirit naturally and essentially extends from the Father in the Son, through whom the Son anoints and sanctifies all things. Thus, while the Holy Spirit exists naturally and eternally from the Father in the Son, He proceeds and is manifested from the Son to those who are worthy, in the way and at the time that is necessary.<sup>210</sup>

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Nevertheless, handling the present argument more gently, and particularly for the sake of those who will chance upon it with goodwill in the future, I shall shortly make a more comprehensive exposition of the truth, grasping the whole as in an epilogue. Let whoever has ears to discern right from not right be initiated, according to his capacity, into the depth of this mystery; but set gates upon your ears, as many of you as have not acquired the most discerning reason, if you do not make yourselves obedient to those who have the power, or rather, who are empowered by God, to articulate it well, in order to keep yourselves from labelling what transcends your knowledge as foolishness of those who know well. What is it I am referring to? I beg you, pay attention to the following.

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The Holy Spirit, before the ages and from the ages and still, has His most particular characteristic of existence in a particular mode, which is to proceed from the Father, the only fount of divinity, that is, from that essence which is beyond divine, by only the paternal hypostasis, being supremely divine, and self-existence, and not at all inferior to Him who offered, or rather, in no way differing or being divided, though He is hypostatically different and self-existent. Being in this way from the Father, He is not separated from Him at any time, and He is no less united with the Son essentially and without distance, resting in Him and being His own and forever continually in Him naturally; for He is the treasurer of the Spirit. So it is no innovation if He is said to go forth from Him and from His nature, however, by the paternal hypostasis. He is both given and sent and poured forth and progressing both through and from Him naturally. Through Him He is given and made manifest, and, if you prefer, also proceeds to those whom He deems worthy. And should you ever hear of procession in this context, consider it to mean the manifestation. For procession from God is not always indicative of self-hypostatic existence, since He says “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth through the mouth of God.”<sup>211</sup> Do you see that the things that proceed from God are certainly many (since the word “every” encompasses many things), while the Holy Spirit is one, who proceeds from God in His own mode, differently from all things? And again, he says, “The multitudes marvelled at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth.”<sup>212</sup> Does it mean consequently that the grace of the words was self-existent, like the Spirit which proceeds only from the Father? Away with the thought! And yet the Lord called this grace spirit when He said, “the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.”<sup>213</sup> But do you see how from the Son comes the grace, and not only this but also all the gifts of the Holy Spirit?

For if, according to the promise, rivers of living water<sup>214</sup> flow from the belly of those who believe in Christ (for the Lord says, “Whosoever drinketh from the water that I shall give him, it will become a fount of water springing up into everlasting life,”<sup>215</sup> which is the same as to say “proceeding”, according to the verse, “and a fount was proceeding out of



Eden”<sup>216</sup>)—if, then, the Spirit springs forth like a river from those that have become like the Son (which is the same as to say that He wells forth and proceeds from them, since He exists in them by grace), much more will He do so from the Son, who by nature before the ages and eternally has the Spirit resting in Him and united to Him naturally.

But we will not therefore dogmatize that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son and from those that have become like the Son by grace; for it is His most particular characteristic to be from the Father, since He has the pre-eternal and consubstantial existence only from Him. For the Holy Spirit is both from the Father and of the Father, and being from the Father notionally precedes being of the Father (for “what it is” comes earlier to mind than “whose it is”, although not with respect to time); and this is why He is the Father’s, because He is from the Father, as Basil the Great says in his chapters *To the Eunomians*: “I consider the kindred relationship of the Spirit to the Father, since He proceeds from the Father.”<sup>217</sup> But wherever it may be found in particular sayings that He is “from the Son”, it means that He rests in Him naturally before the ages and eternally, because by that ineffable and timeless begetting the Son received the Spirit from the Father perfect in Himself, being from the same essence as Himself, although He is by the paternal hypostasis. So then, in the case of the Son, that the Spirit is His comes to mind earlier than that the Spirit is from Him, although not in time; and this is why He is from the Son, because He is the Son’s. Consequently, He does not have His existence from the Son.

Now, the Holy Spirit is said to be through the Son, sometimes because it is through the Son that He is considered the Spirit of the Father and from the Father, seeing that He does not exist as begotten but as proceeding, while as proceeding He is considered immediately from Him who causes processions. On the other hand, it is sometimes said because, according to the theologians,<sup>218</sup> He accompanies the *Son* timelessly and is together with Him and along with Him, but is not from Him and from the Father, as is completely clear from this to those who understand. For nobody from those who believe rightly, when he has heard that the Word has been begotten

from the Father before the ages, does not immediately grasp the notion that the Spirit accompanies the Word connaturally and coeternally, and according to this notion one must not change the “through” into “from”. Yet other times it is said because He is supplied through the Son and from the Son to the Saints. He most certainly is not sent or bestowed or springing forth or, if you prefer, proceeding from Him pre-eternally, but rather He is given and manifested when it pleased Him and as it pleased Him to be received and manifested. For the divine Spirit’s essence and hypostasis per se are not made manifest at any point in time. But if the Latins say that from this they infer the pre-eternal progression, then logically neither in that case will the procession be existential. And this proof which they give will not help them at all in their purpose.

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The Holy Spirit on one hand is theologized as proceeding in this way from the Son and through the Son; for, since the essence is one and the same, the will and bestowal and manifestation are also one and the same. On the other hand, He is both given and springs up and wells forth and acts and is manifested from those who are adopted by God,<sup>219</sup> since in fact the innate grace and power of the Spirit exists and dwells within them. Yet this grace came later, by grace and not naturally, that is, it acted through them but did not rest upon them before the ages.

Do you see how the difference is so great, that it transcends even infinity? When the Latins, however, say in the Symbol of Faith that the Son has been begotten from the Father while the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, do they not clearly speak concerning the pre-eternal and hypostatic progressions and of the very existence of the Son and the Spirit? Consequently, they are clearly mingling what cannot be mingled, things temporal with things transcending time, things caused with things transcending cause. For it is on our behalf that He is sent from the Son; and if on our behalf, then also after us. But from the Father He is not through something, neither after something—away with the blasphemy!—unless you were to invent this too, you who are the epitome of audacity or, better, you who are a falsely named theologian, since you have placed the Word as it were nearer to the Father and the Holy Spirit more remote.

That is also why, when the divinely-wise Fathers were passing down to us the Confession of Faith, they theologized that the Son had been begotten from the Father in the same way that the Spirit was proceeding from the same Father; that is, each of them is immediately and only from the Father, namely, from the very paternal hypostasis. But if, because of the visitation that came to us later, and actually addressing himself to those who alienate the Spirit from the Son, if someone said that the Spirit is from both persons, or that He is from the Father through the Son, or that He shines forth from the Son and things similar to these, yet it is in the sense that He exists also in the Son and is His own and is not alienated in any respect.

Besides, neither has anyone said that the Holy Spirit is sent through the Son or from the Son without adding some temporal qualification or cause, always indicating an energy beforehand, whereby it was impossible for Him to have come upon us before us. But if in some place they spoke without having indicated the activity beforehand, it is because they had already done this many times. So, you who excessively boast without any limits, do you not understand this either, that even though many of the things spoken by the divine Scripture are one in verbal construction, yet in reality and in meaning they are not one? This in general also caused error for the heretics, who are not able to accurately distinguish what is one in the construction of the words but not one in reality, as Gregory the Theologian also agree.

For this is clear to those who are wise in divine matters and who have been initiated by the Holy Spirit, that whenever the Spirit is said to be from both, from the Father and the Son, or from the Father through the *Son*, although it is implied verbally, yet in actuality it is different. And so, on one hand, we would necessarily speak thus, in this united way, to those who alienate the Spirit from the Son, judiciously managing our words<sup>220</sup> Nevertheless, when they have become familiar with God by having come to know that the Spirit is the Son's own, we shall then with exactitude make known each procession to them, that on one hand the Spirit has His existential progression from the Father before all the ages, while on the other hand, since He exists in the Son from eternity, He came forth from

Him in order to be manifested, for us and after us, according to the revelatory and not the existential procession.

“But,” he says “the Son is also in the Spirit.” That is all true, of course. And so the Spirit is revelatory of Him, and He is sent from the Spirit, not only as a man, but also as God, according to Gregory the Theologian, and He is formed within the hearts of the faithful and indwells and is seen through Him. For the divine Cyril in his *Treasures* says: “The Spirit is Christ’s, as the Word of God dwells within us through the Spirit.”<sup>221</sup> But it is not said that He is begotten, since what is begotten is always the Son of Him who has begotten Him and is called so, as also the begetter always is and is called Father. But what proceeds in the case of God, as we previously said, does not absolutely only refer to the Holy Spirit. Rather, the one indicating the pre-eternal existential progression, as it is a mode of being differing from the begetting of the Son from the Father, is only the Holy Spirit’s. But the other procession, which is to be made manifest from out of the hidden and to boldly express and make public His inherent power through the miracles which are accomplished, does not pertain only to the Holy Spirit, but is also His. For David, the most prophetic among the kings, says: “O God, when Thou wettest forth<sup>222</sup> in the midst of Thy people, when Thou didst traverse the wilderness, the earth was shaken.”<sup>223</sup>

And so, when the Father once in ancient times was being manifested and through Moses was working miracles, then, according to the most theological Gregory, the first seismic shake occurred, when the Hebrews were translated from the worship of idols to the knowledge of God, which, while indistinct, was nevertheless true. But the second seismic shake occurred with the Son and the Holy Spirit, when the Jews were shifted from the law to the gospel, while every nation was called to the promised communion of theosis. But also when the Son only was traversing in the true desert, in death and Hades, and when He was manifested in the midst of the people of the Jews, through the sign from God from the heavens, the earth was perceptibly shaken.<sup>224</sup> Do you see how in this sense the procession is not only of the Spirit, but is common to the Father, Son and

Spirit? This procession, however, is temporal and a later occurrence. For he says, “in the people.” But if it is in the people, it is also after the people.

79

So we have soundly said that procession as pertaining to the Holy Spirit does not always indicate the eternal existence from the Father before the ages but there are also times when it indicates the later manifestation, in which the Son will also share with the Father, which the divine Cyril also shows when he clearly says, “The Spirit springs forth the Son to us from His own nature.”<sup>225</sup> For by adding the phrase “to us”, he meant for us to understand it as a temporal giving. And when Joel announced beforehand, or, rather, when God announced through him, that what springs forth from the Father and the Son to us is the energy and the gift of the divine Spirit, he does not say, “I will pour out My Spirit”, but he says, “I will pour out of My Spirit.”<sup>226</sup> For as the golden-mouthed father says, “he means a portion of His energy; for the Paraclete is not divided.”<sup>227</sup> And the chief of the Apostles in many passages, or, rather, everywhere, calls what was at that time poured out to them a gift.<sup>228</sup> Again, the golden theologian says: “God is not poured forth, but the grace is.”<sup>229</sup>

80

So, because of these things, we will not glorify<sup>230</sup> the Spirit as proceeding from the Father and the Son, because [thus] we would have dishonored Him rather than glorified Him, classifying Him together with those that have their being through the Son. Therefore we glorify Him as proceeding in a unique mode pre-eternally only from the Father, as the Son is also begotten; and so glorifying Him in this way, we glorify and worship Him together with the Son and the Father.

Indicating this, in the Symbol of Orthodoxy the divinely-wise Fathers combined into one the clause that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the clause that He is glorified together with the Father and the Son; and they pronounced them joined together and handed them down in Tradition together, [in the belief] that those who do not think that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, just as also that the Son has been begotten

thus, these are also not able to worship the Spirit, considered in His own hypostasis, together with the Son and the Father.

81

For if the procession of the Spirit were forever common to the Father and the Son, as if He were from both of them, the Spirit would be only an energy and not in a hypostasis. For what is common to them is only an energy. So while He is common to them as consubstantial, yet He is not always common to them as being from both of them, although now at the end of the ages He has been poured forth from both of them, and I would add, from Himself as well; for He is poured forth to us by His own free will. For He is also said to have prophetically spoken to the Son: “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee.”<sup>231</sup> But we know that this begetting is temporal. Or what, did not the Spirit also help cause this same begetting? He by whom our doughy lump, after it was assumed by the Son, was anointed at His baptism, and after it was anointed, it was revealed that even before the baptism it had become the same as God. For the Son of God in the beginning “was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,” as it has been written.<sup>232</sup>

Will you then say, on account of this temporal begetting, that the Son has been begotten from the Father and from the Spirit before the ages? You at least might do that, you who go on acquiring the knowledge about God<sup>233</sup> with rational deductions and on the basis of what happened later, as you personally testify, you conjecture on the things that exist before the ages. But you could even produce before us the Son Himself as an absolutely reliable witness, Him who said through the prophet, “The Lord and His Spirit hath sent Me.”<sup>234</sup> For this is another characteristic of yours, to think that a sending and a mode of existence are identical. But besides this, you will misuse and improperly exegete the saying of the great Paul, and you would do this voluntarily and willingly mischievously, or else from ignorance and non-agreement. He says: “For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge.”<sup>235</sup> But Christ also dwells in the hearts of those who are not reprobate entirely through the Spirit, and is seen and formed within and manifested noetically, and these things are through the Spirit. So applying your reasoning to this, you would



say, if “through the Spirit,” then also “from the Spirit.” And once you have strung together that if the Son is clearly sent and receives baptism from the Father and from the Spirit, whereby every baptized man is begotten from the Spirit,<sup>236</sup> and shines within the hearts, and this again is through the Spirit, and many other similar arguments, then, drawing a common conclusion according to your sciences, you will believe and prove that the Son has also been begotten from the Spirit. But we do not do this, of course, O wisest of those on earth, we who do not have any part in this theology of yours in any way whatsoever. Instead, let us rightly bring forward and divide the confession of faith, saying that the Son and the Spirit are immediately from the Origin, from the Father only, although each of them in a unique mode.

82

And when we make evident the particular characteristic of each mode, on one hand we call the existence of the Son from the Father by the name “begetting”, while on the other hand we call that of the Holy Spirit by the name “procession”. As for the benefactions that were done by them upon the creation later in time and after the creation, we always divide them conceptually from those pre-eternal and beginningless beings, but on the other hand, there are times, albeit they are most rare, when we join them verbally or when we hear them joined together from some other person, yet we do not reject the division in concepts. Something like this is also what has been said by the Lord, “I came forth and have come from God,”<sup>237</sup> and, “I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world.”<sup>238</sup> Because here, too, although the phrase “I came forth” is one and the same in both cases, it does not indicate one ministry; for it indicates both the sending upon us, for us, and among us, from the Father, and the pre-eternal procession from the essence and hypostasis of the Father.

What then? Will we join what are separated as far as possible, and even more than what is possible, just because the word is the same? Or will we, because the phrase “I came forth” also indicates the sending (and the sending of the Son was from the Father and the Spirit, in accordance with the phrase, “the Lord and His Spirit hath sent Me,”<sup>239</sup> to repeat what has been often said), will we then dogmatize that the Son and Word of God



came forth from the Father and from the Spirit? Not at all. Therefore neither on account of the sending or manifestation or progression of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (I mean the manifestative and temporal one, even if it is sometimes joined together with the pre-eternal one in the wording), will we dogmatize that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son, until we may know Him as God from God, equally pre-eternal with the Father that brought Him forth.

## 83

But O Thou who alone openest the eyes of the blind and art the one through whom they see that do see, do Thou grant, even if not to all in general, at least to all them that seek Thee in truth, to acknowledge the truth by an invisible contemplation, through Thine unheard noetic teachings. So, in this way, lead through faith those who have believed through hearing toward the unity which cometh from the acknowledgement of Thee, and, through their good works proving them sound in faith, do Thou manifest Thyself in due time unto them, so that we all may in truth see Thy glory and delight in a spiritual and ineffable vision of the thrice-sunned and absolutely singular gladness, and may unceasingly glorify Thee as much as we are able, now and ever and unto the unending ages of ages. Amen.

## NOTES

- [1.](#) Gr. φρόνημα, *phronema*.
- [2.](#) A play on words, contrasting “ἀνάγωγος”, “ill-bred, spoiled”, with ἀναγωγός, “leading up, uplifting”.
- [3.](#) In Greek, “ἐπανόρθωσις”. Besides the senses of “correction, amendment”, this word also has the literal meaning of “setting upright once more”.
- [4.](#) Jer. 51:9.
- [5.](#) 1 Cor. 15:28.
- [6.](#) See 1 Cor. 15:25.
- [7.](#) John. 14:28.
- [8.](#) Wis. Sir.1:4.

- [9.](#) Wis. Sir.23:20.
- [10.](#) John.5:19, 30.
- [11.](#) John.6:38.
- [12.](#) Luke 6:12.
- [13.](#) Heb.5:8.
- [14.](#) Luke 2:52.
- [15.](#) John.3:14 et alibi.
- [16.](#) John.7:39 et alibi.
- [17.](#) Luke 13:32.
- [18.](#) John.1:1.
- [19.](#) Pro.8:25.
- [20.](#) Ps.71:17.
- [21.](#) Baruch 3:36.
- [22.](#) Baruch 3:38.
- [23.](#) John.10:30.
- [24.](#) John.14:10.
- [25.](#) John.14:9.
- [26.](#) Ps. 109:3. The Greek word ‘ἀρχή’, here translated as ‘dominion’, can also mean ‘origin’ or ‘beginning.’ The Father is the ‘origin’ or ‘source’ (ἀρχή) of the Son and the Holy Spirit.
- [27.](#) Ps.71:7-8.
- [28.](#) Phil.2:10.
- [29.](#) See Ps.144:13.
- [30.](#) Dan.2:44.
- [31.](#) 2 Cor.3:6.
- [32.](#) John 20:22.
- [33.](#) The technical term is “insufflation.” The Greek ἐμφύσημα, however, denotes not simply the action but the very thing which is imparted in the breathing-upon.
- [34.](#) John 20:23.

- [35.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Homily 86 on John* (PG 59:375,5).
- [36.](#) John 6:63.
- [37.](#) Ps. 118:13.
- [38.](#) Or, “can be”.
- [39.](#) Luke 3:2.
- [40.](#) Luke 1:70; 72.
- [41.](#) Jon. 1:1.
- [42.](#) Is. 2:1.
- [43.](#) Gen. 2:7.
- [44.](#) Ibid.
- [45.](#) 1 Cor. 15:45.
- [46.](#) Cf. Ps. 103:2.
- [47.](#) 1 Cor. 15:45.
- [48.](#) 1 Cor. 2:16.
- [49.](#) 1 Cor. 6:17.
- [50.](#) I.e. “the anointed one”.
- [51.](#) See Luke 4:18, Acts 4:27, 10:38, Heb. 1:9.
- [52.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 8 (PG 94:833A).
- [53.](#) James 1:17.
- [54.](#) Joel 3:1 (KJV 2:28).
- [55.](#) 1 Cor. 12:8.
- [56.](#) 1 Cor. 2:10.
- [57.](#) 1 John 2:27, 3:24, 4:13.
- [58.](#) St. Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit* 24, 55, (PG 32:172B).
- [59.](#) St. Basil the Great, *Against Eunomius* 5, (PG 29, 772C).
- [60.](#) 1 Cor. 12:4-6.
- [61.](#) See 2 Cor. 6:16.

[62.](#) Cf. Gal. 5:22.

[63.](#) Cf. Prov. 8:14.

[64.](#) Cf. 1 Cor. 1:30.

[65.](#) Cf. The kontakion of the Feast of the Ascension.

[66.](#) Acts 1:4.

[67.](#) Acts 1:5.

[68.](#) John 14:16.

[69.](#) John 14:26.

[70.](#) John 15:26.

[71.](#) John 16:7.

[72.](#) John 15:26.

[73.](#) John 16:7.

[74.](#) The crucial difference lies in the aspect of the verbs used here in the Greek: *πέμπω* ('I send' or 'I am sending') is in the present tense, signifying a continual, ongoing action or process, while *πέμψω* ('I shall send') is in the future tense, signifying an action that will be done at some point. The same holds true for *ἐκπορευόμενον* ('proceeding', a present participle) and *ἐκπορευθέν* ('having proceeded', an aorist participle) respectively.

[75.](#) John 14:16.

[76.](#) John 14:26.

[77.](#) John 15:26.

[78.](#) John 16:8.

[79.](#) John 16:13.

[80.](#) John 14:10.

[81.](#) John 16:15.

[82.](#) John 16:14.

[83.](#) "Causelessly": Gr. ἀναίτιως. The Greek word *ἀναίτιος* has a double meaning: 1. not caused, & 2. not for a cause or reason, not for something's sake. Both are true of the Father, the uncaused cause, while the second is true of the Son and Spirit, who are caused but not for something's sake. Henceforth, "uncaused" will be used to render *ἀναίτιος* in the first sense, while "causeless" will

be used for *ἀναίτιος* in the second sense; nevertheless it should be kept in mind that in Greek this is one and the same word, occasionally bearing both meanings.

[84.](#) Cf. the prayer “O Heavenly King”.

[85.](#) Saint Gregory is probably alluding to the 31st Oration of Saint Gregory the Theologian (PG 36:161D), whose sections 25 and 26 detail the economy of God exhaustively.

[86.](#) St. Maximus the Confessor, *To Thalassius* (PG 90:264 B).

[87.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 2 (PG 73:204D).

[88.](#) See section 34 of the first treatise.

[89.](#) Is. 48:16.

[90.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 38, 15 (PG 36:323D).

[91.](#) St. Athanasius the Great, *Against the Arians* 3 (PG 26:435C).

[92.](#) Mark 2:27-28.

[93.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 31, 30 (PG 26:168D).

[94.](#) Is. 48:16.

[95.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 29, 11 (PG 36:88C). See also section 21 in the First Treatise of the present volume.

[96.](#) “Sent from [*παρὰ*] the Word which is from [*ἐκ*] the Father”: more literally, “sent on the part of the Word [or, ‘from the side of the Word’] which is from out of the Father”.

[97.](#) John 3:16.

[98.](#) St. Athanasius, *Epistle to Serapion*, 1, 20 (PG 26:580B).

[99.](#) John 1:14.

[100.](#) St. Athanasius, *Epistle to Serapion*, 1, 20 (PG 26:580B).

[101.](#) Gal. 4:6.

[102.](#) Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 950.

[103.](#) 1 Cor. 2:11.

[104.](#) In this translation the Greek word νοῦς [*nous*] has been rendered as “intellect”.

[105.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* 34 (PG 75:584 C).

- [106.](#) He attributed it to the work *On the Holy Spirit*, 18. The text is Basil the Great, *Against Eunomios* (book 5), (PG 29:733,14).
- [107.](#) St. Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit* 18 (PG 32:150,35C).
- [108.](#) This is attributed to St. Cyril, but it is not extant. Gennadius and Barlaam both cite St. Cyril, as well.
- [109.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* 11, 20 (PG 72:704 B).
- [110.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 8 (PG 96:819-33).
- [111.](#) *On the Holy Spirit* 8 and 16.
- [112.](#) Cf. footnote 159 on section 32 in the first treatise.
- [113.](#) St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit* (PG 46:560).
- [114.](#) Cf. John Philoponus the Philosopher, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* 34.14.
- [115.](#) Gal. 1:8.
- [116.](#) See section 32 and hence in this present treatise.
- [117.](#) See sections 27 and 28 in this present treatise.
- [118.](#) See section 35 of the first treatise.
- [119.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Pentecost* 9 (PG 36:441).
- [120.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit, Oration 31*, 30 (PG 36:168D)).
- [121.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Those Who Came From Egypt, Oration 34*, 10 (PG 36:252).
- [122.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 31*, 14 (PG 36:149).
- [123.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Third Oration of Peace* (PG 35:1157 C).
- [124.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *On Those Who Came From Egypt, Oration 34*, 10 (PG 36:252).
- [125.](#) Ibid. *Oration 31*, 29.
- [126.](#) St. John of Damascus, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1, 8 (PG 96:792D).
- [127.](#) *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 1, 8.
- [128.](#) John 15:26.
- [129.](#) John 14:26.
- [130.](#) John 15:26.
- [131.](#) Lit. 'authority over oneself'.

[132.](#) I.e. regarding the eternal procession.

[133.](#) Cf. St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 38*, 15 (PG 36:329) and 45, 27.

[134.](#) *Against Eunomius 5* (PG 29:733 AB), which he does not cite verbatim.

[135.](#) Cf. 1 Cor. 2:12.

[136.](#) *Against Eunomius 5*, PG 21, 733 A B. See section 9 of the first treatise.

[137.](#) St. Basil, *Letter 38, To His Brother Gregory*, 4 (PG 32:329C). Cf. section 31 of the first treatise.

[138.](#) Jn. 15:26.

[139.](#) *Existence*: in Greek, *ὑπόστασις* (*hypostasis*). The same word, of course, is used of the persons of the Trinity.

[140.](#) St. Basil, *Against Eunomius 5* (PG 29:736 D).

[141.](#) Or, “of His hypostasis”. Throughout this paragraph the word *ὑπόστασις* (*hypostasis*) has been rendered as “existence”.

[142.](#) Ibid.

[143.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *On the Incarnation 5* (PG 59:697).

[144.](#) For relevant passages, see *Against the Jews 7*; *Catechetical 3*, 10 and 4, 2.

[145.](#) Regarding the phrase “the Spirit of Christ” see section 45 above and 9 in the first treatise.

[146.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Concerning the Holy Spirit 11* (PG 52:826).

[147.](#) John. 3:34 et seq.

[148.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Homily on John 30*, 2 (PG 59:174).

[149.](#) Ps. 44:3.

[150.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Interpretation of Psalm 44*, 3 (PG 55:185-186).

[151.](#) John 3:34.

[152.](#) John. 1:16.

[153.](#) Joel 3:1 (KJV 2:28). See also Acts 2:17. Here the KJV, apparently because it is not based on the Septuagint, is in error and misses the fine distinction, reading, “I will pour out my spirit.”

[154.](#) 2 Cor. 1:22.

[155.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Interpretation of Psalm 44*, 3 (PG 55:185-186).

[156.](#) See section 16 above.



[157.](#) *Against Eunomius* 1 (PG 45:464 BC).

[158.](#) Since in Greek ‘spirit’ (πνεῦμα) literally means ‘breath’, ‘breeze’.

[159.](#) Or “only in the theoretical light of a cause.” *Against Eunomius*, *ibid.*

[160.](#) “He hands down”: Gr. παραδίδωσιν, whence παράδοσις, “tradition”. The Saints hand down the teachings, the traditions, that they themselves previously received (παρέλαβον), whether from their predecessors or directly from God Himself (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3). As St. John of Damascus wrote, “I shall say nothing of my own” (*The Fount of Knowledge*, Preface)—and this is what vouches for the truth of their words.

[161.](#) Letter to Ablabius on “Not Three Gods” (PG 45:133 BC).

[162.](#) St. Gregory of Nyssa, ‘That When We Speak of Three Persons in the Godhead We Do Not Speak of Three Gods: To the Greeks, From the Common Notions’ (PG 45:180 C). Cf. Treatise 1, section 7 herein.

[163.](#) This is a reference to a work by St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Περί Θεογνωσίας*, which has been lost. See also ‘On the Holy Spirit’ I.19. The Psalmic reference is Ps. 32:6.

[164.](#) Cf. Phil. 4:6-8.

[165.](#) *To Ablabius* (PG 45:133 B).

[166.](#) James 1:17.

[167.](#) Theological Odes 3, On the Holy Spirit 24-28.

[168.](#) *To Eunomius* 2 (PG 45:469B).

[169.](#) *To Eunomius* 2 (PG 45:512 B).

[170.](#) I.e. since He is a Spirit, not a Son.

[171.](#) St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Exposition of Faith* (PG 10:985A).

[172.](#) St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechetical Homily* 2 (PG 45:17B).

[173.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 42, 15 (PG 36:476 AB).

[174.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* 34 (PG 75:577 A).

[175.](#) St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* 8 (PG 32:96-97).

[176.](#) Reference not found. Apparently, here Saint Gregory is freely rendering the Damascene’s thoughts.

[177.](#) I.e. the container stops where the contained begins, and vice versa.

- [178.](#) Luke 11:20. Cf. Matthew 12:28.
- [179.](#) I.e. in His essence.
- [180.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* 33 (PG 75:568 C) et alibi.
- [181.](#) See John 3:34.
- [182.](#) This quote is from the Oration on the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten (PG 75:1241A).
- [183.](#) Reference not found.
- [184.](#) John. 7:38.
- [185.](#) Acts 1:5.
- [186.](#) Acts 2:33.
- [187.](#) John. 15:26.
- [188.](#) Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (11:20), (PG 72:704B).
- [189.](#) Jer. 2:13.
- [190.](#) *On Psalm 96:1 and on the Mystery of Baptism* (Pseud.) 3 (PG 55:607).
- [191.](#) John. 4:14.
- [192.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *Homily 32 on John* (PG 59:183).
- [193.](#) *Dialogue 3 On the Holy Trinity* (PG 75:726 C).
- [194.](#) John. 16:13.
- [195.](#) *Commentary on the Gospel of John* (16:13) 10 (PG 74:444 B).
- [196.](#) *Letter 9 to the Bishop Titus* 1 (PG 3:1104 BC).
- [197.](#) *On the Saying of Abraham* 2 (*In Genesim Sermo* 3, PG 56:535).
- [198.](#) Letter 52 *To the Nuns* 3 (PG 32:396A).
- [199.](#) St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Treasures* 33 (PG 75:568C).
- [200.](#) *Treasures* 34 (PG 75:576C).
- [201.](#) *On the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten* (PG 75:1241A).
- [202.](#) *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 3,15; 4,18 (PG 96:1016-64).
- [203.](#) Probably *Discourse with Macedonius* (pseud.), (PG 28:1308 B, 1309 A).
- [204.](#) *On the Celestial Hierarchy* 4, 1 (PG 3:177C.)

- [205.](#) *Homily on the Gospel of John 30, 2* (PG 59:174).
- [206.](#) Job 38:1, 40:6.
- [207.](#) Namely, “that everything that proceeds from something proceeds through something”.
- [208.](#) *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1,8,13 (PG 94:808-9).
- [209.](#) Oration 31, 25 (PG 36:160).
- [210.](#) *Treasures* 34 (PG 75:577A).
- [211.](#) Mt 4:4.
- [212.](#) Cf. Luke 4:22.
- [213.](#) John 6:63.
- [214.](#) See John. 7:38.
- [215.](#) John. 4:14.
- [216.](#) Cf. Gen. 2:10.
- [217.](#) *Against the Sabellians* 6. (PG 31:612)
- [218.](#) See St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechetical Homily* 2 (PG 45:17B).
- [219.](#) Cf. John 1:12.
- [220.](#) ‘Managing’: *οἰκονομοῦντες*, whence comes also the word *οἰκονομία*, ‘*economia*’. The idea is that we speak thus with *economia* to those that are not yet mature enough to hear about this ‘with exactitude’ (*ἡκριβωμένως*, akin to *akriveia*, ‘exactitude’).
- [221.](#) *Treasures* (PG 75:569C).
- [222.](#) Literally, “when Thou didst proceed”.
- [223.](#) Ps. 67:8 et sequ.
- [224.](#) St. Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 31*, 25.
- [225.](#) *On the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten* (PG 75:1241A).
- [226.](#) Joel 3:1.
- [227.](#) *Commentary on Psalm 44*, 33 (PG 55:186).
- [228.](#) Acts 2:38, 8:20, 10:45.
- [229.](#) St. John Chrysostom, *On the Holy Spirit* (PG 52:626).
- [230.](#) Or “suppose, think”.

[231.](#) Ps. 2:7.

[232.](#) Symbol of Faith (Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed).

[233.](#) This is the great chasm that separates rational academic theology from the experiential theology of the saints. The former is *περὶ Θεοῦ γνῶσις*, knowledge about God, as one might know about gravity or his country's history, while the later is *θεογνωσία*, knowledge of God, as one might know a friend, personally.

[234.](#) Is. 48:16.

[235.](#) 1 Cor. 12:8.

[236.](#) See John. 3:5: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God".

[237.](#) John 8:42.

[238.](#) John 16:28.

[239.](#) Is. 48:16.





1

Ὅν μὲν οὖν ἔδει καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῶν εὐσεβούντων καταλόγῳ πρὸς διασάφησίν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος καὶ δι' ὧν ἐν βραχεὶ τὸ δυσσεβὲς ἅπαν τῶν ἐνισταμένων ἀναφαίνεται Λατίνων, πρότερον εἰς δύναμιν διεξελθόντες, ἃ δὲ αὐτοὶ προτείνουσι καθ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ δι' ὧν ἰσχυρίζονται μηδὲν καινοτομεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ θείοις λόγοις συνῶδὰ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Χριστὸν θεολογήσασιν κατ' οὐδὲν ἀπάδοντα, ταῦτα δὲ μήπω πάνθ' ἐξῆς εἰς τοῦμφανὲς παραγαγόντες μηδὲ ἀπελέγξαντες, νῦν ἴδωμεν καθ' ἕκαστον ἅττα λέγουσι καὶ τίσι λογισμοῖς ἢ καὶ γραφικοῖς ρήμασί τε καὶ νοήμασι χρησάμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ παραχρησάμενοι, τῆς θεολέκτου τε καὶ πατροπαραδότου διαπεπτώκασιν ὁμολογίας. Καὶ τὸ δεινότατον ἀπάντων, οὐδ' ἐπαναλῦσαι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιλαβέσθαι οὗ διαπεπτώκασιν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν διδοῦσι χεῖρα, ἀληθείας λόγου δύναμιν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀναγωγόν, οἷά τινες ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνάγωγοι, δυσχεραίνουσί τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀντιλέγουσι.

2

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὀρθοῦ διαπεσεῖν κοινὸν ἐγένετο ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη διὰ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου λυμνηαμένου τοῦ χείρονος. Τὸ δὲ διαπεσοῦσαν μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν μόνης τῆς τῶν Λατίνων ἐγένετο, καίτοι μεγίστης τε καὶ κορυφαίας οὔσης καὶ τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων ἐξόχου περιωπῆς· καὶ ταῦτόν ταύτη συμβέβηκε, μεγίστη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὔση, τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ζώων ἐλέφαντι. Ὅν φασι μηδ' ὕπνου καιρὸν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἀνακλίνεσθαι πρὸς ἄνεσιν, τοῖς δὲ πλαγίοις ἄρθροις μικρὸν ἐποκλάζοντα

διαναπαύεσθαι ἢ ἂν δὲ πού τι παθὼν καταπέσῃ, μηκέτ' ἀνίστασθαι δύνασθαι. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐλέφασι τὸ βάρος τοῦ σώματος αἴτιον καὶ ἡ πολυσαρκία δύσχρηστός τε οὕσα καὶ κάτω πιέζουσα, καθάπερ τις ἐπικειμένη μόλυβδος πολυτάλαντος, τοῖς δὲ Λατίνοις ὁ τύφος οἶμαι τὸ μόνον, μικροῦ δέω λέγειν, πάθος ἀνίατον, ὃ καὶ τῷ μόνῳ πονηρῷ κρίμα κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἰδιαίτατον δι' ὃ κακεῖνος εἰς αἰῶνας ἀνίατος.

Ἄν δὲ τὸ τῶν Λατίνων τοῦτο φῦλον τοῦτον ἀπόθωνται – δύνανται γάρ, καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι – τάχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ πάντες συναχθέντες εἰς ἓν καὶ οἷόν τισι προνομαίαις, ὃ καὶ τοῖς καταπεσοῦσιν ἐλέφασι παρὰ τῶν μὴ κειμένων ἢ φύσις ἐξεῦρε βοήθημα, τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις λογίοις χρησάμενοι διαναστήσομέν τε καὶ στήσομεν ὀρθίους, ἀπαρεγκλίτως ἐχομένους τοῦ κανόνος τῆς εὐσεβείας. Ἐθέλοντάς δὲ κειμένους ὀνήσει τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, κὰν παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν οὐρανίων νόων σκευάζεται τε καὶ προσάγῃται τὸ τῆς ψευδοδοξίας ἴαμα· τούτων γὰρ λόγος προφητικοῖς ρήμασιν ἐκπεφασμένος, ὥς «ἰατρεύσαμεν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ οὐκ ἰάθη».

### 3

Μικροῦ τοίνυν μάτην τούτοις δίδωσιν ὁ χεῖρα διδούς, τοῦτο μόνον εὖ ἄγαν ἑαυτῷ νείμας καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ Θεῷ τὴν τῆς οἰκείας καλοκαγαθίας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκείνους δὲ μόνον ἐθελοκακοῦντας ἀποδείξας καὶ ἴσως στήσας τοῦ μὴ πρόσω τῶν ἀτοπημάτων χωρεῖν. Καὶ νῦν γάρ, εἰ μὴ σαφῶς ἑτεροφωνεῖν ἐθέλουσι, τί κρεῖττον ἂν σχοῖεν φάρμακον πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἢ ὅτι περ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Ὁ προαποδέδεικται διὰ πολλῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑποφωνήσεως τοῦ “μόνου”, ἀριδηλοτέρας γεγονυίας τῆς ὀρθοδόξου διανοίας περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀσφαλοῦς θεολογίας καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς προσθήκης ὑπεναντίας φανερώς ἐληλεγμένης τοῦ ὀρθοτομοῦντος κηρύγματος τῆς ἀληθείας.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων οὐδέ τινά ποθεν ἀνάγκην ἐπαγομένην ὀρῶμεν μετακινεῖν τὰς πνευματικινήτους περὶ θεοσεβείας ψήφους τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἱερῶν συνόδων καὶ μετασκευάζειν τὸ πατροπαράδοτον τῆς εὐσεβείας σύμβολον, ὥς προστιθέναι καὶ ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Τί γάρ, εἰ τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς ἔστιν ἃ δοκοῦσι διαφωνεῖν πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ τοῖς θεολόγοις ἐκπεφασμένα, κάντεῦθεν ἀνωμολογημένα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον συμβιβάζομεν τῇ

πανταχόθεν ἐχούση τὸ ἀναμβισθήτητον ἀληθεία πρὸς δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐκπεσούμεθα δι' ἐκεῖνα τῆς ἀληθείας; Οὐδ' εἴ τι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπερβαίνει διάνοιαν ὁμολογήσομεν καὶ ἄλλοις δὴ τισι τῆς κατ' αὐτὰ συνέσεως παραχωρήσωμεν, ὅστις ἂν ἀξιωθείη – κὰν τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤ – τῶν βαθέων καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων μυστηρίων τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀναξίους κρίναντες τούτων, ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ταπεινώσομεν, ἀλλ' ὃ τοῦ πάθους, καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀγνοήσομεν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐθέλγειν ὁμολογεῖν ἀγνοεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεότητα ἀγνοήσαντες διὰ τὰ δυσλήπτως περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα; Οὐ μένουν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοις αἱ γραφικαὶ μαρτυρίαι, μὴ καλῶς ἐκληφθεῖσαι, δυνηθεῖεν ἂν συνάρασθαι παραιτούμενοις οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἢ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν αἰωνιζούσης καταδίκης ἐξελέσθαι· ἀλλὰ κρίσιν τίσουσιν αἰώνιον, ὅτι τὰς σαφεῖς ἀθετήσαντες φωνὰς καὶ τὰς ἀσαφεῖς φυσιώσει γνώσεως ἀνερευνήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐρευνήσαντες μηδὲ τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρευνήσασι πεισθέντες, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνδίκως τῆς πεφυσιωμένης γνώσεως τὴν ὄντως ἀφροσύνην ἐκαρπώσαντο.

#### 4

Καίτοι πλεῖσταί εἰσιν αὗται αἱ φωναί, αἱ τοῖς μὴ διορατικωτάτοις τὸ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα συνάναρχόν τε καὶ ὁμότιμον ἀφαιροῦνται τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ δεσποτικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἄληκτον· «ὑποταγῆσεται γάρ», φησί, «καὶ ὁ Υἱός», καὶ «χρὴ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι τινός», καὶ «μείζων ὁ Πατήρ», καὶ «ἡ σοφία ἔκτισται», καὶ «ἀγνοεῖ τι τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ», καὶ «ἂφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν δύναται ποιεῖν», καὶ «καταβέβηκεν οὐχ ἵνα τὸ οἰκεῖον θέλημα ποιῇ», καὶ «ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ», καὶ «ἔμαθε», καὶ «προέκοψε», καὶ «ὑψώθη», καὶ «ἐδοξάσθη», καὶ «τετελείωται», καὶ ὅσα τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος ταπεινότητος, καὶ ὅσα τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τοῦ γεννήματος πρὸς τὸν γεννήτορα, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ μὴ ἀντίθεος εἶναι δείγματα, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δι' ἔργων ἀρετῆς ὑποδείγματα.

Τί οὖν, διὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐτέρωθεν προσμαρτυρούμενον τῷ Υἱῷ θεῖον οἶον ἀδιεξίτητον ὕψος ἀθετητέον, ὅτι «ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν», «καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἦν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν», καὶ «πρὸ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶται», καὶ «πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ», καὶ «οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν», αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ «μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφεὶς»,



ὅτι τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν εἰσι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ «ὁ ἐώρακὼς αὐτὸν ἐώρακε τὸν Πατέρα», καὶ «μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ», «καὶ κατακυριεύσει μετὰ τὸ ἀνταναιρεθῆναι τὴν σελήνην», καὶ «πᾶν αὐτῷ γόνυ κάμψει ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων», καὶ «ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, βασιλεία αἰώνιος», καὶ «βασιλεῖ ἐτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται».

Ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια, τὰ τοσοῦτο θαυμαστά, τὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑψηλά, τὰ οὕτως ἀνυπέρβλητα, διὰ τὰ ταπεινοῦντα τῶν ρημάτων συγκαθελεύσομεν αὐτοῖς; Ἄλλ' οὐ ζητήσομέν τε καὶ στέρξομεν τὸ ἐγκεκρυμμένον τοῖς δοκοῦσι χαμερπείσιν ὑψηλὸν καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς νοήματος γενόμενοι διαλύσομεν τὸ προσιστάμενον; Ἀλλὰ τῷ φαινομένῳ προσπταίσομέν τε καὶ πεσούμεθα καὶ ἐναπομενοῦμεν τῷ γράμματι; Οὐμένουν· ἀποκτένει γὰρ τὸ γράμμα κατασπῶν ἀφ' ὕψους τοὺς μὴ ἄνω πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα βλέποντας.

5

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅσοι καθαρῶς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὅσοι καθάπερ αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ διεσάφησε θεολογοῦμεν, ὅσοι μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτοῦ καὶ φρονοῦμεν καὶ κηρύττομεν, μηδ' ἐξ ὧν λέγομεν ἐκβαῖνον· ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, κἂν τι μὴ ὁμόφωνον δοκῇ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μόνου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος θεολογίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδόντος, νοήσομεν πνευματικῶς καὶ διευκρινήσομεν καὶ διαρρίψομεν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ προσκόμματος καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις ἀποδείξομεν τοῖς προτέροις τῶν Πατέρων ὁμολογοῦντας τοὺς ὑστέρους, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ πάντας τῷ κοινῷ τῇ φύσει δεσπότη καὶ κατὰ χάριν ἡμετέρῳ Πατρί.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσα σχεδὸν ἀγνοοῦσι τῶν Γραφῶν ὑπ' ἀπορίας ἢ κακοβουλίας πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν κακοδοξίαν οἱ Λατῖνοι περιτρέπουσι στρεβλοῦντες, πλείονα δέ εἰσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγνοούμενα τῶν δοκούντων αὐτοῖς ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ δι' ὧν ὡς προφανῶν τὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατῶσιν ὄχλον, τούτων ἡμεῖς ἀρτίως μνησθέντας καὶ ταῦτα κακῶς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξειλημένα Θεοῦ συναιρομένου ἀπελέγξαντες, καὶ οἷόν τινας θεμελίους ὑποσπᾶσαντες, σαθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδείξομεν τὸ ὅλον τῆς δυσεβείας οἰκοδόμημα.

6

Φέρε δὴ προθῶμεν πρότερον τὸ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν παντάπασιν ἅμαχον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰρημένον· «ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπε, λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον». Ὅρᾳς, φησί, πῶς σαφῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Ἄρ' οὖν ὅτι ἐμφυσήσας εἶπε «λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον», τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμφύσημα ἦν, ὡς ταὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ διὰ σαρκὸς ἐμφυσήματι τὸ ἐκπόρευμα ἢ τῷ δεδόσθαι δι' ἐμφυσήματος τεκμηριοῦνται καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος ἐμφύσημα εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κἀντεῦθεν παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι συμπεραίνουσιν; Ἀλλ' ὁπότερον τούτων λέγουσιν, ἐπιστομιζέσθωσαν αὐτόθεν πρῶτον διὰ βραχέων· οὐ γὰρ ἐμφυσήσας εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, “λάβετε τὸ Πνεῦμα”, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς τοῦ ἄρθρου, “λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον”, δηλαδὴ βραχὺ τι τοῦ Πνεύματος. Σαφές οὖν ὡς μερικὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνέργειαν διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἔδωκεν, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἢ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· ἀμερὴς γὰρ παντάπασιν ἡ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος φύσις τε καὶ ὑπόστασις. Διὰ τί δὲ ἐμφυσήσας ἔδωκεν, ὅπερ ἔδωκεν; Ἵνα δείξῃ μίαν οὕσαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος τὴν ἐνέργειαν· κἀντεῦθεν ἀλλήλων, ἑαυτοῦ κἀκείνου, παραστήσῃ τὸ συναφές καὶ συμφυές καὶ ὁμότιμον, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομός φησι θεολόγος γράφων, «τινὲς μὲν φασιν ὅτι οὐ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν δι' ἐμφυσήματος κατεσκεύασεν. Οὐκ ἂν δέ τις ἀμάρτοι καὶ τότε εἰληφέναι αὐτοὺς λέγων ἐξουσίαν τινὰ πνευματικὴν καὶ χάριν, ὥστε ἀφιέναι ἀμαρτήματα. Διὸ ἐπήγαγεν, ‘ὧν ἂν ἀφῆτε ἀφέωνται,’ δεικνὺς ποῖον εἶδος ἐνεργείας δίδωσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄφατος ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις καὶ πολυειδὴς ἡ δωρεά. Τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι μία ἡ δωρεὰ καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος».

Ὡς ἂν δὲ καὶ διεξοδικώτερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντήσωμεν, εἰ τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν, καὶ ἡ ἀναπνοὴ λοιπὸν ἢ ἐχρῆτο, δι' ἧς καὶ τὸ ἐμφύσημα γέγονε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν. Οὐκοῦν οὐ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἢ φαντασία, κατὰ τὴν φαντασίαν τῶν Ἀκεφάλων, ἢ καὶ πρὶν ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι τὴν σαρκώδη φύσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶχεν οὕτω πῶς συνισταμένην, κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου ἄνοιαν· καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ τοῦτ' εἶπε πάντως· «τὰ ρήματα, ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ, Πνεῦμά εἰσι καὶ ζωὴ εἰσι». Εἰ δὲ Πνεῦμα εἰσι, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἁγίον εἰσι· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν, κατὰ τὴν Ἱταλῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἐρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα Λόγος

καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγος. Οὐ τί ἂν ἀκουσθεῖη καινότερον; Μᾶλλον δὲ λόγοι, καὶ Θεοῦ λόγοι· τὰ γὰρ ρήματα, πλῆθος.

Ἐπιστῆσαι δὲ κἀνταῦθα δέον, ὥς οὐδὲ νῦν εἶπεν, ὅτι «τὰ ρήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ τὸ Πνεῦμά εἰσιν», ἀλλὰ χωρὶς τοῦ ἄρθρου, δηλῶν μὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι ταῦτα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας εἶναι πεπληρωμένα καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος δι’ αὐτῶν χορηγεῖσθαι ἐνέργειαν. Καὶ ἡνίκα τοίνυν ἐμφυσήσας εἶπε, “λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον”, τοῦτ’ ἀντίκρυς ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίας τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος πεπληρωμένον ἐστί.

## 8

Πρὸς ὃ δὲ νῦν ὁ Λόγος καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ρήματα ἐξαγγέλλεται· «ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χεῖλεσί μου», φησὶν, «ἐξηγγέιλα πάντα τὰ κρίματα τοῦ στόματός σου». Ἄρ’ οὖν καὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξερευνῶνται καὶ μελετῶνται καὶ τηροῦνται καὶ πράττονται καὶ κατανοοῦνται, εἰς ὅσα κατάγει τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐρμηνεύων οὐ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὅση δὲ καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων· ἐντολαί, νόμοι, μαρτύρια, δικαιώματα, κρίματα. «Καὶ ἐγένετο ρῆμα Κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου», κατὰ τὸν θεῖον εὐγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, καὶ «καθὼς ἐλάλησε Κύριος διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν ποιῆσαι ἔλεος», ὁ Ζαχαρίας φησί, καὶ «ἐπὶ Ἰωνᾶν τὸν τοῦ Ἀμαθῆ Λόγος Κυρίου ἐγένετο», καὶ «ὁ Λόγος ὁ γενόμενος πρὸς Ἡσαΐαν» καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ἄλλον, καὶ «εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν» καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσους ἀρτίως οὐδὲ ἀριθμῆσαι ρᾶδιον.

Τί οὖν, ταῦτα πάντα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐλάλησεν αὐτὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ ἐλαλήθη δι’ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐλαλήθη πρὸς αὐτούς; Ἀπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου Θεοῦ ἀσωμάτως λεγόμενα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ρήματα σωματικῶς προφερόμενα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ἡ ἀναπνοὴ ἐν ἣ τυποῦται αὐτὰ καὶ προάγεται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ αὕτη, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐμφύσημα τὸ γεγονὸς δι’ αὐτῆς. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ, οὐδὲ τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῦ αἰνιττόμενον. Εἰ γοῦν καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον, ὅμως ἔστω μὴ τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἐμφύσημα· μᾶλλον δέ, ἴν’ αὐτὸ θῶμεν τὸ παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων λεγόμενον, ἔστω παρὰ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος σημαίνεσθαι. Ἀλλ’ ἐνεφύσησεν οὗτος

καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ πρώτου πλάσματος. Τί δὲ ἐνεφύσησε; Πνοὴν ζωῆς. Τί ἐστὶ πνοὴν ζωῆς; Ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Διδασκέτω σε Παῦλος· «ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν». Τί δὲ ἐστὶ ζῶσαν; Αἰζῶον, ἀθάνατον, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν λογικὴν – ἡ γὰρ ἀθάνατος λογικὴ – καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεχαριτωμένην θείως. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ὄντως ζῶσα ψυχὴ. Τοῦτο δὲ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ταῦτόν, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. Ὡς τῆς ζημίας, ἐκ τίνος εἰς τί μετεβάλομεν.

9

Ἐώρων οἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοὶ τότε τὴν αἰσθήσει καὶ σαρκὶ συνημμένην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καὶ Θεὸν ἄλλον ἑώρων, μὴ γεγεννημένον μόνον ἐπὶ γῆς δι' ἀγαθότητα θεῖαν, νοῦν τε καὶ σάρκα τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ταύτης καὶ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν μεμορφωμένον, ὡς εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν σάρκα καὶ νοῦν καὶ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεῖαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν ἐντελῶς ὡς ἐνιαίαν οὔσαν ἐν νῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πνεύματι. Ἀλλ' εἶδε καὶ ὁ βάσκανος ὀφθαλμός, οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ὁ ἀρχέκακος ὄφεις· τοσοῦτον ἐκαρτέρησεν, οἶμαι, ὅσον δραστικώτερον τὸν ἰὸν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν κεράσαι καὶ οἶον συσκευάσαι καὶ μῖξαι δόλῳ, γλυκερῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δι' ἀκοῆς δηλητήριον· ἐπῆλθεν, ἔθελξεν, ἔτρωσεν—ὦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐκολίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου κακίας—εἰσέχεε τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν ἰόν, ἐθανάτωσε τὸ ζῶν ἐκεῖθεν, τὸ σῶμα λέγω, τὴν δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ζῶσαν ψυχὴν ἡμαύρωσεν· ἀφηρήμεθα τὸ θεῖον κάλλος, ἐστερήμεθα τῆς θείας μορφῆς, τὸ φῶς ἀπεβάλομεν, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνωτάτω φῶς ὁμοιότητα διεφθείραμεν· περιβαλόμεθα τὸν ζόφον ὡς ἱμάτιον, φεῦ, καὶ ὡς διπλοῖδα τὸ σκότος ἐνεδεδύμεθα. Ἀλλ' ἠλέησε δωρεάν, ἵνα μὴ μηκύνω λέγων, οὔ φύσις ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτὴν ἔλεος· καὶ δι' ἐμὲ τὸν πεσόντα κατῆλθε καὶ γέγονε, καθά φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, «εἰς Πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν», ὡς ἂν ζωοποιήσας ἀνακαινίσῃ τὴν ἀμαυρωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα.

Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἤδη τελῶν καὶ δεικνὺς ὡς οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δημιουργήσας δι' ἐμφυσήματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμφυσᾷ καὶ δι' οἰκείου λόγου φανεροῖ τὸ δῶρημα· οὐκ αὖθις λέγων ψυχὴν ἐντίθημι, ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα, καὶ Πνεῦμα θεῖον αὖθις τῇ μεταδόσει τῶν χαρισμάτων τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεργάζομαι. Εἰπέ, Παῦλε, πῶς, τὸν λόγον διαδεξάμενος· στόμα γὰρ ὄντα σε γινώσκω Χριστοῦ. Αὐτήν, φησί, συνάπτων, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἂν εἶπε, τῷ ἐμῷ πνεύματι καὶ οἶον πνέειν μετ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ κατὰ χάριν ἔχειν διὰ τῆς

πρὸς ἐμὲ συναφείας τὴν τῷ θεῷ Πνεύματι φυσικῶς προσοῦσαν τοῦ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίαν. «Ἡμεῖς γάρ», φησί, «νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν», καὶ «ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν Πνευμᾷ ἐστίν».

10

Ἄλλ' ὁρᾷς πῶς τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦτο αἰνίττεται μὲν παρὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τελεσιουργοῦν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς ἀνακαίνισιν, ἣν ἐκ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τελεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν, δίδωσι δὲ πνεῦμα καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἥτις τὸ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐστίν, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος; Παρ' οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὕτη λαμβάνεσθαι δύναται. Τὰ δὲ χαρίσματα τοῦ Πνεύματος, αἱ φυσικαὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνέργειαι, μηδαμῶς αὐτοῦ χωριζόμεναι, λαμβάνονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἁζίων ἐνεργεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οἱ διὰ τὸ ἡνῶσθαι τούτῳ καὶ τῇ τούτου ἐνεργείᾳ χρισθῆναι (μόνος γὰρ ὁ μόνος Χριστὸς ὅλῳ ἐχρίσθη τῷ χρίοντι, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, Χριστὸς διὰ τὴν θεότητα, οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους χριστοὺς ἀγιάζουσιν, παρουσίᾳ δὲ ὅλου τοῦ χρίοντος) τῷ γοῦν ἡνῶσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν θείας ἐνεργείας καὶ χρηματίσαι τοῦ Πνεύματος ὄργανα, καὶ δι' ἐαυτῶν αὐτὸ φανεροῦν λαβεῖν λέγονται καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δίδοσθαι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἔδειξεν ὁ Κύριος ἐμφυσήσας καὶ εἰπὼν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, «λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον», ὡς καὶ Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ θεῖος ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν· εἰπὼν γάρ, «ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, Πνεῦμα δὲ Υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφανερῶσθαι καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι ἡμῖν ὁμολογοῦμεν», εὐθὺς ἐπήνεγκεν· «ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ καὶ εἶπε τοῖς μαθηταῖς, λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον». Ἄρ' οὐ κατάδηλον, ὡς ὁ δαμασκηνὸς Πατὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος τούτου μὴ εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀλλὰ φανεροῦσθαι μόνον καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐνόησε καὶ ἀπέδειξε;

11

Λατῖνοι δὲ φρενοβλαβῶς ἀντιθετικῶς ἐκείνῳ νοοῦσι καὶ δογματίζουσιν· οὐ γὰρ συννοῶσιν ὡς τὰ χαρίσματα ταῦτα καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι, καθ' ἃς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ χορηγεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδονται τοῦ ἀνωτάτω Πατρὸς. «Πᾶν γάρ», φησί, «δῶρημα

τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν φώτων». Τί δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ὑφιέναι καὶ κρατεῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τελεώτερον; Καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· «ἐκχεῶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα» διὰ τοῦ Ἰωήλ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἥς ἐκχύσεώς ἐστι πάντως καὶ τὸ τοῖς μαθηταῖς παρὰ Χριστοῦ δεδομένον Πνεῦμα δι' ἐμφυσήματος· καὶ «τῷ μέν», φησί, «διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδεται λόγος σοφίας, τῷ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως», καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐφεξῆς τῷ ἐκλεκτῷ σκεύει τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπηρίθμηται Παύλῳ, τῷ καὶ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑμαιοιρηκότι· διὸ καὶ λέγοντι, «ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυπεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ», οὐ μόνον τὰ μὴ ἐγνωσμένα τοῖς περιβοήτοις κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν πατράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑπερβαίνοντα γνῶσιν· «καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκουμεν», φησὶν ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεολογικώτατος Ἰωάννης, «ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὗ ἐλάβομεν παρ' αὐτοῦ». Καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσα ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία ἐξ αὐτοῦ πηγάζει· καὶ «οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως δωρεά», φησὶν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, «ἄνευ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν κτίσιν ἀφικνουμένη»· ὃς καὶ πάντα ἀπαριθμησάμενος, τάς τε δωρεὰς καὶ τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Πνεύματος, εἶτα φησί, «πάντα ταῦτα ἀϊδίως ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ πηγάζον ἐνυπόστατόν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πηγάζοντα ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ εἰσιν». Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται, ἐπεὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία, ἐν ᾗ πάντως καὶ ἡ τοῦ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν ἐξουσία, ἣν ὁ Κύριος δι' ἐμφυσήματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς παρέσχεν; Ἀπαγε τῆς ἀτοπίας· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διδόναι τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶν ὑποστάσεων κοινόν, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος συμμαρτυρεῖ· «διαίρέσεις γάρ», φησί, «χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα· καὶ διαρέσεις διακονιῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Κύριος· καὶ διαίρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεός».

Κοινὰ μὲν οὖν τῇ μόνη ἁγίᾳ καὶ προσκυνητῇ Τριάδι αἱ τε θεῖαι δυνάμεις καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι, δι' ὧν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖ τοῖς ἀξίοις κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, δι' αὐτῶν ἐνεργῶν τε καὶ γνωριζόμενος. Ὡν περ θεῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ πηγὴ θεολογεῖται μὴ μόνον ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς καὶ ὁ μέγας φησὶ Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀντιρρητικοῖς αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίοις γράφων· «αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι τοῦ

Πνεύματος τίνες; Ἄρρητοι μὲν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀνεξαρίθμητοι δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος». Καὶ πάλιν· «παρὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πάντα τέλεια· ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, σοφία, σύνεσις, βουλή, ἀσφάλεια, εὐσέβεια, γνῶσις, ἁγιασμός, ἀπολύτρωσις, πίστις, ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια, οὐδὲν ἔχον τι ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐπίκτητον ἀλλ’ αἰδίως πάντα ἔχον, ὡς Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεφηνός, αἴτιον ἑαυτῷ ἔχον ὡς πηγὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάκειθεν πηγάζον. Πηγὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀγαθῶν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ πηγάζον ἐνυπόστατόν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πηγάζοντα ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ εἰσι». Ταῦτα δὲ εἰσι τὰ γνωριστικὰ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἀντήματα.

Θέλων οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁμοούσιον ἑαυτὸν δεῖξαι κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτὸς ταύτην κατὰ χάριν δίδωσι τὴν φυσικὴν τῆς θεότητος ἐνέργειαν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ πρότερον ἐνίας τῶν τοιούτων ἐνεργειῶν τοῖς προφήταις παρέσχε· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον κατελθὼν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἄνοδον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνεργείας ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς, δι’ αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ δεικνύμενον ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ. Κοινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πολλὰ τῇ μόνῃ ἁγίᾳ καὶ προσκυνητῇ Τριάδι τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῆς θεῖα δόματα καὶ ἡ τούτων δόσις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις μία καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἰδίᾳ καὶ προαιώνιος.

### 13

Ἀλλ’ ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἀπολογία ἐπισφραγίσωμαι καὶ «πᾶν στόμα τὸ ἀντιτεῖνον φραγῇ», αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον τοῦ νυνὶ λόγου κατὰ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν συμφθεγγόμενον ἡμῖν δείξας προβαλοῦμαι μάρτυρα τῆς ἀληθείας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ μηδαμόθεν χωριζόμενος, γῆθεν πρὸς τὸν ἐπουράνιον Πατέρα ἀνιών, τοῖς διαμεμενηκόσιν εἰς τέλος μετ’ αὐτοῦ «παρήγγειλεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου», φησὶν. Ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ ἐπαγγελία; Ὅτι «βαπτισθήσεσθε», φησὶν, «ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας». Οὐκοῦν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναλήψεως οὕτω τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἔτυχον· οὐκ ἄρα διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐδόθη, τοῦτο γάρ ἡ ἐπαγγελία. Πότε δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελιαμένου ταῦτ’ ἤκουσαν οἱ μαθηταί; Ὅτε μέλλων ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθνήσκειν – βαβαὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαθέσεως – οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παρεδίδου τῇ σφαγῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κληρονόμους



ἐνδιαθήκως ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἡμῖν ἀνεώγνυ τε καὶ παρεδίδου καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν συμφυᾶ καὶ πᾶσαν κτίσιν ὑπερاناβεβηκότα, τὸν ἀκένωτον πλοῦτον τοῦ Πνεύματος· «ἐγὼ γάρ», φησὶν, «ἐρωτήσω τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν, ἵνα μένη μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα». Εἴτα μετ' ὀλίγα, «ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ πέμψει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα». Εἴτ' αὖθις μετὰ τὰς γλυκείας ὑποθήκας ἐκείνας, μετὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγοῦντας λόγους, μετὰ τὰς πρὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ πλούτου προτροπὰς, «ὅταν ἔλθῃ», φησὶν, «ὁ παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ». Εἶδες τοῦ ὄντος θησαυροῦ τὰ κατὰ μέρος κλειθρα διανοιγόμενα; Μᾶλλον δ', ἴν' εἶπω θεολογικώτερον, ὁρᾷς φωτισμοὺς ἡμῖν κατὰ μέρος ἐλλάμποντας;

14

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, ἴδωμεν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν· τὸ δ' «οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας» ποῦ; Αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων μικρὸν προελθὼν καὶ τοῦτο τότε προεῖρηκεν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τοὺς οἰκίους φιλανθρώπως παραμυθούμενος· «συμφέρει γάρ», φησὶν, «ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ μὴ ἀπέλθω, ὁ παράκλητος οὐκ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς». Πῶς οὖν τις τολμᾷ λέγειν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἦλθε πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου πρὶν ἀναληφθῆναι αὐτόν; Ἄλλ' ἔστω, φησὶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόθη πρὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὁ ἄλλος παράκλητος. Ἔχεις καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς σαφῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπηγγείλατο λέγων, «ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν», καὶ «ἐὰν ἐγὼ πορευθῶ, πέμψω αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς»;

Εὐγέ σοι τοῦτο μετ' ἐκεῖνο προήχθη, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα φαίη τις ἄν· ὑποβέβηκε γὰρ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ δοκοῦντος ὑμῖν παρὰ τῶν Γραφῶν βοηθήματος. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο λόγος τοῦ Λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως τὸ ἐμφυσᾶν καὶ τὸ πέμπειν τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δείκνυσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμφυσῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἐμφυσᾷ τῷ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πνεύματι· ταῦτόν δ' εἶπεῖν τῷ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκπορευομένῳ ἐμφυσήματι. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ πέμπων τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ὃν τε καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον πέμπει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑτέρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκον. Διὸ καὶ σπουδὴν ὁ Κύριος θέμενος τοῦ μηδένα παραχθέντα δοξάζειν, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται, τὸ μὲν ἐμφύσημα, ὃ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει μᾶλλον παριστᾶν,

τότ' ἔδωκεν, ὅτε ἀπείρηκε καὶ ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος· τὸ δὲ «πέμψω» προειπὼν, προσέηκε τὸ «παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς». Εἰ γὰρ καὶ «πέμψω», φησὶν, ἀλλ' οὐ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς λαβὼν, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκπορεύεται· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μόνος πέμπει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐκπορευόμενον, οὐ τότε μόνον ἐκπορευθησόμενον ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ «πέμψω», οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδιαστάτως πεμπόμενον, ὥσπερ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐκπορευόμενον· οὐ γὰρ εἰπὼν «πέμψω» τὸ “παρ' ἐκείνου ἐκπορευθὲν” προσεπήγαγον, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς προσεπινοηθῇ τὸ “ποτέ”. Καὶ ἐπιφέρειν μέλλων «ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται», φθάσας εἶπον, οὐχ “ὃ ἐγὼ πέμπω”, ἀλλ' «ὃ ἐγὼ πέμψω», ἵνα μὴ συνεπινοηθῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἀεὶ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέμπειν ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους κοινόν ἐστιν ἐξ αἰδίου τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ· πέμπει δὲ χρονικῶς ἑκάτερος, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ μᾶλλον, ὁπότε δέοι.

15

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἐπιδέχεσθαι δύναται· τοῦ δὲ ἐκπορεύειν τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς προηγείται, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπαγγελίας μοίρᾳ κείσεται ποτε, οὐδὲ τὸ μέλλειν ἐπιδέξαιτ' ἂν, ἅπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας, ἢ συμβαίνει τοῖς οἰομένοις αἰδίου εἶναι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔκπεμψιν τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐπέμφη γάρ τισι καὶ ἐδόθη πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, λαβόντος παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς χρονικῶς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν λαμβανόντων ὑστερογενεστέρας οὔσης τῆς ἀποστολῆς, καὶ δι' αἰτίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας· «ἵνα μένη», φησί, «μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα», «ἵνα ὑμᾶς διδάξῃ καὶ ὑπομνήσῃ πάντα ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν», «ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ» καὶ ὑμῖν συμμαρτυρήσῃ τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους μαρτυροῦσιν, «ἵνα ἐλέγξῃ τὸν κόσμον» ὑπεύθυνον τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, τὸν ἁμαρτίαν ὀνομάσαντα τὴν ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην· δικαιοσύνην ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐξέβαλεν ἀρχῆς κατακρίνασα δικαίως, ὅτι τὸν ὄντως δίκαιον ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἤγαγεν εὐθύνην, ἵν' ἐμὲ δοξάσῃ, ὁδηγήσαν ὑμᾶς πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Καὶ γὰρ «Πνεῦμα ἀληθείας» ἐστί, καὶ «οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούῃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς», «ὥσπερ κἀγὼ οὐδὲν ἐλάλησα ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ»· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμὸς καὶ «πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμά», «ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει καὶ ἀναγγέλλει»· κοινὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰ δόματα.

Ἐπέμφθη τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ χρονικῶς καὶ πρὸς τινας καὶ δι' αἰτίαν· παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ μόνοι τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀναιτίως, αὐτὸν μόνον ἔχον αἰτίαν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν μόνον ἀγέννητον Πατέρα, τὸν ποιῶντα τὰ πάντα ἐκ μὴ ὄντων διὰ μόνην τὴν κοινὴν ἑαυτοῦ τε κακείνων ἀγαθότητα, τὸν δ' Υἱὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχοντα γεγεννημένον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορευόμενον.

16

Ἄρα νοῦν ἔλαβες ὁ δι' ἐναντίας καὶ φῶς γνώσεως ἐπέλαμψε σοι παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου; Μᾶλλον δὲ σύ γε αὐτὸς ἄρα διαίρειν ἤρξω τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ διαβλέπειν πρὸς τὸ φῶς, εἰ καὶ μὴ τελέως, ἀλλ' ἀμυδρῶς γοῦν ἀντιλαμβάνομενος τῆς διαπρυσίου καὶ μὴ ἀμυδρᾶς αὐγῆς, ὥστε ψηλαφῆσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ὅτι τὸ «δώσει» τε καὶ τὸ «πέμψει» τοσαυτάκις εἰρημένον οὐδαμοῦ χωρὶς αἰτίας εἶρηκεν, οὐδ' ἄνευ προσώπου τοῦ λαμβάνοντος δι' ὃν καὶ πέμπεται, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ συνεζευγμένον ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀποδέδωκεν ὁ μόνος καὶ Θεὸς καὶ θεολόγος, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενον ἀπολύτως ἔθηκε χωρὶς ἡστινοσοῦν αἰτίας; Τὴν μὲν γὰρ συνδιαϊωνίζουσιν καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας οὔσαν ἔκπεμψιν μόνῳ τῷ Πατρὶ προσένειμε, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ χρόνον οὔσαν καὶ αἰεὶ μετὰ τῆς αἰτίας συνημμένην κοινὴν οὔσαν, ἐξεκάλυψε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ, ὡς ἂν τοῦτο συνιδῶν, μηκέτι βλασφημῆς τῇ ἐκπορεύσει φρονῶν καὶ λέγων τὴν ἀποστολὴν ταυτὴν ἢ ἐκ ταύτης ἐκείνην στοχαζόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν. Ὡς περ γὰρ Θεὸς ἀναίτιος, οὕτω καὶ Θεοῦ ὑπαρξὶς ἀναίτιος, αὐτὸν αἰτίαν ἔχον τὸν ἐξ οὗ ὑπάρχει ἀναιτίως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων δι' αἰτίαν. Ὡς περ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ Θεοῦ ὑπαρξὶς ἀναίτιος, οὕτω τὸ δι' αἰτίαν γεγονὸς κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε τῷ ἀναιτίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀναιτίοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν. Ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς κοινόν, θείας ὑποστάσεως οὐκ ἴδιον. Διὸ τὸ μὲν ἀποστέλλεσθαι καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ὑπάρχει, ὥς περ καὶ τὸ ἀποστέλλειν τοῖς τρισὶ δι' αἰτίαν γάρ. Τὸ δὲ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἢ καὶ ἐκπορεύειν οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ γὰρ οὐ δι' αἰτίαν. Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πρὸς τινας πεμπόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὴν ὑπὸ χρόνον καὶ δι' αἰτίαν ἐπὶ νοῦν λάμβανέ μοι πρόοδον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἐκ Πατρὸς ἄσχετον ἐκείνην καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰτίαν καὶ προαιώνιον.

17

Τί οὖν; Ἦδη πείθομεν καὶ διετρανώθη σοι τὸ φῶς, ἢ ἔτι προσμενοῦμεν συνείροντες τὰς ἀποδείξεις καὶ διαρριπίζοντες τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀγνοίας σκότος; Ὡς πολὺ τοῦτο καὶ βαθὺ τὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπηλυγάζον διανοίας κόρας ἔχεις, εἰ μὴδὲ νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν διέβλεψάς πω, καίτοι τὸ «δῶσω» ταυτόν ἐστι τῷ «πέμψω». Ἐπεὶ γὰρ μήτε τὸ πεμπόμενον τοπικῶς μετάγεται μήτ' αὐτὸς ὁ πέμπων διΐσταται τοῦ πεμπομένου (καὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ καὶ ὁ πέμπων καὶ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενον, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συλλαβῶν ἡμῖν ἡ εὐσέβεια)· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ διαιρεῖται τόπῳ, οὐδὲ τόπῳ περιλαμβάνεται τὸ πέμπον καὶ τὸ πεμπόμενον, οὐκ ἄρα δίδωσιν ὁ πέμπων; Τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμᾶς φωτίζων νῦν μὲν εἶρηκεν, «ὃ δώσει ὁ Πατήρ», νῦν δ' αὖθις, «ὃ πέμψει ὁ Πατήρ», ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμφοτέροις διανοίας χρησάμενος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτός, νῦν μὲν ὅτι ἐπέμφη παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, νῦν δ' ὅτι ἐδόθη, ἀναγέγραπται, ὡς ταυτοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τούτων τοῦ πέμπειν τε καὶ τοῦ δίδοναι.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν «ὁ πανταχοῦ ὢν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν» καὶ διὰ πάντων χωρῶν πῶς ἥξει καὶ δοθήσεται; Δηλαδὴ φανερούμενος καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὴν τῶν χαρίτων ἐνέργειαν. Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τὸ πέμπεσθαί τε καὶ δίδοσθαι ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ἢ τὸ φανεροῦσθαι. Λατῖνοις οὖν ἀίδιον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοιαύτην ἔκπεμψιν δογματίζουσι καὶ φανέρωσιν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀίδιον δοξάζειν ἀκόλουθον· ἀνάγκη δὲ συναϊδίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς πρὸς οὓς ἡ φανέρωσις καὶ πρόσσεστι τὸ μὴδ' οὕτω τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δείκνυσθαι.

Εἰ δ' ἐκ τῆς φανερώσεως στοχάζεσθαί φασιν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ὑπαρξιν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ στοχασμοῖς ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ θεολέκτοις λογίοις τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως πεπλουτήκαμεν. Ἰσμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐρχόμενόν τε καὶ φανερούμενον, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δώσομεν ἐκπορεύεσθαι· ὁ διδοὺς τοίνυν ἢ πέμπων τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκπορεύει διὰ τὸ πέμπειν, ἀλλὰ φανερόν καθίστησιν αὐτό. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησε πρὸ μὲν τῆς οἰκείας ἀναλήψεως φανερώσας μετρίως τοῖς οἰκείοις μαθηταῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μετρίας τηνικαῦτα δεδομένης χάριτος· ὃ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αἴτιον, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην, τοῦ δι' ἐμφυσήματος δεδημιουργεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τε λέγων Πατήρ καὶ ὁ τούτου παντοδύναμος Λόγος πάντων κτιζομένων ἐκηρύττοντο, ἔκφανσις δὲ Πνεύματος οὐ γέγονέ πω, ἔδει δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Τριάδος προσώπων ἀνεπίγνωστον εἶναι, ἧς ἐπλάττετο μύστης καὶ προσκυνητῆς ἐπίγειος, διὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ γεννήτορι, προσεπιφέρεται τὸ «ἐνεφύσησεν», ἀνακαλύπτει τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπόστασιν· ὁ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνανεῶν ἡμᾶς ἐποίησεν· Υἱοῦ γὰρ ὄντος, αὐτόθεν ὁ Πατήρ ἐδείκνυτο καὶ δι' ἐμφυσήματος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκηρύττετο· ὧν κοινὸν ἔργον ἦ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῶν πλάσις, ἢ τ' ἐς ὕστερον χάρις τῆς ἀναπλάσεως.

Οὕτως οὖν δι' ἡμᾶς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ γῆς ὁφθεῖς ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενὴς Υἱός, πρὸ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλήψεως τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπόστασιν ἐφάνερωσε μετρίως διὰ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς δι' ἐμφυσήματος δώρου τοῦτο ὑπαινιττόμενος καὶ τῇ τῶν δεχομένων δυνάμει τὴν διδασκαλίαν παραμετρούμενος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνάληψιν ἔπεμψε τὸν ἐρχόμενον, αὐτός τε αὐτὸ φανερῶν τελεώτατα τὸ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φανερούμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δεικνύμενον κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν. Τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, ἓν καὶ τρία τὸν Θεὸν πιστευθῆναι καὶ κοινὸν αἴτιον μόνον τῶν δύο τὸ ἓν. Διὰ τοῦτο κοινὴ μὲν αὐτοῖς πᾶσα δόσις καὶ δύναμις, μερίζονται δὲ ἑαυτοῖς τὸν καιρὸν ἰδίᾳ φανερούμενον ἕκαστον καὶ σὺν ἑαυτῷ φανεροῦν ἀεὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα.

## 19

Πρῶτον πεφανέρωται ὁ Πατήρ, τῆς θείας φύσεως αὐχήματα, τὰ τῆς θεότητος ιδιώματα, τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ οὐσιώδεις αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας τοῖς προφήταις κατὰ χάριν διδούς, ὥς ἂν ἅμα τε δείξῃ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστῶς καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸν ὧν ἐξ ἄλλου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὧν ἀρχὴ τῆς θεότητος· καὶ δὴ καὶ τ' ἄλλα δεικνὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε ὄντα καὶ αὐτῷ συνημμένα, πρὸ πάντων ἐμφυσήματι καὶ λόγῳ δημιουργῶν καταγγέλλεται.

Μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ Υἱὸς πεφανέρωται, τὰ αὐτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως αὐχήματα, τὰ τῆς θεότητος ιδιώματα, τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ οὐσιώδεις αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας, παρ' ὧν τὰ χαρίσματα τῶν ἱαμάτων, τὰ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις τοῖς οἰκείοις μαθηταῖς κατὰ χάριν διδούς, ὥς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τε δείξῃ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστῶς (τὸ γὰρ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφεστῶς ἐνεργείας ἔχειν ἢ παρέχειν ἀδύνατον) καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ὧν ἀρχή, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καὶ οὕτω δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν τὸν Πατέρα δεικνὺς, Υἱὸς γάρ, ἐμφυσήματι

δὲ διδοὺς τὰ πνευματικὰ χαρίσματα καὶ Πνεῦμα θεῖον αὐτὰ καλῶν, συνημμένον ἑαυτῷ προσεπεδείκνυ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ὅς ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνειληφῶς φύσιν ἐφανερώθη, οὐκ ἐδείκνυ μόνον διὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ γλώττης ἐκήρυττε τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν θεότητα καὶ τί τὸ μόνον αἷτιον καὶ τί τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

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Μετ' αὐτὸν τὸ ἅγιον πεφανέρωται Πνεῦμα, τὰ αὐτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως αὐχήματα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κατὰ χάριν παρέχον, τὰ τῆς θεότητος ιδιώματα, τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ οὐσιώδεις αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείας. Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλεία, ἥς τοὺς ἀρραβῶνας οἱ ἅγιοι ἐνταῦθα κομίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ θεῖος Μάξιμος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Θαλάσσιον σχολίοις φησί, «τῶν προσόντων τῷ Θεῷ φυσικῶς κατὰ χάριν ἐστὶ μετάδοσις· ἃ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς παρὰ Θεοῦ πλασθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ χάριν εἴληφεν»· ὥς καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Σοῖμον ἐπιστολῇ φησι γράφων ὅτι, «πλάσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχωθέντα παρήγαγεν, ἔχοντα τὰς πνευματικὰς δωρεάς, σοφίαν, δικαιοσύνην καὶ ὅσα ἔνεστιν οὐσιωδῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ· ὁμοῦ γὰρ καὶ ζῶην ἐνετίθει τὸ Πνεῦμα τῷ πλάσματι καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ χαρακτῆρας θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεσήμενεν». Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς ἐκ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγοντα, τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν τούτων δυνάμεων τε καὶ ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ μετάδοσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν θεῖαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑπόστασιν προχεῖσθαι διδάσκειν, εὐσεβῶς νόμισον.

Μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν τοίνυν διὰ τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῖς ἀξίοις παρέχειν τὸ ἅγιον πεφανέρωται Πνεῦμα· ὥς ἂν ἅμα τε δείξῃ καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφεστῶς, καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς σοφίσαν καὶ πνευματικὴν δύναμιν ἐνδύσαν, αὐτούς τε συνιέναι ποιήσῃ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι δι' αὐτῶν κηρύξῃ τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κηρύγματα, δι' ὧν καὶ αὐτό, οὐ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' ἰδιοτρόπως ἐκ τοῦ μόνου Πατρὸς ὑφεστηκὸς κηρύττεται, συνημμένον ὃν φυσικῶς αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ ἀδιαστάτως τε καὶ ἀϊδίως. Δι' ὃ δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα, καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ ἀμέσως ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ Υἱὸς πρότερος τῷ κόσμῳ πεφανέρωται, καὶ δι' ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος οἱ θεολόγοι παριστῶσιν, ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδεδώκαμεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος τὰ ἔργα κοινά, ἐν δὲ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἡ φανέρωσις, διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦκει καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πέμπεται, δι' ὧν καὶ φανεροῦται τὸ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φανερούμενον, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Φανεροῦται τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεμπόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, μηδὲ φανέρωσις ἡ ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν ἔκπεμψις, ἀλλ' ἐκπόρευσις· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐπέμφθη πρότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἀγίου λέγω Πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς· «Κύριος γάρ», φησὶν, «ἀπέσταλκέ με καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ». Ἄρ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς ἢ γεννᾶται ἢ ἐκπορεύεται; Ἀπαγε τῆς ἀσεβείας. Εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἀπεστάλθαι τὸν Υἱόν, ἐγγὺς ἡ ἀπάντησις· ἀπεστάλη μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· «εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς Θεός, τί τοῦτο; Τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποστολὴν εἶναι νόμισον», Γρηγόριός σοι διακελεύεται ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος, κάγω τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐκείνω καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πειθόμενος.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ὡς Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποστέλλεται καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεύματος, παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων λοιπὸν κατὰ Λατίνους ἔχει καὶ οὗτος τὴν γέννησιν, εἶπερ, ὅτι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποστέλλεται, Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ, παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκπορεύεται τούτων. Κἄν, εἰ λέγοιεν μὴ τὴν ἀποστολὴν νομίζειν ἐκπόρευσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ταύτης ἐκείνην τεκμείρεσθαι, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεννήσεως αὕτη δήπουθεν ὑπάρξει τεκμήριον.

Τί δὲ καὶ διενήνοχε τοῦ τὴν ἀποστολὴν νομίζειν γέννησιν ἢ ἐκπόρευσιν τὸ λέγειν ὡς αἰδίως ἔχον πέμπειν τό τε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸν Υἱόν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα; Τὸ μὲν καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ὕστερον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπέστειλεν· ὁ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῖς οἰκείοις μαθηταῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπανελθὼν ὅθεν κατήλθε. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς καὶ Θεός ἐστι καὶ ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν· ἀπεστάλη γοῦν καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἐνηθρώπησεν.

Ἐπεὶ γοῦν Θεὸς ὃν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, εὐδοκίαν δὲ χρὴ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτην κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους, εὐδοκία δὲ ἡ ἀγαθὴ θέλησίς ἐστι, Λατῖνοι δὲ τῇ ἐκπορεύσει ταῦτόν ἡγοῦνται τὴν ἀποστολὴν, θέλησις οὐκοῦν ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐκπόρευσις· κάπειδήπερ ἐκπορεύσει τὴν



ὑπαρξιν ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, θελήσει τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἔχει κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπαρξιν. Ὡς τῆς δυσσεβείας· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἄκτιστον· τῷ γὰρ θέλει, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ πεφυκέναι τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ, καθὰ καὶ τὴν κτίσιν, εἴπερ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις ἐστὶν εὐδοκία καὶ θέλησις· τὰ κτίσματα γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους οὐ τῷ πεφυκέναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ θέλει ὁ Θεὸς προήγαγεν. Ἔργον μὲν γὰρ φύσεως κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ προαιώνιος καὶ ἀίδιος γέννησις· ἔργον δὲ θείας θελήσεως ἡ κτίσις.

Ἀρειανοὶ μὲν οὖν τὸν Υἱὸν ἔλεγον θελήσει τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰς τὸ εἶναι προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀθελήτως ἐκ Πατρὸς τὸ εἶναι λαβεῖν τοῦτο δῆθεν κατασκευάζοντες. Λατῖνοι δὲ θελήσει τοῦ Πατρὸς ἢ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ εἶναι δεικνύουσι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν εἶναι νομίζειν ἀποστολὴν κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ θέλησιν. Ἐροῦμεν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειανούς, ὅτι «τοῦ βούλεσθαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπέρκειται· καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐχ ὑπόκειται βουλήσει». Ὡς οὖν ἡ γέννησις εὐδοκία καὶ θέλησις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοκίαν καὶ θέλησιν (φύσει γὰρ δείκνυσιν ἐκ Πατρὸς ὄντα τὸν Υἱὸν ὡς αὐτῷ γνήσιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' οὐ θελήσει καθὰ τὰ κτίσματα) οὕτως οὐδὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡ ἐκπόρευσις ἀποστολὴ καὶ εὐδοκία καὶ θέλησις ἐστὶ· φύσει γὰρ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις δείκνυσιν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὡς αὐτῷ γνήσιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' οὐ θελήσει κατὰ τὰ κτίσματα.

Λατῖνοι γοῦν λέγοντες ταῦτόν εἶναι τῇ ἀποστολῇ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην κτιστὸν εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα κατασκευάζουσι. Καὶ μὴν ἐπειδήπερ εὐδοκία τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστὶν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἢ τε τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὡς Θεοῦ παρὰ Πατρός τε καὶ Πνεύματος ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος παρὰ Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ (θελήσαντος γὰρ ἐκατέρου τούτων κατὰ καιρὸν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ Πατήρ εὐδόκησε) δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πάντως ἢ διὰ φιланθρωπίαν ἢ εὐδοκία γέγονεν αὕτη. Τοιγαροῦν, εἰ κατὰ Λατίνους τῇ ἀποστολῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταῦτόν ἢ ἐκπόρευσις, ἢ δὲ ἀποστολὴ διὰ φιланθρωπίαν, κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπόρευσις τε καὶ ὑπαρξις τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐχ ὑπὲρ αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φιланθρωπίαν. Οὐ τί ἂν ἀκουσθεῖη δυσσεβέστερόν τε καὶ καινότερον;

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ ταῦτὸν ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἐκπόρευσις, δι' ἐμὲ λοιπὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα (βαβαὶ τῆς κακοδοξίας· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ταῦτα λέγειν ἄνευ φρίκης καὶ θαύματος) ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται· δι' ἐμὲ γὰρ ἀπέσταλται· εἰ δὲ δ' ἐμὲ, καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ πάντως ἢ οὐ πολὺ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χρόνον ὥσπερ ἐγώ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ συναΐδιον. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεῖκει τῇ δεσποτείᾳ. Φεῦ, ποῦ κατάγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀγνωμόνων δούλων τὸ τῇ φύσει τὴν δεσποτείαν ἔχον ἀπάσης τῆς κτίσεως· «τὸ γὰρ Σάββατον», φησί, «διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐχὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ Σάββατον· ὥστε Κύριός ἐστι τοῦ Σαββάτου ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου». Ὅρᾳς πόσον ἀπέχει ἀποστολὴ ἐκπορεύσεως; Ὅσον χρόνων ἀιδιότης καὶ κτισμάτων Θεὸς καὶ τῶν φύσει δούλων ὁ φύσει δεσπότης τῆς κτίσεως.

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Ὁ τοίνυν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς θεολόγων μεμνημένος ἐμφυσώμενον μὲν ἀκούων τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' ἐμφυσήματος παρὸν καὶ συμφυὲς ὃν τῷ ἐμφυσῶντι νοεῖ σημαίνομενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχον ἐμφύσημα, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχειν τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐμφύσημα· ἂν δὲ καὶ πεμπόμενον, φανερούμενον· ἂν δὲ καὶ διδόμενον, καὶ τὸ συνημμένον ἐπιγινώσκει τοῦ πεμπομένου τε καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος· ἂν δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν λαμβανόμενον, οἶδε μὲν ἢ Θεόν, ἄληπτον, ληπτὰ δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου χαρίσματα· ἂν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀκούσῃ πεμπόμενον, διδόμενον, ἐμφυσώμενον, εὐθὺς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις συνήσιν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καθὰ καὶ Γρηγόριος ἐκλαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖ σοφῶς ὁ ἐν θεολογίᾳ πολὺς· «ὅσα γάρ», φησί, «περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ταπεινότερα λέγεται, τὸ δίδοσθαι, τὸ στέλλεσθαι, τὸ μερίζεσθαι, τὸ χάρισμα, τὸ δώρημα, τὸ ἐμφύσημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν ἀνακτέον, ἵνα τὸ ἐξ οὗ δειχθῇ», (δηλαδή τοῦ Πατρὸς· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡ πρώτη αἰτία) καὶ μὴ τρεῖς, φησὶν, ἀρχαὶ μεμερισμέναι πολυθέως παραδεχθῶσιν», ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἔπαθες, μὴ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν διὰ τούτων τῶν φωνῶν ἀναγόμενος.

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Καὶ δύο μὲν σαφῶς κηρύττων οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ἀρχὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα δογματίζων ἔχειν τὴν ὑπαρξιν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀφ' ὧν λέγεις διδοὺς συνάγεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πέμπεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ

ἐκπορεύεται, πέμπει δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸν Υἱόν, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Θεόν, καθάπερ ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ὁ Υἱὸς τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς ὁ χρυσοῦς θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐξηγούμενος τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο, «Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, ἐξεδέξατο, ἰδοὺ σοὶ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀρχή, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς ἢ γεννᾶται ἢ ἐκπορεύεται.

Παρίημι γὰρ τὸν Πατέρα λέγειν, κἂν ἐκ τῆς λατινικῆς καινοφωνίας καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκβαίνει, τὸ περιὸν τῆς ὑπερβολῆς εὐλαβούμενος. Ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις οὐδὲ τ' ἄλλα τῶν ἐκβαινόντων ἀτόπων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χειρόν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολείποντα· καὶ γὰρ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀναιρούμενα δείκνυται, εἰ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς νοήσαιμεν τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν ἢ τὴν γέννησιν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν, ἐκάτερον λοιπὸν τούτων οὐχ ὑπάρξεως ἐστὶ τρόπος, κἂν προαιώνια ᾗ· εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκπόρευσιν τε καὶ γέννησιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστολὴν νοήσαιμεν, ἀποστολή τις πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄχρονος καὶ αἰδίου ἢ χρονικὴ τις ὑπαρξίς ἐσται τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Ἐπιστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο χρὴ τὸν συνετὸν ἀκροατὴν, ὡς ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος Γρηγόριος τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταπεινότερον λεγομένοις καὶ τὸ ἀποστέλλεσθαι συνηρίθμησε· τὸ δὲ ἐκπορεύεσθαι μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέγα ἐστίν. «Εἰ γὰρ μέγα τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ μηδαμόθεν ὀρμᾶσθαι, οὐκ ἔλαττον τῷ Πνεύματι τὸ ἐκ τοιούτου Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι». Οὐκ ἄρα τὰυτὸν ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἐκπόρευσις. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀποστολὴ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγκαταβάσεως ἐκφαίνει τὴν πρόθεσιν· ἡ δὲ ἐκπόρευσις τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸ παρὰ Πατρὸς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστὶν ὄνομα. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι μετέσχομεν· ἡ δὲ παρίστησι τὸ φύσει συνημμένον ὁμοτίμως πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ κατὰ μόνην ὑπόστασιν διαφέρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

Σὺ δὲ τὸ μεμερισμένον ἐκ τῶν λόγων σοὶ συμβαῖνον βλέπων διὰ τὰς σὰς καινοτομίας καὶ ἤδη σε μερίζον Θεοῦ (τί γὰρ τὸ προσεχὲς καὶ πόρρω ἢ ἐγγὺς μερισμοῦ;) ἵν' οὖν ὁ κατασκευάζεις αὐθις ἐκφύγῃς, πολὺ τὸ μέσον ἐντίκτεις ταῖς θεολογίαις ταῖς σαῖς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τοῖς Πνεύματι γράφουσι Θεοῦ μυστήρια καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ κηρύττομεν ἐν ἀλλήλοις τε ὄντα δι' ἀλλήλων ἀμιγῶς χωροῦντα καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἕκαστον ἢ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχοντα. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἕκαστον ἔχει ἀδιαστάτως

τε καὶ ἀμέσως – πῶς γὰρ οὐ; – πῶς ἐμμέσως ἔξει πρὸς ἄλληλα; Ὅταν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητῶμεν τῆς ἀρρήτου ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα νοῦν πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως καὶ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης συμφυΐας καὶ τῆς ἀπερινοήτου τε καὶ ἀφθέγκτου περιχωρήσεως, αὐτὸν αὖθις εὐρίσκομεν καὶ κηρύττομεν τὸν Πατέρα, αὐτὸν ἔνωσιν, αὐτὸν σύνδεσμον, αὐτὸν καὶ Πατέρα καὶ προβολέα καὶ συνοχέα γινώσκοντες τοῦ γεννήματός τε καὶ τοῦ προβλήματος· καὶ οὕτω μέσον καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον τιθέμεθα.

Παρ’ οὗτο δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν, Υἱοῦ λέγω καὶ Πνεύματος, οἰκονομικῶς ἡμῖν ἴδωμεν τὸν ἕτερον παράκλητον φανερούμενον, αὐτίκα διὰ τούτου πρὸς τὴν πρώτην καὶ μόνην ἀρχὴν ἀναγόμεθα· πέμπων γὰρ ἢ διδούς τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Υἱός, πόθεν τοῦτ’ ἔχει, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τῆς πρώτης καὶ μόνης ἀρχῆς; Οὐκοῦν οὕτω πέμπει τε καὶ δίδωσιν, ὡς ἔχων ὑφιστάμενον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς συνεκπορεύων καὶ συνυφιστῶν· καὶ πέμπων καὶ διδούς, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ μὲν ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὐκ ἐξ ἐμοῦ.

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Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολογίᾳ καὶ ὄντως μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐννοήσας, μᾶλλον δὲ φωτισθεὶς, καὶ ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ διαπορθμεύσας τὸ φῶς, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν Πρὸς Σεραπίωνα ἐπιστολῶν· «ἐνὸς ὄντος», φησί, «τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἀγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν ζωὴν, οὗσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ δωρεὰν αὐτοῦ· ἥτις γε ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀποστέλλεται. “Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἠγάπησε τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν”, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀποστέλλει». Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτό ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπωνύμου Γρηγορίου μικρὸν καὶ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένον, ὡς ὅ τι ἂν περὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ταπεινότερον λέγεται, τὸ χάρισμα, τὸ δώρημα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν ἀνακτέον, ἵνα τὸ ἐξ οὗ δειχθῇ. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἐνταυθοῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ταπεινότερον δωρεὰν καὶ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ δείξας ὡς οὐχὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Λόγος (ἢ γὰρ ἐνέργεια ἐνεργεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ ἐνεργεῖ, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παρεκτικὸν καὶ μεταδοτικὸν ὑπάρχει τῶν αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν) σαφῶς οὖν ἐμφήνας ὡς οὐχὶ περὶ τῆς προαιωνίου λέγει ἐκπορεύσεως, ἐπήγαγεν, ὅτι «παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀποστέλλεται».

Τί δὴ, διὰ τοῦ ἐκλάμπειν καὶ ἀποστέλλεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου νοοῦμεν ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται; Ἄπαγε, φησὶν, ὡς πορρωτάτῳ βάλλεις τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται νοοῦμεν καὶ λέγομεν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δίδοται τε καὶ ἀποστέλλεται. Ἐχὼν γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸ αἰώνων συνυφεστὼς ὁ Υἱὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, νῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀποστέλλει καὶ δίδωσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ δόσις ἔλλαμψις (καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, ὅσοι λαμπρότητα Θεοῦ καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἔπαθον, ὅσοι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Κυρίου εἶδον «ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρός», ὅσοι τῷ φωτὶ τῆς θεότητος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους περιηυγάσθησαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τούτοις ἀσφαλῶς πιστεύσαντες) ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ δόσις ἔλλαμψις, ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δίδοσθαι τε καὶ ἀποστέλλεσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκλάμπειν ἔφη καὶ ἀποστέλλεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι σαφέστερον δείκνυσιν ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λόγου· «ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ», φησί, «τὸν Υἱὸν ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· ὁ δὲ Υἱός, τὸ Πνεῦμα».

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας δόσις ἢ ἀποστολὴ γέννησις οὐκ ἔστι, πολλοῦ γε ἂν δήπου δέοι καὶ ἀπείρου εἶναι ἢ προαιώνιος, οὕτως οὐδ' ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δόσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἢ ἀποστολὴ ἐκπόρευσις ἔστι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόσῳ ἢ πρό τῶν αἰώνων παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐ γενομένη, ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτων οὐσα καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συνάναρχος.

Ἐτ' ἔχει τις λέγειν διὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Οὐκ ἔγωγε οἶμαι, εἰ μὴ σαφῶς ἐθέλει θεομαχεῖν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ, φησί, τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ λέγεται. «Ἐξαπέστειλε γὰρ ὁ Θεός», φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, «τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον· ἀββά, ὁ Πατήρ».

Ὑπέρευγε· τὴν “ἐξ” γὰρ ἀφείς, σύγχε ὅς τις ποτ' εἶ ὁ πρόσφατος ἀντικείμενος, τὸ αὐτοῦ νῦν ἡμῖν προβάλλη ταύτης χωρὶς· ἢ σοι κακ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ νοεῖται τε καὶ κατασκευάζεται, τῷ διαλεκτικῷ τῶν ἀπερινοήτων; Εἰπὲ δὴ μοι, καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς οὐ σαυτοῦ; Τοῦτό γε, οἶμαι, ἀποδράσεις ἡμῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔοικας μοι ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ λέγοντος, «γενοῦ σεαυτοῦ ἄνθρωπε». Εἰ γὰρ ἤκουσας καὶ ὑπήκουσας, ἔστεργες ἂν τὰ

παραδεδομένα περί Θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασι, καὶ ταῦτα καινοτομῶν, ἥκιστα ἐπεχείρησας. Ἀλλ' εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκοῦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ σέ. Τὸν Υἱὸν δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος πῶς οὐ λέγομεν, φησὶν, εἰκότως· δόξαι γὰρ ἂν Πατὴρ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τοῦ Υἱοῦ συνεισάγοντος τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸν Πατέρα· διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν Υἱὸν μὲν Πνεύματος οὐ λέγομεν, ἵνα μὴ δόξη ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος, Υἱοῦ δὲ Πνεῦμα λέγομεν, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· Πνεῦμα γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ ὄν.

Καὶ τοῦτο διδάσκου παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, «οὐδεὶς οἶδε, λέγοντος, τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ»· ὥς οὖν Πνεῦμα μὲν ἀνθρώπου λέγεται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα καλεῖται τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ φυσικῶς ἐξ αἰδίου ὄν καὶ τὰς ἀφύκτους δοκούσας σοι τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀνάγκας διαφεύγον.

Ἐκ διαιρέσεως γὰρ ὁ λατινικῶς φρονῶν συλλογιζόμενός φησι· «ἐπεὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἢ ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ χορηγούμενόν ἐστιν ἢ ὡς ὁμοούσιον ἢ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον. Καὶ ὡς μὲν χορηγούμενον οὐκ ἔστι· προαιωνίως μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχει τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ χορηγεῖσθαι ὑστερογενές. Οὐδ' ὡς ὁμοούσιον· λέγοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος. Λεῖπεται τοίνυν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον». Τί οὖν, ἐάνπερ ἀναφανῇ τι ταύτης τῆς διαιρέσεως ἐκτός, καθ' ὃ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγοιτ' ἂν, οὐχ ὁ ἐκ διαιρέσεως οὗτός σοι καθ' ὑπόθεσιν συλλογισμὸς ἀσυλλόγιστος τὸ παράπαν γένοιτ' ἂν;

Ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὡς ἐξ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ φυσικῶς ὑπάρχον καὶ ἀναπαυόμενον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πνεῦμα μὲν Υἱοῦ λέγεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγεται. Καὶ ὁ νοῦς γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ γενόμενος καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχων, δηλονότι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ νοῦς μὲν ἀνθρώπου λέγεται, ἄνθρωπος δὲ τοῦ νοῦ οὐ λέγεται· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπου λέγεται ὁ νοῦς, ὃ γε κατ' οὐσίαν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ ἐνεργείας νῦν ὁ λόγος. Οὐκ ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, εἰ μὴ τὴν χάριν εἵπης Πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· καὶ τὸν νοῦν γάρ, ὅταν τὴν ἐνέργειαν σημαίνῃ τοῦνομα, φαίης ἂν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἐκφαινόμενόν τε καὶ μεταδιδόμενον.

Ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις τοὺς θεολόγους καὶ νοῦν λέγοντας εἶναι Χριστοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ὁ γὰρ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν τετάρτῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν Θησαυρῶν φησιν, «ὅτι νοῦς ὑπάρχον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ διαλέγεται τοῖς μαθηταῖς». Καθάπερ οὖν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Λατῖνοι δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δέ, αὐτὴν ἀναιροῦσί τε καὶ ἀθετοῦσι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.

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Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ διαιρέσεως συμπέρασμα τοῦ λατινικοῦ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν συλλογισμοῦ διαλέλνται τελῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὂν κεχώρηκε· μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ἅπαν τούναντίον. Ἄν δέ τις ἴδῃ καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λατίνου ἀναιρούμενα, ἵνα ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν ἀπερίτρεπτον δειχθῇ, τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῦτον ὄψεται φανερώς ἀντίθετον· «τοῦ γὰρ Υἱοῦ», φησὶν, «ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ χορηγούμενον ἢ φαινόμενον (ἐπειδὴπερ ἀνάρχως μὲν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ δὲ χορηγεῖν οὐκ ἀναρχον) οὐδ' ὡς ὁμοούσιον· λέγοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος».

Ἀλλ' ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, οὗ καὶ ἀκατάσκευος ἡ ρῆσις διαφερόντως ἐστὶν ἰσχυροτέρα τῶν λατινικῶν συλλογισμῶν τε καὶ διαιρέσεων, οὗτος οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λόγῳ, «τὸ δι' Υἱοῦ», φησί, «πεφηνέναι τὸ Πνεῦμα σαφὲς πεποίηκεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, Υἱοῦ Πνεῦμα ὀνομάσας αὐτόν. Ὅρᾳς ὅτι Χριστοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεται ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ χορηγούμενόν τε καὶ φαινόμενον; Πνεῦμα μὲν οὖν Υἱοῦ ἀνάρχως ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χορηγεῖν ἔχει ἀνάρχως ἔχει ὁ Υἱός· οὐδεμία γὰρ πρόσληψις ἢ ἀφαίρεσις ἐκεῖ, ὡς δ' ὑπὸ χρόνον ὄντα τὰ λαμβάνοντα, χρονικῶς ἔλαβον τὴν χορηγίαν.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁμοφυὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον λέγοιτ' ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ «Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ», φησί, «λέγεται, ὡς κατὰ φύσιν ὠκειωμένον αὐτῷ». Καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀγωνιστικῷ



φησι λόγῳ· «τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὥσπερ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσιωδῶς γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον»· κὰν τῇ τοῦ Κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου ἐξηγήσει, «ὥσπερ», φησίν, «ὁ δάκτυλος ἀπήρτηται τῆς χειρός, οὐκ ἀλλότριος ὢν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ φυσικῶς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῷ τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος λόγῳ συνῆπται μὲν πρὸς ἔνωσιν τῷ Υἱῷ, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ δὲ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται». Πνεῦμα μὲν οὖν Υἱοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁμοφυεῖς λέγοιτ' ἂν· οὐ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς ἂν μὴ Πατὴρ τὸ Πνεῦμα δόξη.

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Ἐπεισὶ μοι τοιγαροῦν θαυμάζειν τὸ τῆς λατινικῆς παρανοίας ὑπερβάλλον, ἀναλογιζομένῳ ὅτι τοῦ Πνεύματος κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους πάντας τρόπους λεγομένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καθ' ἓνα δὲ μόνον οὐδαμῶς, αὐτοὶ πάντας μὲν ἐκείνους δυσσεβῶς ἠγνόησάν τε καὶ ἠθέτησαν, τῷ δὲ μηδαμῶς εἰρημένῳ προσχόντες καὶ τοῦτο δυσσεβῶς, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐδογμάτησαν, ὅτι τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται. Ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐπὶ βεβαίαν ἔδραν στηρίζωμεν τοὺς περὶ τούτου λογισμούς, σαφεστάτῳ τε καὶ θεοπνεύστῳ λόγῳ τούτους ἐπισημνῶμεν, Ἰωάννην οἶσθα τὸν ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ πυρσεύσαντα καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην φωτὶ περιουγάσαντα θεογνωσίας. Οὐχ οὗτος ἀριδηλότατά φησιν, «ὡς Πνεῦμα μὲν Υἱοῦ λέγομεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν»; “Ναί”, φησί, “καὶ οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὡς οὐχ οὗτος οὕτως εἶρηκεν, ἀλλ' ἔχω λέγειν ὡς πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγεται.”

Βαβαί· ἔστι δέ σοι καὶ ἄλλο αἴτιον ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος, εἰ μὴ τὸ πρῶτον; Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῶν δεδημιουργημένων τοῖς πατράσιν εἴρηται καὶ οὕτως ἔχει λόγον τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὄντων συναιτίων. Διὸ καὶ προκαταρκτικὸν τὸν Πατέρα αἴτιον ὁ μέγας εἶρηκε Βασίλειος. Ὡσπερ δὲ Πατὴρ μὲν ἔστι κυρίως τοῦ μονογενοῦς, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν μὴ γεγεννημένων ἀλλὰ δεδημιουργημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτω πάλιν πρῶτον αἴτιον δι' ἡμᾶς κυρίως· λέγεται δὲ κάκεῖ παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων, ὡς δεικτικὸν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ συναιτίου ὄντος ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος.

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Οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνάρχου τοίνυν Πνεύματος τὸ προκαταρκτικὸν καὶ πρῶτον αἷτιον, ἅπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσχηκότων τὴν χρονικὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ συναίτιός ἐστιν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐφ' ὧν πρῶτον κυρίως αἷτιόν ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ, τῶν κτισμάτων δηλαδή, οὐκ εὐσεβὲς εἶπεῖν, ὡς τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν τὴν κτίσιν λέγομεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν. Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκτίστου Πνεύματος πρῶτον αἷτιον ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὄντος συναιτίου, δυσσεβοῦς ἂν ἦν λέγειν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ λέγομεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τοῦτο λέγων οὐκ εὐσεβὴς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐναρίθμιος, δυσσεβὴς ἄρ' ὁ λέγων συναιτίον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον αἷτιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ Τριάδος τὸν Πατέρα. Τοῦτο γὰρ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγονότας ἀκούει ὁ Πατήρ, διὸ καὶ ποιητὴς ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος, μενοῦνγε καὶ Πατήρ· κὰν εἷς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν λέγεται ποιητὴς τε καὶ Πατήρ ὁ Πατήρ σὺν τῷ Υἱῷ, ἀλλ' ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δημιουργικὴν δύναμιν πλουτοῦντες. Ἐκεῖ δὲ πάντα τε καὶ πάντως εἷς Πατήρ, εἷς αἷτιος· οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὸ γόνιμον ἀμφοῖν, ἀλλὰ μία πηγαία θεότης, ὁ Πατήρ. Ποῦ γοῦν ὅλως ἐκεῖ χώραν ἔχει τὸ πρῶτον αἷτιον; ὡς καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ ὄντος συναιτίου; Ἀσεβὴς ὁ λόγος· ἐς κόρακας ριπτέσθω, μὴ τοῖς νοητοῖς σε κόραξι σύννομον καταστήσῃ.

Πῶς δὲ ἄρα ὁ σοφὸς οὗτος εἶπερ τις τὰ θεῖα Ἰωάννης, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν ἀσφαλῆ δόξαν περὶ Θεοῦ ἡκριβωμένως ἐκτιθεῖς, ἀπροσδιορίστως ἂν προέθετο τὸ προσδιορισμοῦ δεόμενον; Ποῖον δὲ οὐχ ἔξει χώραν τῶν ἀφρόνως παρὰ τῶν κακοδόξων εἰρημένων, εἰ προσδιορίζειν δοίημεν τὰ ἀπροσδιορίστως περὶ τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος ἐκπεφασμένα; Ἐπεὶ γὰρ Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός, καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει Πνεῦμα λέγεται. Εἴ τις οὖν καινοτομῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός, ἐπεὶ Θεός ὁ Υἱός καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, Πνεῦμα δὲ ὑπάρχει ὁ Θεός, εἴθ' ἡμεῖς ἀντεπεφέρωμεν ὅτι Θεός μὲν Πνεῦμα καὶ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα λέγεται, Θεός δὲ ἐκ Πνεύματος οὐ λέγεται, ἄρα ἂν εἶχε λέγειν, ὡς πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον αἷτιον οὐ λέγεται; Οὐμενοῦν.

Τολμήσαντος δὲ τινος μὴ δημιουργὸν εἶναι φάναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἄρ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐδικαιώσαμεν αὐτὸν εἰπόντες, ὡς πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον αἷτιον οὐκ εἶναι φάσκει τὸν Υἱὸν δημιουργόν; Ἄπαγε. Ἡμῶν δ' αὖ λεγόντων εὐσεβῶς, 'ὡς οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός', εἴ τις προσδιορίζων ἔλεγε μὴ αἰωνίως ἀλλὰ χρονικῶς,

ὥς τὸν χρόνον μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα συμπεριβαλλούσης τῆς φωνῆς, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσειεν ὡς τοῦθ' ὃ λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε, σαφὴς ἀθέτησίς ἐστι τῶν ὁμολογουμένων καὶ διαστροφή τῶν εὐσεβῶς κειμένων; Οὕτω πάσης δυσσεβείας ἐστὶν ἀφορμὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα καὶ πηγὴ τὸ προσδιορίζειν τὰ τεθεολογημένα τοῖς θεοφόροις ἡμῶν πατράσιν ἀπροσδιορίστως· καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἀπάντων μιγνύει τὰ ἄμικτα καὶ συγκλώθει, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα καὶ τὰ πολεμιώτατα πρὸς ἄλληλα, εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ ἀσέβειαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντεχομένους ἐκατέρας ὡς μηδὲν ἀντικειμένους πρὸς ἀπάτην δείκνυσι. Τοσούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λατῖνοι τούτῳ καταχρῶνται, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀκούοντες θεολογούντων ἀπροσδιορίστως ὅτι μόνος ὁ Πατὴρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα καὶ πηγὴ θεότητος, αὐτοὶ πάντα ταῦτα προσδιορίζουσι (μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσδιορισμοῦ δολίως τούτοις ἀντιδογματίζουσι) καίτοι πάσαις ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ στοιχεῖν ταῖς τῶν θεοσόφων θεολόγων φωναῖς, καὶ ποῦ μὲν λεγούσαις ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα, διὸ καὶ μόνον αἴτιον τὸν Πατέρα καὶ πηγὴν θεότητος, ποῦ δ' αὖ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα συνάγειν εἰς ἓν καὶ φρονεῖν εἴ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

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Οἱ δὲ συνείροντες ἢ προφασιζόμενοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνασκευάζουσιν ἐκάτερον, φάσκοντες, ὅτι καθάπερ μόνος Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ὁ Πατήρ ἐστιν ὅτε λέγεται, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὄντος ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, οὕτω καὶ μόνος ὁ Πατήρ πηγὴ καὶ αἴτιος θεότητος ὡς πρῶτος· καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν αἴτιον θεότητος. Οὐ συνορῶσι γάρ, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς κτίσμα κατασπῶσιν. Ὅταν γὰρ λέγωμεν ὅτι μόνος ὁ Πατήρ Θεός ἐστιν ἀληθινός, οὐ τῶν ἀκτίστων πρὸς ἄλληλα τὴν ἀντιδιαστολήν ποιοῦμεν, οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τότε τὸν Πατέρα, ἀλλὰ τὴν μόνην ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι θεωρουμένην φύσιν τῶν κτισμάτων ἀποδιαστέλλομεν. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτω λέγομεν καὶ μόνος αἴτιος θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λέγομεν ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθός, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ὄν αἴτιον θεότητος ἐναρίθμιον ἔσται τοῖς κτιστοῖς.

Καὶ μὴν ἐφ' ὧν ὡς πρῶτος καὶ ὡς προκαταρκτικὸν αἴτιον ἔσθ' ὅτε λέγεται μόνος ὁ Πατήρ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὄντος συναιτίου καὶ κοινωνούντος κατ' ἐκεῖνα τῷ Πατρί, οὐ μόνον ὁ Πατήρ ἔσθ' ὅτε μόνος λέγεται Θεὸς ἀληθινός καὶ μόνος δημιουργὸς καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἔσθ'

ὅτε καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς μόνος ἂν ρηθεῖη· καὶ οὐχ ὁ Υἱὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ “μόνος” τοῦτο τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν ἀντιδιαστέλλει τῶν κτιστῶν, ἢ δ’ ἄκτιστος φύσις τρισυπόστατός ἐστι καὶ ἀμερῶς ἐφ’ ἐκάστης τῶν ὑποστάσεων ὅλη θεωρεῖται, ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν αὐτὴν τῶν τριῶν ἐμφύτων ὑποστάσεων καλέσης, ὅλην λέγεις τὴν τρισυπόστατον φύσιν.

### 36

Ἄρ’ οὖν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν εὐσεβῶς ὅτι μόνος ἐστὶ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤκουσται ποτέ τις καὶ τοῦτο εἰρηκώς, ὡς μόνος ὁ Υἱὸς αἰτίος τε καὶ πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Πνεύματος; Ἡ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα μόνον αἰτιόν τε καὶ πηγὴ θεότητος, ὃ καὶ κατὰ Λατίνους οὐδαμῶς αἰτιόν ἐστι θεότητος; Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν εἰκότων ἦν, εἴπερ οὕτως ὁ Πατὴρ αἰτίος μόνος θεότητος ἐλέγετο, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὄντος συναιτίου.

Δῆλον τοίνυν, μᾶλλον δὲ κατάδηλον, ὅτι τὸ «μόνος» ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποστατικῶν λεγόμενον οὐ τὰ κτιστὰ τῶν ἀκτίστων, ἀλλὰ μίαν τινὰ τῶν ἀκτίστων ὑποστάσεων πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας διαστέλλει. Τίς δ’ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς ὑποστατικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος τὸ αἰτιόν ἐστιν; Οὐκοῦν, εἰ μόνος ὁ Πατὴρ αἰτίος καὶ μόνος ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ θεότητος, οὐδεμία ἄρα τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων ἑτέρα αἰτία καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ θεότητός ἐστιν. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ εἰ τοῦ αἰτίου ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος θεωρουμένου κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους, οὐδὲν κωλύει λέγειν μόνον τὸν Πατέρα αἰτιον θεότητος· καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ θεωρουμένου ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις, οὐδὲν κωλύσει λέγειν μόνον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αἰτιατὸν ὑπάρχειν ἢ μόνον τὸν Υἱόν, ὃ μηδεὶς ποτε οὐδὲν τῶν αἵρετικῶν ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν.

Καίτοι, εἰ προσδιορίζειν δοίημεν τὰ τεθεολογημένα τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀπροσδιορίστως, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἂν εὐχερῶς κατασκευασθεῖη παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ· ἄλλ’ εὐθὺς οὗτος, εἰ μὴ μεταμεληθεῖη, καθυποβληθήσεται τῷ ἀναθέματι· «εἰ γάρ τις», φησὶν, «εὐαγγελίζεται παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω». Τί δὲ σὺ φῆς ὁ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσδιορίζων τὰ ἀπροσδιορίστως τεθεολογημένα τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τῷ θεολογοῦντι μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεσθαι τῷ προσδιορισμῷ δολίως ἀντιλέγων; Ἄρ’ ἔχεις δεῖξαι, ὡς οὐ σχεδὸν πάνθ’ ὅμοιος τυγχάνεις ὢν τῷ ὑπευθύνῳ τούτῳ; «Ἐχω σοι», φησί, «δεῖξαι πολλοὺς τῶν θεολόγων

έναντιουμένους τῇ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ θεολογία ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν νοεῖν διδόντας εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ».

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Βαβαί· καὶ ὅλως, ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς θεολόγοις, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ ὧν ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν ἅπασα ἐξήρτηται, ἐναντιότης; Ἔστι δ' ὅλως καὶ θεολογίας εἶναι τὰς ἐναντιουμένας ἢ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὰς θεολόγους ἀμφοτέρους; Ἦκιστα. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτον ἢ ἐκείνους διαγράψομεν τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κατὰ σέ. Τί δέ, τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ρημάτων οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ οὕτω διευκρινούντων τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καθὰ προαπεδείξαμεν, οὐ τῇ δι' αὐτῶν πεφανερωμένη τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐννοία παντὶ τρόπῳ συμβιβάζομεν τὸ δοκοῦν διαφωνεῖν; Ἄν δέ τι καὶ μὴ δυνηθῶμεν τῶν πατερικῶν ρημάτων πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀποκαταστήσαι τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ μὲν ἀφῶμεν, ὥς μὴ συνεῖναι δυνηθέντες, τῆς δὲ ἀνωμολογημένης εὐσεβείας οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀντεχόμενοι διατελέσωμεν; Παντί που δῆλον, ὥς πᾶσι τρόποις ταῖς ἀνακεκηρυγμέναις ὑπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ρημάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας προσέξομεν ἐννοίαις.

Φέρε δ' ὅμως ὀρθοδόξους ἀναδεῖξαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρήσωμεν τὰς ὑπὸ Λατίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν δοκούντων σφίσι προτεινομένας πατερικὰς φωνάς. Κἂν μὲν διαρκῶς διαλῦσαι σχῶμεν τὴν πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀντίθεσιν, τῷ Θεῷ χάρις τῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἡμῖν κειμένοις τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τῆς ἀπαθοῦς ζωῆς ἀπωκισμένοις γνῶσιν συνήγορον τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀληθείας παρασχόντι. Εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποδοῦναι κατὰ πάντα σχοίημεν τὸν λόγον, εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ τέλειος καὶ σοφὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ πνευματικά, τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡμᾶς ἀποδεξάμενος, αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν κρείττω λόγον διδασκέτω, ποθοῦντας καὶ μαθητιῶντας ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἐνδέον ἡμῶν ἀναπληρῶν ἐντρεπέτω τελεώτερον τοὺς τάναντία τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ συνάγειν ἐκ τούτων πειρωμένους.

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Εἰπὲ δὴ, τίνες καὶ τί τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένα· τῶν γὰρ ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοφόρους καὶ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν θεοφόρων, μιᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς Πνεύματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐπιπνοίας οὔσης· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους σχεδὸν ἅπαντας οὗτος ὁ

Δαμασκηνός ἐστι καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀπάντων ἐδιδάχθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους συμφωνίαν, οὐ “λέγω” λέγων, ἀλλὰ “λέγομεν”, καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ κἀκείνους παρίστησιν ἡμῖν οὐδαμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγοντας καθ' ὑπαρξιν. Ὑμεῖς δ' εὐοίκατέ μοι τοῦ τῆς αὐτῶν μεγαλονοίας ὕφους μὴ ἐφικνούμενοι τοιαῦτ' εἶσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον αἴτιον λέγεται παρὰ πάντων ὁ Πατήρ, ἀλλ' ἤκουσας ὡς λέγεται· καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκλάμπειν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἤκουσας ὡς εἶπε· καὶ εἰκόνα Πατρὸς μὲν Υἱόν, Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγομεν, ἀλλ' ἤκουσας ὡς λέγομεν· καὶ πλεῖσθ' ἕτερα, δοκοῦντα πρὸς ὑμῶν, ἡμῖν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντα καθαρῶς ἀναπεφύνασι. Δώσει δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν.

Ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ λέγων ὡς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ἔνι; Αὐτός, φασί, Γρηγόριος ὁ τὸ θεολογεῖν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων· «πάντα γάρ», φησὶν, «ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας». Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν χωρὶς μόνης τῆς ἀγεννησίας ἔχει ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν; Ὅντως οὐκ εἰσι τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντος· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου τοιαῦτα κατεψεύδοντο, ὅς «καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος», φησί, «ταπεινότερα παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν ἀνακτεόν, ἵνα τὸ ἐξ οὗ δειχθῇ». Τίς οὖν ἡ πρώτη αἰτία; Οὐχὶ μόνος ὁ Πατήρ; «Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα ἔχει τὸν Υἱὸν τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς φησὶν ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας, τοῦ αἴτιον εἶναι δηλονότι καὶ αὐτὸν θεότητος». Ἐν γὰρ οὗτος αἴτιον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ καὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀεὶ κηρύττει, τὸν ἀγέννητον Πατέρα, καὶ θεϊκὸν οἶδε τὸ μοναδικόν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, «ἡμῖν εἷς Θεός, ὅτι πρὸς ἓν αἴτιον τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει», οὐ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγων ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Διὰ μέσου δὲ Θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ Θεὸν ὑφιστάμενον δοξάζει, ἀπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας, ἀλλὰ τὰ κτιστά· καθ' ὃ καὶ πρῶτον αἴτιον τίθεται τὸν Πατέρα λέγων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Εἰρηνικῶν ὡς, «ὅσῳ τιμιώτερον Θεὸς κτισμάτων, τοσούτῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον τῇ πρώτῃ αἰτίᾳ θεότητος εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἢ κτισμάτων καὶ διὰ θεότητος μέσης ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα».

Σὺ δέ, ὦ τῆς βλασφημίας, ὁ λατινικῶς φρονῶν διὰ μέσου τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ταῦτό δ' εἰπεῖν διὰ μέσης τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεότητος, ἐλθεῖν φῆς τὸν Πατέρα ἐπὶ τὸ προενεγκεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτου σοι τὰ τῆς

καινοφωνίας ἴσταται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεις κοινὸν εἶναι Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ τουτονὶ τὸν θεολόγον λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καταπλεύσαντας ἔχειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἄνευ τῆς ἀγεννησίας μόνης. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεκτέον σοι τὸ «μόνης», καὶ μὴ συνεκφωνῇται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σοι καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσγράψω φανερώς.

Ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θεολόγος προσεπάγει γράφων, «πάντα δὲ ὅσα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλην τῆς υἰότητος»; Εἴπερ οὖν καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν, ἔσται τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος· οὐ γὰρ υἰότητος τὸ ἐκπορεύειν· ἦν γὰρ ἂν Υἱὸς καὶ Πατήρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ἔχει. Ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οἰκείῳ λόγῳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ φησι· «τί οὐ δύναται τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὧν Θεός; Τί δὲ οὐ προσηγόρευται ὧν Θεός, πλην ἀγεννησίας καὶ γεννήσεως»; Οὐκοῦν καὶ προβολέα ὀνομάσομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα. Καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν δὲ κατὰ σὲ ὁμοίως ἔχει τῷ Υἱῷ κἀντεῦθεν καὶ διπλασίως ἢ ἐκεῖνος· ἔξει γὰρ οὐ τὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σοι δόξαν. Ὅρᾳς ὅσοις ἀτόποις περιπίπτει ὁ πάντα ἔχειν τὸν Υἱὸν τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀκούων καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ τῆς φύσεως νοῶν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἅ καὶ τῶν ὑποστατικῶν τοῖς φυσικοῖς συνείρων;

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Προάγειν μὲν οὖν τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον περαιτέρω οὐκ ἐπάναγκες, σοῦ γε ἐξεληλεγμένου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καλοῦ γε ἔνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ προστρίψαιτό τις μέμψιν τῷ ἀμωμήτῳ, δείξομεν ἐξῆς ὡς ἔχειν μὲν καλῶς ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου ρῆσις, ἀγνοία δὲ τῶν λατινικῶς φρονούντων ἐκλαμβάνεται κακῶς. Συντελέσει δ' οἶμαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ προκείμενον ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἐλάχιστα. Προσεκτέον δ' ὅτι μάλιστα τὸν νοῦν.

Ταῦτόν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀναίτιον· διὸ καὶ πάσας ἀνελίξης τὰς θεολογούσας βίβλους, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀγέννητον εὐρήσεις εἰρημένον καὶ ταῦτ' ὄν οὐ γεννητόν. Δαμασκηνὸς δὲ ὁ θεοφόρος εἰπὼν ἐν ὁγδόῳ τῶν Δογματικῶν ὅτι, «πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰσι, πλην τῆς ἀγεννησίας», ἔδειξεν ὡς οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀγέννητον τῷ ἀναιτίῳ ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀναίτιον τῷ αἰτίῳ ταυτόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ· συντρέχει γὰρ τῷ ἀναιτίῳ τὸ αἷτιον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, αἷτιον δὲ φημι θεότητος Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος. Θέλων οὖν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει πλην τοῦ ἀναίτιον εἶναι καὶ τοῦ αἷτιον εἶναι, κατὰ τὸ

γεννᾶν δηλαδή καὶ ἐκπορεύειν, χωρὶς μόνης τῆς ἀγεννησίας εἶπεν, ὡς αὐτῆς πάντα συμπεριβαλλούσης, ὅσα τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστὶν ἴδια.

Θεὸς οὖν ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀναίτιος· Θεὸς δὲ ἀναίτιος θεότητος αἴτιος. Οὕτω δὲ ὢν αἴτιος ἐμφύτου πλούτου, ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ μηδὲν ἀποδέοντος, αὐτεπίβουλος ἂν ἦν, ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου ὑπάρχων αἴτιος καὶ οὕτω πενίαν ἑαυτῷ τὸν πλοῦτον ποιούμενος. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἀτελὲς τὸ πάντη καὶ πάντως ἔν· διὸ καὶ χωρητὸν τοῖς πρὸς θεογνωσίαν ἀτελέσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένετο. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοουσίου δυάδος ὑπάρχων αἴτιος καὶ τὸ μὲν γεννῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευτῶς προβαλλόμενος, ἀπειροκάλως, ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξενεχθεῖη, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀπειρίαν περιορίζων. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ τρόπος ἕτερος ἐμφύτου ὑπάρξεως· διὸ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα οὐ θεότης, ἀλλὰ θεότητος ἑκπτώσις· ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀθέων Ἑλλήνων ἡ πολυθεΐα ἐστίν.

#### 41

Ἀλλὰ μὴν μονάδος πρὸς δυάδα κεκινημένης καὶ περαιτέρω μὴ προηγμένης, δηλαδή παντουργοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς γέννησίν τε καὶ πρόοδον Υἱοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα τελεσιουργοῦντος, οὐθ' ὁ Υἱὸς διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος (ἀτελὲς γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, εἰ διὰ τοῦ τελεσιουργοῦντος ἐγεννᾶτο Πνεύματος) οὔτε τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' Υἱοῦ· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀτελέσι εἶναι ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ πάντα τελειοῦν, καὶ τῶν δεδημιουργημένων ἦν ἂν ἔν· τὰ γὰρ δι' ἐκείνου γέγονε, δι' Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔγνωσται. Καὶ ἐν φωτὶ τῷ Πνεύματι φῶς ὁρῶμεν τὸν Υἱὸν προφητικῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ πατρικῶς εἰπεῖν· ὡς ἂν εἰδῶμεν μὴ μόνον ἐκ μιᾶς ὑπάρχοντα ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἔχοντα πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἐνυπάρχοντα ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἄλληλα δεικνύντα καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων προφαινόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀλλήλων ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἢ ἀλλήλων ὄντα· ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ οὗ.

Καὶ τοίνυν ὁ θεολογῶν πάντα ἔχειν πλήν τὸν Υἱὸν τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πλήν ἀγεννησίας πάντα ἔχειν πλήν αἰτίας εἴρηκεν, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων σαφῶς οὕτω προσδιώρισεν. Εἰ δὲ πάντα ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πλήν τοῦ εἶναι αἴτιος, δηλαδή θεότητος, αἴτιος δὲ ὁ Πατήρ οὐ γεννῶν μόνον τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύων, πάντα ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πλήν τοῦ τὸν Υἱὸν γεννᾶν τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύειν· ἃ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄντα τὸ ἀγέννητον αὐτῷ προσμαρτυρεῖ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς θεολόγος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος, «διὰ τὸν Πατέρα»,



φησί, «τουτέστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα, ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἃ ἔχει, τουτέστι διὰ τὸν Πατέρα ἔχειν αὐτά, πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως».

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Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀγεννησία τὸ πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως αἴτιον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ δηλοῖ, ἡ γέννησις τὸ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς αἴτιον θεότητος εἶναι τὸ γεννητὸν ἀναγκαιότατα δηλώσει, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τὸ ἐκπορευτῶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς αἴτιος ὑπάρχει ὁ Υἱὸς θεότητος, πῶς ἂν εἴη ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα; Ἡ πῶς πρῶτον αἴτιον ὁ Πατήρ, εἴτα ὁ Υἱὸς τούτῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκπορευομένου Πνεύματος, καθὼς φρονεῖν δεῖν οἴονται Λατῖνοι, παραφρονοῦντες, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς παρανοοῦντες ῥήσεις; Οὐ γὰρ ὁ φερωνύμως θεολόγος οὗτος οὕτως, «ἀλλὰ πάντα», φησίν, «ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πλὴν ἀγεννησίας», ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν, ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας, τούτῳ δὲ ταῦτόν εἰπεῖν, ἄνευ τοῦ γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκπορεύειν; Κατὰ ταῦτα γὰρ αἴτιον τὸ αἴτιον.

Καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς, τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλὴν τῆς υἰότητος, εἰ δὲ βούλει τῆς γεννήσεως· οὐ γὰρ φοβησόμεθα μὴ ἀναίτιον, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸ αἴτιον εἶναι φωραθείη, γέννησιν μὴ ἔχον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναίτιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ γεννητόν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἀναίτιον γέννησιν μὴ ἔχον, αὐτό τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ παντάπασιν ἀναίτιον, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ θεότητος αἴτιον. Οὕτως ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐν Πνεύματι θεολογοῦσι, συνωδὰ φθεγγόμεθα· καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἀπάδοντα φθεγγομένους ἀπελέγχομεν, καθ' ἑαυτῶν δεικνύντες τὰς γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας προτιθέντας.

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Κάκεῖνο γάρ, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεολόγου προάγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν δόξης τῶν Λατίνων οἴονται φῶλον, ὅτι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα ὁ Κύριος ἔδειξε πρὸς τοὺς μύστας εἰπὼν, «αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ πέμψω τὸ Πνεῦμα» τὸ ἅγιον, καθ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἴσασιν προάγουσιν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πέμπειν τὸ Πνεῦμα μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέγα καὶ Θεοῦ μόνου (ὁ Πατήρ γὰρ εἰπὼν πρότερον πέμψειν τὸν παράκλητον, εἴτ' αὐτὸς “ἐγώ”, φησί, “πέμψω”, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα δεικνύς, ὡς ἂν αὐτό τε τὸ πρᾶγμα φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀφιέν κηρύττοι καὶ ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος ἐξηγήσαιο). Εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Κύριος μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἥδει ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τὴν

ὑπαρξιν ἔχον, πῶς οὐ προσθεὶς εἶπεν, «ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐκπορεύεται»; Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ταπεινότερον τηνικαῦτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φθεγγόμενος, δι' ὅπερ ἂν τοῦτο μόνον καὶ παρῆκεν ἐπικρυψάμενος. Δῆλον οὖν καὶ τυφλῷ, φασίν, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Μέγα μὲν οὖν ἀξίωμα τὸ πέμπειν ἔχειν τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα, καὶ τοσοῦτο μέγα, ὡς ὁμοφυᾶ καὶ ἴσον καὶ ὁμότιμον δεικνύναι τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ ὁμότιμον τῷ Πατρὶ συνίστησι τὸ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱόν ἀποστέλλεσθαι. Θεϊκόν γε μὴν καὶ φυσικόν ἐστι τουτὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑποστατικόν· εἰ γὰρ ὑποστατικόν ἦν τὸ ἀποστέλλειν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν κοινὸν Πατρός, Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος. Θεὸς οὖν ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἄλλος παράκλητος· ὁ δὴ τοῦτον ἀποστέλλων πῶς οὐχὶ Θεὸς ἀληθινός; Εἰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐρχόμενον ὡς αὐτοκέλευστον ἀποστέλλει τὸν παράκλητον ὁ Υἱός, πῶς οὐ μιᾶς ἂν εἴῃ σὺν αὐτῷ θελήσεως καὶ ἐξουσίας; Εἰ δὲ μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἐξουσίας καὶ θελήσεως, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ μιᾶς ἂν εἶεν φύσεως;

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Ὅρᾳς ὡς ἡ ἀποστολὴ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν τοῦ ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς τὸν ἀποστελλόμενον ὁμοβουλίαν καὶ ὁμοουσιότητα παρίστησιν, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀξίωμα, προσὸν μέντοι τοῖς τρισὶ καλῶς τε καὶ θεοπρεπῶς, ὡς καὶ τὴν αὐτεξουσιότητα δεικνύον τῶν ἀποστελλομένων οὕτως; Ὁ δὲ λέγων μὴ θεϊκὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ προβλητικόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ τὸν Υἱόν μόνον αἷτιον δείκνυσι τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλεύθερος τὴν ἐκατέρου τούτων αὐτοβουλίαν ἄλλοτε ἄλλην ἀθετεῖ κακῶς, μὴ θελήσεως ἀλλὰ φύσεως δογματίζων εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστολήν, τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἄναρχον. Ἄ γὰρ μὴ τῷ θέλειν ἀλλὰ τῷ πεφυκέναι ἐκ Θεοῦ, προάναρχά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρκτά.

Καὶ μὴν ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττω νομίσαντας τὸν Υἱόν, ὅτι ἀπεστάλη παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τεκμήριον εἶναί φησι τὴν ἀποστολήν τῆς πατρικῆς εὐδοκίας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιωνίου ὑπάρξεως. Φρενοβλαβῶς οὐκοῦν οἱ Λατῖνοι τεκμήριον ἡγοῦνται τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀποστολήν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ προαιωνίου ὑπάρξεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγήγερθαι γέγραπται, φησί, καὶ ἀνειλῆφθαι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἐαυτὸν ἀνεστακέναι καὶ ἀνεληλυθέναι πάλιν· ἐκεῖνα τῆς εὐδοκίας, ταῦτα τῆς ἐξουσίας. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀπεστάλη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖνο τῆς εὐδοκίας χρὴ λέγειν, τοῦτο τῆς ἐξουσίας· ἀλλὰ μὴ καινοτομεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἀλόγως τὸν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπον τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος.

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Πρὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπωνύμῳ τούτῳ οὐδ' ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος εὔρηται που λέγων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα· εἰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς περὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος εἰρήκει κεφαλαίοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐρμηνεύς γενόμενος, ἐπὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως τοῦτο φάναι διεσάφησε γράφων· «τὸ μὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι τρανῶς ἀνεκήρυξεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, λέγων ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν, καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι σαφὲς πεποίηκεν, Υἱοῦ Πνεῦμα ὀνομάσας αὐτό, καθάπερ Θεοῦ, καὶ νοῦν Χριστοῦ προσειπὼν, καθάπερ καὶ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα ὡς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Ὅρᾳς ὅτι ἐκ Θεοῦ μὲν, δηλονότι τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ μεταδιδόσθαι καὶ φανεροῦσθαι; Καὶ ὡς Υἱοῦ Πνεῦμα ὀνομάζεται καὶ νοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; Καὶ τούτου γὰρ τὸ οἰκεῖον πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ νοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατ' ἐνέργειαν. Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ποιῶν ἀριδηλότερον ὁ μέγας οὗτος, «τὸ Πνεῦμα», φησί, «τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἡρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται, τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὑπάρξεως σημεῖον ἔχον, τὸ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι. Ὁ δὲ Υἱός, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα δι' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ γνωρίζων, μόνος μονογενῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς ἐκλάμψας, οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον».

Ἀκούεις τὸ γνωριστικὸν σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως, ὅτι τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι; Λέγων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις, «ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται», οὐχὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος μὲν ἔδειξεν ἰδιάζον ὑπάρχον γνώρισμα τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, τὸ

δὲ ἐκπορεύειν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑποστατικὸν τούτων ἐκάτερόν ἐστιν, ἰδιάζοντα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑποστατικά; Μηδεμίαν οὖν κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον πρὸς τὰ ἰδιάζοντα τῶν γνωρισμάτων τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχων ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκπορεύειν ἔξει.

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Διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Πρὸς τοὺς Εὐνομιανοὺς περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος φησιν· «Υἱὸς Θεοῦ, καρπὸς ἅγιος ἐξ ἁγίου, αἰδῖος ἐξ αἰδίου, Πνεύματος ἁγίου χορηγὸς εἰς ὑπόστασιν καὶ μόρφωσιν κτίσεως». Ὅρᾳς ὅτι χορηγὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑποστάτης ὁ Υἱός; Καὶ ὡς ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ χορηγία δι' αἰτίαν, ἵν' ὑποστήσῃ καὶ μορφώσῃ τὴν κτίσιν τῷ Πνεύματι; Πρόσεχε δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς· «ὁ γὰρ τὸν Υἱόν», φησὶν, «ἀναιρῶν, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίας ἀνεῖλεν· ἄρχει γὰρ τῆς ἀπάντων ὑποστάσεως ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν». Ὅρᾳς; Τῆς ἀπάντων ὑποστάσεως ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως ἄρχει· καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Πνεύματος. Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τὸν Υἱὸν ὑπερυψοῦν βουλόμενος ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, εἴπερ εἶχε λέγειν ἀρχὴν τοῦτον τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι σχόντος, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ χορηγὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀρχὴν δὲ μόνης τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι λαβούσης κτίσεως;

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Ἄλλ' ὁ Χρυσόστομος, φασί, θεολόγος, «ἦλθε», φησὶν «ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα»· καὶ πάλιν, «διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ναὸν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, γίνῃ καὶ σὺ ναὸς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ· δέχηται γὰρ ἐκπεμπόμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα· ὥσπερ οὖν Χριστὸν ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπέγνως Θεόν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ ἐδέξω Θεόν».

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως αὐτόθεν δῆλον· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποστολῆς καὶ τῆς δόσεως καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν. Δεῖ δ' ὅμως κανταῦθα πρῶτον συνιδεῖν, τί ποτ' ἄρα Πνεῦμά φησιν ὁ Χρυσόστομος Πατὴρ λαμβανόμενόν τε καὶ διδασκόμενον, αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἢ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν; Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ κάμνωμεν ἀνερευνῶντες, αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρυσοῦν θεολόγον ἐρμηνέα προβαλόμεθα καὶ τοῦ νῦν

ζητουμένου παρ' ἡμῶν· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγῳ, «ἢ δωρεά», φησί, «πέμπεται, τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀποστέλλεται». Ἰωάννου δὲ τοῦ προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ λέγοντος ἀκηκοὼς περὶ Χριστοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔλαβε τὸ Πνεῦμα, «οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου», φησί, «δίδωσι τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Πατήρ», ἀλλὰ «πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ», ἐξηγούμενος αὐτός φησι· «Πνεῦμα ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐνέργειαν λέγει· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ μεριζομένη. Πάντες γὰρ ἡμεῖς μέτρῳ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐλάβομεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁλόκληρον ἔλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ ἀμέτρητος, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐσία». Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψαλμικὸν εἰς ἐξήγησιν προθείς, «ἐξεχύθη χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου», «ὁρᾷς», φησὶν, «ὅτι περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ λόγος»; Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· τὴν χάριν γὰρ φησιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν σάρκα· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖνον· “οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Πατήρ”. Ἡμεῖς δέ, μικρόν τι καὶ ρανίδα ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης ἔχομεν· “ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος γάρ, φησὶν”, “αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν”, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερβλύζοντος, ἐκ τοῦ περιτεύοντος. Καὶ πάλιν, οὐκ εἶπε “δίδωμι τὸ Πνεῦμα”, ἀλλ' ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα”. Καὶ ἡ ἐν τοσοῦτοις τοῦ κόσμου κλίμασι διδομένη χάρις μέρος τι τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρραβών· “δοὺς γάρ”, φησί, “τὸν ἄρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν”. Τὸ μέρος λέγει τῆς ἐνεργείας, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ παράκλητος μερίζεται».

Τὴν γοῦν ἐνέργειαν ταύτην καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔλαβε καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις παρ' ἑαυτοῦ παρέχει ὁ Χριστός. Σὺ δ' ἐνταῦθα νῦν ἀκούων τοῦ χρυσορρήμονος λέγοντος, «ὁ Χριστὸς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν», ἀναμνήσθητι καὶ τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων, οὓς φθάσαντες εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ Θεοῦ ὕπαρξις πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ δίδοταί τινι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναίτιός ἐστιν, αὐτὸν αἰτίαν ἔχων τὸν ἐξ οὗ ὑπάρχει ἀναιτίως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων δι' αἰτίαν. Ὡσπερ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ Θεοῦ ὕπαρξις ἀναιτίος, οὕτω τὸ δι' αἰτίαν γεγονὸς κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε τῷ ἀναιτίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀναιτίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσι. Διὸ πολλάκις εἰρημένον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεανθρώπου Λόγου καὶ καθεξῆς παρὰ τῶν θεοφόρων πέμπεσθαι τε καὶ δίδεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐδαμοῦ χωρὶς αἰτίας εἴρηται, οὐδ' ἄνευ προσώπου τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, δι' ὃν καὶ πέμπεται· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ συνεζευγμένον ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀποδέδωκε πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μόνος καὶ Θεὸς

καὶ θεολόγος, ὃς καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἀπολύτως ἔθηκε χωρὶς ἡστινοσοῦν αἰτίας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ δι' αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντες ἅπαντες, παρ' ὧν ἡμεῖς διδασκόμεθα μὴ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, μηδὲ δίδοσθαι ταύτην, μηδὲ λαμβάνεσθαι παρ' οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τὴν θεϊαν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ μὴ πάντες, μηδ' ἀεὶ μέμνηνται τῶν προσώπων ἢ τῶν αἰτιῶν, οὐχ ὥς μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὥς πολλάκις εἰρημένων καὶ ὥς ἐντεῦθεν ὁμολογουμένων ὄντων. Καὶ τοῦτο μὴ προσχόντες μηδ' ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες, πολλὰ τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ θείου Κυρίλλου παρενόησαν καὶ περιέτρεψαν κακῶς.

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Ἀλλὰ τί ἂν τις εἴποι, πάλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λέγουσιν, τοῦ Νύσσης θεηγόρου ἀκούων Γρηγορίου λέγοντος, «προθεωρεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως»; Τί δ' ἂν τις φαίη, ἕτερον ἡμεῖς ἐροῦμεν ἀνθυπενεγκόντες ἢ τὸ ἀληθές καὶ τοῖς μικρὸν ἐφιστᾶσι γνωριμώτατον, ὅτι προθεωρεῖται ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασις ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως, ὃς ἐστὶ τὸ γεννητῶς ὑπάρχειν ἐκ Πατρὸς; Πατέρα γάρ τις ἀκούων, γεννήματος εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐννοεῖ Πατέρα· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ὄντα καὶ λόγον ἀκούσῃ τὸ γέννημα, τότε καὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔρχεται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός ἐστι καθ' ὑπαρξιν οὐδαμῶς. Διό φησιν ὁ Νύσσης θεῖος οὗτος πρόεδρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον ἀντιρρητικῶν· «ὥς συνάπτεται τῷ Πατρὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἔχων οὐχ ὑστερίζει κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν, οὕτω πάλιν καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἔχεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπινοία μόνον κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον προθεωρουμένου τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως».

Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τῷ ἁγίῳ δεικνύμενον; Οὐδὲν ἄλλο πάντως ἢ ὅτι ἅμα ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν προσίσταται τι κωλῶν ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ ἐξ αἰδίου εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, οὔτε τὸ ἐπινοία μόνῃ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας αἰτίας λόγον, τουτέστιν ὥς Υἱὸν προθεωρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, προσίσταται τι κωλῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔχεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο φανερώς προσκείμενον, ὥς οὐδ' ἀπλῶς ἐπινοία,

ἀλλ' ἐπινοία μόνον ἔφη προθεωρεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος· καὶ ὅτι τὸν μὲν Υἱὸν εἶπεν ἐκ Πατρὸς, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔχεσθαι φησι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τουτέστιν ἅμα σὺν τῷ Υἱῷ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν.

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Ἄλλ' ὁ αὐτός, φασί, Νύσσης θεηγόρος, ἀλλαχοῦ σαφῶς μέσον τίθησι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσεχῶς ὄντος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα παραδίδωσιν· οὕτω γάρ, φησίν, ἔσται καὶ μονογενής. Τί γοῦν, ἂν ἡμεῖς δεῖξωμεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα μόνῳ τῷ Πατρὶ προσμαρτυροῦντα καὶ μόνον αἴτιον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τὸν Πατέρα λέγοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου τὸν Υἱόν τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ προσεχῶς ἅμφω ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦντα πολύθεον δεικνύντα; Διδάσκων γάρ, πῶς ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις εἷς ἐστι Θεός «τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου», φησί, «πρόσωπα πάντα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὥς πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα εἶναι πρὸς τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος οὐχ οὕτως· ἐν γὰρ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται. Διὸ καὶ κυρίως τὸν ἕνα αἴτιον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν ἕνα Θεὸν φάμεν τεταρτηκότως». Τὴν δὲ ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα μόνῳ προσεῖναι δεῖξαι τῷ Πατρὶ διὰ τοσαύτης ἐποιήσατο σπουδῆς, ὥς καὶ μάρτυρα παραγαγεῖν τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσι θεῖον ῥδικὸν Δαβίδ, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον λέγοντα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑποστάσεως. Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεογνωσίας λόγῳ προφιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, ὥς «Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ τῆς πατρικῆς ἐκπορευόμενον ὑποστάσεως· τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ πνεῦμα στόματος ὁ Δαβὶδ εἶρηκεν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ προσοῦσαν πιστώσῃται». Τί τούτων τῶν ρημάτων σαφέστερον ἢ βεβαιότερον ἢ ἀλειπτότερον ἢ δεικτικώτερον, ὥς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα;

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐξ ἑνὸς προσώπου κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς ἐκάτερον, οὐδ' ἂν εἶχομεν θαρρεῖν μίαν λέγειν σέβειν θεότητος ἀρχὴν καὶ ἕνα Θεὸν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τὰ τρία εἶναι πρόσωπα. Εἰ καθάπερ τὸ αἰτιατόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ αἴτιον ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις ἦν ὥς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁράται, οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ἡ ἐκπορευτικὴ ιδιότης μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, εἰ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τὸ ἐκπορεύειν

εἶχε· νῦν δὲ μόνῳ τῷ Πατρὶ προσοῦσαν αὐτός τε ὁ Νυσσαέων Γρηγόριος πιστοῦται καὶ τὸν θεοπάτορα Δαβὶδ προάγει προσπιστούμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν λαλήσαν.

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Ὅρῳς τάναντία σαφῶς τοῦ Πνεύματος φρονῶν καὶ ἀπεναντίας ἐκείνου δογματίζων καὶ μαχόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ θεολογῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα, πονηρὸς διαιτητῆς θεογόνου θεότητος γενόμενος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς ιδίων ἀποστερητῆς, κινῶν καὶ μεταφέρων τὰς ἀκινήτους ιδιότητες καὶ τὸ σαυτοῦ μέρος κυκλῶν καὶ συνταράσσων τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα νοῦν καὶ αὐτόχρομα εἰρήνην; Τί οὖν, οὐ φρίττεις ταῦτ' ἀκούων καὶ ἀφίστασαι πρὸς τάχος τῆς δεινῆς κακοδοξίας καὶ θρηνεῖς τὸν πρῶτον βίον ὡς μὴ εὐσεβῶς ἀνύσας;

Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν καὶ τὴν προτεινομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀρτίως τοῦ Νύσσης μαρτυρίαν καὶ πρὸς δύναμιν ἀναθεωρήσαντες αὐτὴν ἀνακαθάρωμεν τοῖς πᾶσι τὸ ἐν ταύτῃ δύσληπτον, ὃ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πλάνην ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀπειργάσατο· εἴθε δ' ἦν καὶ αὐτοὺς καθάραντας, ἐξελέσθαι τῆς ἀπάτης. Ἀλλὰ συντείνετε παρακαλῶ τὸν νοῦν οἱ νῦν τε καὶ αὐθις ἐντευζόμενοι. Πάντα μὲν γὰρ τ' ἀνδρὸς τουτουὶ τὰ ρήματα βαθείας ἔχεται φρενός, τὰ δὲ περὶ Θεοῦ ὡς μάλιστα καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον τὸ νῦν προτεθησόμενον ἡμῖν· γράφων γὰρ Πρὸς Ἀβλάβιον, διὰ τί, μίαν θεότητα ἐπὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου λέγοντες, τρεῖς θεοὺς λέγειν ἀπαγορεύομεν, τὸ παντάπασιν ἐνιαῖον παραστήσας τῆς θείας φύσεως, «εἰ δέ τις», φησί, «συκοφαντοίῃ τὸν Λόγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαφορὰν μίξιν τινα τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ ἀνακύκλησιν κατασκευάζοντα, τοῦτο περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπολογησόμεθα μέμψεως· ὅτι τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θείας φύσεως ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα, ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν, τῷ μὲν αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου. Καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίας ὄντος πάλιν ἄλλην διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου· ὥστε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἀναμφίβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν, τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεσιτείας καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης».



Τοῦτο δὴ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα λεκτέον ἂν εἴη πρὸς Λατίνους· ἐπειδὴπερ ὑμεῖς οὐ τὸ ἐξ αἰτίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἷτιον ἐν δυσὶν οἴεσθε προσώποις (ἐν γὰρ δυσὶ προσώποις τίθεσθε τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος καὶ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων διαφόρως), εἶπερ ἐφρόνει καθ' ὑμᾶς ὁ τῆς Νύσσης οὗτος φανότατος φωστήρ, διεῖλεν ἂν πρὸ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ τὸ αἷτιον. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας οὐδαμῶς δῆλός ἐστι μὴδ' εἰς νοῦν λαβὼν, ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου συνάγειν πειρᾶσθε λόγων, ἀφ' ὧν τῷ καλῶς σκοπούμενῳ καὶ τάναντία τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναφαίνεται δογμάτων. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃ φησιν, ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ ἀπείργει τὴν ἄμεσον τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σχέσιν, εἰ καὶ μόνος αὐτός ἐστιν Υἱός. Ἐπειτα μὴδὲ τοῦτο παραλειπτέον συνιδεῖν, ὡς μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι «τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἷτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα», αἰτιατὸν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰπὼν, ἐπήνεγκεν, «ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν», φανερῶς ἀπαγορεύων τὴν λατινικὴν καινοτομίαν, ὡς οὐ μόνον αἰτιατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτιός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός, καὶ πάσας τούτων ἐν βραχεῖ τὰς ἐπινενοημένας διαφορὰς ἀποσειόμενος, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Πατὴρ αἰτιόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, δεῦτερον δὲ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια· ἐν μόνῳ γὰρ, φησί, τῷ αἰτίῳ καὶ τῷ αἰτιατῷ τὴν θείαν φύσιν κατανοοῦμεν, καὶ τὸ μὲν αἷτιον οὐκ ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις θεωροῦμεν, τοῦ δὲ αἰτιατοῦ μόνου ταύτην τὴν ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν οὐχ ὅτι τὸ μὲν τούτων καὶ αἰτιόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον αἰτιατόν, ὡς Ἴταλοὶ φρονοῦσι, μᾶλλον δὲ παραφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν Υἱός ἐστι, τὸ δὲ οὐχ Υἱός. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπείργεται τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα κατὰ φύσιν ἐνώσεως. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ἀνωτέρῳ τοῦ λόγου, τί ἐστὶ τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅτι μία ὑπερούσιος οὐσία, δεικνὺς ἔπειτα πῶς ἐστὶ τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ἄρα αἰτιατῶς ὡς ἔχοντά τι καὶ αἷτιον, ἢ ἀναιτίως πάντη, φησὶν ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν αἷτιον, τὸ δὲ αἰτιατῶς ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, αἰτιατῶς δὲ φησὶν ἔχει τὸ εἶναι ὁ Υἱός τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Ἄρ' οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἔδειξεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν εἶναι μόνον αἷτιον τὸ ληφθὲν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν, δηλονότι τὸν Πατέρα μόνον; Εἶτα θέλων δεῖξαι πῶς τῶν δύο τούτων προσώπων ἑκάτερον αἰτιατῶς ἐστὶν, ἵνα μὴ τις νομίση, καθάπερ οἱ Λατῖνοι,

πάλιν ἐκείνην τὴν τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ αἰτιατοῦ διαφορὰν καὶ ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος εἰσάγειν, φησὶ σαφῶς, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτων ἄλλην διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν. Λατῖνοι δὲ ἀντιθετικῶς τούτῳ φασὶν οὐκ ἄλλην, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πάλιν, πῶς αἰτιατῶς ἔχει τὸ εἶναι ὁ Υἱὸς φάναι προθεμένου, αὐτοὶ πῶς αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ φάναι συκοφαντοῦσιν αὐτόν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν ὁπωσοῦν αἰτιον, οὐδαμῇ δέικνυται λέγων ἢ φρονῶν ὁ θεοφόρος οὗτος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἀρτίως προκειμένοις ῥήμασιν αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰτιατῶς μὲν καὶ τοῦτον ὑπάρχειν, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, αἰτιατῶς μέντοι γεννητῶς, αἰτιατῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὑπάρχειν, οὐ γεννητῶς δέ.

Ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ λεγομένων, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ Πατρός, Υἱοῦ δηλονότι καὶ Πνεύματος, τῷ Πατρὶ προσεχὲς ὁ μεγάλωνος εἶπε τὸν Υἱόν, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτοῦ, προσεχοῦς ὄντος τῷ πατρί, ἐκ Πατρὸς εἶρηκε τὸ Πνεῦμα νοούμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπορευόμενον διὰ μέσου τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πάλιν οἶον ἐκεῖνο λέγων, ὅτι τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ πρώτου ὡς αἰτίου Πατρὸς φώτων ὄντος τε καὶ λεγομένου, τουτέστιν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος (ἄμφω γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Υἱὸς μόνος δευτερεύει τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπεσί φησι) τοῦ γοῦν πρώτου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα Πατρὸς τῶν φώτων λεγομένου (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν λογίων οὐκ ἂν εὔροις ἑτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν) τῶν ἐξ αἰτίου τούτου ὄντων, τὸ γεννητῶς ἐκ φωτὸς προερχόμενον φῶς προσεχῶς τῷ Πατρὶ νοεῖται πάραυτα, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νύσσης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον διατείνεται γράφων, «ὡς οὐκ ἂν Πατὴρ κεχωρισμένος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ νοηθεῖ μὴ υἱοῦ συνημμένου διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκφωνήσεως», καὶ πάλιν, «εἰς τὸν Πατέρα τὴν πίστιν ἔχοντες, ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Πατέρα συμπαραδεξόμεθα τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τὸν Υἱόν».

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἔστι καὶ νοεῖται, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δι' ἑαυτὸ μὲν ἐκ προβολέως εἶη ἂν καὶ νοηθεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ Πατρός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ προσεχῶς νοούμενου ἐκ Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς εἶη ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκπορευόντος μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα, γεννῶντος δὲ τὸν Υἱόν. Ἐκ γοῦν τοῦ γεννῶντος τὸ μὴ γεννητὸν Πνεῦμα πῶς ἂν ρηθεῖ; Οὐ διὰ τὸν Υἱὸν μονογενῆ τε ὄντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσεχῶς εὐθὺς τῷ γεννῶντι συνοούμενον καὶ τὸ γεννητὸν ἑαυτοῦ ποιοῦντα μόνον ἴδιον καὶ συντηροῦντα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα δεικνύντα οὐ γεννητῶς ὄν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός; Διὰ

τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἅρ' ἔχει τὸ εἶναι καὶ νοεῖσθαι ἐκ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα· δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ἐκ προβολέως ἀμέσως καὶ αὐτὸ προβαλλομένου. Διό, καθάπερ ἔφημεν, οὐδ' αἴτιον, ἀλλ' αἰτιατὸν εἶπε μόνον τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἐπίσης τῷ Πνεύματι αἰτιατόν· καὶ ὁμοίως κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον ταῦτα διέστειλεν ἀπὸ Πατρὸς, καίτοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων ἐκδοχὴν οὐχ οὕτως ἔδει φάναι.

Ἀλλὰ, καθάπερ ἔφημεν, τὸ αἴτιον πρῶτον διελεῖν διὰ τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐμμέσου καὶ ἀμέσου, ὥς ἐν δυσὶν οὕτω κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὑποστάσασιν ὁρώμενον, εἶτα τῷ λόγῳ προϊὼν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εὐθὺς νοεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν προστιθείς, ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, εἰ κατὰ Λατίνους ἦν φρονῶν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αἰτιατὸς ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἴτιος ἀναφανῇ· ὁ δέ, τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς φησιν, ἀλλ' “ἵνα”, φησί, “μόνος ὢν γεννητὸς ἀναφανῇ” ταῦτο δ' εἰπεῖν αἰτιατὸς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ποῦ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθ' ὁρᾶτε τὸν Υἱόν, οὗ μόνον αἰτιατὸς ὢν ἀνακηρύσσεται;

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Καὶ τοῦτο δέ μοι λάβε κατὰ νοῦν, ὅτι μηδὲ συνεργούσαν εἴρηκε ὁ μέγας οὗτος τὴν μεσιτείαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπείργουσιν, τουτέστι μὴ κωλύουσιν ἀμέσως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ποιήσωμεν δ' ὥς ἐνι φανεράν καὶ διὰ παραδειγμάτων τὴν διάνοιαν. Ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀμέσως καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ ὁ ἀτμὸς προέρχεται· οὐ γὰρ ἕτερον διὰ θατέρου. Τὸ τοίνυν πῦρ ἐπειλημμένον ὕλης ἀτμίζειν ἅμα καὶ φωτίζειν πέφυκε, τὸ μὲν φῶς οἷα δὴ γεννῶν, τὸν ἀτμὸν δὲ ἐκπορεύων. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φωτίζοντος τὸ φῶς προσεχῶς καὶ ἔστι καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ νοεῖται ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ ἀτμὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀτμίζοντος. Εἰ δὲ τὸν ἀτμὸν φαίη τις ἐκ τοῦ φωτίζοντος, διὰ τὸ φῶς ἐρεῖ, διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς νοήσας τὸν ἀτμὸν ἐκ τοῦ φωτίζοντος, τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης καὶ τὸν ἀτμὸν μὴ ἀπειργούσης τῆς πρὸς τὸ φωτίζον σχέσεως, τουτέστι μὴ ἐμποδιζούσης ἀμέσως εἶναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

Ἀλλ', εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ ἕτερον παράδειγμα προσθῶμεν, οὐ καινὸν οὐδ' ἄηθες τοῖς θεολόγοις, σαφηνείας χάριν πλείονος. Ὁ Κάϊν υἱὸς ὑπῆρχε τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ μονογενὴς αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ τεκεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους, ἡ δὲ Εὗα τμήμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Πατρὸς τοίνυν γενομένου τοῦ Ἀδάμ, Πατρὸς ἦν ἡ Εὗα τμήμα· καὶ ἐγένετο ἂν καὶ ἐνοεῖτο τότε τμήμα Πατρὸς ἐπ' ἀληθείας πάσης διὰ τοῦ Κάϊν καὶ εἶναι καὶ νοεῖσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι πατρὸς τμήμα κτησαμένη, τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τούτου μεσιτείας καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἑαυτῷ τότε φυλαττούσης καὶ τὴν Εὗαν

πατρός εἶναι τμήμα μὴ κωλυούσης· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἐμμέσως τε καὶ οὐκ ἀμέσως ἢ Εὐὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐτμήθη. Ἀφείς τοίνυν τὴν χρονικὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ διάστασιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ συζυγίας γέννησιν καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ὅσα μὴ θεότητι κατάλληλα, σκόπει πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου λόγους τὸ παράδειγμα καὶ συνήσεις τάληθές.

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Ἄλλ' μὲν οὕτω δι' Υἱοῦ νοοῦμεν ἐκ γεννητικοῦ, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ Πατρός, τὸ μὴ γεννητὸν ὑπάρχον Πνεῦμα· διὰ τὸν Υἱὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται Πατήρ. Δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐ γεννητοῦ ὄντος ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτοῦ, ἀμέσως ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπορεύοντος αὐτὸ νοοῦμεν, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν ἐκ προβολέως. Διὰ τί γὰρ καὶ ὁ φερώνυμος θεολόγος Γρηγόριος ὁ μέγας οὐ Πατέρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προβολέα τὴν μόνην πηγαίαν θεότητα καλεῖ; Οὐ Πατέρα μὲν γεννήματος, προβολέα δὲ προβλήματος; Ὡσπερ οὖν ἔχει τὸ γέννημα πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα, οὕτως ἔξει καὶ τὸ πρόβλημα πρὸς τὸν προβολέα ἑαυτοῦ, ἀμέσως δηλαδὴ ἐκάτερον. Ἐὰν δὲ τὸ πρόβλημα Πατρός λέγῃς, διὰ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐρεῖς.

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Ἐβουλόμην δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς “διὰ” διὰ πλειόνων δεῖξαι, ἀλλὰ τίς ἔτι χρεῖα λόγων, δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡμῖν ἐρμηνευθείσης; Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐξετάζων τίς ὁ πρῶτος εἰρηκῶς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δι' Υἱοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τίς ὁ δι' ἐπιπνοίας θείας τοῦτο παραδοὺς ἡμῖν (οὐδεμίαν γὰρ λέξιν ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς θεολογία φέρει μὴ διὰ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκπεφασμένην) ἐξετάζων οὖν ἐγὼ τίς ὁ πρῶτος οὗτος εἰρηκῶς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ τοῦ θεολογικωτάτου ἐν ἀποστόλοις Ἰωάννου, Γρηγορίου τῷ θαυματουργῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μητρὸς προτρεψαμένης, ἀποκαλύψαν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαν εὖρον· καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς τοῦ Γρηγορίου θαυμασίου Βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύψεως, ὁμώνυμός τε καὶ ἀξιόλογος οὐχ ἦττον, Γρηγόριος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Νυσσαέων οὗτος, οὗ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω διευκρινήσαντες τὴν ρῆσιν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα νοοῦμενον εὐρήκαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπορευόμενον· ὅς εἵ ὅτι μάλιστα ποιῶν, αὐτοῖς ρήμασι προὔθηκεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐκείνην οὕτω πως ἐν βραχεὶ διατρανοῦσαν τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· «ἐν γάρ», φησί, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκ

Πατρός καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνός, δηλαδή τοῖς ἀνθρώποις». Ὅρᾳς πῶς χρητὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν δι' Υἱοῦ; Δηλονότι φανερωθὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δι' αὐτοῦ. Οὕτω τοίνυν νόει καὶ αὐτὸς ὅπουπερ ἂν εὗρης διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα διδόμενόν τε καὶ πεμπόμενον, εἴγε μὴ ἀντίθεος ἐθέλεις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοσεβῆς καὶ θεοδίδακτος.

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Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς “διὰ” τὴν “ἐκ” πρόθεσιν τιθέναι βούλοιο, μεμψόμεθά σε οὐδαμῶς, μόνον τάληθές καὶ φρονῶν καὶ προστιθείς, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φανερωθὲν ἡμῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγε· ἂν δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπαρξιν λέγῃς δι' Υἱοῦ, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν, ὥς ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχοντα τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξω στήσομεν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ «καὶ μεμαθήκαμεν Πνεῦμα θεῖον συμπαρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, δύναμιν ὃν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ ὑποστάσει θεωρουμένην, ἐκφαντικὴν τοῦ Λόγου, μὴ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, ᾧ παρομαρτεῖ δυναμένην», ὥς συνακολουθούσης ἀδιαστάτως τε καὶ ἀχρόνως τῇ γεννήσει τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως, πῶς τὴν “διὰ” ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως εἰς τὴν “ἐκ” μεταλαμβάνοντες οὐχ ἁμαρτήσομεν; Εὐσεβῶς οὖν εἶπουπερ εὐρεθείη διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ εἰς τὴν “ἐκ”, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν “σὺν” πρόθεσιν τὴν “διὰ” νοήσομέν τε καὶ μεταληψόμεθα, μετὰ τοῦ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπωνύμου Γρηγορίου λέγοντος, «εἰς ἡμῖν Θεός, ὁ ἄναρχος Πατήρ· ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον». Διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν Θησαυροῖς ἐν Υἱῷ παρὰ Πατρός φυσικῶς ὑπάρχειν διὰ πολλῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα συμπεραίνει καὶ παρὰ Πατρός φυσικῶς τε καὶ οὐσιωδῶς διήκειν ἐν Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα γράφει, δι' οὗ πάντα χρίων οὗτος ἀγιάζει· ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ διήκει ἀϊδίως, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῖς ἀγιαζομένοις ἐγγίνεται, ἡνίκ' ἂν δέοι.

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Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σκοπεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὥς ὅταν μηδὲν διαφέρῃ φάναι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας ἰσοδυναμῶσιν ἀλλήλαις ἢ “ἐκ” καὶ ἢ “διὰ”,

οὐ τὴν διαίρεσιν οὐδὲ τὴν διαφορὰν παριστῶσι τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπαραλλαξίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰ φυσικὰ ἰδιώματα, δεικνύσα μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ θελήσεως εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Λατῖνοι δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων ἐκ τούτων ἐπιχειροῦσι δεικνύναι τῶν προθέσεων, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν δύο ὑποστάσεων καὶ παρ' ἑκατέρας τούτων διαφόρως ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν τὸ Πνεῦμα. Φανερόν οὖν ὡς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἁγίοις αἱ προθέσεις ἔχουσιν εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ καλῶς, ἐκλαμβάνονται δ' αὗται παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων κακῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς. Ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον ἢ τοιαύτη δείκνυσι “διά”, παρίστησι σαφῶς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος γράφων ἐν ὁγδόῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον· «τὸ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δημιουργεῖν τὸν Πατέρα οὔτε ἀτελεῖ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν δημιουργίαν συνίστησιν, οὔτε ἄτονον τοῦ Υἱοῦ παραδηλοῖ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἠνωμένον τοῦ θελήματος παρίστησιν.»

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Ὁ γοῦν λέγων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα προῖέναι κατὰ τὴν χορηγίαν, τὴν ὁμοβουλίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ παρέστησε καλῶς· εὐδοκία γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ συνευδοκοῦν, τοῖς ἀξίοις χορηγεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ὁ δὲ λέγων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔχειν, θελήσεως ἔργον καὶ κτίσμα ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ' οὐ θείας φύσεως καρπὸν ὑπάρχειν δυσσεβῶς παρίστησι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἱερὸν Δαμασκηνόν, ἔργον θείας θελήσεως ἢ κτίσις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἢ θεότης, ἅπαγε· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς θελήσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἔργον, αὐθις κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν, ἢ προαιώνιος καὶ αἰδίος γέννησίς τε καὶ ἐκπόρευσις.

Πῶς δὲ καὶ φῆς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ ὁ λατινικῶς φρονῶν; Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὴν φανέρωσιν ὑπὸ χρόνον οὔσαν ἴσμεν, πάντα δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ χρόνον ὄντα διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γενόμενα· διὸ καὶ φανεροῦσθαι μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ φαμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Σὺ δὲ πῶς λέγεις τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ; Εἰ μὲν διαβατικῶς τε καὶ παροδικῶς, βαβαὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας· ὡς γὰρ διὰ σωλήνος οἶει τοῦ Υἱοῦ διέρχεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ κενὸν ἑαυτοῦ τοίνυν ἔξει μεταξὺ ὁ πληρὼν τὰ πάντα καὶ πλήρης ὢν αἰεὶ· καὶ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ τῷ Υἱῷ περιληφθήσεται τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ πέρας ἔσται τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καθ' ὃ τὸ Πνεῦμα περιλήψεται (πέρας

γὰρ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁ τόπος), καὶ φύσεως δὲ οὐκ ἔσται τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ Πνεύματι· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ τόπου φύσις καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ. Πῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παροδικῶς δι' αὐτοῦ διερχομένῳ Πνεύματι;

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Εἰ δ' ὥς δι' ὀργάνου, καὶ τοῦτο ἀσεβές· ἄλλη γὰρ ὀργάνου φύσις καὶ τοῦ δι' ἐκείνου ἄλλη· καὶ αὖθις ἑτέρα τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ τελούμενον τελούντος. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό σοι λέγειν ἔτι λείπεται, ὅτι καθάπερ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐκ Πατρὸς, οὐ διαβατικῶς ἀλλὰ δημιουργικῶς, οὐχ ὥς δι' ὀργάνου ἀλλ' ὥς συνδημιουργούντος, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ. Ὅρᾳ ποῦ κατάγεις, ὦ οὔτος, τὸ ἀνωτάτω Πνεῦμα καὶ τίσι συντάττεις τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν; Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς συνδημιουργούντος λέγω, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ὥς συνεκπορεύοντος. Οὐκοῦν συνεκπορεύον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τελειώσει ἑαυτὸ ὥσπερ κάκει συνδημιουργοῦν τελεσιουργεῖ τὰ πάντα· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ ἑαυτό, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἀπαράλλακτον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει θεωρούμενον· καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς γὰρ δι' Υἱοῦ ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι δημιουργούντος ἕτερον παντάπασι τὸ ὑφιστάμενον, καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων γεννῶντός τε καὶ ἐκπορεύοντος, εἰ καὶ ὁμοούσια τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἀλλήλων καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

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Εἰ δέ τις εὔρηται μείζω λέγων τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὥς καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν Θησαυροῖς φησι· προθεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον, «εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια», ἐπήνεγκεν, «εἰ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Πνεύματος Θεὸς ἐξελαύνων τὰ δαιμόνια δοξάζεται, πῶς οὐ μείζον ἐστὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἐν ᾧ δοξάζεται»; Κατασκευάζων ἐντεῦθεν ἄκτιστον εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ κτίσματος ἔμφασιν ἐξ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος παρεῖχε τοῦ τοιούτου μείζονος; Λέγεται δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλων αἷτια ὑπάρχειν, ἅπαγε, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ποικίλον καὶ πολυειδὲς τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων τὸ ἴσον ἐν πᾶσι δεικνύσης ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγω καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, φασί, Κύριλλος, ἔχειν φησὶ τὸν Υἱὸν φυσικῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδια καὶ ἐξαίρετα, διαβαινούσης εἰς αὐτὸν φυσικῶς τῆς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ιδιότητος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγει καὶ προχεόμενον ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ τὴν κτίσιν ἀγιάζειν, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν προχεόμενον οὐσιωδῶς. Καὶ αὖθις ἐν ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἑρμείαν ἐξενηγεγμένων λόγων περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν διατρανοῖ «ἀπολύων γάρ», φησὶν, «ἀμαρτίας τὸν αὐτῷ προσκείμενον, τῷ ἰδίῳ λοιπὸν καταχρίει Πνεύματι, ὅπερ ἐνίησι μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος καὶ ἐξ ἰδίας ἡμῖν ἀναπηγάζει φύσεως. Καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου ἔχων δίδωσι τὸ Πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν Ἰωάννου φωνήν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐνίησιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Πατήρ».

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Καιρὸς δὴ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα προβαλλόμενον· ἔτ' ἀσύνητος εἶ καὶ οὐδ' ἀκηκοὼς πάνυ πολλάκις ἀνωτέρω παρ' ἡμῶν συνήκας, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ ὕπαρξις ἀναίτιός τε καὶ ὑπέρχρονος; Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ προχεόμενόν φησι καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἀγιάζον. Χρονικὸν τοίνυν καὶ δι' αἰτίαν ἀκούων τὸ προχεῖσθαι (καὶ γὰρ μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ δι' αὐτὴν προκέχεται τὴν ἀγιαζομένην· πῶς γὰρ οὐ;), πρὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν διδόμενον παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως πηγαζόμενον ἀλλὰ τισὶν ἀκούων, οὐκ ἀναμιμνήσκη ὁ διδαχθεὶς ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς προαιώνιος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις οὐ διὰ τι οὐδὲ πρὸς τινὰς οὔτε ὑπὸ χρόνον ὅλως; Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶπε προχεόμενον, οὐδὲν καινόν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐπιδημοῦν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ ἐνεργοῦν τελεώτερον, καὶ ὡς Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος λέγει, «οὐσιωδῶς ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις παρὸν καὶ συμπολιτευόμενον». Τί δέ, οὐκ οὐσιώδης ἦν καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστολὴ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῦ Πατρὸς γενομένη καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος; Ἀλλ' ἡ ἀποστολὴ γέννησις οὐκ ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁ Υἱὸς γεγέννηται, οὐδὲ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μεθ' ἡμᾶς, εἰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς δι' ἡμᾶς οὐσιωδῶς κατήλθεν ἐνωθεὶς τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ γεγονῶς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, μὴ πρὸ ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένος ὢν. Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοίνυν τὸ ἅγιον οὐσιωδῶς ἐπέμφθη ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀρτίως, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἐκκέχεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρων· ὕδωρ γὰρ ἐκλήθη ζῶν. Καὶ «Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι· ὑμεῖς δέ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, βαπτισθήσεσθε



ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ». Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐβαπτίσθησαν, μὴ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐκχυθέντος ὕδατος;

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Ἐκκέχυται τοίνυν οὐσιωδῶς δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐφανερώθη δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν παρέχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάρεστιν ἀεὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἡμῖν, πάντως δὲ καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, κἂν ἡμεῖς τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἥκιστα μετέχωμεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς χάριτος. Ἐκπορεύεται δὲ οὐ πρὸ ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἀναιτίως ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ θεμέλιος καὶ κορυφαῖος Πέτρος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκχύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διαφορὰν ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν· «τὴν γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς λαβὼν, φησί, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐξέχεε τοῦτο ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε», ἄντικρυς ἐκείνην λέγων τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ διδασκάλου τὴν φωνήν, «ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς».

Ἐκχεῖται τοιγαροῦν ἡμῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς λαμβάνοντος. Ὡστε, οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέσως ἐκπορευόμενον ἀναιτίως καὶ προαιωνίως· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἡμῖν, φησί, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦτ' ἀναπηγάξει φύσεως, εἰκότως καὶ παναληθῶς· μία γὰρ φύσις τοῖς τρισὶ καὶ φυσικῶς ἔνεισιν ἀλλήλοις. Καὶ ὁσάκις ὁ θεόφρων οὗτος Κύριλλος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγει, τὸ ὁμοούσιον παρίστησιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα γέγραφεν· ὕδωρ μὲν γὰρ ζῶν καλεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πηγή ἐστι τούτου τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ Πατήρ, ὃς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει· «ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος καὶ ὥρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους».

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Πηγή ἐστι τούτου τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ὁ Υἱός, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος γράφων, «δείκνυσιν», φησίν, «ἑαυτὸν ὁ σωτὴρ πηγὴν ζωῆς καὶ ὕδωρ ζῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον». Ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου πηγὴν εἶναι δείκνυσιν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· «ὁ πῶν γάρ», φησίν,

«ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω, δηλαδὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, γενήσεται αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον».

Ἔστιν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμοῦ πηγὴ τοῦ ζῶντος ὕδατος, τουτέστι τῆς θείας χάριτος καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ Πνεύματος. Τὴν χάριν γὰρ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡ Γραφή, ὁ Χρυσόστομός φησι πατὴρ, ποτὲ μὲν πῦρ, ποτὲ δὲ ὕδωρ καλεῖ δεικνύσα ὅτι οὐ οὐσίας ἐστὶ ταῦτα ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας». Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ διαφορῶν οὐσιῶν συνέστηκε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀόρατόν τε καὶ μονοειδὲς ὄν. «Ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς θείας φύσεως», φασί, «καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀναπηγάξει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον». Ἔστω δὴ, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰδίον ὑπαρξιν· πηγάζει γοῦν ἐκ τῆς θείας φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπόστασιν μόνην τὴν πατρικὴν. Διὸ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐσεβῶν θεολόγων ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως· ἐκ δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ φυσικῶς εἶναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶπερ τις φαίη, ἀλλ' ὡς μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οὔσης τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

Ἰνα γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν εἶπω τὸν θεῖον Κύριλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς Πρὸς Ἑρμείαν γράφει, «οὐχ ἕτερος ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς εἶναι νοοῖτο παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα, ὅσον εἰς ταυτότητα φυσικὴν, πάντως δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον», ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ αὐτὸς ἐξηγούμενος ἐκείνο τὸ εὐαγγελικόν, «οὐ γὰρ λαλήσει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ», φησίν, «οὐδὲν ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν Υἱὸν ὑπάρχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅσον εἰς ταυτότητα φύσεως». «Πηγὴ δὲ ἐστὶ ζωῆς, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Διονύσιον, ἡ θεία φύσις εἰς ἑαυτὴν χεομένη καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐστῶσα καὶ ἀεὶ δι' ἑαυτῆς θεωμένη».

Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι, φησίν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ μὴ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ συνορῶσιν, ὡς, ὅταν τι μιᾶς μὲν οὐσίας ᾗ καὶ ὑποστάσεως, τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οὐσίας ἔχον ὅπωςδὴποτε τὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐκείνης ταύτην ἔχει, καὶ ἀντιστρόφως· ὁ γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐκείνης ᾗ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκείνης ἐστίν. Ὅταν δὲ τι μιᾶς μὲν οὐσίας ᾗ, οὐ μιᾶς δὲ ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων, τὸ ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς ἐκείνης οὐσίας οὐκ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μιᾶς τινος αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἡ ἀνωτάτω καὶ προσκυνητὴ Τριάς ἡμῖν μία φύσις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑποστάσεσι τρισίν, οὐχὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν

ἔχον ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὑποστάσεων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μιᾶς τινος αὐτῶν, δηλαδή τῆς πατρικῆς· ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ μὴ εἶναι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, οὐκοῦν οὐχὶ καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρας, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης, εἴπερ ἐκ μιᾶς.

Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μὲν ἔστι τοῦ Ἀδάμ, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, διότι μία μὲν οὐσία τῶν ἀνθρώπων νῦν, πολλὰ δὲ ὑποστάσεις. Ἀνθρωπίνης δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μιᾶς οὔσης οὐσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως, τῆς τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἢ Εὐα οὔσα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐκείνου ἦν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν τὸν Κάιν εἶναι, μιᾶς οὔσης ἀνδρικῆς οὐσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως, ἐκ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁ Κάιν ἀνδρικῆς οὐσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως ὑπῆρχε, τοῦ Ἀδάμ· δυοῖν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἤδη καθ' ὑπόστασιν τελούντων, ὁ τοῦ Κάιν Ἐνώχ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μὲν ὑπῆρχε τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης τῆς τοῦ Κάιν.

Οἱ γοῦν λατινικῶς φρονοῦντες διατεινόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, εἴπερ εἶναι θεολογεῖται ἐκ τῆς φύσεως, πλὴν τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, μίαν εἶναι δείκνυνται φρονοῦντες ὥσπερ οὐσίαν οὕτω καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, τὸν Πατέρα τελέως ἀθετοῦντες καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι μόνον καθ' ὑπόστασιν δεικνύντες καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν παριστῶντες.

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Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀκούων τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως νοεῖ, ὁμοὑπόστατον ποιεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἐπειδὴ περ ὁμοούσιος· ἢ καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν κἂν τῇ θείᾳ φύσει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν μόναις ταῖς τρισὶ θείαις ὑποστάσεσι νοεῖ, μὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου θεολόγου διδάσκοντος ἀκούων, «ὥς ἡ μὲν τῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων διακριτικὴ τάξις, τοῖς ἁγίοις καθέστηκε γνῶριμος, ἡ δὲ φύσεων διακριτικὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἀπόβλητος». «Οὐ γὰρ ἐμερίσθη ἡ οὐσία ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰς Υἱόν, πρὸς τὰς κανονικάς φησιν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, οὐδὲ ρυεῖσα ἐγέννησεν».

Τοιγαροῦν εὖ ἂν ἔχοι λέγειν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ φυσικῶς κακ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, διὰ τὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὁμοούσιον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ὁμοουσιότητος ἐντεῦθεν δεικνυμένης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς διαφοροῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἴσον δὲ ἐστίν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς

οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα, καὶ ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν οὐσίας τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἡ ὁμοουσιότης δείκνυται τοῦ Πνεύματος ὡς φανερωτέρας καὶ προκατηγγελμένης καὶ προπεπιστωμένης· «ἔχει τε ὁ Υἱὸς φυσικῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδια καὶ ἐξαίρετα, διαβαινούσης εἰς αὐτὸν φυσικῶς τῆς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ιδιότητος»· οὐ τὰ ὑποστατικὰ ἴδια τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐξαίρετα – οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄναρχον ἔχει καὶ ἀγέννητον ἢ τὸ γόνιμον – ἀλλὰ τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ἴδια τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς φύσεως αὐχήματα, ἅπερ ἔχει φυσικῶς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

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Καὶ τοῦτο διὰ πολλῆς ποιούμενος σπουδῆς ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος, τὸ μηδένα παραχθέντα δοξάζειν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὁσάκις λέγει, τὸ Πνεῦμά φησι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πηγάζειν, καθ' ἣν ὁ αὐτός ἐστι μετὰ Πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχειν αὐτὸν φυσικῶς τε καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀεὶ θεολογεῖ.

Καὶ συκοφαντηθεὶς γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ δοξάζων τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔχειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὅτι συκοφαντεῖται ἰσχυρίσατο, ἴδιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀλλότριον εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα διατεινόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνάγραφτον κεῖται πρὸς Λατίνων περιφανῇ τε καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔλεγχον· οἱ παρ' ὧν ἔδει μᾶλλον ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς κακονοίας, ἐκ τούτων ἐνάγεσθαι δικαιούσιν εἰς τὸ μὴ τὸν Πατέρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασιν αἰτίαν εἶναι κακῶς νομίζειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως. Ὁ δὲ λέγων εἶναι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑποστάσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα, διὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν θεῖον Κύριλλον διαβαίνειν φυσικῶς εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν τοῦ γεννήσαντος ιδιότητα παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίλλου ἐντρεπέσθω, γράφοντος ἐν Θησαυροῖς· «πῶς οὐκ ἔσται τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός, ὅλην ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐσιωδῶς τὴν ιδιότητα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὗ καὶ Πνεῦμα ἐστὶ, δι' Υἱοῦ τῇ κτίσει χορηγούμενον»; Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν σύνεσιν, ἣν ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεοφόρων κέκτηνται θεολογίαις, τό Πνεῦμα γεννητόν τε ἅμα καὶ γεννήτωρ ἔσται· οὗ τί ἂν ἀκουσθεῖη καινότερον;

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Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ περιουσίας ἡμῖν ἀρτίως εἴρηται πρὸς τοὺς διατεινομένους ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως εἴρηται. Ὁ γὰρ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀναπηγάζειν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως οὐ τὴν φύσιν φησὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐδὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἣτις ἀναπηγάζει, κατὰ τὸν Δαμασκηνὸν θεολόγον, ἐκ μιᾶς τρισυποστάτου φύσεως. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἄκτιστός ἐστι καὶ ἡ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐνέργεια καὶ ὅτι φυσικὴ καὶ οὐσιώδης λέγεται, παραστήσει δι' ὀλίγων καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τοῖς Κατὰ Μακεδονίου γράφων· «οὐ κατὰ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόνοιαν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσιώδη τῆς θεότητος ἐνέργειαν».

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς τινος τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τρισυποστάτου φύσεως ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνέργεια πηγάζει προσμαρτυρεῖται καὶ ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος γράφων ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τετάρτῳ τῆς Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίου ἱεραρχίας βίβλου· «πάντα μετέχει προνοίας ἐκ τῆς παναιτίου θεότητος ἐκβλύζομένης». Ὅτι δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐνταῦθα ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον ἡμῖν οὐ τὴν φύσιν φησὶν οὐδὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄκτιστον αὐτοῦ καὶ φυσικὴν χάριν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, σαφὲς δεῖγμα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι τῆς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φωνῆς, τῆς οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου δίδοσθαι λεγούσης παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τῷ Υἱῷ. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ὁ χρυσορρήμων, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τοῦ κατὰ τὸν θεολόγον Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου ἐξηγούμενος, «Πνεῦμα», φησὶν, «ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐνέργειαν λέγει· πάντες γὰρ ἡμεῖς μέτρω τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐλάβομεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὀλόκληρον· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ ἀμέτρητος, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐσία».

Οὕτω πάντα νικᾷ τῆς τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένων ἀληθείας ἡ δύναμις, εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν ποιουμένη τὰς ὑμῶν ἀπορίας καὶ δι' ἐαυτῆς ὥς διὰ μιᾶς τινος εὐθείας πλῆθος σκολιῶν, ἑτεροκλινεῖς ἀπελέγχουσα γραμμάς.

Ταύτη τοι τῶν μὲν γραφικῶς προβαλλομένων ἄλις.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον τοῖς λογίοις οἱ Λατῖνοι χρῶνται καθ' ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ καθ' ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοήμασιν οἰκείοις, φέρ' ἴδωμεν τὸ ἀναμφίλεκτον αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν, ᾧ καὶ τ' ἄλλα συνδιαρρυθνῆσεται λυθέντα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ παρωνύμως ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας λέγεσθαι στερήσεται, ἀδιανόητα δειχθέντα· κατὰ μέρος γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐπαξιέναι οὐκ ἀνάγκη. Καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως οἷς

πέρα τοῦ μετρίου μηκύνειν ἥκιστα προηρημένοις, ὅμως εἰς μῆκος ἐκτέταται ὁ λόγος, ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἀπορίαις συμπαρεκτεινόμενος.

Ἀλλὰ τί τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀκράδαντον τῆς δυσσεβείας ἔρεισμα; Πᾶν, φησί, τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἔκ τινος, διὰ τινος ἐκπορεύεται καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πάντων ἐστί, κἂν μὴ ρήματι ὁ λέγων ἐπισημαίνεται· τὸ δ' αὖ διὰ τινος, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου δι' οὗ ἐστι λέγεται· διὰ τίνος οὖν ἑτέρου, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα; Σαφές οὐκοῦν τὸ περαινόμενον, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται.

Τί οὖν ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα; Οὐ τὴν “διὰ” μὲν αὐτοῖς δώσομεν, τὴν δὲ “ἐκ” ἀπαγορεύσομεν, ὃ πολλοὶ πεπόνθασιν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὃ πεπόνθασιν. Τὸ γὰρ διὰ στόματος, καὶ ἐκ στόματος σαφῶς προφέρεται. Καὶ τῷ Ἰωβ «διὰ νεφέλης» γέγραπται λαλήσας ὁ Θεὸς καὶ αὐθις «ἐκ τοῦ νέφους». Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν κτιστῶν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκπορευομένων τὸ διὰ τινος οὐ συννοήσομεν καὶ μὴ λεγόμενον. Οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὁμοιώσομεν. Ἀποκρίναι γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ ἐμβατεύων ἂ μὴ ἐώρακας· οὐχὶ καὶ πᾶς υἱὸς ἔκ τινος γεννώμενος διὰ τινος γεννᾶται καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχει, κἂν μὴ ρήματι ὁ λέγων ἐπισημαίνεται; Ἄρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν κάτω καὶ χρονικὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑπὲρ φύσιν οὔσαν ἐκ μόνης παρθένου μητρὸς ἀθετήσομεν γέννησιν καὶ τὴν ἄνω ἐκ μόνου παρθένου Πατρὸς προαιώνιον, ζητοῦντες τὸ διὰ τίνος τε καὶ ἐκ τίνος κατὰ τὰς ἀπολουμένας σὰς ὑποθήκας καὶ τοὺς ἀσυλλογίστους συλλογισμούς; Οὐμενουν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς καπὶ γῆς φανερωθείσης καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν ἀμέσως οὔσαν ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐπιγνωσόμεθα καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀποποιησόμεθα προσθήκην, ὥς τοῖς φυσικῶς διοικουμένοις τὰ ὑπερφυῆ συντάττουσαν.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐ σύννοεῖς ὁ τῶν ἀνεξερευνήτων ἐξεταστής, ὅτι τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἅπαν οὐ διὰ τινος μόνο, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τι ἀεὶ ἐκπορεύεται; Ἡ τοίνυν δώσεις ἡμῖν εἰς τί πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς μόνης προαιωνίου καὶ σεπτῆς διὰ τοῦτο Τριάδος τετράδα σεβόμενος ἀποδειχθήσῃ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι' οὗ, τὸ εἰς ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον, ἢ τοῦτο σοῦ μὴ διδόντος οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο δεξόμεθα. Τίς γὰρ ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν, ἀμφοτέρων ἐπομένων τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ παντί, τὸ μὲν προσίεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ;

Καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευέσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ γέγραπται παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων καὶ πεφανέρωται ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ τοῦ Σωτῆρος βαπτιζομένου καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχον ὁμολογοῦμεν, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὄντων τὰ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ὄντα στοχαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρρήτως τελουμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν διδασκόμενοι. Ποῦ δὴ σοι τὸ δι' Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὑπάρξεως, εἰ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν σαφῶς ἔρχεται καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπαύεσθαι θεολογεῖται; Καθάπερ ὁ ἱερὸς Δαμασκηνὸς ἐπὶ λέξεώς φησι καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεικνὺς ταμίαν εἶναι τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος ὡς Θεοῦ Υἱὸν καταγγέλλει τὸν Χριστόν. Καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος ἐν Θησαυροῖς ἐν Υἱῷ παρὰ Πατρὸς φυσικῶς ὑπάρχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα συμπεραίνει καὶ παρὰ Πατρὸς φυσικῶς τε καὶ οὐσιωδῶς διήκειν ἐν Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγει, δι' οὗ πάντα χρίων ἀγιάζει ὁ Υἱός. Ἐκ γοῦν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ ὑπάρχον φυσικῶς καὶ αἰδίως, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους, ὅπως καὶ ἡνίκα δέοι, πρόεισι καὶ φανεροῦται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

72

Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπεικέστερον τὸν προκείμενον μεταχειρίζων λόγον, μάλιστα διὰ τοὺς μετ' εὐγνωμοσύνης ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλοντας καθολικωτέραν ἔκφανσιν ἐν βραχεῖ ποιήσομαι τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς ἐν ἐπιλόγῳ τὸ πᾶν διαλαμβάνουσιν. Ὁ δ' ἔχων ὧτα πρὸς διάκρισιν ὀρθοῦ καὶ μὴ τοιούτου μυεῖσθω κατὰ τὸ ἐγγωροῦν τὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου βάθος· πύλας δ' ἐπίθεσθε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὡσίν, ὅσοι μὴ κριτικωτάτην κέκτησθε διάνοιαν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς εὖ λέγειν δυναμένοις, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ Θεοῦ δυναμουμένοις, πειθηνίους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχετε, ὡς ἂν μὴ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφροσύνην τῶν εὖ εἰδόντων ὀνομάσητε. Τί δέ ἐστιν ὃ λέγω; Καὶ συντεínaτε παρακαλῶ τὸν νοῦν.

73

Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πρὸ αἰώνων καὶ ἀπ' αἰῶνας καὶ ἔτι ἰδιαίτατον μὲν ἔχει τῆς ἰδιοτρόπου ὑπάρξεως τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τῆς μόνης πηγαίας θεότητος, ἐκπορευέσθαι, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθέου ἐκείνης οὐσίας καθ' ὑπόστασιν μόνην τὴν πατρικὴν, ὑπέρθεος ὢν καὶ αὐτοουσία καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τοῦ προσενεγκότος κατ' οὐδὲν ἀποδέον, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδαμῶς διαφέρον ἢ

διαιρούμενον, ἑτεροῦπόστατον δ' ὅμως καὶ ἀνθυπόστατον. Οὕτω δὲ ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ διΐσταται ποτε, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ οὐχ ἦττον ἥνεται οὐσιωδῶς τε καὶ ἀδιαστάτως, αὐτῷ τε ἐπαναπαυόμενον καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ φυσικῶς διατελοῦν ἀεὶ ἡ αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταμίας. Οὐδὲν οὖν καινόν, εἰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ προῖεναι λέγεται, καθ' ὑπόστασιν μέντοι τὴν πατρικὴν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φυσικῶς καὶ δίδοται καὶ πέμπεται καὶ προχεῖται καὶ προέρχεται, δι' αὐτοῦ διδόμενόν τε καὶ φανερούμενον, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον πρὸς οὓς ἄξιον. Καὶ ἐκπόρευσιν γὰρ εἶπουπερ ἂν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀκροάσῃ, τὴν φανέρωσιν νόει· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι παρὰ Θεοῦ ὑπάρξεώς ἐστι σημαντικὸν ἀνθυποστάτου· «οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ γάρ», φησί, «μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ρήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ». Ὅρᾳς ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐκπορευόμενα πολλά, πλήθους γὰρ συνεκτικὸν τὸ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἓν, ὃ καὶ ἰδιοτρόπως παρὰ πάντα ἐκπορεύεται παρὰ Θεοῦ; Καὶ πάλιν· «ἐθαύμαζον», φησί, «οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ». Ἀρ' οὖν ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις ἀνθυπόστατος, ὥσπερ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον παρὰ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός; Ἄπαγε· καίτοι ταύτην τὴν χάριν ὁ Κύριος Πνεῦμα προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν, «τὰ ρήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ, Πνεῦμα εἰσι καὶ ζωὴ εἰσιν». Ἀλλ' ὁρᾳς ὅπως ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἡ χάρις καὶ οὐκ αὐτὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ δωρεαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

74

Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς Χριστὸν κοιλίας ποταμοὶ ρέουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν («ὁ πίων γάρ», φησὶν ὁ Κύριος «ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, γενήσεται πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον», ταῦτόν δ' εἶπεῖν ἐκπορευομένη, κατὰ τὸ «πηγὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκπορευομένη ἐξ Ἑδὲμ») εἰ οὖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιωμένων τῷ Υἱῷ ποταμηδὸν ἄλλεται, ταῦτόν δ' εἶπεῖν πηγάζεται καὶ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα κατὰ χάριν ἐνυπάρχον αὐτοῖς, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν προαιωνίως τε καὶ αἰδίως ἔχοντος ἑαυτῷ ἐπαναπαυόμενον αὐτὸ καὶ συνημμένον φυσικῶς.

Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δογματίσομεν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιωμένων κατὰ χάριν τῷ Υἱῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα· ἰδιαίτατα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον τὴν προαιωνίον τε



καὶ ὁμοούσιον. Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ προηγείται τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τοῦ εἶναι Πατρὸς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι· (τὸ γὰρ εἶναί τι προθεωρεῖται τοῦ τίνος εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ χρόνον) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι ἐκ Πατρὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Εὐνομιανούς φησι κεφαλαίοις· «τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα οἰκειότητα νοῶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται». Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἶπου εὐρεθείη καὶ οἷς τις ρήμασιν, ὡς αὐτῷ φυσικῶς ἐναναπαυόμενον προαιωνίως τε καὶ αἰδίως, ἅτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ ἄχρονον ἐκείνην γέννησιν τέλειον ἐν ἑαυτῷ σχόντι ἐκ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὃν αὐτῷ οὐσίας, καθ' ὑπόστασιν μέντοι τὴν πατρικὴν. Οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προθεωρεῖται τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ Πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ χρόνον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὅτι τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἔχει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν.

75

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ νοούμενον Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς, ἅτε μὴ γεννητὸν ὑπάρχον ἄλλ' ἐκπορευτὸν, καὶ ὡς ἐκπορευτὸν ἀμέσως ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπορευόντος αὐτὸ νοούμενον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὡς συμπαρομαρτοῦν ἀχρόνως αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἄλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχον, ὡς καὶ αὐτόθεν τοῖς συνετοῖς ἐστι κατάδηλον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων λόγον ἀκούσας προαιωνίως ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννώμενον οὐκ εἰς ἔννοιαν εὐθὺς ἔρχεται τοῦ τῷ λόγῳ συμφυῶς καὶ συνανάρχως συμπαρομαρτοῦντος Πνεύματος, καθ' ἣν ἔννοιαν οὐδ' εἰς “ἐκ” τὴν “διὰ” χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὡς δι' Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τοῖς ἁγίοις χορηγούμενον, οὐ μὴν προαιωνίως ἐκεῖθεν πεμπόμενον ἢ διδόμενον ἢ πηγάζον, εἰ δὲ βούλει ἐκπορευόμενον, ἄλλ' ἡνίκα ληφθῆναι καὶ φανερωθῆναι εὐδόκησε καὶ ὡς εὐδόκησε διδόμενόν τε καὶ φανερούμενον· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις φανεροῦται ποτε τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος. Εἰ δὲ Λατῖνοί φασιν ἐντεῦθεν στοχάζεσθαι τὴν προαιώνιον πρόοδον, ἀκολούθως οὐδ' ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔσται. Καὶ τὸ τεκμήριον ὃ φασιν αὐτοὶ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖται πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν.

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Ἄλλ' ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὕτω προῖον θεολογεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· μίᾳ γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ θέλησις καὶ δόσις καὶ φανέρωσις. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν υἱοποιήτων τῷ Θεῷ καὶ διδόμενόν ἐστι καὶ ἀλλόμενον καὶ πηγάζον καὶ ἐνεργοῦν καὶ φαινόμενον, ὡς ἐνυπαρχούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνοικούσης τῆς ἐμφύτου χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν καὶ οὐ φυσικῶς καὶ ὕστερον ἐπιδημησάσης, τουτέστι δι' αὐτῶν ἐνεργησάσης, ἀλλ' οὐ προαιωνίως ἐπαναπαυομένης.

Ὅρᾳς ὅση ἡ διαφορὰ, ὡς ἀπειρίας ἐπέκεινα; Λατῖνοι δὲ ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ τῆς πίστεως, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντες γεννηθῆναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεσθαι, οὐ σαφῶς περὶ τῶν προαιωνίων καὶ ὑποστατικῶν φασὶ προόδων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος; Σαφῶς τοιγαροῦν μιγνύουσι τὰ ἄμικτα· τοῖς ὑπὲρ χρόνον τὰ ὑπὸ χρόνον, τοῖς ὑπὲρ αἰτίαν τὰ δι' αἰτίαν. Δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πέμπεται· εἰ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐ διὰ τι, οὐδὲ μετὰ τι· ἄπαγε τῆς βλασφημίας, εἰ μὴ σὺ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναπλάσεις ὁ πάντολμος, μᾶλλον δὲ ψευδώνυμος θεολόγος, καὶ τὸν λόγον οἷον ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ Πατρὸς τιθεῖς, πορρωτέρω δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ οἱ θεόσοφοι Πατέρες ἡμῖν μὲν παραδιδόντες τὴν τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐθεολόγησαν γεννηθέντα τὸν Υἱόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· δηλονότι ἀμέσως ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐξ αὐτῆς δηλαδὴ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφοίτησιν ὕστερον ἡμῖν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτριοῦντας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐνιστάμενοι, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶπέ τις αὐτό, ἢ ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἢ ὅτι τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκλάμπει καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ ὑπάρχον καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἄνευ χρονικῆς προσθήκης ἢ αἰτίας εἴρηκε τις δι' Υἱοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστελλόμενον, προσημαίνων δὲ αἰ ἐνέργειαν, καθ' ἣν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἦν. Εἰ δ' ἄρα που καὶ μὴ προσημήναντες εἰρήκεσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς πολλάκις τοῦτο πράξαντες. Ἐπειτα οὐδὲ συνίης τοῦτο, ὃ ὑπερλίαν σὺ καὶ καυχώμενος εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα, ὅτι πολλ' ἄττα τῶν λεγομένων παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ, τῇ μὲν συνόδῳ τῶν ρημάτων ἐστὶν ἓν, τῇ δὲ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ πράγματι οὐχ ἓν; Ὁ καὶ τοῖς

αίρετικοῖς τὴν πλάνην ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀπειργάσατο, μὴ δυναμένοις διακρίνειν τὸ τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν ρημάτων ἓν, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν οὐχ ἓν, ὡς καὶ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ θεολόγῳ συνδοκεῖ;

Σαφὲς γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς σοφοῖς τὰ θεῖα καὶ τῷ θεῷ Πνεύματι μεμνημένοις, ὡς ὅταν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱοῦ, τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγεται, ἢ ἐκ Πατὸς δι' αὐτοῦ, εἰ καὶ συνάγεται ρήματι, ἀλλὰ διέστηκεν πρᾶγματι. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτριοῦντας τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ δεόντως ἄν συνημμένως οὕτως εἴποιμεν ἓν κρίσει τοὺς λόγους οἰκονομοῦντες, οἰκειωθεῖσι δὲ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ γινῶναι ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἡκριβωμένως ἐκκαλύψομεν ἑκάτερον, ὡς ἐκ Πατὸς μὲν ἔχει πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων τὴν ὑπαρκτικὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα πρόοδον, τῷ Υἱῷ δὲ αἰωνίως ἐνυπάρχον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοῦμφανές προῆλθε δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς κατ' ἐκφαντικὴν καὶ οὐχ ὑπαρκτικὴν προέλευσιν.

78

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ Πνεύματί ἐστι. Πάνυ γε, διὸ καὶ ἐκφαντικόν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Θεὸς κατὰ τὸν θεολόγον Γρηγόριον, καὶ ἐμμορφοῦται ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ἐνοικεῖ καὶ ὁρᾶται δι' αὐτοῦ. Ἐν γὰρ Θησαυροῖς ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος, «Χριστοῦ», φησί, «τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου διὰ Πνεύματος ἡμῖν ἐνοικιζομένου». Γεννᾶσθαι δὲ οὐ λέγεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ γεννώμενον Υἱὸς αἰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται καὶ ὁ γεννῶν αἰ Πατήρ· τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, καθὰ προέφημεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ μόνου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐστὶ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν προαιώνιον καὶ ὑπαρκτικὴν πρόοδον δηλοῦν, ἐτερότροπον οὔσαν τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατὸς γεννήσεως, μόνου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐστὶ· τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ κρυφίου φανεροῦσθαι καὶ παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ δημοσιεύειν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν διὰ τῶν ἐπιτελουμένων θαυμασίων οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ· «ὁ Θεός» γάρ, φησὶν ὁ προφητικώτατος ἐν βασιλεῦσιν «ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τε ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ἐν τῷ διαβαίνειν σε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ γῇ ἐσείσθαι».

Καὶ τοῦ Πατὸς τοίνυν πάλαι ποτὲ φανερουμένου καὶ διὰ Μωσέως θαυματοποιοῦντος, ὁ πρῶτος κατὰ τὸν θεολογικώτατον Γρηγόριον γέγονε σεισμός, μετατιθεμένων τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων προσκυνήσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμυδρὰν μὲν, ἀληθῆ δὲ θεογνωσίαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ

ἀγίου Πνεύματος ὁ δεύτερος γέγονε σεισμός, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων μεταρρυθμιζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου πρὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, παντὸς δὲ ἔθνους καλουμένου πρὸς τὴν εὐαγγελιζομένην κοινωνίαν τῆς θεώσεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μόνου διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ διαβαίνοντος ἐν τῇ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρήμῳ, τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ τῷ ἄδῃ, καὶ φανερουμένου ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, διὰ τῆς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν θεοσημίας καὶ αἰσθητῶς ἡ γῆ ἐσειέσθη. Ὅρᾳς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης σημασίας τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον οὐ μόνον ὄν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν Πατρός, Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος; Ἀλλ' ὕστερογενῆς καὶ ὑπὸ χρόνον αὕτη ἡ ἐκπόρευσις· «ἐν τῷ λαῷ» γάρ φησιν. Εἰ δ' ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν λαόν.

79

Καλῶς ἄρ' ἔφημεν, ὡς τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἀεὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς προαιώνιον ὑπαρξιν δηλοῖ ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τὴν ὕστερον φανέρωσιν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς κοινωνήσῃ τῷ Πατρί, ὃ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Κύριλλος δείκνυσι σαφῶς λέγων, «Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸν Υἱὸν ἐξ ἰδίας ἡμῖν ἀναπηγάξει φύσεως». Προστιθεὶς γὰρ τὸ “ἡμῖν”, συνιέναι δίδωσι τὸ χρονικὸν τῆς ἀναδόσεως. Καὶ ὅτι ἐνέργεια καὶ δωρεὰ ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ πηγαζόμενον ἡμῖν, Ἰωὴλ προκαταγγέλλων, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τούτου ὁ Θεός, οὐκ «ἐκχεῶ τὸ Πνεῦμα μου», φησὶν, ἀλλ' «ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου». Ὡς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος φησὶ πατήρ, «τὸ μέρος λέγει τῆς ἐνεργείας· οὐ γὰρ ὁ παράκλητος μερίζεται». Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος πολλαχοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ πανταχοῦ, δωρεὰν καλεῖ τὴν ἐκχυθεῖσαν τηνικαῦτα πρὸς αὐτούς. Καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς πάλιν θεολόγος· «οὐχ ὁ Θεός», φησὶν, «ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις ἐκχεῖται».

80

Οὐκ ἄρα διὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι δοξάζομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα· ἀτιμάσαιμεν γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ δοξάζαιμεν, τοῖς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι σχοῦσι συντάττοντες αὐτό. Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου δοξάζομεν ἐκπορευόμενον ἰδιοτρόπως καὶ προαιωνίως, ὡς καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται· καὶ οὕτω δοξάζοντες, συνδοξάζομεν αὐτὸ καὶ συμπροσκυνοῦμεν τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Πατρί.

Καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦντες οἱ θεόσοφοι πατέρες, ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβόλου τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ συνδοξάζεσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ συνήγαγον εἰς ἓν, συνημμένως ἐκφωνήσαντες καὶ παραδόντες, ὡς τῶν μὴ δοξαζόντων ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν γεγεννημένον, οὐδὲ συμπροσκυνεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκείνοις δυναμένων, ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει θεωρούμενον.

81

Εἰ γὰρ κοινὸν αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσις, ἐνέργεια ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα εἴη μόνη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑποστάσει· μόνον γὰρ ἐνέργεια, ἢ γε αὐτοῖς κοινή. Κοινὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς κοινὸν ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἰ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν αἰώνων ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐκκέχυται, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτεξουσίως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκχεῖται. Καὶ πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν γὰρ εἴρηται προφητικῶς εἰπεῖν, «Υἱός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε». Ἀλλ' ἴσμεν ὑπὸ χρόνον ταύτην ὑπάρχουσιν τὴν γέννησιν. Τί δέ, οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ταύτην συνειργάσατο τὴν γέννησιν, ᾧ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνειλημμένον τοῦ Υἱοῦ φύραμα ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχρίσθη καὶ χρισθὲν ἐφανερώθη, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος γέγονεν ὁμόθεον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱός, «ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας ἐσαρκώθη τῆς παρθένου», κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον;

Ἄρ' οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐρεῖς γεγεννηῖσθαι πρὸ αἰώνων τὸν Υἱὸν διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ χρόνον ταύτην γέννησιν; Σὺ γέ ἴσως ὁ λογικαῖς ἐφόδοις τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ γνῶσιν ποριζόμενος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον ὡς αὐτὸς φῆς γεγονότων τὰ προαιωνίως ὄντα στοχαζόμενος· ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυρά γε ἀξιολογώτατον ἡμῖν ἂν ἐπαγάγοις τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντα, «Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ»· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ σόν, ταῦτόν εἶεσθαι ἀποστολὴν τε καὶ τρόπον ὑπάρξως. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου προσχρήσει καὶ παρεξηγήσει Παύλου, καὶ τοῦθ' ἐκὼν καὶ ἐθελοκακῶν ἢ ἀγνοῶν καὶ μὴ ὁμολογῶν. «Ὡ μὲν γὰρ» φησὶν ἐκεῖνος, «διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδεται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως». Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνοικεῖ ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν μὴ ἀδοκίμων, πάντως διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ νοερῶς ὁράται καὶ ἐμμορφοῦται καὶ ἐμφανίζεται, καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Οὐκοῦν προσυλλογιζόμενος ἐρεῖς, εἰ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Εἰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ

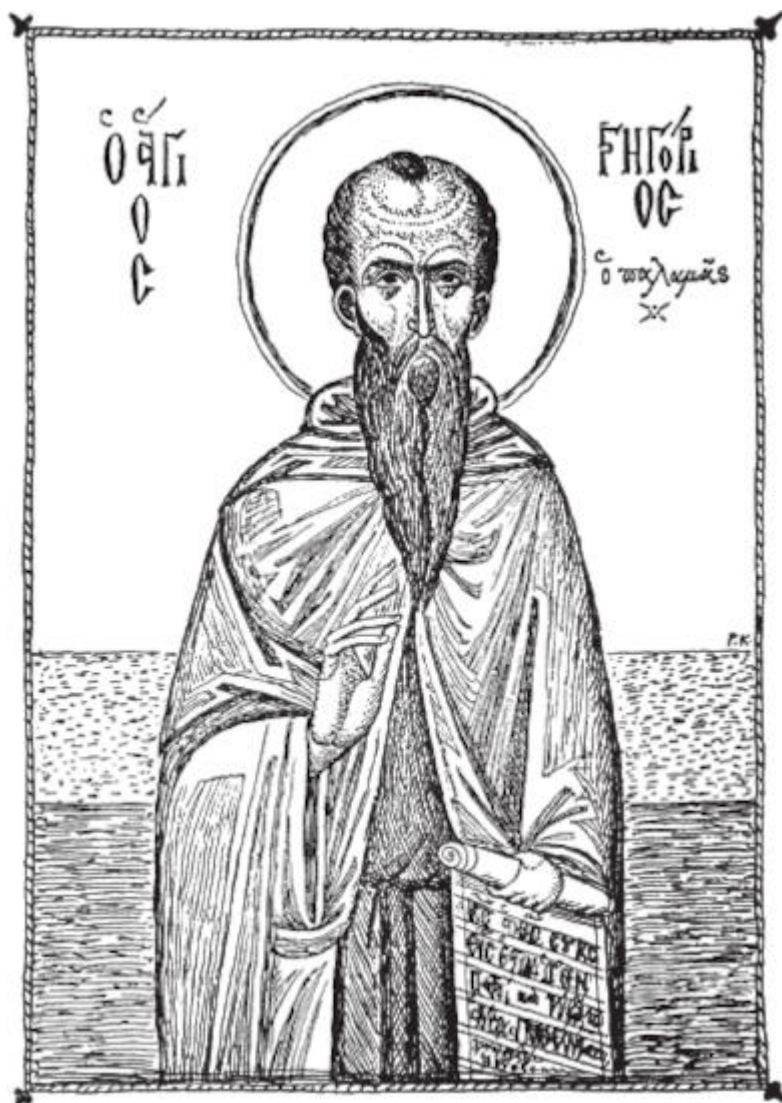
Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς σαφῶς ἀποστέλλεται καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δέχεται, καθ' ὃ πᾶς βαπτιζόμενος γεννᾶται ἐκ Πνεύματος, καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις ἐλλάμπει, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα τῶν παραπλησίων συνείρας, εἴτα κοινῶς κατὰ τὰς σὰς ἐπιστήμας συμπεραίνων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος γεγεννημένον εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν δοξάσεις τε καὶ δείξεις. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, ὧ σοφώτατε ἐπιχθονίων, οἱ τῆς κατὰ σὲ ταύτης θεολογίας ἄμοιροι παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ προσενέγκωμεν καὶ διέλωμεν τὴν τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίαν, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου λέγοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀμέσως εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἰδιοτρόπως μέντοι ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν.

82

Καὶ δὴ τὸ ἴδιον δηλοῦντες ἐκατέρου τρόπου, τὴν μὲν ἐκ Πατρὸς ὑπαρξιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησιν προσαγορεύομεν, ἐκπόρευσιν δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Τὰ δ' ὕστερον ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἐπὶ ταύτης καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑπεργμένα, νοήμασι μὲν ἀεὶ διαιροῦμεν τῶν προαιωνίων καὶ ἀνάρχων ὑπάρξεων ἐκείνων, ρήμασι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τοῦτο σπανιώτατα συνάπτοντες ἢ καὶ συνημμένα παρά τινων ἀκούοντες, τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι διαίρεσιν οὐκ ἀποβάλλομεν. Τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου λεγόμενον, «ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἦκω», καὶ «ἐξῆλθον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐλήθυσθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον». Κἀνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ “ἐξῆλθον” ἐν ὧν οὐ μιᾶς διακονίας ἐστὶ δηλωτικόν· τὴν τε γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς δι' ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποστολὴν δηλοῖ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως προαιώνιον πρόοδον.

Τί οὖν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ρήματος ἐνιαῖον συνάψομεν τὰ πλεῖστον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πλεῖστον διεστῶτα; Ἡ διότι τὸ “ἐξῆλθον” καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν δηλοῖ, ἢ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀποστολὴ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, κατὰ τὸ «Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ», ἵν' εἴπω πάλιν τὸ πολλάκις εἰρημένον, προελθεῖν δογματίσομεν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ; Οὐ μένουσιν. Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀποστολὴν ἢ ἐκφανσιν ἢ πρόοδον, τὴν ἐκφαντικὴν καὶ ὑπὸ χρόνον λέγω, κἂν εἰς ἐν τῇ προαιωνίῳ ἐνίστε συνάγεται κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δογματίσομεν ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μέχρις ἂν ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεὸν γινώσκωμεν αὐτὸ τῷ προενεγκόντι Πατρὶ ἐπίσης προαιώνιον.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μόνος διανοίγων ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν, καὶ δι' οὗ ὁρῶσιν οἱ ὁρῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπαξαπλῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σε ζητοῦσιν ἅπασιν, δίδου δι' ἀοράτου θεωρίας ἀνηκούστοις σοῖς ἐν νῷ διδάγμασιν, ἐπιγινώσκειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀκοῆς πιστεύσαντας πρὸς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς σῆς ἐπιγνώσεως διὰ πίστεως ἀνάγαγε, καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν βεβαιοπίστους ἀποδείξας ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ φανέρωσον σαυτὸν αὐτοῖς, ἵν' εἰδῶμεν τὴν σὴν ἐπ' ἀληθείας δόξαν ἅπαντες καὶ καταπολεύσωμεν ἐν πνευματικῇ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ θεᾷ τῆς τρισηλίου καὶ μοναρχικωτάτης φαιδρότητος, καὶ δοξάζωμέν σε πρὸς δύναμιν ἀδιαλείπτως, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀκαταλήκτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.





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