

# Restore The Nicene Creed



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*Procedure, Primacy, and Procession - the Filioque Clause*

## Dedication:

This work is dedicated to the 21 Coptic Christians beheaded on the beach in Libya in February 2015. They stood for a faith without the filioque clause and for that faith they died. I honor them. For us in the west the sacrifice of faith often is being up in time for an 8.00 am service and many of our number find even that too hard.

- ❖ Milad Makeen Zaky
- ❖ Abanub Ayad Atiya
- ❖ Maged Soliman Shehata
- ❖ Youssef Shukry Younan
- ❖ Kirollos Boshra Fawzy
- ❖ Bishoy Astafanous Kamel
- ❖ Samuel Astafanous Kamel
- ❖ Malak Ibrahim Sinyout
- ❖ Tawadros Youssef Tawadros
- ❖ Gerges Milad Sinyout
- ❖ Mina Fayez Aziz
- ❖ Hany Abdel Mesih Salib
- ❖ Samuel Alham Wilson
- ❖ Ezzat Boshra Naseef
- ❖ Luka Nagaty Anis
- ❖ Gaber Mounir Adly
- ❖ Essam Baddar Samir
- ❖ Malak Farag Abraham
- ❖ Sameh Salah Farouk
- ❖ Gerges Samir Megally
- ❖ Mathew Ayairga (from Ghana)

† Rest eternal grant to them, O Lord,  
and let light perpetual shine upon them!

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# Introduction

Most things that are written have a point of genesis. For me it was quite possibly the martyrdom of the 21 coptic christians on a beach in northern Libya on or around February 18, 2015. For some time I, and all the world, have been reading about the rise of the organisation called Islamic State. I have been concerned about Christians in the Levant and beyond - the bulk of whom are Orthodox Christians. Whilst you become aware of a band of Western Christians on the internet who share these concerns, much of the western media seems concerned not to understand religion as a cause for good or ill, but simply as a contemporary irrelevance. I asked myself the question, would we be more concerned if the Copts were western Christians?

Judging by the deafening (if short lived) outrage at the execution of Andrew Chan and Myuran Sukumaran, and I shared that outrage, it seemed to me that the answer to my question was I don't think we feel as connected to eastern Christians, and I wondered, why not?

The question that followed for me, was about what the differences are, and in the end I arrived looking again at the Filioque clause. I say again for I had looked at it some forty years ago (I had a friend who was very passionate about it) and at that point I think I fell into that general group of people who having looked at it, concluded that the Orthodox had a point, but as a Western Christian the filioque was right because the Church said it was.

Christian unity becomes more important in times of great stress. Disunity is a luxury of easy times. Pope Francis and Justin Welby (Archbishop of Canterbury) recently described it as a scandal and a burden<sup>1</sup>.

There are three overarching issues which encapsulate this issue and so these will be part of the focus this discussion paper. Procedure, Primacy, and Procession. I could clearly put them in any order, and during the course of putting this document together that order has changed several times.

**Procedure** will look at how the filioque came to be, where its origins lie and discussion about the procedural validity of that process. Most of this is simply history.

**Primacy** will discuss the way leadership is exercised in the Church, and as it has been an allied issue to the procedural question it is clearly and allied question. There is embedded in this consideration the **Politics** of the day, both secular and ecclesiastical..

**Procession** has to do with pneumatology (theology of the Spirit) and as such clearly allied to our understanding of the Holy Trinity.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.romereports.com/2014/06/16/pope-to-anglican-primate-our-division-is-nothing-less-than-a-scandal-and-burden>

As an Anglican by birth, and conviction, I will endeavour to examine scripture, tradition and reason, in each of these areas, as they all have a place. I recognise that there are some who will want to amplify some part and minimise another. I like to imagine when all three are in some agreement we will be on solid ground.

As a Christian I am broadly oecumenically minded, however that does not mean I do not value the Church and faith community that has given home to my faith, nor do I assume that we have everything right. For me at least the biggest rift in the Church is the Great Schism of 1054, and the second after that is the fracturing in the west at the time of the continental reformation.

I have sometimes asked myself if Calvin, Luther and Zwingli would have left a Vatican II Roman Catholic Church. I suspect that the answer would be no. However it is true to say that reformed churches have also moved on since that time. And of course without the Reformation there may well not have been a Vatican II as we know it!

In that context I write from one individual Anglican's point of view, not presuming to speak for others, or even for many Anglicans. In my heart of hearts I would like us all to work to mend the Church. I believe if it is divided, then it is broken. The filioque has become but one symbol of our brokenness.

This document is not about heresy, however there are a number of heresies that are relevant to any discussion of the creed. As such I decided to include a section on heresy later in the document, a kind of incomplete glossary of heresy of those who do not have easy access to a dictionary of theology at their ready disposal. The Creeds as we have them, in one sense, may be as much about heresy as they are about orthodoxy.

I have also resisted the temptation to write a solid academic paper with endless footnotes, but rather to put together a discussion paper for people who want to look at it seriously, without the weight of an academically acclaimed manuscript. I have tried to explain terms where appropriate so the average person in the pew can have some hope of understanding it. There are some footnotes as I felt that some of what I used demanded it. I have included excerpts of articles from the fathers, a list of popes in the most relevant period, an outline of the Councils and other information that I think is of some relevance and may not be in the easy reach of everyone.

I can honestly say I have waxed and waned a little as I have worked on this paper, but ultimately concluded that the overwhelming evidence I see is that the filioque clause does not belong in the Nicene Creed as we use it in the liturgy. Those churches in the west that continue to use it should be asking themselves if they want to continue to place themselves above the Oecumenical Councils. There is a separate, related and valid question about the theology of the procession of the Spirit. I intend to open that discussion, rather than believe I

am in any position to determine your view. I recognise that Article 5<sup>2</sup> of the 39 Articles of Religion does express a view on the matter.

Be aware that the word Orthodox is used in the sense of 'right glory' or 'right belief' and also in the sense of The Orthodox Churches, and the word Catholic can be used as a descriptor for the whole church, and more specifically to describe the Western Church that looks to the Pope as it's primate and patriarch .

Please note that I normally spell Oecumenical with the 'O' as it comes from the greek word for 'the whole inhabited earth'. This is quite possibly just a quirk of mine. I like to think I do that because I am reminding myself that it is not just about different denominations being nice to each other but about the whole body of believers working together in the mission and purpose of God.

I also have to note that part of this has been a journey of discovery into things I was not expecting. The access to all sorts of documents on the internet has opened the door to a great deal of information that otherwise may not have been available as easily in former generations. To find conciliar documents from ancient councils that have been digitised and published from the Vatican Library has been a great privilege. What I discovered was that some of the 'common knowledge' was not only not common, some of it was also wrong.

It has also been a good opportunity to remind myself of the great debt of gratitude the whole Church owes to the Cappadocian Fathers for the work they did in hammering out a theology of the Trinity that is timeless, helpful, and a thing of great beauty.

After doing some initial research I started organising notes, and the heading at that stage was 'un-change the creed'. After a while the title wore thin on me and I renamed the notes 'Restore the Nicene Creed'. That was a bit of a slow fuse game changer as it opened me up to consider not simply the idea of recovering something of the original creed that the Church as a whole had agreed in 381, but also to the idea of restoring something of its original purpose as the symbol of our unity in Christ with a common faith.

I suspect many of us undervalue the Nicene Creed, looking for new forms of faith expression, new words, and simpler constructs. In general - and this is a personal opinion - I have found most of them reasonably insubstantial, and indeed poor cousins to the Nicene Symbol. I believe that we should learn the Nicene Creed, and learn some of what it means, and learn to love that we say it with all Christians across the world and across the centuries.

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<sup>2</sup> The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

# What is the Filioque Clause?

*Filioque* is a latin word which we usually render in English as 'and the Son'

Much of this discussion relates to the use of the filioque clause in the Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople which is the way the Creed is used in many (most) western (Catholic or Protestant) churches and not used in the eastern (Orthodox) churches.

Many will wonder why three words (or one word in latin) deserve so much consideration. The reality is, this was a (and not the only) significant factor that caused the division of the Church at the Great Schism in 1054, a gaping hole that is yet to be repaired. The filioque clause, together with roman primacy are listed by the World Council of Churches as the major impediments to re-unification of the East and the West in Roman-Orthodox dialogue.

Every time discussions are had between any part of the Eastern and Western Church the Filioque must be discussed. The reason for this is that even if the West does not care about it, it matters in the East. If we care about our relationship with the Eastern Christians then we will at least be ready to discuss the filioque seriously.

There is also a move in a number of circles to discuss other issues in our relationships between East and West, to build trust and find some things that we agree on. That of course is very positive, and will add much value, however I suspect the rift will not be repaired until we have addressed this issue. The other issue of course is primacy, and I suspect that is not an issue that relates especially to Anglican - Orthodox issues, but rather Rome - Orthodox relations.

It has been customary for many in the west to think of the Reformation as the biggest split in the Church, however this is not the case. At the time the Great Schism pretty much split the Church in two fairly equal halves. By comparison the Reformation splits may have taken around a fifth of the Western Church, and they continued to remain in a fairly Western position on many of the theological issues, especially that of a theology of the Procession of the Spirit.

The filioque clause is a separate issue, yet clearly related, to a theology of single or double procession of the Holy Spirit, which is clearly embroiled in the matter of the Theology of the Holy Trinity. On the other hand the filioque connects itself by way of history to the matter of primacy in the Church and on the other hand to the Theology of Procession and Pneumatology (theology of the Spirit).

It is quite reasonable (perhaps even eminently sensible!) for a western christian to accept a (I use 'a' because there are variants and some of them would be inconsistent with the Nicene Symbol) theology of double procession and still be opposed to its inclusion in the Nicene Creed.

Along the way of this research I also noted that the words 'et filio' were used at times, which translate into English as 'and the Son' exactly as 'filioque' is translated. In the line following in the Nicene Creed {C} we read 'Who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified'. At this point the latin is consistently 'et filio'. This may have had some bearing on the story of how the filioque arrived in the Nicene Symbol.

# Creed and Symbol

As a great deal of the topic of the paper has to do with creeds, and most especially the Nicene Creed, so it seems a good idea to talk about the idea of a creed and what it is.

In a strange kind of a way, the way they were developed was in a sense to rule out the things we don't believe, as much as they were to assert the faith we hold in common.

In a sense becoming a Christian, or at least becoming a member of the Church involved assent to a rule of faith. This assent to the Creed became the outward sign of the inner transformation that allegiance to Christ inferred. The greek word *symbolium* was used to describe the statement of faith.

No creed is expected to declare the whole of the faith and everything we accept,<sup>3</sup> but is a sign of our unity in a faith position to declare the faith of the whole community gathered or as in the case of the Nicene Symbol, the whole Church.

The creeds have a sense of authority, over and above other confessions of faith, and as such were often been expressed as part of other councils, and which abound in one way or another through various Christian denominations. Many of them indeed reference the Nicene Creed {C} such as the Thirty Nine Articles as an example.

The great Nicene Creed of the 1st Council of Constantinople and affirmed many times since is the only Creed that has ever had the imprimatur of the whole Church as expressed in the Oecumenical Councils. As such it, above any other, should be an abiding symbol, a sign for all the world, whatever our differences, we are united in this common faith.

There is a good argument for the term Symbol, liturgically, where the tradition (perhaps somewhat forgotten in the west) was to see the Creed connected to the Greeting of Peace leading into the Anaphora (Lift up your hearts ...). In that sense we express who we are as a people of faith and exchange the peace as another expression of who we are. The current trend of the nomadic exchange of the Peace in some sense may disconnect the Peace from everything that has gone before and comes after, and yet somehow ties the Ministry of the Word and the Ministry of the Sacrament together. Sometimes the creed then looks like the filler (ad-break for faith) if the sermon didn't go too long. I suspect congregations where it is dropped on a semi permanent basis are being a little short changed. If we can't say who we are in Church, we are even less likely to say who we are out of Church.

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<sup>3</sup> One of arguments of Leo III presented in Filioque - Kai Ek Toy Yioy - George B Howard,

# The Western Position

The Pneumatomachi proposed that the Spirit proceeded from the Son alone. This was clearly wrong, but did open the discussion of a double procession. Around between 775 and 825 the French Church was clearly asserting the filioque, from the Synod of Gentilly, Aix la Chapelle, and the divines sent to consult with Pope Leo III. In 849, John, a greek monk of the Monastery of St Sabas charged the Monks of Mt Olivet with heresy for including the filioque in the creed.

In 858 Photus assumed the Patriarchy of Constantinople following the ousting of Ignatios over a dispute he had with the Byzantine Emperor. This succession was challenged by the Pope and the relationship across the adriatic soured. Photius opposed a theology of double procession and the insertion of the filioque into the Nicene Creed {C}. This divide continued and Patriarch Michael Caerularius, who renewed and completed the Greek schism about the middle of the 11th century

The rejection of the Filioque, and the double Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son, and the denial of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff constitute the principal matters holding the Orthodox Church and the Latin Church apart.

The west argues that the weight of scriptural evidence argues that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Now the "mission" or "sending" of one Divine Person by another does not mean merely that the Person said to be sent assumes a particular character, at the suggestion of himself in the character of sender, as the Sabellians maintained; nor does it imply any inferiority in the person sent, as the Arians taught; but it denotes, according to the teaching of the weightier theologians and Fathers, the Procession of the Person sent from the Person Who sends. Sacred Scripture never presents the Father as being sent by the Son, nor the Son as being sent by the Holy Spirit.

- The Greek and Latin Fathers order the Divine Persons the same; they admit that the Son and the Holy Spirit are logically and ontologically connected in the same way as the Son and Father
- The Greek Fathers establish the same relation between the Son and the Holy Spirit as between the Father and the Son; as the Father is the fountain of the Son, so is the Son the fountain of the Holy Spirit.
- Passages are not wanting in the writings of the Greek Fathers in which the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is clearly maintained: the second canon of synod of forty bishops held in 410 at Seleucia in Mesopotamia; the Arabic versions of the Canons of St. Hippolytus; the Nestorian explanation of the Symbol.

# The Eastern Position

Filioque is a Latin word meaning "and the Son" added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by the Church of Rome in the 11th century, and one of the major factors leading to the Great Schism between East and West.

Its inclusion in the Creed is a violation of the canons of the Council of Ephesus 431, which forbade and anathematized any additions to the Creed, reiterated at the Eighth Council 880.

Photius, in his *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*. He said it distorts the Trinity, striking at the very heart of what the Church believes about God. The heterodox reading sees the Son, along with the Father, as an eternal cause of the Spirit.

A regional council in Persia in 410 introduced one of the earliest forms of the filioque in the Creed; the council specified that the Spirit proceeds from the Father "and from the Son." Coming from the rich theology of early East Syrian Christianity, this expression in this context is authentically Eastern. Filioque is not simply a western innovation.

Augustine of Hippo taught the Spirit came from the Father and the Son, though subordinate to neither. His theology was dominant in the West, including his theology of the Trinity. Other Latin fathers also spoke of the Spirit proceeding from both the Father and the Son. While familiar in the west, this way of speaking was virtually unknown in the East.

The filioque was first used without the consultation or agreement of the five patriarchs of the Church at that time and in direct violation of canons of the Third Ecumenical Council. The purpose of its addition was to counter a heresy local to that region, probably a form of Arianism brought there by the Goths. The practice spread then to France where it was repudiated at the Gentilly Council in 767.

Charlemagne called for a council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 809. Pope Leo III forbade the use of the filioque clause and arranged for Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed be engraved on silver tablets at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome so his decision would not be overturned in the future.

The filioque came into wide use in the West in the ninth and tenth century often thought to be always part of the Creed, while Rome, renowned for its stability in Orthodoxy, resisted.

In 1014, the German Henry II visited Rome for his coronation and found that the Creed was not used during Mass. At his request, the Pope added the Creed, as it was known in the west with the filioque, after the Gospel. At this time, the papacy was very weak and owed much to the Germans. For survival the Pope needed military support of the Emperor. This was the first time the phrase was used in the Mass at Rome.

In addition to the difference in wording and doctrine, a related issue was the right of the Pope to make a change in the Creed on his own, without an Oecumenical Council.



# Current Position of the Controversy

Currently the position stands between Orthodoxy and Rome<sup>4</sup>

1. All involved in such dialogue recognize the limitations of our ability to make definitive assertions about the inner life of God.
2. Because of the progress in mutual understanding that has come about in recent decades, Orthodox and Catholics now refrain from labeling as heretical the traditions of the other side on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit.
3. That Orthodox and Catholic theologians distinguish more clearly between the divinity and hypostatic identity of the Holy Spirit and the manner of the Spirit's origin, which still awaits full and final ecumenical resolution.
4. That those engaged in dialogue on this issue distinguish, as far as possible, the theological issues of the origin of the Holy Spirit from the ecclesiological issues of primacy and doctrinal authority in the Church, even as we pursue both questions seriously, together.
5. That the theological dialogue between our Churches also give careful consideration to the status of later councils held in both our Churches after those seven generally received as ecumenical.
6. That the Catholic Church, as a consequence of the normative and irrevocable dogmatic value of the Creed of 381, use the original Greek text alone in making translations of that Creed for catechetical and liturgical use.
7. That the Catholic Church, following a growing theological consensus, and in particular the statements made by Pope Paul VI, declare that the condemnation made at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) of those "who presume to deny that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son" is no longer applicable.

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<sup>4</sup> North American Orthodox-Catholic Theological Consultation - 2002 agreed statement

# Scriptural Considerations

There are a number of passages which I will review here in overview, which may or may not have some bearing on how you feel about the matter of the filioque and the procession of the Spirit. Clearly there are more passages, however I hope I have made a reasonable and balanced selection.

The text quoted is from The New Revised Standard Version (Anglicized Edition), copyright 1989, 1995 by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

You will notice there is a fair slice of John's Gospel material here, and as the most theologically developed of the Gospels, perhaps that is no surprise. I do like the other Gospels, yet John is probably my favorite and has most to say here on the topics being reviewed.

Biblical scholars may well find that this fails as an exercise in exegesis, and I concur. The aim was to review the passages that might help us answer the question, or at least provide some clues and help us to form an opinion about, 'From where where does the Spirit proceed?'. The object was not to look at the texts in terms of the original context and analyse each passage in depth (that would have seen another 20 books!).

## Genesis 1:1-3

In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while the wind from God brooded over the face of the waters. Then God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light.

*An alternative rendering I find helpful is something like this*

In the beginning when God was already creating the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while the Spirit from God brooded over the face of the waters. Then God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light.

I prefer the modified the rendering of the text (from the nrsv) here to bring out some of the mood of the Hebrew as I understand it.

Genesis never seeks to explain God, nor argue the existence of God. God is the epistemic primitive (which means the thing beyond which discussion can not go) of the writers of Scripture. God is the alpha point of everything and at that alpha point God is already creative. Before the creative command is uttered to bring anything into being, indeed before there was light, the Spirit seemingly broods over the water like a hen bringing creation to

birth. The difficulty the writer faces (as do all of us) is to speak of the eternity of God with an understanding of beginning, which in some sense must be contradictory.

The creative command, which the writer of the fourth gospel will infer is the divine logos, the Son of God, as eternally begotten of the Father. The Spirit it would seem has proceeded from the Father before the uttering of the creative word. Both Spirit and Son are integral in the creative process, however there is no doubting it is the Father who commands, and the Father who creates. It is the Father who is the creator of all things, seen and unseen.

### **Proverbs 8:22-23**

The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of long ago. Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earth.

The Proverbs creation account is a fabulous and rich passage. In the priestly account of creation (Genesis 1) the narrative makes the first of the creative acts light, and here in proverbs it is talking about wisdom, which some want to identify with the logos. I can associate light and wisdom. At the same time we notice the opening to the prologue to the fourth gospel talks of the pre-existence of the logos. There is indeed though a strong identification or connection between Holy Wisdom and Holy Spirit.

### **Matthew 3:16-17**

And when Jesus had been baptized, just as he came up from the water, suddenly the heavens were opened to him and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him. And a voice from heaven said, 'This is my Son, the Beloved, with whom I am well pleased.'

This passage is one that I find hard to understand with any meaningful sense of double procession, for to my mind here, if the Spirit proceeded from the Son, it would be an exercise in self authentication, and such an account makes no sense of the voice from heaven. The obvious reading here is that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Perhaps a plainer inference of this Passage is the notion that the Spirit authenticates the person and ministry of Jesus, for us now as much as in the Gospel account of his baptism.

### **Matthew 10:19-20**

When they hand you over, do not worry about how you are to speak or what you are to say; for what you are to say will be given to you at that time; for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you.

The words that the evangelist attributes to Jesus seem to speak again fairly clearly that the Spirit comes from the Father, to empower us for the mission of the Son.

## Mark 1:9-11

In those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan. And just as he was coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens torn apart and the Spirit descending like a dove on him. And a voice came from heaven, 'You are my Son, the Beloved; with you I am well pleased.'

The passage probably predates the Matthew account chronologically, and certainly argues for a common stream or source for the baptism narrative. Any plain reading suggests that the Spirit proceeds from the Father.

## Luke 2:30-35

The angel said to her, 'Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favour with God. And now, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you will name him Jesus. He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David. He will reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there will be no end.' Mary said to the angel, 'How can this be, since I am a virgin?' The angel said to her, 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God.'

I know it is not customary to include that role of the Holy Spirit is the discussion of the procession of the Holy Spirit, however I would contend that that it is an important consideration and certainly at this point makes a consideration of procession from the Son complicated. Together with the accounts of the Baptism of Jesus I think this argues well for the notion of procession from the Father.

## Luke 24:49

And see, I am sending upon you what my Father promised; so stay here in the city until you have been clothed with power from on high.

The intent of the author is to refer to the coming of the Holy Spirit as reported in Acts, it seems the Son is sending the gift of the Father.

## John 1:1-5

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being in him was life,

and the life was the light of all people. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome it.

There is no doubt this is core to the Johannine Christology which was a heavy influence in the councils of Nicea and Constantinople 1, and indeed Chalcedon. The Word is pre-existent and integrally involved in the whole of creation.

### **John 3:8**

The wind blows where it chooses, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the Spirit.

I have included this verse, not that it speaks directly to the subject, however it does remind us that we are but mortals, and perhaps we should remember that a 'comprehended God is no God' as John Chrysostom reminded us.

### **John 3:34-36**

He whom God has sent speaks the words of God, for he gives the Spirit without measure. The Father loves the Son and has placed all things in his hands. Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life; whoever disobeys the Son will not see life, but must endure God's wrath.

The one speaking here is Jesus and speaking of the one whom God sends speaking the words of God, and the reason they speak the words of God is because he (God) gives the Spirit without measure. The plain reading of the text requires us to understand God here as God the Father.

### **John 14:15-17**

If you love me, you will keep my commandments. And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, to be with you for ever. This is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor knows him. You know him, because he abides with you, and he will be in you.

Clearly an important passage for us, where a simple reading again suggests that the Son will ask the Father to send us the Spirit. This suggests procession from the Father at the intercession of the Son.

### **John 14:25-27**

'I have said these things to you while I am still with you. But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything, and remind

you of all that I have said to you. Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you. I do not give to you as the world gives. Do not let your hearts be troubled, and do not let them be afraid.

Clearly here the reading is the procession of the Spirit from the Father. And again the purpose of the Father sending the Spirit is to empower the mission of the people of God.

### **John 15:26-27**

When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who comes from the Father, he will testify on my behalf. You also are to testify because you have been with me from the beginning.

The force of this passage is to suggest that the Son will send the Spirit - from the Father. This is slightly different from the John 14:15-17 passage as there is a sense of the Son doing the sending, though here again we find that the Spirit proceeds in the first instance, from the Father. Yet this passage also allows an understanding that the Spirit has come From the Father and the Son - filioque. This passage is a core passage for the support of the theology of double procession. Yet those who would argue for procession from the Father will still hold this passage aloft.

### **John 16:6-7,15**

But because I have said these things to you, sorrow has filled your hearts. Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: it is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Advocate<sup>s</sup> will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you. ...

All that the Father has is mine. For this reason I said that he will take what is mine and declare it to you.

This passage continues the understanding from John 15:26-27 and clearly speak of the Son send the Spirit. Whilst the Father is not mentioned early, it is outside the context of John to see the Spirit separated from the Father as source and origin. I think this passage suggests filioque, again.

### **John 20:20-23**

After he said this, he showed them his hands and his side. Then the disciples rejoiced when they saw the Lord. Jesus said to them again, 'Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, so I send you.' When he had said this, he breathed on them and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.'

The authoritative commission here, 'receive the Holy Spirit' leaves one in no doubt that the Spirit is in the immediate context at least proceeding from Jesus, the Son. From the point of double procession there is a nice sense of visual poetry, as the Father sent, so I send, as I received the Spirit, so I call you to receive the Spirit.

### **Acts 2:32-33**

This Jesus God raised up, and of that all of us are witnesses. Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this that you both see and hear.

The writer of Acts (who also wrote Luke) is making sense of the events of the Day of Pentecost. The Holy Spirit here has been poured out from God, the God who raised Jesus from the dead. If it is Jesus who pours out the Spirit, he does so because he has received from the Father.

### **Romans 8:9-11**

But you are not in the flesh; you are in the Spirit, since the Spirit of God dwells in you. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him. But if Christ is in you, though the body is dead because of sin, the Spirit<sup>\*</sup> is life because of righteousness. If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit that dwells in you.

The sense in which Paul so easily uses the terms 'Spirit of God' and 'Spirit of Christ' seemingly interchangeably reminds us that Paul might have been a bit more careful if he had realised how much weight we would put on his words. None the less, we glean that Paul speaks of the Spirit of God, which in this consideration must be taken to be the Father, in the monarchical sense, and that the Spirit is the gift of the Father.

### **Galatians 4:4-6**

But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our<sup>\*</sup> hearts, crying, 'Abba!<sup>\*</sup> Father!'

Again here in Paul's writings we find that the Spirit of the Son, has been sent into our hearts. Again the Father does the sending, however it is not disconnected from the Son.

### **1 Corinthians 2:9-12**

But, as it is written,

‘What no eye has seen, nor ear heard,  
nor the human heart conceived,  
what God has prepared for those who love him’—

these things God has revealed to us through the Spirit; for the Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God. For what human being knows what is truly human except the human spirit that is within? So also no one comprehends what is truly God’s except the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God.

The sense in which the author here speaks of the Spirit of God, leaves one to conclude that the inference is from the Father, though we would recognise that Trinitarian theology had not been fully explored or expanded at this time. There is a sense in which the deeper reality of the human person (the human spirit that is within) understands the real person, so also the Spirit of God enables us to understand something of the gifts we are given by God.

### **Philippians 1:18-19**

What does it matter? Just this, that Christ is proclaimed in every way, whether out of false motives or true; and in that I rejoice. Yes, and I will continue to rejoice, for I know that through your prayers and the help of the Spirit of Jesus Christ this will result in my deliverance.

The inference here in Paul referring to the Spirit of Jesus Christ in some way provides weight to the notion of the Spirit proceeding from the Son.

### **1 Peter 1:10-12**

Concerning this salvation, the prophets who prophesied of the grace that was to be yours made careful search and inquiry, inquiring about the person or time that the Spirit of Christ within them indicated, when it testified in advance to the sufferings destined for Christ and the subsequent glory. It was revealed to them that they were serving not themselves but you, in regard to the things that have now been announced to you through those who brought you good news by the Holy Spirit sent from heaven—things into which angels long to look!

This petrine text suggest that the interchangeability of Spirit and Spirit of Christ was abroad in the early Church. None the less the ‘sent from heaven’ clearly suggests the Father as the prime origin of the Spirit. The connection being made is that the same Spirit who spoke in Christ, spoke in days of old through the prophets.

### **Titus 3:4-7**



But when the goodness and loving-kindness of God our Saviour appeared, he saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. This Spirit he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

It is hard to read this passage in Titus without concluding that the writer wants us to understand that the Spirit emanates from the Father and we receive the Spirit through The Son.

### **Revelation 22:1-1**

Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city. On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.

I debated not including the reading, however I have seen it used as an argument for double procession. This is based on the interpretation that the river of the water of life is the Spirit flowing from the throne of God. I don't quite buy the rendering, however I felt it was unfair to omit it.

### **Summary Overview of the Biblical Witness**

Overall the witness of Scripture suggests that always in the first and primary sense the Spirit proceeds from the Father.

There are occasions where the Son is involved in the sending of the Spirit, and we might see this as the Spirit Proceeding from the Son, however in the first instance the Spirit has always proceeded from the Father.

The Son and the Spirit find their origin in the Father, and in this they find an absolute unity. The Spirit empowers people of faith that the witness and work of the Son might be continued and extended to draw people to the Father.

# Procedure

## How Did we Get the Nicene Creed

The Nicene Creed was the result of a great deal of prayer, study and deliberation.

By the late 3rd and early 4th century the faith of the Church was being challenged. The conversion of the Emperor brought with it many challenges. Suddenly being Christian had become a whole lot more respectable and even desirable, and the new wave of converts brought with them many ideas and belief structures and understandings that was a theological quagmire. The most pervasive and challenging group were the Arians (followers of the Alexandrian priest Arius) who believed that Jesus was a good person, Son of God, close to God, but not actually divine.

Constantine, the Emperor, recognised the issue as well and in 325 called the Council in Nicea. There were numbers of matters addressed, especially Gnosticism and Arianism.

The Creed set forth at the Council of Nicea read as set out below (bearing in mind the original was in greek). To try and keep things clear when referencing this Creed I will refer to Creed {N}

“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty,  
maker of all things visible and invisible;

and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God,  
the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance of the Father,  
God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,  
begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father.  
By whom all things were made, both which be in heaven and in earth.  
Who for us men and for our salvation came down [from heaven]  
and was incarnate and was made man.  
He suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven.  
And he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit.

And whosoever shall say that there was a time when the Son of God was not,  
or that before he was begotten he was not,  
or that he was made of things that were not,  
or that he is of a different substance or essence [from the Father]  
or that he is a creature, or subject to change or conversion —  
all that so say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them.”

It was quite clearly set and aimed to require of the faithful a common faith and understanding of a genuinely non-hierarchical doctrine of the Trinity, save for the monarchical integrity of the Father affirmed in the unity expressed in the opening words. The anathema clearly has the Arians in sight. Arianism was one huge issue in this period of the Church's history and for the next few hundred years at least.

In general it must be said that the Council was successful in terms of setting forth a faith in the Trinity, and the divinity of Jesus. Following the council the Church continued to develop with its new sphere of influence and being the religion of the empire.

Being the emperor's religion was, as it transpired, a mixed blessing and carried for the Church what might be described as 'the curse or Constantine'. Whilst the Church had previously been marginalised, being a member of the Church and a professing christian had some cost and required conviction. As the emperor's religion it had some respectability and even desirability and the cost of conviction was minimalised. It was during this time that the creed was developing and indeed also the canon of the New Testament - the list of writings that were accepted, and a collection that were put to one side.

A second council was called in Constantinople in 381 to address issues, one of which was to firm up the work of the earlier creed, which, with experience and further theological reflection seemingly needed some attention. The Cappadocian Fathers were a massive influence for this council. In the first instance this was an Eastern Council, yet assented to by the Western Church as Oecumenical, initially by the Pope, and by subsequent Oecumenical Councils.

One of the clear issues to be clarified here was the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This was a result of the heresy of the pneumatomachi who declared that the Spirit was a creation of the Son and therefore 'creature' rather than divine.

The Creed of the Council of Constantinople read as set here (once again of course it was in Greek). To try and keep things clear when referencing this I will refer to Creed {C}

We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty,  
maker of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen.

We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God,  
eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light,  
true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one Being with the Father;  
through him all things were made.

For us and for our salvation he came down from heaven,  
was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and was made man.

For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate;  
he suffered death and was buried.  
On the third day he rose again in accordance with the Scriptures;  
he ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father.

He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead,  
and his kingdom will have no end.

We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life,  
who proceeds from the Father,  
who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified,  
who has spoken through the prophets.

We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church.  
We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.  
We look for the resurrection of the dead,  
and the life of the world to come. Amen.<sup>5</sup>

Clearly this version the creed has extended the creed of Nicea, and the anathemas are done away with and in their place faith in the Church, one baptism, resurrection and life beyond the grave. The divinity of the Holy Spirit is affirmed and the section on the incarnation is fine tuned to clarify the Christology of the Church.

The Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, which is entirely consistent to the understanding of the monarchical role of the Father within the Trinity. This creed gained the assent of Christians everywhere, including all the Patriarchs in the East and of the West. It is also, as I have noted earlier entirely consistent with a fair reading of Scripture.

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<sup>5</sup> Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England

## Some Other Creeds

In 451 the Council of Chalcedon affirmed the Creed of the Council of Constantinople. It did seem at that stage the faith of the Church was settled, at least in statement. The Coptic Church ran into problems with the Council of Chalcedon over the Monophysite heresy, however they may have been misunderstood, or even misrepresented, (or it may have been the politics of the day) and they continue to affirm the Nicene Creed as declared at Constantinople and Chalcedon.

From the time of the Council of Constantinople to at least the Council of Toledo(?) the whole Church affirmed one common creed. Often this was called the 'Nicene Symbol' and was in many respects a symbol of a common faith and a common unity. Of course you must allow the question of the Nestorian Creed (more on that in a moment).

The Nicene Creed {C} is neither the first, nor the last creed, however it is the only creed that has the authority of the Oecumenical Councils. It is (as far as I understand it) the only creed used generally in the eastern Churches.

The Nicene Creed {N} was preceded by that which is referred to as the Roman Symbol, from around about 180 ad.

I believe in God the Father almighty;  
and in Christ Jesus His only Son, our Lord,  
Who was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,  
Who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried,  
on the third day rose again from the dead, ascended to heaven,  
sits at the right hand of the Father, whence  
He will come to judge the living and the dead;  
and in the Holy Spirit, the holy Church,  
the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh  
(the life everlasting)

Clearly this has had some bearing on the Creed developed at Nicaea, and indeed on the enhancements at Constantinople 1.

And the Nicene Creed {C} was followed by the Apostle's Creed, as evidenced in a letter from Ambrose around the Council of Milan 390 AD.

I believe in God, the Father almighty,  
creator of heaven and earth.

I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord,  
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary,  
suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried;  
he descended into hell. On the third day he rose again;

he ascended into heaven, he is seated at the right hand of the Father,  
and he will come to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church,  
the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins,  
the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.<sup>6</sup>

Both the Roman Symbol and the Apostle's Creed are seemingly lighter in terms both of Christology and Pneumatology. Both of them are creeds that allow a lot more room to move, and specifically do not address the concerns about Arianism as solidly. Ambrose of Milan does seem to have been one of the peacemakers in this regard. He was elected following an Arian Bishop, as he, although clearly Catholic, had been kind to the Arians. His promoting the Apostles Creed only a couple of years after Constantinople may well exhibit that kindness continuing, as he no doubt struggled to keep unity.

Both these creeds are less exactly trinitarian than the Nicene Creed {C}, though the three persons of the Holy Trinity are all clearly referenced. The Nicene Creed {C} clarifies both Christology and Pneumatology and so lays a clearer and fuller understanding of the Trinity.

The other most significant other Creed assented to in the western church is the Athanasian Creed. Whilst dating is a little problematic, it is generally thought to have been composed in the late fifth or early sixth century, some time after the council of Chalcedon.

The Athanasian Creed, is lengthier, and certainly echoes, if not extends the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon. It is a (perhaps the) most avowedly Trinitarian document, and strongly Christological, and has no separate section on the Holy Spirit save for one section embedded in the Trinitarian section.

Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio:  
non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.

The Holy Spirit is of the Father and the Son;  
neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

This is the first substantial appearance of the a theology of double procession in a creedal form, though there are some differences. The Athanasian Creed couches the statement in terms of worship rather than 'believe' and is suggestive of action, and towards the close is a suggestion for judgement based on works, good or ill. This, together with the rhythmic flow in Latin, suggests generally that the purpose of the creed was largely liturgical. Interestingly it does not use the word *filioque* but rather *et filio*.

There was a sense in which a number of liturgical items were used in the Church as a way of teaching people the faith. The Athanasian Creed may well have been sung or chanted to that end.

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<sup>6</sup> Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England.

Dating the Atanasian Creed is problematic at best, with a wide variety of estimations spanning around 400 years. Many of scholars date it in the the early part of the sixth century, and it's place of origin in southern Gaul. It almost certainly did not have the status of a creed in the sense that it acquired till perhaps the mid 8th century.

The Nestorian Creed was what gave rise to the anathemas at the Council of Ephesus, and in some ways it is significant to what we speak of here, although it is a side issue. For ease of comparison I have interpolated it with the Nicene Creed ***Nestorian Creed in italics bold*** on a line by line basis.

We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty,  
***We believe in one God, the Father Almighty:***  
maker of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen.  
***Maker of all things visible and invisible.***

We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God,  
***And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God,***  
eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light,  
***the Only-Begotten, the firstborn of all created.***  
***Begotten of His Father before all worlds and not made:***  
true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one Being with the Father;  
***Very God of very God: of one essence with His Father,***  
through him all things were made.  
***by whom the worlds were established and everything was created.***

For us and for our salvation he came down from heaven,  
***Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven***  
was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and was made man.  
***and was incarnate by The Holy Spirit and became Man:***  
***And was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary:***

For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate;  
***He suffered and was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate.***  
he suffered death and was buried.

On the third day he rose again in accordance with the Scriptures;  
***He was buried and Rose again on the third day as it is written***  
he ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father.  
***and ascended into Heaven and sat down on the right hand of His Father:***  
He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead,  
***And He shall come again to judge the dead and the living.***  
and his kingdom will have no end.

We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life,  
who proceeds from the Father,

***And, in one Holy Spirit, The Spirit of Truth:  
who proceedeth from the Father, the Life-giving Spirit:***

who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified,  
who has spoken through the prophets.

We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church.

***And in one Holy, Apostolic, Catholic Church.***

We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.

***And, we confess one baptism for the remission of sin.***

We look for the resurrection of the dead,

***And, the resurrection of our bodies,***

and the life of the world to come. Amen.

***and life for ever and ever: Amen***

It is fairly easy to see pretty quickly that the Nestorian Creed was closely modelled on the Nicene Symbol and had simply been modified to suit their theology. It was condemned at Ephesus, Chalcedon, and other Councils. The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon cast anathemas any anyone who would change the Creed by way of addition or subtraction. That of course is one of the problematic aspects of the filioque clause, as it would seem to be in direct contravention of the edicts of Ephesus, and, at least according to Photus, subject of the anathemas.

In the East in 340 at the Council of Antioch we find a quite different approach expressed. This was a Creed developed because they wanted to address the issue of Anomoeanism which denied the consubstantial nature of the Son.

**Antiochian Creed 341 (one of 3 or 4)**

We believe in One God, the Father Almighty,  
Creator and Maker of all things;  
from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named.

And in His Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ,  
who before all ages was begotten from the Father,  
God from God, Light from Light,  
by whom all things were made in the heavens and on the earth,  
visible and invisible,  
being Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Life, and True Light;

who in the last days was made man for us,  
and was born of the Holy Virgin;  
who was crucified, and dead, and buried,  
and rose again from the dead the third day,  
and was taken up into heaven,  
and sat down on the right hand of the Father;



and is coming at the consummation of the age,  
to judge quick and dead,  
and to render to every one according to his works;  
whose Kingdom endures indissolubly into the infinite ages;  
for He shall be seated on the right hand of the Father,  
not only in this age but in that which is to come.

And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete;  
which, having promised to the Apostles,  
He sent forth after His ascension into heaven,  
to teach them and to remind of all things;

through whom also shall be sanctified  
the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.  
But those who say, that the Son was from nothing,  
or from other subsistence and not from God,  
and, there was time when He was not,  
the Catholic Church regards as aliens.

In terms of the pneumatology of this creed there is a sense in which one can see something of the Son sending the Spirit from heaven, however avoids the language of procession and does not address the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

# Procession

As I indicated in the Introduction this is by far the most complex area of this discussion. By its very nature it involves a discussion of the Holy Trinity and here I concur absolutely with John Wesley's remark 'show me worm who understands a person and I will show you someone who understands the Trinity!'

## What does 'proceeds' mean?

- a. An initial sense of origin from which something emanates.
- b. An immediate sense of origin from which something emanates.

If I pour a glass of fabulous red wine, I might imagine that the wine proceeds from the bottle to the glass. From there the wine might be said to proceed from the glass to the mouth. It is also possible (in some circumstances) that the wine might proceed from the bottle to the mouth.

The Spirit always comes from the Father. Sometimes the Spirit comes from the Son, but even in that case the Spirit Comes from the Father, even in a situation where we may not consciously be aware of it, the Spirit originates in the Father. Any other understanding will undo what we have said in the opening clause of the creed.

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty,  
maker of all things visible and invisible;"

In the example of the wine, whatever our experience we all know that the wine comes from the grape. I hesitate to use any example, because no example is good theology, I simply use it by way of illustration to explain what I mean. Let me also assure all right minded Anglicans that in no way am I suggesting that drinking from a bottle is a good thing!

It may be that we have sometimes lacked clarity in terms of differentiating between 'proceeding' and 'being sent'. In terms of being, the Spirit has one sole point of absolute origin and that is the Father. In terms of activity in the world, the Spirit is ingrained in both the creative and the redemptive purpose of God. That means we may see the Spirit as sent by the Father, by the Father at the intercession of the Son, or by the Son from the Father.

It may well be that part of the problem is that the Eastern Church sees the Nicene Symbol as the ontological (about the being) statement of the Spirit, whilst the Western Church sees the Creedal affirmation as a teleological (about the action) statement of the Spirit. Perhaps some of this complexity revolves around the change in the nature of the statement of faith, which for the East is connected to the sacramental acts of the Church whilst in the west it has become connected to the Ministry of the Word.

## The Holy Trinity

There have been many efforts at expressing a doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and for those of us who are, Anglicans we have the expression in the 1st of the Thirty Nine Articles.

### **1 Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.**

There is but one living and true God,  
everlasting, without body, parts, or passions;  
of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness;  
the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible.  
And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons,  
of one substance, power, and eternity;  
the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

Unpacking this a little, we accept that there is one God. This is a conventional statement for a monotheistic faith, and affirms the opening of Creed {N} and {C} and indeed we share similar sentiments with other monotheistic religious traditions, including Islam and Judaism.

The next is a clear reminder that we are not a tradition of faith given to anthropomorphising our understanding of God. I suspect that sometimes we have forgotten this line, and those who mock us often suggest exactly that. God is not a person, in the sense we are people, nor is God an old man in the sky, for God is without 'body, parts, or passions'.

The next phrase actually addresses one of the most difficult areas for us as Christians, and that is the problem of evil and suffering in the world and faith in a generous, merciful and all loving God. This challenge is before all faith communities, and the proper name for this issue is 'theodicy'. The challenge of theodicy is the question that emerges when we acknowledge that God is all powerful, all wisdom, all good, all justice, and yet it seems that there is evil in the world, that sometimes evil appears to triumph, and bad things happen to good people.

Next comes the rest of the opening statement in the Creed {C} which relates to our belief in God as creator of all things visible and invisible.

Then follows the classic trinitarian prescription, 'in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which encapsulates the tradition of understanding of the complete unity of the Godhead, the distinction of the three persons of the Trinity, and the absolute egalitarian nature of the relationship of the persons within the Trinity.

This makes it clear, at least theologically, any idea that Jesus, The Son, is more important than the Spirit or the Father, is clearly fraught with difficulty.

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<sup>7</sup> Article 1 - The Thirty Nine Articles.

## The Monarchical Role of the Father

I suspect this is an area that we in the west do not always get. God is the creator of all things. The Son and the Spirit co-equal in every respect are anchored in the Father in this absolute unity and equality. It is quite reasonable to review the creation accounts and see the role of the Spirit and the Son expressed therein, yet none of that takes away from our understanding of the Father as the creator and sustainer of all things.

Generally if we speak of God without any further clarification people are likely, from a Trinitarian perspective, to think we are speaking of God the Father and in all likelihood we are. There are some contemporary streams who care about theology where the terms 'God', 'Jesus' and 'Lord' are used in such an interchangeable manner that one has to wonder if they have not accidentally adopted a unitarian or a deist position. Sabellianism is alive and well in many places.

It is natural in speaking of a 'begotten' relationship, such as parent and child, which clearly are ideas which Jesus himself used, that the child finds a sense of origin in the Parent. The relationship is parental rather than hierarchical. The adult child of a human parent is of equal standing to their parent, for it is not a relationship of master and slave. It is this sense of the monarchical role of the Father - the seat of being - the ontological reality of God that I suspect many of us in the west have failed to grasp from our brothers and sisters in faith in the east.

In speaking of the procession of the Spirit, the equality of the persons of the Trinity is preserved for the source or origin for the procession is the same as the source of origin for the Son, namely the Father, in the Monarchical sense of seat of being and the ontological reality.

The relationship of begotten and the relationship of proceeding are different and the same, in that they are not of different value or dignity. This preserves equality of the persons of the Trinity, and the unity of the Godhead.

There is one will of God, one mission of God, and the mission of Jesus is not different to the mission of God the Father, nor of the Holy Spirit. Indeed all the revelation of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit cooperate and bear testimony to the unity of God's will and of an eternal relationship of love for all people.

The persons of the Trinity are perceived as working together in one purpose, so when Jesus says 'receive the Holy Spirit' it does not imply that Jesus has taken the monarchical role of the Father as the seat of origin, but rather an indication of the unity so expressed. In the sense of the action and progress of the mission, it is reasonable to suggest that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but not in a sense which sees a shift in the primary seat of being, in some ontological manner, shifted. In the sense of mission, the Spirit has proceeded from the Son, yet from an ontological standpoint the Spirit has proceeded as always from the Father.

Any sense of direction or command in this is directed to the hearer, not to the Spirit, and in keeping with the whole nature and purpose of God, this is an invitation for us to respond, for in this new kingdom it is the hearts and minds embracing God, not command and politics that make the difference.

It is also possible that the Eastern Christians have not always understood the western problem with the language of monarchy, where Monarchical relationships have often been marked with a strong sense of hierarchy which is not how we understand the three persons and one God.

# Development of a Theology of Procession

The matter of the development a theology of procession or double procession is an important factor in understanding where this came from and it is almost certainly related to the insertion of the filioque clause in the Creed {C} and both dates and geography are relevant to the discussion. What follows is a brief review with a few short excerpts from the Fathers to give an idea of the development of thought. I have simply ordered them in a rough timeline so we can appreciate the sense of development. Clearly some of the later Fathers had read and were influenced by earlier Fathers, but not always. There is another time line which revolves around councils, and I have for the sake of simplicity separated them, though they clearly inter-connect. You also need to bear in mind East and West in the development.

It is probably important to remember that whilst a theology of double procession is in a sense a requirement for the inclusion of the filioque clause, the insertion of the filioque clause is not the result of the theology alone. For some I realise that the early Church theologians will seem heavy going. I have tried to produce a wide range, over a reasonable period, to show what I see as a theology developing, and being reacted to. Some will want to go and check sources and read further, and some will be tempted to skip this section. If you are tempted to skip, could I encourage you at least to skim.

## Tertullian of Carthage 155 - 240

Tertullian outlined the idea of scriptural teaching on God, and he was the first to use the word *trinitas* in a technical way to describe the relation of God the Father, Jesus the Son, and the Holy Spirit<sup>8</sup>. He also was the first to use the word *persona* for the persons of the Trinity. However Tertullian's pioneering work in this area does not always avoid tending to make the Son subordinate to the Father, no doubt because the issue was not in his mind at the time. Tertullian is often seen as the father of western theology.

We have been taught that He proceeds forth from God, and in that procession He is generated; so that He is the Son of God, and is called God from unity of substance with God. For God, too, is a Spirit. Even when the ray is shot from the sun, it is still part of the parent mass; the sun will still be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun - there is no division of substance, but merely an extension. Thus Christ is Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. The material matrix remains entire and unimpaired, though you derive from it any number of shoots possessed of its qualities; so, too, that which has come forth out of God is at once God and the Son of God, and the two are one. In this way also, as He is Spirit of Spirit and God of God, He is made a second in manner of existence - in position, not in nature; and He did not withdraw from the original source, but went forth.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Adv. Praxean, but he also uses the term in De Pudicitia 2, and 21, and 25.

<sup>9</sup> Tertullian - Apology Chapter 21

It is of course immediately apparent that though he may be the first to use the word Trinity, the whole concept of the doctrine is a long way from fully fleshed out at this stage, and I am sure the Cappadocians would have struggled with some of Tertullian's language. Perhaps they excused it realising that Latin is a different language to Greek.

### **Origen of Alexandria 184 - 254**

Origen was a prolific early theologian, and some of his work has not been accepted as theology progressed, but much of course has. Origen wrote in Greek.

There is none good save one only, God the Father, as if thereby it may be supposed to be denied that either Christ or the Holy Spirit was good. But, as we have already said, the primal goodness is to be understood as residing in God the Father, from whom both the Son is born and the Holy Spirit proceeds, retaining within them, without any doubt, the nature of that goodness which is in the source whence they are derived.<sup>10</sup>

Clearly at this stage Origen has given no thought to a theology of double procession. The fact that he uses the procession word in relation to the Spirit, whilst describing the Son as born, suggests that the finer points of generation and procession were already beginning to take shape.

### **Gregory of Pontus 213-270**

Also known as Gregory the Wonderworker, and writer of a very early Trinitarian creedal form and like Origen, probably written before a language and concept of procession had developed, however clearly acknowledging a strong relationship between the Spirit and both the Father and the Son.

And there is One Holy Spirit, having His subsistence from God, and being made manifest by the Son, to wit to men: Image of the Son, Perfect Image of the Perfect; Life, the Cause of the living; Holy Fount; Sanctity, the Supplier, or Leader, of Sanctification; in whom is manifested God the Father, who is above all and in all, and God the Son, who is through all.<sup>11</sup>

### **Athanasius of Alexandria 296-373**

Athanasius is one of the most greatly revered theologians of the East and greatly respected in the West. Athanasius argued strongly for the Trinity, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, being consubstantial with the Father. He was one of the profound influences of the Council of Nicea.

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<sup>10</sup> Origen - De Principiis, Book 1 Chapter 2

<sup>11</sup> Gregory the Wonderworker - A Declaration of Faith

And thus too we preserve One Beginning of Godhead and not two Beginnings, whence there is strictly a Monarchy. And of this very Beginning the Word is by nature Son, not as if another beginning, subsisting by Himself, nor having come into being externally to that Beginning, lest from that diversity a Dyarchy and Polyarchy should ensue; but of the one Beginning He is own Son, own Wisdom, own Word, existing from It.<sup>12</sup>

This is the mind that was being understood at the 1st Council of Constantinople. Some part of this thinking may be the discipline of greek philosophical thought, for the early Fathers were determined to ensure that their understanding of God was profound, in accord with the revelation and rational.

### **Hilary of Poitiers 300-368**

Written from 356 to 359 in De Trinitate he said the Holy Spirit "is of the Father and the Son, His Sources." As Bishop in Poitiers in Western France, spent four years in exile and (probably the politics of the day) and in exile wrote against the Arians.

Having thus concluded that we must reject the word 'creation' from our confession of faith in God the Only-begotten, we proceed to lay down the teachings of reason and of piety concerning the Holy Spirit, that the reader, whose convictions have been established by patient and earnest study of the preceding books, may be provided with a complete presentation of the faith. This end will be attained when the blasphemies of heretical teaching on this theme also have been swept away, and the mystery, pure and undefiled, of the Trinity which regenerates us has been fixed in terms of saving precision on the authority of Apostles and Evangelists. Men will no longer dare, on the strength of mere human reasoning, to rank among creatures that Divine Spirit, Whom we receive as the pledge of,immortality and source of fellowship with the sinless nature of God.<sup>13</sup>

### **Pope Damasus I - 305-384**

Damasus was born in Portugal and raised in Rome. When the see of Rome became vacant, his supporters killed his rival He sent delegates to the 1st Council of Constantinople. During his papacy he had to deal with Arianism, He encouraged his personal secretary Jerome in the Vulgate translation of the Bible, and it may well have been in his time that the canon was formally accepted. in the Acts of the Council of Rome (382) declared:

The Holy Spirit is not of the Father only, or the Spirit of the Son only, but He is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. For it is written, "If anyone loves the world, the Spirit of the Father is not in him" and again it is written: "If anyone, however, does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His".<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Athanasius - Discourses Against the Arians 4.1

<sup>13</sup> Hilary of Poitiers - On the Trinity Book 1

<sup>14</sup> Damasus 1 - The Explanation of Faith



The interesting note here is that following the Council of Constantinople, the conversation has moved from the notion of source and origin to speaking of the Holy Spirit being the Spirit of both Father and Son.

### **Epiphanius of Salamis 310-403**

Epiphanius, born in Judea, Bishop of Cyprus, was highly regarded by Jerome, and a staunch defender of Orthodoxy, identifying and condemning over 80 heresies including the writings of Origen. In this passage he clearly argues that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son. He uses this pattern in other writings as well.

The Father truly begot the Son, and the Son was truly begotten of the Father, existing in a hypostasis which is his own, without beginning and timelessly, and the Holy Spirit truly being of the Father and the Son, of the same Godhead ... ever proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.<sup>15</sup>

### **Cyril of Jerusalem 313-386**

Cyril of Jerusalem 313-386 lived, like the Cappadocians in the time of Nicea and Constantinople 1. He was strongly against sabellianism and arianism, and ardent advocate of Nicene Trinitarianism. It is probably Cyril who brings the language of the monarchical role into the discussion. His position is in line with the Cappadocians with whom he corresponded.

What then is Procession? Do you tell me what is the Unbegotten-ness of the Father, and I will explain to you the physiology of the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Spirit, and we shall both of us be frenzy-stricken for prying into the mystery of God.

To us there is One God, for the Godhead is One, and all that proceedeth from Him is referred to One, though we believe in Three Persons. For one is not more and another less God; nor is One before and another after; nor are They divided in will or parted in power; nor can you find here any of the qualities of divisible things; but the Godhead is, to speak concisely, undivided in separate Persons; and there is one mingling of Light, as it were of three suns joined to each other.

When then we look at the Godhead, or the First Cause, or the Monarchia, that which we conceive is One; but when we look at the Persons in Whom the Godhead dwells, and at Those Who timelessly and with equal glory have their Being from the First Cause—there are Three Whom we worship.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ancoratus 3.1, as quoted by the Tübingen theologians in Augsburg and Constantinople, p. 241

<sup>16</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem - Fifth Oration on the Holy Spirit

Cyril was present at the 1st Council of Constantinople which expressly confirmed his jurisdiction over Jerusalem. Cyril was an extraordinary teacher and defender of the faith against the Arian controversies. he speaks of the Spirit present and personal in the journey of faith.

The Spirit comes gently and makes himself known by his fragrance. He is not felt as a burden for God is light, very light. Rays of light and knowledge stream before him as the Spirit approaches. The Spirit comes with the tenderness of a true friend to save, to heal, to teach, to counsel, to strengthen and to console.<sup>17</sup>

## The Cappadocian Fathers

The Cappadocian Fathers are Basil the Great (330–379), bishop of Caesarea; Basil's younger brother Gregory of Nyssa (c.332–395), bishop of Nyssa; and a close friend, Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), Patriarch of Constantinople. At the time between the two creeds they represented something of a theological hothouse in the Cappadocia region of modern day Turkey.

Their contribution to the theological thinking of the period between the Council of Nicea and the 1st Council of Constantinople had a great deal of focus on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. As such much of the creed as we have it, and the enhancements that the creed received at the 2nd Oecumneical Council owes much to the work of these three.

As well as Arianism one of the heresies addressed at this time in the Creed {C} was the heresy of the Pneumatomachi which taught that the Spirit was the creation of the Son. This teaching was condemned by Pope Damasus and by the Alexandrian Council 362. So to address this, the additions to the creed affirm the Spirit as 'the Lord the giver of life' to clearly affirm the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The procession is the direct connection to the Father, exactly and differently to the Son, and equally worthy to be worshipped and glorified. And the final affirmation that the Spirit is nothing new, for the Spirit has already spoken through the prophets.

## Basil of Caesarea 329 - 379

Basil of Caesarea is one of the Cappadocian Fathers and a great defender of the Nicene Position and regarded as a profound influence on the Council of Constantinople 381, though by that stage he was of course dead. Like so many of these writers he takes issue with the Arians.

If they really conceive of a kind of degradation of the Son in relation to the Father, as though He were in a lower place, so that the Father sits above, and the Son is thrust off to the next seat below, let them confess what they mean. We shall have no more to say. A plain statement of the view will at once expose its absurdity. They who

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<sup>17</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem - Catechetical Sermon

refuse to allow that the Father pervades all things do not so much as maintain the logical sequence of thought in their argument. The faith of the sound is that God fills all things; but they who divide their up and down between the Father and the Son do not remember even the word of the Prophet: "If I climb up into heaven thou art there; if I go down to hell thou art there also."

"Christ is the power of God and wisdom of God," and that "He is the image of the invisible God" and "brightness of his glory," and that "Him hath God the Father sealed," by engraving Himself on Him.<sup>18</sup>

### **Gregory of Nazianzus 329 - 390**

Gregory of Nazianzus was the Patriarch of Constantinople at the time of the Council of Constantinople. He was one of the Cappadocian Fathers and a profound influence on the development of trinitarian theology in the Church. Gregory is generally credited with the term 'procession' for the emanation of the Holy Spirit from the divine so as to clearly distinguish the Holy Spirit from the Begotten Son of God.

Look at these facts: Christ is born, the Holy Spirit is His Forerunner. Christ is baptized, the Spirit bears witness to this ... Christ works miracles, the Spirit accompanies them. Christ ascends, the Spirit takes His place. What great things are there in the idea of God which are not in His power? What titles appertaining to God do not apply also to Him, except for Unbegotten and Begotten? I tremble when I think of such an abundance of titles, and how many Names they blaspheme, those who revolt against the Spirit!<sup>19</sup>

### **Gregory of Nyssa 330 - 395**

By what words, pray, will you honour the Holy Spirit, supposing you do wish to honour Him at all? By saying that He is absolutely immortal, without turning, or variableness, always beautiful, always independent of ascription from others, working as He wills all things in all, Holy, leading, direct, just, of true utterance, searching the deep things of God, proceeding from the Father, receiving from the Son, and all such-like things, what, after all, do you lend to Him by these and such-like terms?<sup>20</sup>

I think in a sense for Gregory of Nyssa any argument for the divinity of the Holy Spirit carried with it the principle that the alpha point would be, as in all things, The Father. In a sense the phrase here, 'proceeding from the Father, receiving from the Son' may be something of where we need to recover, for it clearly and beautifully resolves any perceived conflict found

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<sup>18</sup> Basil of Caesarea - On the Holy Spirit

<sup>19</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus

<sup>20</sup> Gregory of Nyssa - On the Holy Spirit, Against the Macedonians

in the Johannine passages. The Church owes a great debt to the Cappadocian Fathers for their groundbreaking work.

While we confess the invariable character of the nature, we do not deny the difference in respect of cause, and that which is 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 by 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>21</sup>

The Cappadocians were staunch advocates for the understanding of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and spent more than a little time contemplating the relationships within the Trinity, and argues that the begetting of the Son does not preclude the proceeding of the Spirit.

### **Ambrose of Milan 340 - 397**

There is no doubt that as Bishop of Milan Ambrose was in the midst of disputes between the Catholic faith of Nicea and Rome and the Arians. His predecessor was an Arian Bishop.

The Symbol or Creed of the Apostles appears for the first time in a letter, probably written by Ambrose, from a Council in Milan to Pope Siricius in about 390:

Let them give credit to the Creed of the Apostles, which the Roman Church has always kept and preserved undefiled.<sup>22</sup>

It is likely that the creed that existed at that time to which this letter refers was not what is now known as the Apostles' Creed but a shorter statement (perhaps The Roman Symbol), which did not include the phrase "maker of heaven and earth", a phrase that may have been inserted only in the 7th century.

Whilst Ambrose was clearly a Catholic, and loyal to the Council of Nicea, he was acceptable to the Arian Christians because he had shown them a great deal of charity along the way. Ambrose embraced a simple life, caring for many, which earned him great popularity, and helped him effectively put a stop to Arianism in Milan.

So the Holy Spirit both proceeds from the Father, and bears witness of the Son. For the witness Who is both faithful and true bears witness of the Father, than which witness nothing is more full for the expression of the Divine Majesty, nothing more clear as to the Unity of the Divine Power, since the Spirit has the same knowledge as the Son, Who is the witness and inseparable sharer of the Father's secrets.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Gregory of Nyssa - On Not Three Gods

<sup>22</sup> Ambrose, from a Council in Milan to Pope Siricius in about 390 AD

<sup>23</sup> Ambrose - On the Holy Spirit Chapter 1.25

The Spirit is not, then, sent as it were from a place, nor does He proceed as from a place, when He proceeds from the Son, as the Son Himself, when He says, I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world, destroys all fancies, which can be reckoned as from place to place.<sup>24</sup>

I think Ambrose has the seeds of Augustine and appears to speak of the Spirit proceeding from the Son, though clearly coming forth from the Father, as the Son has come forth from the Father. I think he is loyal to Constantinople, but not hardline, which probably reflects his approach the Arian Christianity as well.

### **Jerome 347-420**

Jerome, studied in Rome, having been born in somewhere around Serbia. He died near Bethlehem. Jerome studied under Gregory Naziansus and was no doubt very loyal to the Creed {C} and all that it entailed. He was know to discourse with Greek philosophy, was a significant hand in the Vulgate translation of the Scriptures. He does not seem to have addressed procession beyond the creed, however this snippet shows he could step outside when required.

At one point he has before him the Gospel to the Hebrews written in Aramaic used by the Syrian Christians which, as some now say, was the forerunner to the gospel of Matthew and predated the four canonical gospels. In it, Jerome says that the Holy Spirit is expressed in the feminine gender and is considered the mother in law of the soul.<sup>25</sup>

### **John Chrysostom 349-407**

John Chrysostom (John, the Golden Mouthed), is a great favorite among the Eastern Christians, and the authorship of one of their most significant liturgies bears his name. He was born in Antioch and was deaconed and priested there. In 397 he was nominated for the Patriarchy of Constantinople without his knowledge. His ten years were turbulent, banished in 403 and recalled, and in 405 he was very outspoken against pagan shrines and banished again. Pope Innocent 1 protested to no avail and he died in exile in 407.

It would have been possible for Christ to do everything that the Holy Spirit was to carry out. But this is the reason why the Holy Spirit proceeds to miraculous deeds, so that we may learn of His importance. .... But because no one has doubts about the Father, since the doubt is over the Son and Holy Spirit, he was excluded from the mystical plan so that we learn well of their community of value and from their communion in providing those ineffable gifts. Because many things have been heard about the Father, and because the Son has been seen doing many wonderful works,

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<sup>24</sup> Ambrose - On the Holy Spirit Chapter 11.119

<sup>25</sup> Jerome - (Library 11, commentary in Isaiah, chapter 11: Library 2, commentary. In Micah 7.6)

but about the Spirit nothing has yet become clearly known, the Spirit now does miracles and introduces the perfect knowledge... declaring the precise knowledge of God" (referring to the Lord's remark that the Spirit will declare what is to come).<sup>26</sup>

Chrysostom is well versed in the Cappadocians and probably in the time of John's patriarchy the Nicene Symbol was introduced to the liturgy after the peace and before the anaphora introduced by the Deacon with the words 'The Doors! The Doors! In Wisdom let us attend.' In contrast to his contemporary Chrysostom does not dwell on the question of procession. In contrast to the Western tradition this places the Creed in the liturgy of the sacrament rather than in the liturgy of the word. He is more concerned about the Church as the fulfilment of the empowerment of Pentecost.

### **Theodore of Mopsuestia 350 - 428**

Also known as Theodore of Antioch, he represents the Antiochian school. He moved to Tarsus and was consecrated to Mopsuestia (in modern Turkey) in 392. He wrote numerous commentaries on many texts of Scripture and a lengthy commentary on the Nicene Creed {C}

In explaining this expression of our Lord our blessed Fathers said that The Holy Spirit proceeds from the nature of the Father, that He proceeds from Him eternally, and that He was always in the Father and did not come into existence later. It is evident that he who is eternally from the Father and with Him, proceeds also from His nature, because it is impossible that anything should be with God which is not by nature from Him.<sup>27</sup>

Theodore it seems has not considered the issue of double procession and defends the Constantinopolitan Symbol, cleanly and straightforwardly. This is especially interesting as a contemporary of Augustine of Hippo, and indicative of the distance, and simply the the Antiochian and Alexandrian schools had different approaches.

### **Augustine of Hippo 354-430**

Augustine of Hippo situated on the Mediterranean Coast in today's Algeria (354 - 430). He studied in Carthage (Tunisia), and was a Latin rather than a Greek speaker. He went to Rome to further his career, and the Milan and under the influence of Ambrose was baptised, and ultimately ordained, before becoming Bishop of Hippo Regius in his native Algeria.

The issue of the Pneumatomachi was clearly relevant in the church in his early days. Augustine's theology of the Spirit is sometimes characterised as 'Procession through the Son'. Augustine was a prolific writer across a very broad spectrum of matters both theological and political.

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<sup>26</sup> John Chrysostom - Homily On John

<sup>27</sup> Theodore of Mopsuestia - Commentary on the Nicene Creed.

As for the Son to be born is to be from the Father, so for the Son to be sent is to be known in his origin from the Father. In the same way, as for the Holy Spirit to be the gift of God is to proceed from the Father, so to be sent is to be known in his procession from the Father. What is more, we cannot deny that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son... I cannot see what he could otherwise have meant when, breathing on the faces of the disciples, the Lord declared: " Receive the Holy Spirit" <sup>28</sup>

Augustine was a profound influence of the theology of the Church as it was expressed at Chalcedon. With much of the outward trappings of the Roman Empire crumbling, Augustine saw the Church as the Spiritual City of God. Augustine is also often quoted as an authority in arguments for a theology of Double Procession.

[With the Father and the Son] the Holy Spirit, too, exists in this same unit of substance and equality. For whether He be the unity of the Father and the Son, or Their holiness, or Their love, or Their unity because He is Their love, or Their love because He is Their holiness, it is clear that He is not one of the Two, since it is by Him that the Two are joined, by Him that the Begotten is loved by the Begetter, and in turn loves Him who begot Him.<sup>29</sup>

And yet it is not without reason that in this Trinity only the Word of God is called Son, only the Gift of God the Holy Spirit, and only He of whom the Word is begotten and from Whom principally the Holy Spirit proceeds is called God the Father. I have added the term "principally" because the Holy Spirit is found to proceed also from the Son. But this too the Father gave the Son, not as if the Son did not already exist and have it, but because whatever the Father gives the Son, He gives by begetting. He so begat Him, then, that the Gift might proceed jointly from Him, and so that the Holy Spirit would be the Spirit of both (XV, 17:29).<sup>30</sup>

Augustine is not easy going, (and not all that easy to read either!) however perhaps here it can be seen, that on the one hand he proposes a notion of double procession yet the point is made that the Holy Spirit proceeds principally from the Father.

Augustine also wrote 'On the Faith and the Creed' where he argues for the value of the Creed as a source of instruction, and avoids any suggestion that it has any shortcomings or inadequacies. The implication is that if you open the creed to change you open it to the possibility of heresy creeping in.

And it must be our aim, by pious and careful watchfulness, to provide against the possibility of the said faith sustaining any injury in us, on any side, through the fraudulent artifices [or, cunning fraud] of the heretics.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Augustine of Hippo - On the Trinity

<sup>29</sup> Augustine of Hippo - On the Trinity

<sup>30</sup> Augustine of Hippo - On the Trinity

<sup>31</sup> Augustine of Hippo - Of Faith and the Creed

I suspect those who have come after and have relied on Augustine for the approach they have taken may have missed something of this primacy of procession from the Father that he implies. Whilst Augustine does speak of the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, it is clear he sees this as one spiration, not two.

It is also to be noted that Augustine was not especially well accepted in the East, and this in part may be because he wrote in Latin. At the same time the battles in the West were still to do with Arians and others. I also don't think that Augustine was especially rejected in the East, so much as not so well known in the East. I suspect some of what followed Augustine and developed the theology of double procession a bit further was when the East saw a problem.

### **Cyril of Alexandria 376-444**

Cyril of Alexandria 376 – 444 was Patriarch of Alexandria from 412. Cyril's major dispute was with Nestorius, and he was a prominent voice at the Council of Ephesus which condemned Nestorius and set anathemas on those who by addition or subtraction changed the Creed {C}.

Cyril's constant stress was on the simple idea that it was God who walked the streets of Nazareth (hence Mary was Theotokos, meaning "Giver of Birth to God"), and God who had appeared in a transfigured humanity. Nestorius on the other hand spoke of the distinct "Jesus the man" and "the divine Logos" in ways that Cyril thought were too separated, widening the ontological gap between man and God in a way that some of his contemporaries believed would annihilate the person of Christ.

Since the Holy Spirit when He is in us effects our being conformed to God, and He actually proceeds from Father and Son, it is abundantly clear that He is of the divine essence, in it in essence and proceeding from it.<sup>32</sup>

There is in this Alexandrian position a notion of double procession being suggested here, however this is indeed deeply rooted in a Trinitarian position. In a sense what he does is draw the persons of the Trinity into such a tight unity that distinction of source is not so possible. Still the eternal procession of the Spirit for Cyril of Alexandria is from the Father, but in speaking of the Holy Spirit acting in us, he speaks of the Spirit proceeding from 'Father and Son', or 'from the Father through the Son'.

If any one say that the One Lord Jesus Christ hath been glorified by the Spirit, using his power as though it were another's, and from Him receiving the power of working against unclean spirits and of accomplishing divine signs towards men, and does not rather say that his own is the Spirit, through Whom also he wrought the divine signs, be he anathema.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Cyril of Alexandria - Thesaurus

<sup>33</sup> Cyril of Alexandria - Five Tombs against Nestorius



This keeps pace with the Alexandrian line, and drawing a closer proximity of the Son and the Spirit in terms of origin.

### **Lampius of Barcelona 350-400**

Not a lot is known of the First Council of Toledo, though we do have the record. The opening assent to the faith is suggestive of a theology of double procession, in line with the timing it would seem likely that this was of the Augustinian influence. Lampius was the Bishop of Barcelona present on the occasion. There is some academic suggestion that the filioque here may be a later insertion in the text.

That the Spirit is also the Paraclete, who is himself neither the Father nor the Son, but from the Father and the Son proceeding.<sup>34</sup>

I note that there has been some suggestion that the filioque has been added to this record at a later date. The argument for that is that it is too early, in terms of the development of the theology. I am not entirely convinced by that as an argument, as the theology was clearly being developed. It may indeed argue that the theology of double procession developed earlier than thought, and although not the dominant theology of the day, and certainly not endorsed by any Oecumenical Council, it may well have been part of the discussion emanating from Alexandria.

### **Pope Leo 1 400 - 461**

Pope Leo 1 was a significant Pope. He wrote a document known as the Tomb of Leo to be read at the Council of Ephesus 431. As a result of the political machinations of the Council the letter was not read out. It argued as a clear statement of the Apostolic faith, especially in terms of enunciating Christology which was under attack from the Nestorians amongst others. Ultimately the letter was read at the Council of Chalcedon and is arguably the foundation of the Christology of the Council.

The Son is the Only-begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, not as any creature, which also is of the Father and of the Son, but as living and having power with both, and eternally subsisting of that which is the Father and the Son.<sup>35</sup>

Interestingly Leo's Tomb does not deal with the role of the Holy Spirit beyond the role in the narrative of the Annunciation and as a result of the Incarnation. Leo's Tomb is Incarnationally very strong in terms of spelling out Christology.

### **Fulgentius of Ruspe 465 - 527**

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<sup>34</sup> Record - First Council of Toledo

<sup>35</sup> Pope Leo 1 - Sermon 75.3

Fulgentius was Bishop of Ruspe in Tunisia. He was strongly influenced by the writings of Augustine of Hippo, and his North African origins and connections with the School of Alexandria.

Hold most firmly and never doubt in the least that the only God the Son, who is one Person of the Trinity, is the Son of the only God the Father; but the Holy Spirit, Himself also one Person of the Trinity, is Spirit not of Father only, but of Father and of Son together.<sup>36</sup>

### **Leander of Seville 534 - 601**

Following his exile he returned on the death of the King and set about converting Reccared from Arianism to the Catholic Faith. This triumph was confirmed at the Third Council of Toledo, along with Reccared's confession and the aligning of the Visigothic Kingdoms with the Catholic Church and the Roman side of Empire.

The Holy Spirit is to be confessed by us, and must therefore be to proceed from the Father and the Son, and of one substance with the Father and the Son.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the Clear statement of double procession in the faith statements here, the Nicene Symbol is in both the confession and the Council records, sans filioque, or anything approaching it.

### **Gregory the Great 540 - 604**

Pope Gregory I sent the Benedictine Augustine to Canterbury to bring the English Church into conformity with Roman practice - and the correct date for celebrating Easter. There has been some suggestion that he was accepting of a theology of double procession, however that is not clear.

Look at the facts: Christ is born, the Spirit is his forerunner; Christ is baptized, the Spirit bears witness; Christ is tempted, the Spirit leads him up; Christ performs miracles, the Spirit accompanies him; Christ ascends, the Spirit fill his place.<sup>38</sup>

Gregory in his writing is more concerned to ensure that the Holy Spirit is accorded equal divinity with the Father and the Son in accord with the Nicene Tradition and the Cappadocian fathers. He speaks of the Spirit's procession from the Father to ensure the co-equal glory of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

### **Isidore of Seville 560 - 636**

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<sup>36</sup> Fulgentius of Ruspe - Rule of Faith - (54)

<sup>37</sup> The canons of the 3rd Council of Toledo in 589, Leander as Bishop of Seville.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory the Great - Oration 31.29. PG 36, 165B.

Following his brother Leander to the see of Seville, he also followed a theology of double procession. This is set out in the record of the 4th council of Toledo, as it was at the 3rd Council of Toledo, some 44 years before. The records of this council do not include the Nicene Symbol.

But the Holy Spirit, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son are One and eternally unchangeable.<sup>39</sup>

### **John of Damascus 675 - 749**

John of Damascus is not so well known amongst many western readers, none the less he seems to have become more important, especially as the Joint Anglican Orthodox dialogue found much to agree on in his writings, which offers a real step in terms of progress towards understanding a theology of procession acceptable in the mind of the east and of the west, that having been said, that is unlikely to change the orthodox position on the filioque.

The terms, 'Word' and 'effulgence,' then, are used because He is begotten of the Father without the union of two, or passion, or time, or flux, or separation: and the terms 'Son' and 'impress of the Father's subsistence,' because He is perfect and has subsistence and is in all respects similar to the Father, save that the Father is not begotten: and the term 'Only-begotten' because He alone was begotten alone of the Father alone. For no other generation is like to the generation of the Son of God, since no other is Son of God.

For though the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father, yet this is not generative in character but processional. This is a different mode of existence, alike incomprehensible and unknown, just as is the generation of the Son. Wherefore all the qualities the Father has are the Son's, save that the Father is unbegotten, and this exception involves no difference in essence nor dignity, but only a different mode of coming into existence. We have an analogy in Adam, who was not begotten (for God Himself moulded him), and Seth, who was begotten (for he is Adam's son), and Eve, who proceeded out of Adam's rib (for she was not begotten). These do not differ from each other in nature, for they are human beings: but they differ in the mode of coming into existence.<sup>40</sup>

The orthodox do not believe that Latin is a very good language for expressing theology and part of the argument they make is that we don't know how to express the truth expressed in the Greek, and ultimately it can lead us in the wrong direction.

### **Photius 810-892**

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<sup>39</sup> The canons of the 4th Council of Toledo in 633, Isidore as Bishop of Seville.

<sup>40</sup> John of Damascus - An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith - Chapter 8

Photius was one of the most revered of all the Patriarchs of Constantinople. They were turbulent days. Made Patriarch he was confirmed, deposed, reinstated, and confirmed. He condemned the Pope as a heretic, and refused to apologise, and received the Pallium from him as a gift. He was responsible for schism and re-union, and the key issue in all of this was the filioque. His *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* is basically a 30 page all out attack on those who would argue for the doctrine.

3. For if the Son and the Spirit came forth from the same cause, namely, the Father (even though the Spirit is by procession whilst the Son is by begetting); and if — as this blasphemy cries out — the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, then why not simply tear up the Word [Logos] and propagate the fable that the Spirit also produces the Son, thereby according the same equality of rank to each hypostasis by allowing each hypostasis to produce the other hypostasis? For if each hypostasis is in the other, then of necessity each is the cause and completion of the other. For reason demands equality for each hypostasis so that each hypostasis exchanges the grace of causality indistinguishably.<sup>41</sup>

12. And again, if two causes are promoted in the monarchical Trinity, why then, on the basis of the same reasoning, should not a third cause appear? For once the beginningless source, which transcends all sources, is cast down from its throne by these impious ones and is divided into a duality, the source will proceed more vehemently to be divided into a trinity, since in the transcendent, inseparable, and simple nature of the divinity, the triad is more apparent than the dyad and also more in harmony with the properties.<sup>42</sup>

It is easy to think when reading ‘*Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*’ that Photius is ‘off his tree’ with a level of polemic, reminiscent of the political theatre that passes for question time in western democratic parliaments. Phrases such as ‘— O deceiving drunkenness of impiety! —’ abound in the text, almost as punctuation, however there is a level of strong argument involved here. It is also interesting to note that the status and significance of the Creed {C} is seen as on a par with Scripture.

I suspect one of the difficulties we have, as 21st century western readers, is that we don’t have as much passion for theology as Photius. We also stand in a tradition that has grown used to the filioque and the attack seems extreme. Effectively what Photius argues is that we are tearing down the Trinity by creating a second alpha point in the Son. I think that some of the problem is that in the West we are accustomed to speak of the immediate source, whereas in Eastern Theology that are talking of ultimate source.

## So what does this show

What I have tried to show is that by reading the fathers on a kind of loose time-line you can see how the theology of procession developed incrementally. To lay it all on Augustine is

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<sup>41</sup> Photius - *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*

<sup>42</sup> Photius - *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*

wrong for he built on what was before and others built on what he had concluded. If you look through the matter again with a view to East and West it becomes also clear that the various schools of theology were developing, in different language and with some different settings and understandings.

In the early period it seems that the Fathers - especially the Cappadocians - sorted the procession issue out as part of sorting the Creed. Augustine of Hippo seems to have discussed the idea of double procession, trying as he did not to disrupt the monarchical integrity of the Father. The Roman Pontiffs seemed to have been keen to ensure unity with The East, and it seems that whilst they were aware of developments in Iberia and Gaul and Antioch, they kept it in check.

The Photian Schism perhaps has the makings of the conflict that was patched up rather than resolved. It is clear at that by this stage the East had taken exception to the insertion of the filioque, on the grounds of theology. For them it was extremely important that the Patriarch of the West hold the line.

The Pope asked Photius to accept the filioque, yet clearly accepted the fact that it was not going to happen.

## Post the Great Schism

I have included something from Aquinas who clearly wrote some time after the Schism and shows something of how this theology of double procession had developed. It is perhaps worth remembering that the opinions on this matter were now entrenched.

### Thomas Aquinas 1255 - 1274

**Objection 1.** It would seem that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son. For as Dionysius says (Div. Nom. i): "We must not dare to say anything concerning the substantial Divinity except what has been divinely expressed to us by the sacred oracles." But in the Sacred Scripture we are not told that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son; but only that He proceeds from the Father, as appears from John 15:26: "The Spirit of truth, Who proceeds from the Father." Therefore the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son.

**Reply to Objection 1.** We ought not to say about God anything which is not found in Holy Scripture either explicitly or implicitly. But although we do not find it verbally expressed in Holy Scripture that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, still we do find it in the sense of Scripture, especially where the Son says, speaking of the Holy Ghost, "He will glorify Me, because He shall receive of Mine" (John 16:14). It is also a rule of Holy Scripture that whatever is said of the Father, applies to the Son, although there be added an exclusive term; except only as regards what belongs to the opposite relations, whereby the Father and the Son are distinguished from each other. For when the Lord says, "No one knoweth the Son, but the Father," the idea of the Son knowing Himself is not excluded. So therefore when we say that the Holy

Ghost proceeds from the Father, even though it be added that He proceeds from the Father alone, the Son would not thereby be at all excluded; because as regards being the principle of the Holy Ghost, the Father and the Son are not opposed to each other, but only as regards the fact that one is the Father, and the other is the Son.

**Objection 2.** Further, In the creed of the council of Constantinople (Can. vii) we read: "We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father; with the Father and the Son to be adored and glorified." Therefore it should not be added in our Creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son; and those who added such a thing appear to be worthy of anathema.

**Reply to Objection 2.** In every council of the Church a symbol of faith has been drawn up to meet some prevalent error condemned in the council at that time. Hence subsequent councils are not to be described as making a new symbol of faith; but what was implicitly contained in the first symbol was explained by some addition directed against rising heresies. Hence in the decision of the council of Chalcedon it is declared that those who were congregated together in the council of Constantinople, handed down the doctrine about the Holy Ghost, not implying that there was anything wanting in the doctrine of their predecessors who had gathered together at Nicaea, but explaining what those fathers had understood of the matter. Therefore, because at the time of the ancient councils the error of those who said that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Son had not arisen, it was not necessary to make any explicit declaration on that point; whereas, later on, when certain errors rose up, another council [Council of Rome, under Pope Damasus] assembled in the west, the matter was explicitly defined by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, by whose authority also the ancient councils were summoned and confirmed. Nevertheless the truth was contained implicitly in the belief that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father.<sup>43</sup>

I have included a reasonable slab of Aquinas as he certainly argues for the filioque. Yet even he carefully includes the remark "So therefore when we say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, even though it be added that He proceeds from the Father alone, the Son would not thereby be at all excluded." In reading this it is important to remember that this is post schism and some part of his argument is predicated by a desire of those whom he served wanting a pro filioque outcome. Yet even Aquinas sees something of the dilemma, and the need to move between the ontological and the teleological.

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<sup>43</sup> Thomas Aquinas - Summa Theologica - First Part - The Blessed Trinity

## What does it mean theologically - good and bad

The Nicene Creed does express the core theology of the Church as a belief in One God expressed in three persons. There is a sense in which the unity of God is expressed primarily in the monarchical role of the Father as the source and creator of all things. The alpha point of existence.

As such the Son is begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, Very God of Very God. Separate and distinct yet absolutely one with the Father.

The Spirit Proceeds from the Father in this same monarchical sense, and is worshiped and glorified along with the Father and the Son.

Augustine of Hippo is often recognised as the theologian who first advocated the sense of double procession - that is that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In so doing he too is also careful to clarify that the Spirit always proceeds from the Father. There are passages in scripture such as where Jesus says 'receive the Holy Spirit' certainly back him up. In terms of our encounter with the Holy Spirit, she may indeed proceed (in the immediate sense) from the Son, recognising that in an absolute sense the Holy Spirit has proceeded (in the sense of origin) from the Father. In fairness one must see that Augustine built on the work before, especially by Ambrose of Milan.

In some sense the Filioque Clause may be correct, so long as it ensures that we understand the Holy Spirit always proceeds from the Father and also the Holy Spirit may proceed from the Father and the Son (yet not in a sense of absolute origin).

Advocates for the filioque are likely to point out that it does underline that there are three persons of the Trinity, and that although one, they are separate and distinct. I remain a little less convinced of this as the Father and the Son have the begotten relationship and the Father and the Holy Spirit have the proceeding relationship.

The problem is that unless we are careful our understanding of the Holy Trinity, the Trinity can lose it's sense of the egalitarian, and this can imply some sense of being hierarchical. This is of course wrong as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are all equal in every way as touching their divinity.

Some of the problem rests in language and increasingly in the way that language changes. Since the advent of computers and the growing importance of boolean logic, the sense of the and in the filioque is more at risk of losing the original sense and meaning it was given with Augustine, and indeed much later Aquinas.

Photius on the other hand takes extreme exception to the filioque arguing that it destroys any rational understanding of the Trinity. Photius argues that a second procession adds no value to the creed, or our understanding of God, but rather takes away. For him any sense of procession implies a sense cause and place of origin.

## Will we change our theology if we omit the Filioque?

Perhaps effectively no, because in one sense the filioque does not add any real value to the creed. We have the witness of scripture which allows us to know that the Spirit can proceed from the Father and the Son, as witnessed in the Gospel of John, and also the Spirit can proceed from the Father at the behest of the Son, as also witnesses in the Gospel of John. This is certainly clarified by Augustine of Hippo, Thomas Aquinas and others.

Perhaps also effectively yes, in the sense that the absence of the filioque will reduce our temptation to think of the Trinity in terms of hierarchy. Indeed it will underline the point made by both Augustine and Aquinas that the Spirit always proceeds in the absolute sense from the Father.

We may be lost in the mystery of wonder love and praise, and perhaps it will allow us to grasp more clearly the sense of mystery that the Trinity implies. Perhaps we will also be reminded that relationships do not always have to be hierarchical, and indeed the best ones are not.

Sadly many contemporary Christians have given little thought to the creed. Such consideration only happens when real questions are raised about the creed itself. For much of the time for us this is the faith once delivered to the saints that we stand and affirm. On the basis that the Church has said it, we accept it and move on. Nothing to think about, we simply say the words as a badge of unity with Christians everywhere. Of course once you throw the filioque in there there are a few holes in that thinking.

The revelation of God is far more than language, if it is even language. God reveals himself in the wonder of creation, in the majesty of the sunrise, and in the dynamism of the waves, and the holiness of a people created after the image of God, and in the creativity and kindness that they show. God pre-eminently reveals himself in the person of Jesus Christ, in his words, in his witness, in his birth, life, death, resurrection and Ascension, and before during and after this through the breath of God as near as breathing we are made aware that the creator of all that was and ever will be is beside us in our struggle.

The biblical witness is such that we have records attesting that Jesus would ask the Father to send the Holy Spirit, and biblical witness that Jesus breathed on the disciples and said 'receive the Holy Spirit'.

Those who argue for the filioque sometimes point to the reality that the Western Church has been much more determined in Mission than the Eastern Church and as a result of that has grown faster than the Eastern Church. I am interested in the argument, however it has a few holes. One of course is quite simply God does not measure what we measure. I am not sure that the filioque can be the sole cause of that. I suspect that the Eastern Church's concern for Ontology, and the Western Church's concern for Teleology has led to an Orthodox focus on Worship and the Catholic focus on Mission.



I suspect that this is an area where we can learn from one another. Perhaps a hint of this is seen in where we place the creed liturgically. In the West it is associated with the Gospel, whilst in the East with the Eucharistic prayers.

As a contemporary, and hopefully thinking, christian I can see the value, and I wonder if we could not somehow express both more fully. Perhaps we could devise liturgies which allowed us to place the Nicene Symbol {C} in several alternate locations (only once in a service please!). That sort of flexibility would allow people devising the expression of the Eucharist to blend with what else is going on.

I think we need to recover the sense of the Creed as a real symbol of unity, not simply the marching orders for the Gospel. I think if we go back to the Cappadocians and look at what they were doing, it was the pre-eminent test for orthodoxy and symbol of unity. Somewhere in the western focus on mission we have lost some sight of it. Since the Synod of Friuli moved the Creed to the post Gospel position, we may well have lost connection with this purpose of the Creed {C}.

# Why Didn't the Cappadocians Use It?

I guess this may be a fanciful question, however I thought it deserved to be asked. Firstly because at the First Council of Toledo 397-400 AD, a theology of double procession is clearly expressed. Indeed this is the earliest use of the word filioque I have found, though not in the setting of the Nicene Symbol. This Council was convened only some 16 years after the 2nd Oecumenical Council so the Creed {C} was still an infant.

Spiritum quoque esse paraclitum,  
qui nec pater sit ipse, nec filius,  
sed a patre filioque procedens.  
Est ergo ingenitus pater,  
genitus filius,  
non genitus paraclitus,  
sed a patre filioque procedens.

That the Spirit is also the Paraclete,  
who is himself neither the Father nor the Son,  
but from the Father and the Son proceeding.  
There is, therefore, innate in the Father,  
the Son begotten,  
the Paraclete is not begotten,  
but proceeding from the Father and the Son.<sup>44</sup>

Surely if the theology is so strongly expressed here, it is hard to conceive that the Cappadocians had not considered the matter in the preparation for the Council of Constantinople. There is no doubt that pneumatology was high on the agenda and that section of the Nicene Creed was definitely addressed and expanded at that Council. Of course one also must allow the possibility that the record from Toledo has at some point been amended which some contend.

If, then, every good thing and every good name, depending on that power and purpose which is without beginning, is brought to perfection in the power of the Spirit through the only-begotten God, without mark of time or distinction (since there is no delay, existent or conceived, in the motion of the divine will from the Father, through the Son, to the Spirit and if Godhead also is one of the good names and concepts, it would not be proper to divide the name into a plurality, since the unity existing in the action prevents plural enumeration. And as the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe, is spoken of by the Apostle as one, and no one from this phrase argues either that the Son does not save them who believe, or that salvation is given to those who receive it without the intervention of the Spirit; but God who is over all, is the Saviour of all while the Son works salvation by means of the grace of the Spirit and yet they are not on this account called in Scripture three Saviours (although

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<sup>44</sup> Original Latin and translation from the opening faith statement of the First Council of Toledo.

salvation is confessed to proceed from the Holy Trinity): so neither are they called three Gods, according to the signification assigned to the term Godhead, even though the aforesaid appellation attaches to the Holy Trinity.<sup>45</sup>

As you read this extract, there is a sense in which you realise that Gregory of Nyssa is not taking the opportunity that the matter offers to speak of the origin of the Spirit. The focus of Gregory is the Unity of the Trinity in the diversity of the experience of salvation. Salvation is the work of Christ and our ability to access and experience that Salvation is the result of the work of the Holy Spirit in us. In a sense there is a delightful side step of the issue when he tells us that salvation proceeds from the Holy Trinity.

The operation of the Father who works in all is not imperfect, neither is the creating work of the Son incomplete if not perfected by the Spirit. The Father, who creates by his sole will, could not stand in any need of the Son, but nevertheless he wills through the Son; nor could the Son, who works according to the likeness of the Father, need co-operation, but the Son too wills to make perfect through the Spirit. For by the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath [the Spirit] of His mouth. The Word then is not a mere significant impression on the air, borne by the organs of speech; nor is the Spirit of His mouth a vapour, emitted by the organs of respiration; but the Word is He who was with God in the beginning and was God, and the Spirit of the mouth of God is the Spirit of truth which proceeds from the Father. You are therefore to perceive three, the Lord who gives the order, the Word who creates, and the Spirit who confirms.<sup>46</sup>

It seems quite clear here that Basil could easily have conceded a procession from the Father through the Son, and indeed the start of this nearly suggests that, and yet concludes definitively that the Spirit Proceeds from the Father.

I draw from this the sense that the Cappadocians were not unaware that a theology of double procession was about and developing, and whilst they clearly seem to be reluctant to denounce it, they also seem to have been reluctant to embrace it. When the Nicene Creed concluded that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father it was not because they had not considered the possibility of procession from or through the Son, but because they believed the definitive statement that was to be made was that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and rather than discuss it further in terms of origin concluded to emphasise the unity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, worshipped and glorified.

Perhaps at the other end of the Mediterranean on the Iberian Peninsular, or indeed in Antioch, other views were being canvassed. None the less we read this.

First of all, please, that he made to me it is the Council of Nicea, a constant to be observed, that this is not to go away. All the bishops said: 'This pleases us. A knowledge of the deeds of any other than a decree of the Council of Nicea, so that, if a man is to do so, shall abide by the decision and did not think that, then

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<sup>45</sup> Gregory of Nyssa - On Not Three Gods to Alabus

<sup>46</sup> Basil the Great - Chapter 16 of On the Holy Spirit

excommunicated, save through the correction of the brethren have corrected the error.<sup>47</sup>

One is left wondering if they had heard of and were consenting implicitly or simply avoiding the Council of Constantinople and the additions to the creed. Given the prevalence of Arianism in Iberia and Northern Africa at the time they may not have seen Constantinople as friendly. On the other hand the Confessional faith statement of the Council has a lot more to say in that regard than the Creed {N} of Nicea, as the lines at the beginning of this section show. There is a general consensus that in general a reference to Nicea was a reference to both, and certainly a reference to the Nicene Creed would be a reference to the Council of Constantinople. I don't know enough to really make a decision.

Anyway I think that the conclusion I can deduce is that The Cappadocians did not embrace a theology of double procession, and that was not because the idea was not around to contemplate, and whilst they seem to have not been ready to knock it on the head, neither were they of a mind to endorse or promote it.

The other matter that concerned the Cappadocians more importantly, in this period, was addressing the heresy of the Pneumatomachi, who taught that the Spirit was the Creation of the Son. In light of that it seems they may have wished to avoid any leaning in that direction. Given the general intellectual clarity of the Cappadocians I am inclined to think that it was something that they neither wished to confirm or deny. For the Cappadocians the more critical issue was to affirm the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

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<sup>47</sup> The First Council of Toledo 397

# When was the Filioque Inserted.

When I began this task I thought we had some fairly clear dates to rely on here, which would leave us in no doubt as to when and where the change was made. We may not fully understand why the change was made. Indeed the more we delve here the less we can be certain of the real intent of some of the assumptions that have been taken as fact.

This is the short summary of how we thought it happened.

## **Toledo III - 589**

The Spanish area around Toledo was traditionally Arian Christians, and whilst the king's wife was Catholic. King Reccared on his conversion, united the Kingdom which became essentially Catholic, and two years later the public confession of the faith of the King was read aloud at the 3rd Council of Toledo. This council is said to have inserted into the creed the words 'and the son', latin 'filioque'. Please note that I now do not accept that, which probably explains why there is a long section on that Council following. This council required that the creed be recited at the Eucharist on Sundays and Holidays.

## **Frankish Use - C600-750**

The practice of including the Nicene Creed gathered popularity in the Frankish Kingdoms and with the practice seems to have followed the practice of inserting the filioque. The Franks had largely through this period abandoned Arianism for the Catholic Faith and there was a deal of interchange between the Visigoths and the Franks.

## **Council of Hatfield - 680**

The practice of including the filioque seems, according to the popular theory, to have spread through Spain and into the Frankish Kingdoms. In 680 at the Council of Hartford it seems that the practice was adopted in England. If the filioque was not added at Toledo, we may need to reconsider the theory of it being introduced to England. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury had come from Tarsus, and presumably would not have been used to the use of the filioque there.

## **The Council of Gentilly 767 [W]**

This is described as an assembly of Frankish nobles and bishops near Paris. King Pepin the Short was almost certainly there. One matter they addressed was the filioque, and it seems that they decried the Byzantine Church for having "dropped it".

## **Synod of Frankfurt 794**

Charlemagne convened the Synod of Frankfurt and in an effort to counter Spanish Adoptionism they authorised the inclusion of the filioque in the Nicene Symbol.

## **Synod of Friuli 796**

Paulinus Patriarch of Aquileia (North eastern Italy) promoted the use of the Filioque clause and it may have been included in the Aquileian Rite from around that time. The Aquilian Rite was heavily influenced from the Gallican Rite which did not include it, at least initially. This

Synod seems to have mandated the use of the Nicene Creed {C} in the western position, that is after the Gospel on Sundays and Holy Days.

### **Aix-la-Chapelle 809**

In 809 the Council at Aix-la-Chapelle sent to the Pope for a ruling on the matter. Against the inclination of the Pope, Leo III. The French continued to use the Filioque following the meeting. A fair reading of the documents suggests that the filioque was an established custom in chanting the creed in France. What isn't always clear here was Charlemagne's intent and purpose. It may well have been to bolster his argument with the Byzantine.

### **Jerusalem 847**

Frankish Monks in their monastery at Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives aroused opposition from the Eastern Monks of St Sabas when they included the filioque in their liturgy. The matter was referred to Leo III who, whilst approving the doctrine tried to suppress the addition to the Creed {C}

### **Rome - 1014**

The clause was first inserted in the creed in Rome in 1014 for the Coronation of Henry II as the Holy Roman Emperor. The creed had not been part of the liturgy in Rome in the 9th and 10th Century, so in some sense Henry was seeking to see the Creed included in the liturgy, and by that stage it was a Creed with the filioque that had become custom in much of Europe following the Councils of Frankfurt and Friuli.

# Why was the Filioque Inserted?

Working out why the filioque was inserted is generally a little bit speculative and prone to a few assumptions. None the less there are some pointers to help us understand why it happened. A proper assessment of the environment of the event and may help us rule out some choices and help us make a better assessment.

## Toledo III

The Third Council of Toledo held in 589 was an important synod on a number of scores, way beyond its measure as a regional church council. Accordingly I will try to explain a bit about it, which in some sense may seem discursive, It has been seen as important in the history of the filioque debate, however that I think has been a mistake, as I am now fairly certain that this Council did not add the filioque however it may be as an unintended result of the decisions of this council that the filioque found its way into the Creed {C}.

- **Background**

Reccared the First was the younger son of King Leovigild, a Visigothic king whose Capital was in Toledo (perhaps 60-70 km ssw of Madrid), fairly much in the middle of what we today call Spain. Leovigild was an Arian, as were most of the Visigoths and Franks at the time. His elder son, older brother to Reccared, Hermenegild married a Catholic, Ingunthis daughter of a Frankish King, and with help of Leander, Bishop of Seville, Hermenegild converted to the Catholic Faith. His Father pressured him to return the Arianism, and Hermenegild refused and led an uprising, which was defeated, Leander was banished, Hermenegild was imprisoned in Toledo, and when he refused to take communion from an Arian Bishop his Father, the King, ordered him to be beheaded (13th April 586 AD). Leovigild died of 'natural causes' shortly after (21 April 586 AD).

Shortly after this Leander the exiled Bishop of Seville returned and sought out the new King, Reccared. In January 587 Reccared, with the help of Leander the Bishop and Bada Reccared's Catholic Wife, renounced Arianism and embraced chalcedonian christology and the Catholic Faith. There followed some instability as Arianism was the dominant influence in the Visigothic kingdom, and in this setting, Reccared ordered the Council, the third in Toledo which assembled in early May 589 in Toledo.

- **The Council**

Leander the bishop it would seem schooled Reccared in the rightness of an orthodox Trinitarian faith position. At the Council the Reccared confession of the faith was read renouncing Arianism and embracing the Catholic Church. His nobles followed suite and Iberia became a Catholic Kingdom. His reign was also marked by suppression of Jews.

Reccared appears to have been well schooled in scripture and probably aware of a number of the other writings. Augustine wrote of the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son<sup>48</sup>, though in so doing he also clarified that the Spirit always proceeded from the Father. There have been some that suggestion that Reccared was schooled by, or that the confession may likely have been 'ghost written' by Leander.

Perhaps the nice thing that came from the Council of Toledo was a more regular practice of reciting the Nicene Creed as part of the liturgy. This may be a factor in the spread of the filioque clause through the Frankish Kingdoms, and indeed into Britain and Germany. At this stage the Creed appears to have been in the Eastern Position, between the Peace and the Great Thanksgiving.

As the Council where the Kingdom of the Visigoths was rejoined to the Catholic faith this section from the record of council proceedings seems to make a great deal of sense. This acknowledges Ephesus and the anathemas on those who alter the Creed {C}

Whosoever believes that there is any other Catholic faith and communion, besides that of the Universal Church, that Church which holds and honors the decrees of the Councils of Nicea, Constantinople 1, Ephesus and Chalcedon, let him be anathema.

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- **Political Considerations**

It would of course be foolish to ignore that there was a deal of power being played out in this theatre as well. The allegiance to the Catholic Faith also brought the Kingdom into to the Roman Empire, and therefore further away from the Byzantine Empire. The conversion of the Visigoths and and Franks from Arianism to Catholicism firmed up the power of the Roman Empire, and effectively changed to face of Europe. The Third Council of Toledo was an important marker in that process. It was also of great assistance to Reccared in uniting the Visigothic Kingdoms, and securing his field of influence.

- **Filioque**

There are no end of volumes suggesting that the filioque was added at the third council of Toledo to combat Arianism. I have for a long time struggled with the explanation as I could not see what it had to do with Arianism. When I found the records, I went looking for any hint of a reason.

I have included a scratch translation of the record of the council towards the end of this document so you can read it for yourself. The Nicene Symbol {C} appears twice in the documents and both times without the filioque.

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<sup>48</sup> Augustine of Hippo - On The Trinity

<sup>49</sup> The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers Volume XIV The Seven Ecumenical Councils. (p 167)



In my mind many august toms, including the 2nd Edition of the Dictionary of the Christian Church by Cross and others, are in error in reporting that it was added at this Council. In days before the internet checking lots of things was a lot more work.

The records of the First Council of Toledo (397-400 AD) contain a quite different and much longer confessional statement. The business of this council was to deal with the Priscillian heresy. This confession of faith includes a theology of double procession.

That the Spirit is also the Paraclete,  
who is himself neither the Father nor the Son,  
but from the Father **and the Son proceeding**.  
There is, therefore, innate in the Father,  
the Son begotten, the Paraclete is not begotten,  
but proceeding from the Father and the Son.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to note that a theology of double procession is clearly stated in this statement, however it was simply not inserted in the Nicene Creed {C} at this point.

In the introductory part of the record, which we might equate to something of the charge to the Synod we read, and I only quote in part here

Because it has the Son of the Father, but is without beginning and without diminution, in the same Divinity by which He is coequal and coeternal would remain. The Holy Spirit is to be confessed by us, and must therefore be to proceed from the Father and the Son, and of one substance with the Father and the Son.<sup>51</sup>

I suspect that quite a bit of confusion has surrounded this, however, as In Toledo I and Toledo III a theology of double procession was enunciated in the sense of a confession of faith, however that is entirely distinct from adding it to the creed. In fact the Nicene Creed {N} and Creed {C} are included correctly (as deposited by the councils without the filioque) later in the record of the council as preserved.

- **Language**

The language of the Visigoths generally was a Gothic dialect or dialects, essentially a germanic language, and whilst latin was the language of the Council, it does not suggest that the nuances of latin would necessarily have been in the grasp of everyone there. The presumption is that Leander (the Bishop) would have been competent in Latin, there is no reason to assume that the King's latin was as good.

The latin from the records of the Council in the early part reads

*Spiritusque sanctus confitendus a nobis,  
et praedicandus est a patre et filio procedere,*

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<sup>50</sup> Concilium Toletanum primum minutes from the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*

<sup>51</sup> Record of the Third Council of Toledo - Introductory paragraphs

*et cum patre et filio unius esse substantiae.*<sup>52</sup>

The Holy Spirit is to be confessed by us,  
and must therefore be to proceed from the Father and the Son ,  
and of one substance with the Father and the Son .

The latin repeats *patre et filio* in succeeding lines which leaves open the possibility of 'clerical error' when considering the question of the endless manual copying that was required. It is also worth noting that 'et filio' used here, and it is not repeated in the creeds which are recorded later in the documents.

- **Why didn't Rome correct it?**

One possibility is that they either did not know or did not notice.

The theory of double procession was developing in the west and quite probably had a degree of acceptance, for instance we know that Pope Gregory accepted it, but did not want it in the creed, and Augustine sent to Canterbury had some sympathy for a double procession, but again not in the Creed.

Of course there was too much else at stake in terms of aligning power balance in the West against the Byzantine Empire to make an issue of it, simply focussing on the big issues being happy to have the Visigoths in the Empire rather than on the outside.

## The Council of Hatfield 680

Theodore - Archbishop of Canterbury convened a Council at Hatfield 680 AD to deal with the heresy Monothelism, which is a far more complex heresy than Arianism. Even so, It seems hard to associate the insertion with that purpose. Filioque and monothelism seem to have no practical relation.

It is possible that it was simply adopted as it had gained popularity in the Frankish Kingdom and was possibly something of a liturgical fashion statement. This extract from Bede is interesting.

And after much more of the same sort, appertaining to the confession of the right faith, this holy synod added to its document, "We acknowledge the five holy and general councils of the blessed fathers acceptable to God; that is, of the 318 assembled at Nicaea, against the most impious Arius and his tenets; and at Constantinople, of 150, against the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius, and their tenets; and at Ephesus, for the first time, of 200, against the most wicked Nestorius, and his tenets; and at Chalcedon, of 630, against Eutyches and Nestorius, and their tenets; and again, at Constantinople, in a fifth council, in the time of Justinian the

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<sup>52</sup> Synodus Toletana tertia minutes from the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*

younger, against Theodorus, and the epistles of Theodoret and Ibas, and their tenets in opposition to Cyril.”

And again a little lower, “the synod held in the city of Rome, in the time of the blessed Pope Martin, in the eighth year of his pontificate, and in the ninth year of the most pious Emperor Constantine, we also acknowledge. And we glorify our Lord Jesus Christ, as they glorified Him, neither adding aught nor taking away; anathematizing with hearts and lips those whom they anathematized, and receiving those whom they received; glorifying God the Father, Who is without beginning, and His only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the worlds, and the Holy Ghost proceeding ineffably from the Father **and the Son**, even as those holy Apostles, prophets, and doctors, whom we have above-mentioned, did declare. And all we, who, with Archbishop Theodore, have thus set forth the Catholic faith, thereto subscribe.”<sup>53</sup>

It is interesting the Bede does not seem to notice that there has been an insertion into the Creed {C} so it is possible that it had simply been absorbed into the English practice without great notice being taken of it. Or maybe this is Bede asserting the theology of Double Procession without believing he was inserting it into the Nicene Creed. It would be good to look at some primary documents to establish what happened at the council beyond the record of the Venerable Bede. The difficulty is that Bede does not confirm what was in the Creed {C} that they affirmed, but rather in the manner of other councils affirms a theology of double procession.

At the 6th Oecumenical Council the following year (681 AD), Constantinople III, monothelism was again condemned along with its close cousin monoergonism. It is important to note that this council also affirmed the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed {C} as a ‘pious and orthodox creed of the divine favour was enough for a complete knowledge of the orthodox faith and a complete assurance therein’. The accompanying letter to Pope Agatho includes the Creed {C} written in full text without the filioque.

If the filioque clause had been adopted in Britain only the year before, it surely would have been somewhere on the radar of this council. The creed {C} was once again affirmed without the filioque. In reality even if they had wanted to, the Pope would probably have disallowed the inclusion as was against changing the creed and further stressing the relationship with the east, and such an act being in contravention of the councils both of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

### Synod of Gentilly 767

At this synod, as we learn from Ado of Vienne, our only authority, there was a question between the Greeks and the Romans regarding the Trinity, and whether the Spirit as He proceeds from the Father, so proceeds from the Son, and also regarding the figures of the Saints, whether they are to be fixed or painted in the churches? Little else remains of the records of the Council. It would seem by that stage the French Church had adopted the

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<sup>53</sup> The Venerable Bede - Ecclesiastical History of England Chapter XVII

Spanish practice of reciting the Creed {C} more often and that it almost certainly included the filioque. In light of the tension between the Byzantine and Roman Empires, and the awareness it appears that Peppin the Short (Father of Charlemagne) knew of the divergence in credal forms, part of the purpose may have been to clarify the divide theologically as well as politically.

### **Synod of Frankfurt 794**

Charlemagne convened the Synod of Frankfurt and in an effort to counter Spanish Adoptionism they authorised the inclusion of the filioque in the Nicene Symbol. I think it would be wrong to assume that it was a complete novelty at this time. Charlemagne's father, Pepin the Short is thought to have argued the filioque had been dropped for the original by the Byzantines about 30 years previously. The presumption therefore must be that his prime experience of the Creed from the early 8th century was of the Creed with the Filioque (or perhaps ex filio) included.

### **Synod of Friuli 796**

Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, advocated the use of the Filioque clause and it may have been included in the Aquileian Rite from around that time. The Aquilian Rite was heavily influenced from the Gallican Rite which did not include it, at least initially. This Synod seems to have mandated the use of the Nicene Creed after the Gospel on Sundays and Holy Days. It seems that the practice endorsed by the Council of Toledo arrived in Italy 200 years later, and in that time it had acquired the Filioque Clause, though now in a different position in the liturgy.

### **Aix-la-Chapelle 809**

It would seem that the practice of reciting the creed within the context of the Eucharist gained popularity through the Frankish Kingdoms, and it would seem that the revision of the creed that adopted, quite possibly without having debated the issue was the creed including the filioque.

In 809 from a council in Aix-la-Chapelle (quite possibly at the instigation of Charlemagne) three divines were sent to the Pope (Leo III) to confer in relation to the filioque clause. The Pope objected to the use of the filioque on the grounds that any addition to the formulary had been forbidden by the councils. As a result of this advice the French continued to chant the Nicene Creed with the filioque included.

The record of the exchanges is here. I am sorry it is a little long, but I think there is value in understanding that this is an interchange between the delegates from the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope Leo III. As such it is a negotiation and a power play.

A Council was held at Aquisgrana (Aix-la-Chapelle), A.D. 809, but nothing, the Abbot Regino tells us, was defined, because of the: magnitude: of the matters treated of.

However, some legates were despatched by the Emperor Charlemagne: to confer with the Pope (Leo III.) on the subject, and an account of their interview is given by the Abbot Smaragdus (French Benedictine), as well, he says, as his memory would serve him.

The Delegation consisted of Bernerius, Bishop of Worms; Adelard, Abbot of Corbey; and Jesse, Bishop of Amiens.

This, said the Pope, is one of the deeper Mysteries, into which some are able to inquire, though many cannot do so. But he that can, and will not, cannot be saved.

*Missi.* Since then a man must not fail to believe, why may we not sing or teach by singing?

*Papa.* You may do so, but you may not insert unlawfully that which is prohibited, either in writing or in singing.

*Missi.* Since then you declare it unlawful to insert this symbolic clause either in singing or in writing, we need no longer delay on this point. But if that clause had been originally inserted, would it not be well to have it sung and believed?

*Papa.* Certainly: since it is so great a Mystery of the Faith, that whosoever can attain thereto must not fail to believe it.

*Missi.* Would it not then have been well if the Authors had, by adding only four syllables, made so great a Mystery perspicuous?

*Papa.* As I dare not say they would not have done well if they had so done; so I dare not say they had less understanding of this matter than we have. They considered wherefore they omitted it, and wherefore they forbade the insertion of this as well as of other things.

*Missi.* Far be it from us to question their wisdom: but inasmuch as the end of the world draweth nigh, we would be faithful and since we find that the Symbol is thus sung by some, and unless men cannot be so instructed unless it be sung it has seemed better to us so to teach them, than to leave them untaught. If your Paternity knew how many thousands understand this doctrine who would never have known it had it not been sung, you would happily consent to it being sung.

*Papa.* I consent (to its being sung). But, tell me, are all Mysteries of the Faith which are not found in the Symbol, and without which he that can attain thereto cannot be a Catholic, to be inserted in the Symbol at pleasure?

*Missi.* By no means: for all are not equally necessary.

*Papa.* Though not all, yet many are necessary.

*Missi.* Will you mention something-I do not say more sublime, but at least something that is wanting in the symbol?

*Papa.* Yes, in abundance.

*Missi.* Mention one: then, if need be, a second.

The Pope desired delay for consideration, and replied next day: Is it more salutary to believe or more perilous not to believe that the Holy Spirit Proceeds from the Son as He does from the Father; than that the Son, Wisdom and Deity was begotten from Wisdom and Deity; and yet that Both are One Wisdom, One truth, Essentially God.

These are not found in the Symbol; and if you agree that they were omitted neither through ignorance, nor through careless disregard for the future, we need bring forward no more testimonies.

The conversation then became somewhat evasive and desultory. The Pope said he had given permission to sing the symbol, but not to add, take away, or change anything. We at Rome do not sing the Symbol, but we read it. What we know to be wanting we do not presume to insert therein, but supply as opportunity permits.

*Missi.* Then your Paternity decides, first, that this clause must be taken out of the Symbol and then that the doctrine be freely taught, whether by singing or by delivery?

*Papa.* Exactly so.

*Missi.* But what if its removal should lead to the denial of the doctrine, as contrary to the Faith?

*Papa.* If I had been asked before it had been so sung, I should have answered that the clause must not be inserted. But now I am inclined to a compromise. You can gradually drop the usage of singing it in the Palace. If it is dropped by you, it will be dropped by all and then perhaps the Doctrine may be rightly believed, and yet that unlawful use may be discontinued.<sup>54</sup>

Charlemagne was in favour of the filioque and the three theologians were sent to Rome to argue for the filioque, and failing that they determined to continue using it. Some of this may well have to do with the power struggles between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Byzantine Emperor on purely political lines.

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<sup>54</sup> Filioque - Kai Ek Toy Yioy - George B Howard,

Pope Leo had two silver shields created with the Nicene Creed without the addition of the filioque, one in latin and one in greek, and had them hung at the doors to tomb of St Peter, where history suggests they remained until 1014 when they interestingly, and perhaps predictably, disappeared. It seems that the Symbol was omitted from the liturgy in Rome from around this time until the coronation of Henry II in 1014.

## Jerusalem 847

The question of the Procession was raised afresh about the commencement of the ninth century by an eastern monk of Jerusalem named John, who inquired whether the Holy Spirit may be said to Proceed from the Son in the same manner as He Proceeds from the Father.

Ado of Vienne, who makes this statement, adduces from Rev. 22 He showed me a pure river of Water of Life proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, as an event proof of the Procession from the Father and the Son. <sup>55</sup>

John clearly saw this as a serious matter, and the question was referred to the Pope, who confirmed, as he had the Charlemagne nearly 40 years before, that it should not be used,

## Rome 1014

As far as we can tell the filioque clause was first used in Rome for the coronation of Henry II as Holy Roman Emperor. It is suggested that he was used to the creed in this form and so it seems it was just adopted in Rome, without council or consideration. The Pope appears to have been ready to make the adjustment. The decision may have been made for more material or political rather than spiritual or theological considerations.

Et in Spíritum Sanctum, Dóminum et vivificántem:  
Qui ex Patre Filióque procedit.  
Qui cum Patre et Fílio simul adorátur et conglorificátur:

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life,  
Who proceeds from the Father and the Son.  
Who with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified,

This seems to have been a dark period for the papacy and holders of the office seem to have been selected on the basis of birth, family connection and rank, and less concern for their theological or spiritual input. It was the early days of the Tusculan Popes.

The coronation of Henry II as Holy Roman Emperor was an important alliance for Benedict VIII. The Italian region was under attack from the Saracen in the South and the Normans in the North, so there was a lot of political capital to be had by enlisting the support of Henry II.

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<sup>55</sup> Filioque - Kai Ek Toy Yioy - George B Howard,

As such a modest adjustment to the creedal form, since it was being used this way in many places may not have seemed such a big issue at the time. In a sense what was big about it was that the creed was going to be used again in Rome after nearly 200 years.

The contention that the Orthodox had, led by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael I Cerularius, was that the Creed {C} had been set in place by the councils of the whole Church, and it was beyond the province of the Pope to change it without first calling an Oecumenical Council. Ultimately the East was claiming that the Pontiff was acting *ultra vires* (outside of power).

Patriarch Michael I Cerularius in response to a letter from Pope Leo arguing for his authority and relying on the 'Donation of Constantine' which he believed to be genuine, in his response to the Pope addressed him a 'brother' rather than 'father', clearly indicating where he stood on the authority claim, and attack a number of the latin traditions.

In response to that challenge to the Pope's authority, remembering that he was still dealing with the protection of the Italian state the Pope 'dug in'. In the politics of the day the filioque became a badge of the matter of Roman Primacy and as such became a key factor in the tensions that escalated and led to the Great Schism in 1054.



# Primacy

The subject of primacy is the matter of how the Church orders its affairs. It is about how we make decisions and about how we exercise authority within the Church.

But Jesus called them to him and said, ‘You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. It will not be so among you; but whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be your slave; just as the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many.’<sup>56</sup>

This passage from Matthew is often seen as the blueprint for the exercise of primacy and authority in the Church. It is probably quoted more often by Deacons than by Bishops!

One of the earliest examples we have of this mode in action is the account of the council in Jerusalem recorded in Acts 15.1-35. The matter demanding attention at that time was the question of the need or otherwise of circumcision for gentile converts to Christianity. At verse 13 James quite clearly appears to be exercising a sense of primacy. At verse 22 we see how this primacy is within the sense of council and with the consent of the whole church. This model of decision making seems to be inline with the model inferred in Matthew 20:25-28.

I believe that this is the kind of model that the Anglican Church endeavours to emulate with synodical government, and also the Lambeth Council, where we speak of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the first amongst equals.

Effectively the Eastern Church would argue that this is the relationship of the Patriarchs of the Ancient Sees, Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. Initially they saw the Bishop of Rome - Patriarch of the West, taking the role of primacy, holding the ancient seat of Peter. When there was a movement of power and empire towards Constantinople they argued that the primacy in the Church might move as well. From the Roman point of view that was never going to happen.

As a result of this the conciliar model of primacy was somewhat eroded and a more hierarchical mode arose around the ancient see. This didn’t happen in isolation and did not belong to a single event, however at the time of the coronation of Henry II to resolve the Italian problem, primacy suddenly became inextricably linked to the question of the filioque.

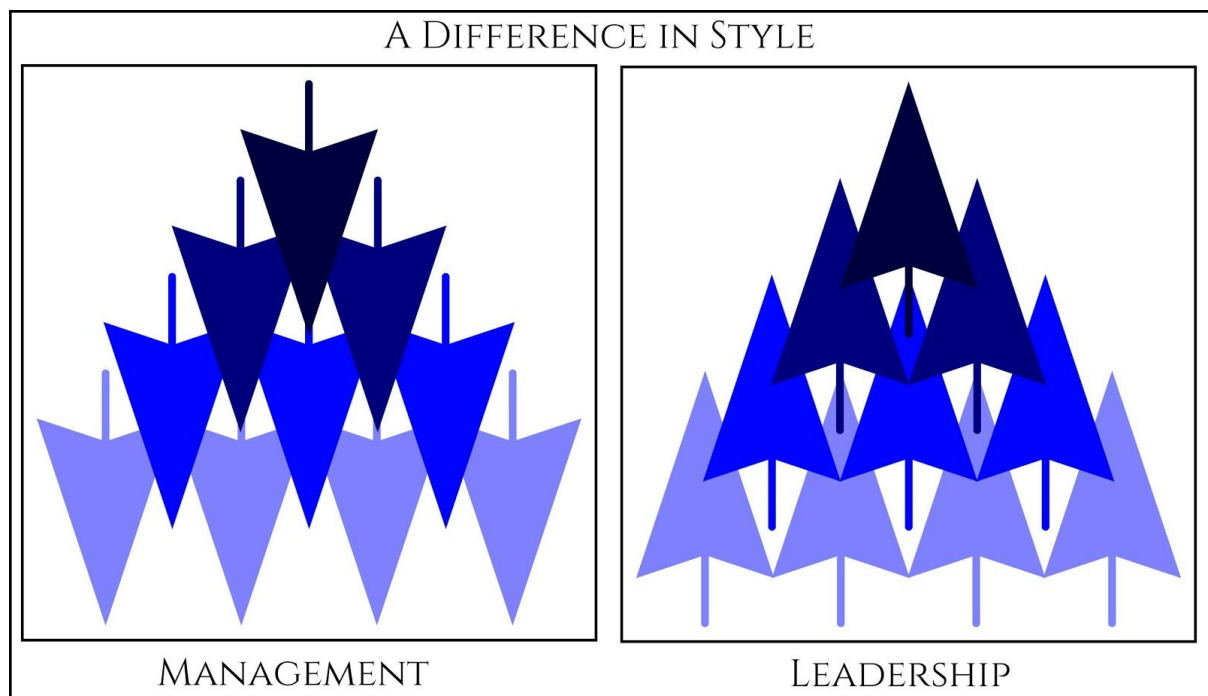
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<sup>56</sup> Matthew 20:25-28 NRSV

## Styles of Leadership

There are of course various styles of leadership, and indeed it is perhaps clear that Jesus himself alluded to that, and is entirely in keeping with the understanding that the kingdom of which he spoke was not simply a now ruler, but a new rule, a new way of being ruled, an asymmetric inversion of the accepted power paradigms.

In terms of style, there is the idea that we lift someone up to lead us, and in elevating them we enable them to take a more global view, that we may all follow and move forward. Some of this is often part of the curriculum of various management schools and it is not my intent to make that the topic. None the less there is no doubt that some of these issues in the history of the Church about primacy can make some excellent case studies for some of the issues.



In contemporary secular management some of this is described as the difference between leadership and management or even worse, 'being in charge'. The conciliar view of primacy is much more in line with the leadership model.

There are of course times in the secular world where management rather than leadership is more appropriate. Increasingly in a team environment the need for everyone to contribute and own the decision is intrinsically important.

Quite clearly in the case of the introduction of the filioque to Rome, that had not happened and the Patriarch's of the East chose not to own the decision and indeed to reject it. It is easy to see the conflict in a very worldly way at this point.

## Primacy in the Church

As indicated before it seems reasonable to conclude on the basis of the evidence of Acts 15 that James was accorded a sense of primacy at the outset. There are no doubt a number of reasons for this. On the one hand he was the brother of Jesus, so perhaps there was a sense of family about it, but perhaps more importantly the earliest expression of the Church was not overly distinguished from the Judaism where it found its origins. As James led the Church in Jerusalem it was probably simply natural that he would be to focus for leadership for the early Church. The Council in Jerusalem is normally dated around 50 AD. The decision of the council is a major step in separating Christianity from Judaism.

Following the imposition the imposition of a Roman Tax on Jews, there was some motivation to separate still further. This tax was imposed in 70 AD following the uprising in 66 AD and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 AD. It would seem that the Church was becoming increasingly gentile. Along with this move it seems that primacy moved towards Rome with Peter, and the natural inclination to be close to the seat of Empire, in a Church which was becoming more broadly based.

The initial centres of most importance in the early Church evolved to the Patriarchs. They claimed apostolic origins, and included Jerusalem (James), Rome (Peter), Antioch (Peter), Alexandria (Mark), and later Constantinople (Andrew). As Constantinople grew in importance, there was some sense in which there was some expectation that primacy might move towards the city described as the 'new Rome'. That idea found little favour in Rome, as might be expected. There appears to have been an ongoing rivalry between Rome and Constantinople.

The exercise of the primacy whilst associated with the seat of empire appears to have developed and reflected something of an imperial model, and perhaps something less of the conciliar model. Numbers of the holders of the office wielded power and influence, and more so after the conversion of Constantine.

One of the things to bear in mind when considering the Councils was that they met for a purpose. They were not designed as theological talk-fests, but rather to address things that had become problematic in the Church, and often that included dealing with teaching that was at odds with the accepted norm and generally ruled as heresy.

## Politics and Piety

Politics and Piety are often unfortunate bedfellows in history, and so those representing the Church of the Carpenter's Son can be seen to become increasingly worldly. During the period from the coronation of Henry II as Holy Roman Emperor 1014 AD and the Great Schism in 1054 AD seems to have been a troubled time for the Papacy. Had the been humbler hands on the wheel the outcome may have been very different. Following the Tusculan Popes we emerged in the period of a new Papacy where the Pontiff is elected from amongst the Cardinals.

One question which I wonder about is why the Popes allowed the Spanish and French Churches to include the filioque. It may well have been a feeling that it was too far away to matter. It may be that there were too many other deals going on in terms of imperial politics where keeping the Franks and the Visigoths onside was thought to be a more important thing. It is also clear that in middle ages, the Spanish, French and English Churches all had a level of autonomy, perhaps more than the Bishops of Rome would have cared for. The Rise of the Holy Roman Empire, and the power of the Carolingian Dynasty brought more uniformity to the Church, and more centralised control to the western church.

There is no doubt that the filioque became much more significant when it was used in Rome itself. Part of the nature of the issue is that the filioque underlines is the matter of primacy. Does the Pope, Bishop of Rome, Patriarch of the West, have the authority to overrule things set in place by the Oecumenical Councils?

It is clear that the Pope thought it was within his authority and did not respond well to his authority being challenged. It is also clear that the Patriarchs of the Eastern Churches thought he did not have the authority. It seems clear by this stage any notion of a conciliar primacy had gone out the window. The model become much more hierarchical.

The World Council of Churches on their website suggest that the two obstacles to the restoration of unity between the East and West are the inclusion of the filioque clause, and the extent and nature of the primacy held by the Pope. The allied and related theological issue is the matter of the procession of the Spirit, discussed in that section.

Some part of this needs to be understood in a wider context than just the context of the Western Church. The Church is not a democracy. Democracy however has served the Church as a means to enacting some sort of conciliar approach. Popes since the Tusculan Papacy have been elected - in a very holy way - to serve.

Synodical government, for all its frustration has been a method of allowing a more conciliar approach to the governance of the Church. Certainly there have been Bishops who would have preferred to freedom of not answering to Synod, and Synods that would have preferred a Bishop to think otherwise than they did. Difference does not need to divide us, as was clearly see in the Council in Jerusalem when it became important to talk about what it was to be a Christian, and did that include circumcision?

The Oecumenical Councils are in one sense some of the codified expressions of Holy Tradition. They tell us what we have agreed as a whole body. The Nicene Creed {C} as expressed at the Council of Constantinople has been one of the great triumphs of this method of making decisions, (with much thanks to the Cappadocian Fathers).

I guess the other way of asking the question is, 'are Popes subject to the Council's?'

The English speaking world is used to the notion of a King subject to parliament. The Magna Carta enshrined that notion, and it came about because of a rogue King.

I guess that there is nothing in writing to say that the Pope is subject to the Councils, however to my mind, (and that is a 21st Century English cultural heritage kind of mind) it seems reasonable to expect that the Pope would be subject to conciliar authority.

Of course since Vatican 1 the Pope has had the capacity to speak *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and doctrine, and I note that authority has not been, and in the current climate is unlikely likely to be, addressed to the filioque clause.

# Why is the filioque a big issue?

There is no doubt that the filioque was (is) a great marker in the great schism of the Church which began in 1054 and continues to this day. The Orthodox, by their very nature, have been a more than a little change averse. (a few people may smile at that point). For them one of the arguments is how could a creed that had been determined and ratified over three of the great Oecumenical Councils of the universal church be changed by a local council or even by one part of the Church. This especially so in light of the anathemas in the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon for those who add to or take away from the creed.

Part of this needs to be understood in terms of the development of the Church. At the beginning in Acts we see that the primary seat of the Church was Jerusalem and that James exercised a sense of primacy there. Following the expulsion of the Christians from the synagogue and the success of the Church in the gentile regions, primacy appears to have shifted to Rome, the seat of Peter (upon the rock) and the seat of Empire. This primacy was considered more generally conciliar and not strictly hierarchical as such.

The rise of Constantinople as the 'New Rome' saw some measure of precedence being given to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Rome seems to have gathered into, or inherited from its imperial status, some sense of hierarchy. It is this sense of primacy which the Orthodox rejected most clearly took objection.

The ultimate badge of that primacy being exercised was the change to the Creed of the Councils on the say of one Bishop - all be he the Pope - the Patriarch of the West - without the ascent of a new oecumenical council.

The filioque has been called heresy in the Encyclical of the Eastern Patriarchs in 1848

On Theological grounds they contend

1. It is in direct opposition to the text of John 15:26 'When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who comes from the Father, he will testify on my behalf'.
2. The suggestion that the clause highlights the role of the Son are nonsense as in the Christological section he is already described as 'God from God, Light for Light, Very God from Very God'
3. The procession implies a subordination of the Spirit to the Son. In Orthodox theology any quality must be common to all three person of the Trinity as one God, or unique to one of them. The balance of unity and diversity is destroyed if you speak of the Spirit's seat of origin in both the Father and the Son.

4. One outcome of the filioque is that the role of the Holy Spirit in the Church is diminished, and spirituality wanders towards legalism, unity finds expression in an office, and sacraments come to be understood in terms of validity.

Much has been written to defend or attack a theology of double procession to support one side or the other, which I guess is the nature of such a division.

Many in the West have understood this and will say 'well of course the Orthodox are right, but we will go on saying the filioque because that is the creed that has nurtured us'.

It is clear that there is a sense of a theology of a double procession which the Orthodox will accept, (and I acknowledge that they are perhaps amongst the most change averse), and that is the kind of double procession of which Augustine spoke, which couched itself in the primary procession (point of original emanation) always and everywhere being that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Sadly some who came after Augustine missed some of the importance of that caveat.

Many westerners think it is not a big issue, that the Orthodox have a point, but in the end it does not matter. Well it matters to the Orthodox, and not mindlessly, but when we choose to think it doesn't matter, we run the risk of saying they don't matter. In many senses it matters because it matters to them. A divided Church is not the mind of Jesus, we must learn to celebrate our differences, lament our divisions, and pray wisdom to know which it is.

# And the problem with the ‘and’

It is generally contended that the use of language over time changes, and indeed more quickly I suspect in recent time than any time in history. One of the obvious examples is the use of inclusive language which has become normative in the Western world.

The last fifty years has seen significant advances in the use of computers. The fact that I am writing this in a cloud based application, over time from several devices. This statement would have made no sense to anyone fifty years ago, (maybe even twenty years ago).

The rise of computers has brought with it good and ill. It has been accompanied by some simplification of language, and the rise of boolean logic. Recently I read one of the homilies from the book of homilies and I was immediately struck by the depth of language, the length of sentences, and the length of the paragraphs.

Boolean logic essentially deals in logic statements that are reduced to and/or statements.

For it to be a Sunny Winters Day both conditions need to be met for it to be true. If it is not winer then the statement cannot be true, and if it is not sunny the statement cannot be true. So:

- If it is sunny AND winter then both conditions are met and it is true.
- If it is not Sunny OR not Winter then both conditions are not met and it is false.
- If it is sunny, but not winter then it is false.
- If it is winter, but not sunny then it is false.
- Of course if it is night it is always false.

Because this is the world that were are using the language within, it has a potential to be misunderstood. If we say ‘proceeds from the Father and the Son’ does this imply that both conditions must be true? Clearly not.

Accepting the Augustinian contention that all three persons in the Holy Trinity operate within a perfect unity, there are still points in the Biblical record where this confounded reading is not helpful. In the Genesis account of creation, there is no requirement that the Spirit moving (brooding) over the waters, has any connection to the creative word from the Father, save that both find their absolute source and being in the Father. In the account of the Baptism of Jesus the descent of the Holy Spirit is clearly from the Father, otherwise it is reduced to an exercise in self authentication which is clearly counter the meaning and intent of the passage.

So:

- The Spirit always proceeds from the Father
- When the Spirit proceeds from the Son the Spirit is already proceeding from the Father.



- The Spirit may always proceed from the Father without the conspicuous involvement of the Son, save to the integral unity of the Holy Trinity.

Yes, my brain hurts too!

Possibly this is one of the problems with the Filioque as an expression of a theology of double procession, it lacks clarity and depth, and is, as a result, not as helpful as it might be.

# So why do we still use filioque?

We are saying it because since 1014 the Western Church has generally used the Filioque. We have argued it, we have discussed it, we have hurt our brains over it, and we have continued to say it, because this is the creed our fathers said, and they said it because it was the creed their fathers said. You do, however, get to a point when you understand that was not always true.

In a sense I think the western Church may have got it wrong. It is not even all that clear what they were trying to sort out.

At Toledo III the major issue is Arianism, effectively well and truly dealt with in the section on Christology in the Nicene Creed {C}. There was a theology of double procession, that the Council seems to have accepted, however it affirmed the Nicene Creed {C} without the filioque. If the filioque (or at least *et filio*) has crept into the creed following that Council in the rush to get enough copies for it to be sung everywhere, it is conceivable that it initiated from an error in copying, after all the next line in latin has a *patre et filio* as well.

At Hatfield, it is hard to see that it was for any more reason than to adopt the current liturgical trend. And maybe it amounts to a comedy of errors that we have continued to defend. Maybe they thought they had got it wrong and were trying to repair the damage. At the same time there is no conclusive evidence that this council endorsed the inclusion of the filioque within the Nicene Symbol, at this stage.

Following Aix-la-Chapelle the French just ignored the Pope, which makes one wonder why they asked.

In Rome in 1014, the only reason seems to be that it was what Henry was used to in Germany and what he preferred as he was made Holy Roman Emperor, with the allied political realities of the day.

So when the Eastern Church objected, why did they persist, and allow the Church to break. Because it may seem it had become the badge of papal power and authority - referred to as Roman Primacy. It may of course also be a casualty of secular politics.

Following the division there seems to have been a course of determining to show that we were right, rather than determining to resolve the divide. It is clear to say that the Orthodox have been intransigent, unshakeable, immovable in the defence of the Creed that has the authority of the Oecumenical Councils. The western response seems to have been to dig in and try to show that the theology is a better option.

For the love of God, and I mean that exactly, why then are we still saying it?

# Why didn't the Reformation drop it?

From an Anglican point of view, initially Henry VIII had little taste for the continental reformation. He saw the break with Rome as more about temporal authority, and as regaining control of his ability to manage the assets of the realm (a lot of which was tied up in ecclesial holdings) and about his need to produce a male heir for the good of the kingdom.

Cranmer and the leading lights were concerned about many things, in this steering a middle course between the Roman Church and much they had grown to dislike and the plain and spartan approach of the reformers. The Eastern Church was out of site, and largely out of mind so the issue seems to have gained little traction during this time.

In a sense the Church they knew was largely western, that had Augustine and Aquinas talking about it, and they had a linguistic capacity to get what it was about.

The mind of the continental reformers was to advocate strongly for a double procession, in the tradition of Augustine and Aquinas, and to some extent the rationale for that, especially in terms of those biblical passages that supported it, was that in a sense it ensure that Jesus Christ was pre-eminent in all things. The attraction that this approach provides is easy to see from the perspective that there was a sense stripping from the church the things that clouded the clarity of of faith that proclaimed justification by faith alone.

Of course the Eastern Church appeared to have as much, if not more, gilt glitz and glamour, and so was still viewed with a level of concern, against the plain fare of European Protestantism. The Eastern concept of Trinity involved too much mystery, and a conciliar egalitarian model that made it hard to understand. The latin model had become more defined and in a sense more hierarchical, and indeed it may well be that some part of that may be due to years and years of having included the filioque which gives prominence to a theology of double procession.

In truth the faith that the reformers inherited was the faith of the Western Church, and the filioque as such was perhaps a bridge too far. They had issues with simony, indulgences, excessive veneration of the saints, sacramental understandings which seen more magic than mystery, and a whole manner of practices they saw as a corruption of the truth of the Gospel.

In the manner of these things, there is a tendency in a tradition to argue for a practice, so once the die was cast, there has been an ongoing tradition of arguing for the filioque, and certainly for a double procession theology. The attraction of the double procession is surely the logical consistency and the prominence, if not pre-eminence, it gives to the second person of the Son.

Obviously I can not speak for Orthodox Theologians, however there are many who understand that the Orthodox position would understand Double Procession, to be possible

in the sense that the Spirit who has proceeded from the Father, may proceed at the behest, or at the intercession of the Son, so concepts of this second procession being with, or through, is perhaps more tenable. The concern is anything that suggests that the Son has created (in the sense of point of origin) the Spirit they would see as an attack on the monarchical integrity of the Father, and effectively a contortion of the Holy Trinity, and one can understand their concern on this issue.

Some more modern post-reformation theologians take the view that 'God reveals himself in language' (or propositions) and as such it is the mysticism that failing to have the filioque that allows them conceive encountering God in Nature, Music, Art, Icons, Sacraments, and all manner of things beyond the pure 'word of God' we experience in scripture alone. I would contend that we do encounter God beyond the pages of the Bible, and it is the understanding we have of God from reading the Bible and our experience in the community of faith that allows to more easily recognise the God who reveals himself in all manner of other places. Arguments that confine or restrict God's revelation of himself leave me cold, and feeling like it is a very good reason to drop it!

I think that part of the problem is that God does reveal himself and we have struggled with language to be an adequate record of the revelation. For me, it is that language that has to be the small thing, it is the revelation that must triumph.

# Recent Anglican Approaches

There have been in the last 50 years a number of occasions where Anglicans have made significant statements in relation specifically to the use of the filioque clause.

## The Moscow Agreement 1976

21. The Anglican members therefore agree that:
- (a) because the original form of the Creed referred to the origin of the Holy Spirit from the Father,
  - (b) because the Filioque clause was introduced into this Creed without the authority of an Ecumenical Council and without due regard for Catholic consent, and
  - (c) because this Creed constitutes the public confession of faith by the People of God in the Eucharist, the Filioque clause should not be included in this Creed.<sup>57</sup>

That indeed seems to be a fair summation of the issue. It was criticised for a lack of theological consideration. The Moscow agreement was hailed in some quarters of Anglicanism and decried in others. Effectively what the Moscow Agreement said was if you are going to call it the Nicene Creed, then it does not have a filioque clause. The issues it was concerned with were largely that of the procedural matters, with no discussion of primacy or procession of the Spirit.

## Lambeth 1978

35.3. requests that all member Churches of the Anglican Communion should consider omitting the Filioque from the Nicene Creed, and that the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission through the Anglican Consultative Council should assist them in presenting the theological issues to their appropriate synodical bodies and should be responsible for any necessary consultation with other Churches of the Western tradition.<sup>58</sup>

Some Churches in the Communion have done this, and responded, even the Church of England in Common Worship has options without the filioque. Canada, Scotland now have prayer books without it.

## Lambeth 1988

6.5. Asks that further thought be given to the Filioque clause, recognising it to be a major point of disagreement,

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<sup>57</sup> The Moscow Agreement - 21. Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

<sup>58</sup> Resolutions of Lambeth Conference 1978 - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

- (a) recalling Resolution 35.3 of the Lambeth Conference 1978 and the varied, and on the whole positive, response from those provinces which responded to ACC-4's request to consider the removal of this clause from liturgical texts,
- (b) noting that the Report of the Faith and Order Commission of the WCC "Ecumenical Explication of the Apostolic Faith as expressed in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan (381) Creed" bases itself on the original text,
- (c) believing that it may be possible to achieve unity of action on the part of all the 'Western Churches' to adopt the original form of the Creed without any betrayal of their theological heritage,
- (d) recommending to the provinces of the Anglican Communion that in future liturgical revisions the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed be printed without the Filioque clause.<sup>59</sup>

The Lambeth Fathers after ten years moved from 'consider omitting' to recommending ... adopt the original form of the Creed'.

## The Cyprus Statement 2006

45. A Christology shaped by Pneumatology may help us to avoid misunderstandings that arise in the debate over the filioque. Eastern theologians have argued that the filioque obscures the distinctiveness of the Spirit, and tends to make the Spirit seem inferior to the Father and the Son. Western theologians, even when admitting the force of such fears, have defended the filioque on the grounds that we must never seem to divorce the Spirit from the Father's purpose of bringing us into the trinitarian communion by adopting us as sons and daughters in the Son.<sup>60</sup>

46. We have sought to show that Anglicans and Orthodox are agreed about both the inadequacies of the filioque and the need to develop Christology and Pneumatology in the closest possible connection. To set aside the filioque is not to deny the mutual relation of the Son and the Spirit, in the eternal life of the Trinity as well as in the economy of salvation.<sup>61</sup>

47. If our trinitarian theology fully expresses the mutual relation of the three divine Persons, we can properly witness to the inseparable connection between the work of the Son and the work of the Holy Spirit in achieving our salvation, without having recourse to the filioque. We should never seek to understand the Son and the Spirit in isolation from each other. That would be to deny the fundamental vision of our trinitarian faith.<sup>62</sup>

The Cyprus Statement accords a lot more weight to the Theology of the Holy Trinity, and the witness of the Fathers. It is clear in the document that the findings are of mutuality and

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<sup>59</sup> Resolutions of Lambeth Conference 1988 - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

<sup>60</sup> The Cyprus Statement - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

<sup>61</sup> The Cyprus Statement - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

<sup>62</sup> The Cyprus Statement - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

integrity, and recognising that removing the filioque does not undo our faith in the Holy Trinity.

## **Lambeth 2008**

The Vision Before us - Even where there is agreement in principle, formal progress can be slow. For example, IASCER was aware of only a very limited response to Lambeth Conference 1998 Resolution IV.8 inviting endorsement by Christmas 2000 of WCC proposals for a common date for Easter; while the 1988 recommendation, in Resolution 6, that in future liturgical revisions the Nicene creed be printed without the filioque clause, has still not fully been implemented across the Communion.

I can't help thinking that the Lambeth Conference looks a little like Pope Leo III when the French just kept on chanting the Nicene Creed with the Filioque included with little regard for what he had to say.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference 2008 - Can be found on the Anglican Communion Website

# The Councils of the Church

As I was going spare keeping track of Councils I have made a summary list and I hope this helps others keep track of it. It does provide something of a time line against other developments.

## The First Council of Nicaea - 325 [OE]

The Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15 and Galatians 2) was the first Church Council, attended by the Apostles, however the first Oecumenical Council was called by the Constantine with Pope Sylvester I. At Nicaea, just south of Constantinople in Asia Minor. Athanasius who, amidst his struggles with the Arians, argued convincingly for condemning Arius and, as a deacon, Athanasius was at the forefront in defining the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Heavenly Father. Nicene Creed {N}

### The Council of Antioch - 341 [E]

This Synod took place in conjunction with the blessing of the Golden Basilica and passed Three or four creeds as alternatives to the Creed {N}. The issue was to avoid the Arian errors and and the Nicene declaration 'of the one substance' which troubled some in the East.

### The Council of Seleucia - 358 [E]

The Council met in confused times to condemn Anomoeanism and sort out leadership issues. The adopted the creed of Antioch, which clearly anathematised their opponents and embraced a theology of the Spirit with underlined the Spirit being sent from heaven by the Son, whilst not using the language of procession.

## The First Council Constantinople - 381 [OE]

The second Oecumenical Council was at Constantinople. the Roman Emperor of the East Theodosius I Roman Emperor of the East convened to address friction between the emperor in Constantinople and the Pope, Damasus I, in Rome. In the first instance this was a council of the East and the west was not present. 186 bishops did attend. Gregory Nazianzen and Cyril of Jerusalem, were major influences. The Council reaffirmed Nicaea and defined the Consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, and so condemned the heresy of Macedonius. Nicene Creed {C}

### The First Council of Toledo 1 397-400 [W]

Not a lot is known of the first Council of Toledo, though we do have the record. It was essentially dealing with the Priscillian heresy. The opening assent to the faith is suggestive of a theology of double procession, in line with the timing it would seem



likely that this was of the Augustinian influence. Lampius was the Bishop of Barcelona present on the occasion. This suggests that a theology of double procession was alive and well in Iberia within 15 years of the 1st Council of Constantinople, and presumably therefore sometime before. The word filioque is used here, twice, and that has given rise to some speculation that the account has been edited at a much later date.

### **The Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon - 410 [E]**

Called by Mar Isaac, in Persia. The council extended official recognition to The Church of the East, and the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon as its Catholicos. A major milestone in the East and Christianity in Asia. As Archbishop of all the Orient order was brought to Christians in Persia who up to that point were fairly disorganized and persecuted. Zoroastrianism was the primary religion, in 409, permission was formally given to the Christians to even exist, to worship openly, and to rebuild destroyed churches, but not allowed to proselytize. The Synod also declared its adherence to the decisions of the Council of Nicea and subscribed to the Nicene Creed. There is some evidence that this council acknowledged a form of double procession.

### **Council of Carthage - 418 [W]**

May 418 a great synod (Augustine of Hippo called it A Council of Africa), which assembled under the presidency of Aurelius, to address Pelagian doctrines of human nature, original sin, grace, and perfectibility. The Council affirmed the Augustinian position.

## **Council of Ephesus - 431 [OE]**

The Third Oecumenical Council at Ephesus was called by Theodosius II with Pope Saint Celestine I, The Divine Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as the Theotokos (the God Bearer) was affirmed. Led by Cyril of Alexandria, the Council defined that Christ has two natures - Divine and human, but only one Person which is Divine. This affirmation condemned and deposed Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople. The Council also affirmed the Council of Carthage held for the local Church in 418, condemning Pelagius and his teachings. The Council declared anathema on anyone who added to or Subtracted from the Nicene Symbol.

### **First Council of Toledo 397-400 [W]**

Not a lot is known of the first Council of Toledo, though we do have the record. The opening assent to the faith is suggestive of a theology of double procession, in line with the timing it would seem likely that this was of the Augustinian influence. Lampius was the Bishop of Barcelona present on the occasion.

## **The Council of Chalcedon - 451 [OE]**

Convened by Marcian Roman Emperor of the East, with Pope Leo 1 at Chalcedon. The Council condemned Monophysitism. The council argued the question of Constantinople being ecclesiastically equal to Rome. The major lasting work of the Council was the clarification of Christology. The council affirmed the Nicene Creed {C} and the anathemas of Ephesus.

## **Second Council of Constantinople - 553 [OE]**

The Roman Emperor in Constantinople Justinian I and the president was Eutychius of Constantinople (Pope Vigilius was in Constantinople) The council condemned the "Three Chapters" a collection of statements by three deceased disciples of the deposed Nestorius. The major thrust and purpose of this was to affirm and underline the Chalcedonian position as the standard orthodox christology of the Church.

### **The Third Council of Toledo - 589 [W]**

Convened by Reaccared I, Leander Bishop of Seville, to bring the Arian Visigothic Kingdom of Iberia into the Catholic Church. It affirmed the oecumenical councils and the anathemas, and the Nicene Creed {C}, which also expressing support for a theology of double procession. There is a separate section dealing with this council.

### **The Council of Rome - 649 [W]**

The purpose of this Council was to deal with Monothelitism, and the canons were sent to Hatfield and were subscribed to by the English Bishops as a measure of their orthodoxy. This Council met in The Lateran Palace, though is not numbered as a Lateran Council.

### **Third Council of Braga 675 [W]**

The Third Council of Braga , Portugal, was opposed to the selling of Holy Orders, and a number of procedural matters. They did affirm the Nicene Creed with *et filio*.

### **The Council of Hatfield - 680 [W]**

Convened in Hatfield (there were several councils in Hatfield and they are normally distinguished by date rather than numbers) by Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury against Monothelitism. I appears to affirms the Nicene Creed {C}, the councils and the anathemas, and also embraces a theology of Double Procession. This is noted by the Venerable Bede. In some ways the suggestion was that Pope Agatho wanted

to test the orthodoxy of the English Church, on the other hand it may have been in part a test run in preparation for the Third Council of Constantinople.

## Third Council of Constantinople - 681 [OE]

Called Emperor Constantine IV presided over by George I Patriarch of Constantinople. Pope Agatho was represented by several Roman Bishops. The council condemned Monothelism. Pope Agatho died during the Council and his successor Pope Leo II approved the decrees of past Councils. Pope Leo also condemned a previous Pope, Honorius I, for supporting the heresy.

## Quintext Council - 696 [E]

Sometimes called the Council in Trullo as it was held in the domed hall in the Imperial Palace. Called under the Emperor Justinian. It was attended by 215 Eastern Bishops. The matters of the Council were primarily to do with discipline and order, and largely based on the practices in the Church in the East. The Pope declined to assent to the Council, however it is accepted in the East as the extension of the Councils of Constantinople II and III.

## The Council of Gentilly 767 [W]

This is described as an assembly of Frankish Nobles and Bishops near Paris. King Pepin the Short was almost certainly there. One matter they addressed was the filioque, and decried the Byzantine Church for dropping it.

## Second Council of Nicaea - 787 [OE]

The Council was called by the Empress Irene to deal with the heresy of Iconoclasm. There was a growing unrest with the Eastern Bishops who were spreading the heresy of Iconoclasm fostered by Emperor **Leo III**. The latter had been fiercely condemned by **Pope Hadrian I**, as well as his predecessors **Popes Gregory II** and **Pope Gregory III**. A great Doctor of the Church **Saint John Damascene** had also defended images as a means of reverence. At the core was the growing split and resentment between East and West.

## Council of Frankfurt 794 [W]

The Council called by Charlemagne condemned Spanish Adoptionism, and both the veneration and the destruction of religious images (icons). In discussing adoptionism the council touched on the question of the insertion of the filioque. The insertion of

the filioque in this setting makes more sense as a foil against adoptionism, that as against arianism.

### Synod of Friuli 796 [W]

Alquin tells us of the Synod of Friuli, following the Council of Frankfurt, and that the main business was to promote the inclusion of the Nicene Creed {C} in the English position which was after the Gospel. This was the Creed {C} with the inserted filioque. This has become fairly much the Western Position of the Creed, against the eastern position after the Peace and before the Anaphora.

### Fourth Council of Constantinople - 869-70 (Roman Catholic) \* [W]

The issue of declaring Photius a heretic was paramount for the Fourth Council of Constantinople which was called jointly by the Emperor Basil and Pope Hadrian II in 869. Photius had openly criticized clerical celibacy, challenged Pope Leo III's crowning of Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas of 800, and questioned the *Filioque* of the Creed. Photius was condemned by the Council. 200 years later the Great Eastern Schism became official when Michael Cerularius closed the Latin churches in Constantinople and was excommunicated by Pope Leo IV in 1054. Also of concern at the Council was the growing Saracen threat.

### Fourth Council of Constantinople - 879-880 (Eastern Orthodox) \* [E]

The issue of restoring Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople was paramount to this Fourth Council of Constantinople. The synod was called by the Emperor Basil. Following the death of Ignatius in 877 the Emperor appointed Photius to the See. The council including over 400 Bishops confirmed Photius as the rightful Patriarch and he received a gift of a Pallium from Pope John V111. A condemnation was read out against those who add 'their own invented clauses' to the Creed {C}.

#### \* Yes this is confusing

The East accepts the second Fourth Council, whilst the West accepts the first Fourth Council. The East celebrates Photius as a saint, which the West deplors him as a heretic. Ultimately as far as I can see these two Councils were focused on Church and Politics, and I am not sure that God got much of a look in. Ultimately I think we should treat neither of them as oecumenical.

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## The Great Schism - 1054

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### **First Lateran Council - 1123 [W]**

The First Lateran Council was the first general council after the Great Schism convened by Pope Callistus II. The Council agreed to the *Concordat of Worms* that assured all elections of prelates and abbots would be made by ecclesial authorities only with the Emperor having approval only in Germany. This council enforced clerical celibacy.

### **Second Lateran Council - 1139 [W]**

It was necessary to call a second General Council just 16 years later because of the Papal schism in which Pope Innocent II declared null and void all acts and decrees by the deceased antipope Anicetus II. The Council also condemned the heresies of Peter Bruys and Arnold of Brescia and enacted reforms suggested by Bernard of Clairvaux who also preached a crusade against the threat of the Crescent Moon of Islam. The council pronounced anathemas on those who did not accept double procession. There are moves afoot to have these anathemas lifted.

### **Third Lateran Council - 1179 [W]**

Pope Alexander III called the third Council at the Lateran Basilica because once again a General Council had to be called to undo the damage done by anti-popes Victor IV and others. The Council also set the election of the Roman Pontiff must be by two-thirds of the majority of cardinals voting, establishing the Sacred Conclave as the voting body. The Council condemned the heresies of Albigenses and Waldenses.

### **Fourth Lateran Council - 1215 [W]**

Pope Innocent III called the Fourth Lateran Council trying to recover from the failed Children's (5th) Crusade, successfully regaining his power. Innocent declared in that position that "There is but one Universal Church, outside of which there is no salvation." The Council used the term 'Transubstantiation' for the mystery of the bread and wine, and called catholics to give the sacraments more attention.

### **First Council of Lyons - 1245 [W]**

Pope Innocent IV called the First Council of Lyons in 1245, having been forced to flee Rome for the refuge of Lyons France. Only 140 bishops were at Lyons, it had the support of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Constantinople, Venice and the Emperor of the East. Great concern was also given to the Mongol hordes invading Europe and the loss of Jerusalem to the infidel, as well as problems with lax clergy.

## **Second Council of Lyons - 1274 [W]**

Pope Gregory X called the Second Council of Lyons. This Council attempted to reunite with the Eastern Church. It was only temporary and the schism grew with the affirmation of the *Filioque*. Also addressed were regulations for Papal election.

## **Council of Vienne 1311-12 [W]**

In 'Avignon Exile' (1305-1377), the Council lasted two years. Called by Pope Clement V. The Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria joined the Pope, but far fewer bishops and dignitaries attended. The council suppressed the Knights Templars and Jacques de Molay. Politics also played a role with Philip IV ruler of France being reinstated in the Church after his excommunication. The Council condemned various heresies.

## **Fifth Council of Constantinople 1341-1351 [E]**

This covers a round of six Patriarchal Councils in the period. They sought to resolve and then rule on an irreconcilable dispute between Hesychasm and Palamite Councils. Effectively this was about mystical prayer methodologies embraced by some in the East and roundly condemned by some more pragmatic and largely western clergy serving in the east.

## **Council of Constance - 1414-18 [W]**

Because of the Great Western Schism the legitimate Pope Gregory XII abdicated the Papal throne during the Council at the Emperor's request for the sake of unity amid the confusion of the multi-popes including the anti-popes of Avignon - Benedict XIII and John XXIII. The Council elected Pope Martin V in 1417, three years after the Council opened. It ended the Great Schism and began the struggle between papal and conciliar power. It condemned the heresies of John Wycliffe and John Hus.

## **Council of Florence - 1431-45 [W]**

The Council began in Basel, Switzerland, called by Pope Martin V. Pope Eugene IV opened it and met resistance. So he moved it to Ferrara, Italy in 1438 because of the election of antipope Felix V. In 1439 the bubonic plague forced the Council to move to Florence where it was closed in 1447. The council affirmed the Roman Pontiff as head of the whole church. The Eastern Church was under great pressure from the infidel, and delegates accepted the *filioque* in exchange for support. This was not well supported as a compromise. When Constantinople fell six years later, the Eastern Church dropped it altogether. Papal Authority triumphed over conciliar authority. Pope Eugene IV, backed by the Council proclaimed infallible the dogma of no salvation for anyone outside the Church.

### **Fifth Lateran Council 1512-17 [W]**

Pope Alexander VI - called the Council, returning to the Lateran for the Fifth Synod in 1512. When Julius died, Pope Leo X carried on the Council. Decrees disciplinary in trying to stem the tide of Martin Luther and others who were outwardly rebelling against the Church. The problems with the growing Protestant Reformation occupied the agenda. The Council reaffirmed the superiority of the Pope over conciliar powers.

### **Council of Trent - 1545-63 [W]**

Called by Pope Paul III. The 25 major sessions over eighteen years under five popes - Pope Julius III, Marcellus II, Paul IV and Pope Pius IV. Pope Pius V reformed the Missal. The Council issued dogmatic and reformatory decrees on the Holy Eucharist, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacraments reinstating traditions. It was the Counter-Reformation, Protestantism was condemned along with Luther and other reformers. Moral discipline was emphasized in order that the Church regain the respect and authority intended and passed down through the infallible, perennial Magisterium, preserving the Truths and Traditions in the Sacred Deposit of the Faith.

### **First Vatican Council 1869-70 [W]**

Many consider the First Vatican Council as the longest ever because, in truth, it has never been closed. Convened by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1869 with 803 of the hierarchy present from the universal Church, it only had four sessions, all reaffirming Trent. In 1870 the Council affirmed the infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff.

### **Second Vatican Council - 1962-65 [W]**

The Second Vatican Council was in many ways a marked shift for the Roman Catholic Church. The Mass was to be said in the language of the people. The Council was marked by a determination to embrace a modern world with a modern Church and a commitment to work towards the reunification of the whole Church.

# Liturgy and Eucharist

The idea of a stand out moment of the Liturgy of the Eucharist is to my mind is an absurdity as the liturgy needs to be understood as a whole. None the less for many in the West the importance of the words of institution has always seemed crucial and central. Sometimes in the west we have minimised or dwarfed the epiclesis (the invocation of the Holy Spirit) which clearly our Eastern Brothers and Sisters view with as much a level of reverence (if not more) that we see in the words of institution.

It is clear at one level that this is a difference in the traditions, not a division, and documents such as The Moscow Agreement and The Cyprus Statement have clearly canvassed that issue more fully.

It does seem to me that the filioque does, in a way, collide with an understanding of the epiclesis and very much the same way it does in trying to understand the account of the Baptism of Jesus. Jesus in the Gospels on a number of occasions refused to self authenticate.

In the Eucharist we declare that we are the Body of Christ, an affirmation of our sacramental role in the world. We do not do that without the power of the Spirit of God, nor without being fed and nurtured in the holy sacrament of the altar. In a very real sense that calling of the Holy Spirit, the epiclesis in the Eucharist is not so much a prayer that bread and wine might be transformed, but a prayer that we might be transformed, that our world may be transformed through our being transformed.

We stand boldly to affirm One Church and then behave as if there are many. We need to start making our liturgy real and we need to start realising that being one Church is part of our mission. Mission and Ecumenical Dialogue are not different, but rather both are about authentically being who we declare ourselves to be. An Oecumenical outlook may indeed be a sixth Mark of Mission.

In the Liturgy John Chrysostom I found the Nicene Symbol was said after the Greeting of Peace and after the preparation of the elements, and before the Sursum Corda, more it seemed as a prayer, as a commitment, than as a statement of faith.

In the Liturgy of St James generally thought to have been authored by Cyril of Jerusalem around 10 years before the Council of Constantinople the Creed appears after the dismissal of the catechumens, preparation and censing of the gifts, and before the greeting of peace. (This may be a later interpolation into the text)

Whilst I do not claim a specific knowledge or familiarity with Eastern Liturgy after reading several of the texts one has the sense that the creed is positioned in such a way as it is part of the holy offering and commitment, and in that light we start to understand why the



Orthodox are often referring to the Nicene Symbol. It is indeed an element of our communion with God.

Of course the earliest liturgies of the Church predated the Creed, and whilst there is some evidence of the Roman Symbol being used as a Baptismal profession, it was probably not part of the early Eucharistic rites. Toledo III seems to mark the first time there was a decision to require the creed to be used in the eucharistic liturgy of the western church on Sundays and Holy Days.

# Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology is about a theology of the Church.

There has been some suggestion from the East that when you constrain the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Son you are diminishing the perception of the capacity of God to work in the world, and giving that we proclaim the Church is the Body of Christ, we are constraining God to act solely within the confines of the Church.

My initial feeling was to think this kind of approach was a bit of a stretch, however if you look through the councils the determination on the part the Church in the West to validate the filioque clause was in tandem with a development of thought that gave an increasing sense of authority to the Holy Office of the Bishop of Rome, and the development of a theology of the importance of the Church expressed *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* 'No Salvation Outside the Church'. Whilst there has been work done by recent theologians to recouch this theology in more positive terms, it still struggles.

Somehow this human desire to draw lines and determine what is in and out, seems to fly in the face of God who of infinite mercy chose to destroy the ultimate barriers between divinity and humanity, between death and life.

Ultimately this discussion ends up somewhere close to Augustine's City of God, where we have a spiritual reality of Church, and an institutional expression of Church. In a perfect world these two may well be aligned, however we recognise there are many limitations of the journey. A great many saints have sat in Peter's chair, but history also suggests a few less glorious as well.

The Church is wholly contained in God, however the Church does not wholly contain God. We do have room for sinners, indeed we only have room for sinners, for all have sinned and are falling short of the Glory of God.<sup>64</sup> God works through his Church, but not only through his Church. God is passionately involved in the whole creation.

There has been some suggestion from the West that the Eastern Church has underperformed in mission when compared to the West, and that some of the reason for this is the mysticism that is embraced by omitting the filioque.

It suspect that it is true that there has been a difference in outcomes, and one must ask if God counts numbers or faithfulness? The Eastern Church has had to deal with the assaults of Islam far more than the West historically. I also think that the western position of the creed {C} as of the Synod of Friuli (after the Gospel) expressed the mind of a Church more determined in mission, whilst the Eastern resolve to keep the Symbol in close connection to the sacramental offering expressed the mind of a Church more determined in worship.

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<sup>64</sup> Romans 3.23

On the one hand in the west our worship has sometimes been at it's very best a great dialogue between in transcendent and the immanent, and sometimes loses the transcendent in celebration of the joy of living. In the contemporary west one can wonder if we have lost any sense of the holy, and simply settled for the loving.

Some in the West suggest that if you do not allow a double procession you distance the Church from Jesus, making us at arm's length. I can make very little sense of this argument as it fails to embrace any idea that the Church is the Body of Christ.

# Odd Notes

When I started this research project I thought I knew what I was going to find. As it turns out I had no idea what I was going to find. I had for a long time believed that the Filioque was inserted at the Third Council of Toledo. All the good textbooks said so. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church said so. I went looking to find a reason for the insertion. I had not really accepted the reason given as a foil against Arianism, firstly because it did nothing for the argument that was not already signed off on in the Christological Section of the Nicene Symbol, and secondly because it does nothing in terms of Arianism anyway. So I was very excited to find the record on-line, in latin (which I find more than a struggle) so I did a search in the record for *filioque* and got no result. My next search was for *filio* and before my eyes I discovered that which is footnoted everywhere did not line up with the primary record, as the record shows the Creed {C} without the filioque, in full and twice.

In the discussions about faith it is also clear that there is an acceptance of a theology of double procession, not especially different to the First Council of Toledo.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, by way of example says in its entry on the Filioque:

It is no part of the original Creed, but is first met with as an interpolation (acc. to the usual texts) at the Third Council of Toledo (589)<sup>65</sup>

The issue this presents is if it didn't happen then, when was the insertion made. Examining the records of the Councils of Toledo (not all of which were entirely consumed by matters of faith) you find the Nicene Symbol at the 8th Synod of Toledo in 653 and again noting that though double procession has been introduced it is still not *filioque* but *ex patre et filio procedentem*. That would suggest it was a process.

The creed seems may have become a little mangled (sorry, my word for it) and by the 13th Council of Toledo in 683 we read of the creed being said at Mass with the words *Ex patre et filio, adorandum et glorificandum*, which seems to have bypassed *procedentem* altogether.

The creed from the 3rd Council of Braga 675 has a similar creed to the 13th Council of Toledo, better structured including the words *ex patre et filio procedentem*, so still not *filioque* per se, though the meaning of double procession is there.

I now believe that the process in terms of the Spanish Church was that from Toledo III the creed was included in the liturgy. Over the next 200 years or so, some indiscipline crept into the text, perhaps because they needed lots more copies, perhaps because they were setting it to chant, or perhaps just because. Because the Spanish Church in this time was committed to a theology of double procession, something of the theology did make itself into the creed, though I am yet to see the word filioque in that 100 years.

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<sup>65</sup> Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 2nd Edition, p 512.

Sadly the records for the 14th to the 18th Councils of Toledo are lost (to me at least).

The Council of Hatfield has also be suggested as an occasion when the filioque was added to the Nicene Creed. The records here do not contain the Nicene Creed, though certainly affirms the Earlier councils including the anathemas for changing the creed. At the same time there is an expression of a theology of double procession.

Pope Agatho was the pontiff, and the general consensus is that he did uphold a theology of double procession, however he was very careful, and worked hard to ensure that it was not part of the 2nd Oecumenical Council of Constantinople in 681, however he seems to have allowed the English expression to pass uncommented.

# My Conclusions

These are some of my conclusions after have embarked on this project. I share them so you know I have reached some opinions. I am happy for you to reach other opinions, and even happier if some of this has helped you think about these issues and have opinions that you have come to own, rather than just float along with the crowd.

- Procedure

On the basis of what I can see, and what history can demonstrate, and I think I agree with most people who have looked at this, there was certainly a failure in the process by which the filioque came to be inserted in the Nicene Creed {C}. The instrument of unity became the instrument of division.

- Primacy

The practical realities are that the Church needs some sense of primacy, and that in Acts 15 we have a reasonable demonstration of how this should work. The notion of this primacy is a conciliar rather than a hierarchical primacy. Historically the see of Peter has for most of the life of the Church exercised that role and is unlikely to want to relinquish it. It will require a sustained conciliar approach for this to be accepted.

- Procession

The weight of the language of scripture supports the contention that the absolute origin of the Spirit is the Father. Our encounter with the Spirit is for us as Christians most often found through our relationship with the Son. Any useful theology of procession must somehow embrace this. The language of procession has not always been as helpful as it might have been. I suspect that both East and West have historically misunderstood each other on this, and the filioque has been a less than helpful expression of what was meant.

I would like to see some work done on the Processional Theology of the Church in co-operation between the East and the West, so that we might find a proper expression that works in both Latin and Greek, so that we might know what it really means to say.

For myself for the moment I want to say that I believe in the Holy Spirit, the life giver, who proceeds from the Father, [who leads us to the Father through Jesus the Son,] who is worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son.

- Filioque - for myself

For me, I have stopped saying the filioque, for a number of reasons. Firstly I don't find it particularly helpful, and I don't think it is particularly well expressed. Secondly I want to honour and stand in unity with my brothers and sisters in faith who hold the faith in the

Middle East in the face of persecutions. Thirdly, when the priest asks me to stand and affirm The Faith of the Church, I know enough to know that when the Church in Council determined the faith, it wasn't there.

- Filioque - for the Church

I also believe that the Western Church should also stop saying it. I think that the Anglican Church should listen to the Lambeth Fathers and stop saying it. I also think that the Church should proactively teach the creed more effectively, beyond a readers digest version for the confirmation class. Far too many people sitting in pews have not heard a decent sermon on the Trinity for a long time.

- Liturgical Position

I would like to see liturgical options that allow the creed to be said, from time to time, and not always, in the ancient position after the greeting of peace and the offertory and before the sursum corda. I can also see value in saying the creed after the gospel and before the sermon sometimes. By always saying the Creed after the homily we can give the impression that the homily is the highpoint of the ministry of the word, and from time to time it isn't.

- How did it get added

Ultimately I think the filioque was most probably added by some accident of convenience, some kind of clerical mishap in Spain initially as *et filio* (I suspect this was some time after the 3rd Council of Toledo in 589, so probably a seventh century incursion) and as the pattern moved into France somehow resolved to *filioque*. Then, the Council of Frankfurt under Charlemagne confirmed what was already happening. The intent was to make a statement against Spanish Adoptionism on the one hand, and on the other hand to firm up the demarcation with the Byzantine Empire.

- Politics

There has been way too much politics in the story of the filioque for my liking and it does not always, or even often, make the best theology.

- Symbol

We should recover in the west some of the language of symbol. The Nicene {C} statement is not simply an articulation of core belief, it is a celebration of what we hold together and should be a real symbol of unity.

- The Cappadocians

I have a reinvigorated reverence for the Fathers of the Church, and most especially for the Cappadocians, Basil, Gregory Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa, and their labours which gave shape and form to the Creed {C}.

# Appendix

## Latin in the Nicene Creed - Iberia

Here is some latin text for the pneumatological section of the creed from various council records. It would seem that in the Spanish Church following the need for many more copies following the decisions of Toledo III to include the creed in the Sunday Eucharist may have lost version control. Certainly, with the allowance for the filioque there has been an excellent consistency between the start and the end, however there has been some wandering along the way.

### **Constantinople 381**

Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum ac vivificantem  
a Patre procedentem,  
qui cum Patre et Filio adoratur et glorificatur,  
qui locutus est per Prophetas;

### **Constantinople 418**

Credimus et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem  
ex patre procedentem,  
cum patre et filio adorandum et conglorificandum.  
Qui locutus est per prophetas.

### **Toledo III 589**

et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem.  
Ex patre procedentem,  
cum patre et filio adorandum et glorificandum,  
qui locutus est per prophetas.

### **Toledo VIII 653**

Credimus et in spiritum sanctum et vivificantem  
ex patre et filio procedentem  
cum patre et filio adorandum et glorificandum,  
qui locutus est per prophetas

### **Braga III 675**

Credimus et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem,  
ex patre et filio procedentem,  
cum patre et filio adorandum et glorificandum  
qui locutus est per prophetas.

### **Toledo XIII 683**

Credimus in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem.  
Ex patre et filio,



adorandum et glorificandum,  
qui locutus est per prophetas.

**Trent 1563**

Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem,  
qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.  
Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur:  
qui locutus est per prophetas.

**Roman Missal**

Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem:  
Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.  
Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur:  
Qui locutus est per prophetas.

When it comes to the pneumatology of the Creed {C} during the sixth and seventh centuries it seems that it was a game of Chinese Whispers played in Iberia with the Latin text.

## **Heresies**

Orthodox means to give right glory to God, and heterodox is to give other than that right glory to God. Heresy is taken to be that which talks about God in a way that is other than right. A person may be described as a heretic who is indeed in many ways a 'good christian' but in some way gets so theology wrong. There are quite a number of these, many from the early period of the Church and some of them are still alive today.

### **Adoptionism**

Belief that Jesus was born as a mere (non-divine) man, was supremely virtuous and that he was adopted later as "Son of God" by the descent of the Spirit on him, often associated with the Baptism narrative, or also the enlivening at the visit by Mary to her cousin Elizabeth. Adoptionism had a big impact in Spain in the late 8th and early ninth century.

### **Anomoeanism**

This is an extreme of of Arianism that denies that the Son is of the same substance as the father and that he is not of the same nature as the Father.

### **Apollinarianism**

Apollinarianism taught that Christ did not have a human soul. They taught that the divine nature replaced the soul of Christ. This is false because Christ in the Gospels says, "Now my soul is troubled."

### **Arianism**

Takes its name from Arius, and Alexandrian Christian. In essence it purports that Jesus was the Son of God, and as such subordinate to God, and denies the eternal generation of the Son. Rather Arianism argues that the Son is a creature born before the world was made.

The response of the Church to Arianism is clear in the Nicene Creed in the words:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made;

### **Deism**

Deism combines the rejection of revelation and authority as a source of religious knowledge with the conclusion that reason and observation of the natural world are sufficient to determine the existence of a single creator of the universe.

### **Docetism**

Docetism teaches that Jesus only appeared to have a real physical body. On the contrary, the Church teaches that Christ is fully God and fully man. As Christ says, "put out your hand and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones."

### **Ebionism**

Ebionism teaches that Joseph is the natural father of Jesus. The Nicene Creed refutes this with: "conceived of the Holy Spirit."

## **Gnosticism**

Gnosticism relates to a group of belief structures which understand salvation through the acquisition of specific enlightenment of secret knowledge. Quite often Gnostics were aesthetically shunning the comforts of a material world in order to access a higher knowledge. It was very often dualist seeing matter as bad and spirit as good. It was part of the group of heresies that the council of Nicea framed to Creed specifically to address. The declaration of God the Father as maker of all things visible and invisible, is a direct challenge to a dualist world view.

## **Iconoclasm**

Iconoclasm teaches that images are idolatrous. On the contrary, the Church defends the use of Christian images since Christ became visible through the incarnation. The incarnation infers that matter is not of itself evil, and there is capable of being turned to a good or evil purpose.

## **Melchisedechians**

Considered Melchisedech an incarnation of the Logos (divine Word) and identified him with the Holy Ghost

## **Monarchianism**

An overemphasis on the indivisibility of God (the Father) at the expense of the other "persons" of the Trinity leading to either Sabellianism (Modalism) or to Adoptionism. In practice this is a balance issue, and perhaps attractive to those who find the three in one complexity of the Trinity to much so we are just going to talk about God and Jesus.

## **Monoenergism**

This heresy is a teaching that suggested that Christ had 'one energy' and was suggested as a compromise between traditional teaching and that of the heresy Monophysitism. It seemed to be acceptable to most of the Patriarchs, however the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time.

It was following this that Monothelitism gained some acceptance before it too was condemned.

## **Monophysitism**

This teaches that the Son has only one nature, and that that nature was before the Incarnation and after the incarnation, divine and during the incarnation was only human. In essence the teaching suggests that Jesus is fully God but not really fully man. It does take a bit to get your head around some of this. A number of the Orthodox Churches including the Coptic, Ethiopian, Eritrean, Armenian, Syriac, and Malankara may still hold views approaching this position. Because some of this seems to be close to splitting hairs, it may also be, as the Coptic Church maintains that they were misunderstood at the Council of Chalcedon.

## **Monothelitism**

Monothelitism (from the Greek for one will) which had its origins in Syria is the teaching that Jesus had two natures, but only one will and clearly that being the divine will. The difficulty that this presented was that it suggests that in some way the humanity of Jesus was somewhat different to the humanity that we all share.

On this subject the Nicene Creed says:

For us and for our salvation he came down from heaven, was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and was made man.

I quite like the rendering in A Prayer Book for Australia 'and became truly human'. The difficulty of Monothelism is that it wants to qualify the kind of human that Jesus became, in a kind of way physically human but spiritually divine.

### **Montanism**

Montanism owing its name to Montanus taught that the revelation of the Holy Spirit was indeed superior to the revelation through Jesus or Paul, and he claimed to be the mouthpiece of the paraclete.

### **Nestorianism**

Nestorius and his followers taught of the Son of God as the Divine Jesus and Jesus the Son of Mary as the human person, and they were thus divided and not united as a single entity. Nestorius was condemned as a heretic at the 1st Council of Ephesus and again at the Council of Chalcedon.

### **Patripassianism**

Belief that the Father and Son are not two distinct persons, and thus God the Father suffered on the cross as Jesus.

### **Pneumatomachi**

While accepting the divinity of Jesus Christ as affirmed at Nicea in 325, they denied that of the Holy Spirit which they saw as a creation of the Son, and a servant of the Father and the Son. They appeared in Constantinople in 342 under the leadership of Macedonius and were condemned by Pope Damasus in 374 and were certainly a part of the reason for some of the alterations to the Creed at the Council of Constantinople 1.

### **Priscillianism**

A Gnostic and Manichaean sect from 4th century by Priscillian, derived from the largely dualist doctrines taught by Marcus. Priscillian was executed for the crime of magic.

### **Psilanthropism**

Belief that Jesus is "merely human": either that he never became divine, or that he never existed prior to his incarnation as a man.

### **Sabellianism**

Belief that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three characterizations of one God, rather than three distinct "persons" in one God.

### **Spanish Adoptionism**

Spanish Adoptionism or Adoptivi stemmed from a distortion of kenotic (Christ emptying himself of divinity) Christology, and although thought in some ways to be close to Nestorianism, in that it spoke of two natures in Christ, and it shows a reliance on the heritage

of Iberian Christianity, Augustine of Hippo, Hilary of Poitiers, and Isidore of Seville. They held that something of the Christ was manifest in history in persons such as David. In brief the idea suggested that Christ emptied himself, and born like any other man was then adopted of God, very much as we as followers are the adopted children of God.

### **Unitarianism**

Unitarianism is the belief that God exists in one person and not three. It is a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity as well as the full divinity of Jesus. Therefore, it is not Christian.

### **Universalism**

Universalism teaches that Christ was born in Bethlehem to save all humans and all demons. Origen allegedly taught this. The Nicene Creed reads “for us men and for our salvation, he came down from heaven. Christ was born to redeem humans.

### **Valentinianism**

Valentinianism taught that Holy Spirit placed the Christ Child in Mary’s womb and she was a surrogate mother, but not Christ’s genetic mother. Paul refutes this when he writes, “God sent His Son, made of a woman.”

## Papal List - 955 - 1073

The last half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries was not an overly enlightening period for the Papacy. Some Popes seeming to be rather more temporal than spiritual, though that may be the harsh insight of history. Many of them were born in the papal states, and it seems to have been something of a dynasty, much like any other ruling house, with a deal of intrigue and instability. This list covers the period from the coronation of Henry II Holy Roman Emperor and the introduction of the filioque to Rome and the Great Schism in 1054.

In a sense, part of the real value to looking at this list is to see, at one level, how little impact matters of faith had in terms of conduct, and how great those influences were in matters of power. For all their shortcomings the Tusculan Popes did embark on a program of reform, and in many senses they were as much damaged as they were damaging.

### Saeculum Obscurum (The end of the dark age of the papacy)

130 John XII 16 December 955 - 14 May 964

Regarded in history as debauched. He was the Uncle of Benedict VIII who authorised the filioque be included in the Creed in Rome. He was both a secular prince and spiritual head of the Church. Otto believed John spent his life in vanity and adultery. With the Council he un-canonically deposed him in May 964.

131 Benedict V 22 May 964 - 23 June 964

Benedict was elected Pope by the people of Rome, in opposition to the nominated Pope of Otto, Holy Roman Emperor (German). He was deposed by Otto after 32 days in favour of Leo VIII.

### Crescentii Popes

132 Leo VIII July 964 - 1 March 965

He was Otto's (Holy Roman Emperor) nominated candidate and against Benedict V he was first antipope for 322 days and then Pope. He was the first of the Crescentii Popes. In February John XIII returned and convened a synod and excommunicated Leo VIII. He died on the 1st of March.

133 John XIII 1 October 965 - 6 September 972

John XIII was elected after five months when it became clear that Benedict could not be returned to the see. He was known as 'the Good', and his time was marked by involvement in Councils and participating in Europe. His relationship with the Orthodox was strained.

134 Benedict VI 19 January 973 - June 974

He was seen as a puppet of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto II, and resented by the local Roman Nobility. He was captured and imprisoned in a Castel St Angelo by the Crescentii's. Otto Demanded his release, but they named Boniface Pope who ordered his murder.

135 Benedict VII October 974 - 10 July 983

Benedict was a compromise candidate after the excommunication of Boniface, and he was aligned and connected to the Crescentii family and a member the Tusculum Family. He was less concerned with political affairs and did much to promote monasticism. He was opposed to simony.

136 John XIV Dec 983 - 20 August 984

He was chancellor of Otto II, and his second choice for the task. Otto II died shortly after his election and as Otto III was only 3yrs old he was unable to protect the Pope from the return of Antipope Boniface VII from Constantinople. John XIV was imprisoned in Castel St Angelo where he died of starvation or poison.

137 John XV August 985 - March 996

There is some period between the death of John XIV and the election of John XV, on the nomination of The Regent Empress Theophanu for Otto III. His reign was marked by disquiet over nepotism and rivalry with the Crescentii. There was also a deal of tension with the French King and Church.

138 Gregory V 3 May 996 - 18 February 999

He was chaplain to his cousin Otto III who presented him as candidate, and he was the first German to hold the office. He became Pope at the age of 24. He acted very much as his cousins man in Rome, and crowned him Holy Roman Emperor and acted to curb French (Carolingian) influence. He died in 999, with some speculation of foul play.

139 Sylvester II 2 April 999 - 12 May 1003

As Otto III's teacher he was elected Bishop of Ravenna, and from there as Otto III's nominee he became the first French Pope. He promoted the study of Mathematics and astronomy and is credited with the reintroduction of the abacus.

140 John XVII June 1003 - 6 December 1003

He was nominated by the Crescentii in Opposition Otto III. He died after only seven months.

141 John XVIII 25 December 1003 to July 1009

He was nominated by the Crescentii in Opposition Otto III. He was generally regarded as working for the Crescentii family. He was at odds with Henry II who had succeeded Otto III in Germany, spent most of his time in administration, and abdicated to take up life in a monastery where he died shortly after.

142 Sergius IV 31 July 1009 to 12 May 1012

Sergius continued the work for the Crescentii family, though there is some suggestion he was more than a puppet. He issued a bull calling for Muslims to be driven from the Holy Land. He died a week after his patron, a Crescentii was murdered.

## **The Tusculan Popes**

143 **Benedict VIII** 18 May 1012 to 9 April 1024

Benedict VIII was the nephew John XII. He was opposed by AntiPope Gregory VI who forced him to flee Rome. Henry II regained control of the City and restored him to office. Henry II was crowned Holy Roman Emperor on the 14th of February 1014. He aligned himself with Henry II to defeat the Saracen invading from the south, and with the Normans to control the Crescentii. He promoted restraint amongst the clergy. He was the Pope who reintroduced the creed in Rome at the behest of Henry II. The creed had at that stage acquired the filioque. He was a member of the Tusculum family.

144 **John XIX** April 1024 to 20 October 1032

John XIX succeeded from his brother Benedict VIII, and so was also a nephew of John XII. His relationship with Constantinople is complex. In exchange for a large financial contribution he granted to the Patriarch of Constantinople the title of Oecumenical, and following general indignation, withdrew it. he reached an agreement that allowed Eastern Rite Churches in Italy in exchange for Latin Rite Churches in Constantinople. He may have been as young as 18 at the time of his enthronement. The cause of his death is unknown.

145 **Benedict IXa** 20 October 1032 to 31 December 1044

At the age of 20, his father achieved the Papacy for him. He was the nephew both of the previous two Popes. He is generally regarded as having been ill suited to the office on a number of grounds. He was driven out of Rome at one stage and returned.

146 **Sylvester III** 1 January 1045 to 31 March 1045

Sylvester III was elected after fierce infighting following the expulsion of Benedict IX. He seems to have excommunicated Benedict IX, however Benedict IX returned to reclaim the seat of Peter, by force. Sylvester returned to Sabina from whence he came to resumed his Episcopacy. He was deprived of the office, however seems to have continued anyway.

147 **Benedict IXb** 1 April 1045 to 10 November 1045

Benedict IX returned to reclaim the papacy. As a result of the disgrace which seems to have descended on the office, his Godfather paid him a large sum of money to resign. Some suggest that he desired to marry, so he took the deal.

148 **Gregory VI** 10 November 1045 to 23 December 1046

Gregory was the Godfather of Benedict IX who paid him the large sum of money to resign. When Benedict IX discovered that he could not get married he withdrew his resignation, and reclaimed the Papacy. Ultimately Henry III intervened, and deposed Benedict IX and Silvester III and asked Gregory to resign for simony (selling sacraments).

149 **Clement II** 24 December 1046 to 9 October 1047

He accompanied Henry III to the synod that resolved the papal claims and was made Pope. He, with Henry III moved to Rome where Henry III was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. His short papacy was marked by a determination to rid the Church of simony.

150 **Benedict IXc** November 1047 to 17 July 1048



When Clement died Benedict returned and reclaimed the Papacy for the third occasion. In July 1048 German Troops under the authority of Henry III invaded the city to remove Benedict and install Damasus II as the new Pope, and the era of the Tusculan Popes was over.

### **The End of the Tusculan Papacy**

151 Damasus II 17 July 1048 to 9 August 1048

Damasus the second marked the end of the hold on the Papacy by the Tusculan Popes, however it was short lived, as he died, probably of malaria, after only 23 days.

152 Leo IX 12 February 1049 to 19 April 1054

The Emperor and Roman delegates appointed him, however he made it conditional upon canonical election in Rome, which duly happened. He favoured traditional morality and clerical celibacy. In 1054 he wrote to Michael Caerularius quoting at length from the donation of Constantine. Probably unbeknown to Leo the document was a fake which extols the virtue of Rome, and Leo used it to claim his right to rule the whole Church. He sent cardinal Humbert to negotiate, which resolved in the excommunication of Michael Caerularius, though this was probably invalid due to Leo's death. Michael Caerularius in return excommunicated the Cardinal and the Pope (though he was dead) and removed Rome from the diptychs. Thus the schism was done.

153 Victor II 13 April 1055 to 28 July 1057

Following Leo IX the German born Victor was made Pope, he was a close friend of the Emperor and was in favor of reform, especially the enforcement of clerical celibacy and the condemnation of simony. On the death of the Emperor he wielded considerable secular power.

154 Stephen IX 2 August 1057 - 29 March 1058

Having been made cardinal by Victor, nine days after the death of Victor he was declared Pope and continued the work of Gregorian reform.

155 Nicholas II 6 December 1058 - 27 July 1061

Following the death of Stephen, Benedict X was declared Pope in a Tusculan deal however when it was clear that some votes had been paid for, the matter was revisited and Nicholas II was made Pope. Benedict X became antipope. As a result of all this messing about, new rules were brought into place to establish clean elections and the start of what we know as a Papal Conclave was begun. He too relied on the donation of Constantine to further sever relations with the Eastern Church.

*In 1059 changes reduced the influence of the Italian Noble Families - introducing a conclave of Cardinals for a Papal election.*

156 Alexander II 30 September 1061 - 21 April 1073

He was the first Pope elected under the new arrangements, The German court nominated Honorius II, who challenged for a while, however the Germans gave up on him. In 1065 he

argued against the conversion of the Jews by Bloodshed, and authorised the Crusade against the Moors in Spain. He authorised the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror. He gave William a letter to the English clergy urging them to support their new King.

## The Third Synod of Toledo

### **Synod of Toledo, twenty-two bishops, synods condemned heresies in Spain.**

IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST the fourth year of the reign of the most pious and most glorious to God, who is most faithful to the Lord, and the king, Reccared. This holy synod, was made of the 627 including 8 bishops from the bishops of the whole of Spain and France, which are written below, in the royal city of Toledo.

When, instead of the sincerity of their faith in the one place, the same as the most glorious prince were to his term of office had ordered the chief priests, that he might as well of the innovation in the Lord exulted in his conversion, and of the race of the Goths. And divine condescension for the return thanks to the so great a gift, so went to the venerable chief of the council of the holy al-mentioned speaks, saying, I think there is not unknown to you, the most reverend priests that they, because of the form of the restoration and discipline of the Church, the presence of our own lunch of fair weather you shall endure.

And for reversing times heresy threatening the whole Catholic Church to the business of the synod denied God was pleased through an obstacle to rid us of heresy warned of more ecclesiastical institutions to recover. Therefore, let him be the pleasure of joy to his father, the beauty of which will is reduced to a canon of God because of the perspective of the saddlebags. First, however, I warn and exhort you, watching you, and with fasting, and the prayers of the work, to the senses of the order of the priestly canon, took long and a man from the newspaper that they knew not forgotten by our age in which he admits that, again as a gift to you, the divine manifest to men.

To this, however, to thank God for and actions, and most religious custom of the emperor, in praises, cried out that he the whole council, and from this the predicate is a three day fast. But when they were present and on the eighth day the priests of God, prayer, and before everyone into one assembly of the priests, every one of their proper place, might, behold, in the midst of them, she stood by the priests of God, in prayer, by means of communication, and with their most serene prince.

The river being full of the Divine then forced to speak, began thus in succession, saying: He shall not be hid from your holiness, as long as we believe in the Arian error worked Spain, after the departure of her father, and do not have many of our societies, and to be in the days when we knew your beatitude is the Catholic faith of the saints. We generally had a great and eternal joy. And so you have this venerable fathers to implement the assembled Council, as the men had recently come to Christ to eternal thanks. To us, is to be done, whatever has been your priest's words in the hope of our authority, which we have behaved in good faith and this was one of the allegations and make known to have been written Thomas.

The Synod is banished and is in the midst of you: and examined in the judgement may, for all the time of our rejoicing is the same faith in the testimony of the saints adorned with

manifest. The king received the holy of faith is offered by all the priests of God, Thomas, and it was counted, who proclaims as the clear voice of a reporter: 'Though I am the almighty God grant me the power to submit to the height of the interest of the people of the kingdom of God, and to our government to take care to the supervision of the nations not a few with a high hand, we bear in mind the condition of mortal men, however, we can not be summarized to be able to gain the happiness of the future life in another way, if we do not consider that the worship of the true faith, and the confession of which he is worthy, he is the founder of the salvation of our God may please.

We extol the glory of the kingdom because of this, how much of his subjects, the more we ought to be in those things which are from God, for I have provided or to consult our hopes, believe in us by God to act or to the Gentiles. To give to the rest, what we are not able to offer great numbers good and fitting payments, when all things be for itself of God's omnipotence, and in need of nothing, of our goods, but that it is himself to him thus alone, he would have understood with my whole heart and to be believed by the sacred scriptures, as we believe that God has commanded. That is, from His own substance has begotten a son, who is our Father and that we may give an equal and co-eternal.

Not unbegotten, however, as the very same that He was born, but the person who became the father of the father of the other, and one is the child of a person who is born, of one substance in the Godhead, however, each of them would remain. Father, of whom He is the Son, but He was from no one else. Because it has the Son of the Father, but is without beginning and without diminution, in the same Divinity by which He is coequal and co-eternal would remain. The Holy Spirit is to be confessed by us, and must therefore be to proceed from the Father and the Son, and of one substance with the Father and the Son.

The third, however, that the person of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, with the Father and the Son, who, however, he has a share in the essence of His divinity. For this is the Holy Trinity, God the Father is one, and the son and the Holy Spirit, by whose goodness, he takes up, however, by the creation of the son of a human being although it is a good habit of the human form, was condemned, Whose son are formed anew, the happiness of the former. But it is a sign of salvation, as he is in the Trinity in unity, and unity in the Trinity to be perceived, if it is perfect justice: it will be the same within the whole church, let us hold fast, and set the foundation of the apostolic unity in the apostolic commandments.

However, you must remember how far the priests of the Catholic Church in Spain the opposite side of labour troubles. While Catholics and steadfastly hold to their faith and defend truth and pernicious heretics relied on self-determination treachery. I, too, so that the very things of faith kindled in the thing the Lord has raised up the heat, so that the wrath of the people who were being driven away by the stubbornness of unbelief and of the quarrel that they should come to the knowledge of the faith and of the church under the name of the Catholic religion, the company attended to the error of recall. That every nation of the Goths, there are the glorious land, and of almost all the nations of the genuine strength of opinion.

And although this is the unity of the church, or the Catholic so far been his imagination far removed from the faith of the doctors, my assent, however, now in harmony with the whole,

its share in communion with the Church, which is in the bosom of the mother to the multitude of divers nations, receives it and nourishes the breasts of charity. With regard to this the prophet singing, it is said, My house is the house of prayer for all the nations. Not only for the conversion of the Goths came to the accumulation of our wages, but rather the Saviour of many people, the protection of our heavenly kingdom applied, though another heresy trial in the matter, but our study of the origin of the truth.

The gains made by us, the nations of which the Lord's most holy fathers, therefore, has to be applied as if they were the hands of an eternal God, through your Holy One and the atonement was made, I offer. For there shall be indescribable joy in the spirit of returning to me of the crown of the just to the unity of the Church, if these shall be the skill of the people who lived in our treatises, grounded and established in the same continue. As for the will of these people to the unity of Christ's Church while in our care, so that your give home those dogmas of the Catholic institute. In this whole of the knowledge of the truth, they were instructed never known, and to reject them out of the whole of solid pernicious errors, and the path of the true faith, out of charity, to keep it, or greater eagerness and a desire to embrace the communion of the Catholic Church. I am confident that I have arrived at, however, can not be as easy to wander out of the nation until to the most famous, so do not doubt that it would be, if it has acknowledged, in the heart of the truth of doubt, to take hold of, and he will turn away his eyes from the strong light, which God forbid. It is much to the happiness of having an indispensable help for a sentence to be looked out of the Christian faith which was in one place, where he says: Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them.

For I believe that the council shall call to take part in the Holy Trinity, the divinity of this holy place, in front of the presence of God and, therefore, as it were, so also in the midst of you the faith that I have, he, so very aware of the opinion of the diviners, saying: I have not concealed thy loving kindness and thy truth from the community because many things. Or I heard the Apostle Paul to Timothy, to the disciple, the one who commands: Fight the good fight of faith, apprehending eternal life, where unto thou art also called, have confessed the good confession in the sight of many witnesses. The truths of our Redeemer, by the gospel, for it is the opinion by which you confess Him before men confess that she had said in the presence of the Father, and insisted that he should, that there he must refuse. To profess what we believe it is profitable for us that he is the mouth of the heart, according to the heavenly command which says: For with the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Therefore, as we anathematized Arius the Son of God, with all the doctrines of the only-begotten Son from the degenerate and their friends who are held to be sympathizers were to be the substance, nor begotten, but out of nothing by his father, he said, had been created, or all the assembly of the wicked have been in opposition to the holy synod of Nicaea, and thus in honor and praise of God, Keep the faith holy Nicene Council, and honour those which are contrary to the same line of pest eagerly Holy Synod of 318 Bishops wrote.

So they are bound to embrace a hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Constantinople, which the Holy Spirit Macedonian substance minorantem and the unity of the Father, the Son and the essence of separating truth throat and killed. Synod of Ephesus, Nestorius, and

his doctrine of the faith about to be issued against the first instance too of [m] together, and I believe that it is unanimity. ' In like manner also Calcidonian of the council, the faith which brought forth the full and Dioscorus Euticen against the holiness and learning, with all the Catholic Church reverently bring him in. Venerable priests and of all the meetings held by them, too, the orthodox. Purity of the faith are not in disagreement over the writings of the four synods, for the same observe the veneration of.

Hasten, therefore, to apply the canons of this our of your reverence and the faith of the tombs, so that the faith that she skilfully leading them from bishops or religious topics, and of our nation, they believed in God, in the Catholic Church were read and confirmed by the signatures updated and the auspices of the person or those persons, the testimony of God and of all things to come alive in the ancient times. As the nations which the royal power of its expression in the name of God, and the things that the rest of the of the ancients, within the error of the Church of God by the anointing of the sacred chrism or perceived by the imposition of hands by the Spirit, and the gift of the one man whom and equal to that in the bosom of the Father, Son and confessed the Catholic churches of the saints are arranged.

If one of them, and the holy confession of our belief this is not some would believe on Him, the eternal wrath of God, with the perception of that which was accursed. To get out of his own destruction: the joy of the faithful, unbelievers, and let them be for an example. To this, however, the constitutions of consenting to the councils, and the confession of the Holy Scriptures with divine testimony of my heart, the simplicity of the whole subscribed.

### **The faith adopted by the Nicene Council.**

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty,  
the Creator of all things visible and invisible,  
and in one the birth of the Only-begotten of the Father,  
the Lord Jesus is the Son of God,  
that is, of the substance of the Father,  
God from God, Light from Light, Very God of Very God,  
begotten not made, of his father homoousion  
this is of the same substance with the Father,  
by whom all things were made that are in heaven  
and which are on earth,  
who for our sake and for our salvation  
he came down and became incarnate,  
was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day,  
and ascended into the heavens,  
whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead,  
and in the Holy Spirit,  
those who say: There was a time when He was,  
and before he was begotten he was not,  
and because it was made without any apparent from,  
or from some other substance  
or the subsistence of the people say that I,

the Son of God, or convertible or changeable  
anathematized by the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

## Constantinople

**Likewise, the holy Faith, Which 150 explained that the harmonious voice of Constantinople, when gathered together.**

We believe in one God the Father,  
the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth,  
and of all things visible and invisible.  
And I believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ,  
the only-begotten Son of God,  
born of the Father before all ages.  
God from God, Light from Light, true God from God,  
begotten not made, of homoousion the Father,  
that is of the same with the Father, of the substance,  
by whom all things were made,  
and things in heaven and things on the earth.

Who for us and for our salvation he came down,  
and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit,  
and the Virgin Mary.  
He became Man, suffered under Pontius Pilate.  
And he was buried, and the third day he rose again.  
And he went up into the heavens  
and is seated at the right hand of the Father,  
He shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead.  
And his kingdom will have no end,

and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Vivifier.  
Proceeds from the Father,  
with the Father and the Son to be adored and glorified,  
and who spoke through the prophets.

One Catholic and Apostolic Church.  
We confess one baptism for the remission of sins.  
We look forward to the resurrection of the dead,  
and the life of the world to come, Amen.

## Council of Chalcedon.

Enough knowledge and devotion to the fullest confirmation cautious this symbol of divine grace and salvation. Teaches the doctrine of the perfect and the Son and the Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the incarnation of our Lord, faithfully, and received by, clear. But since he who strive to destroy the preaching of the truth, but certain new elements in the heresy,

properly speaking, to the young. For some they dare to corrupt the mystery of the divine dispensation of the act for us, that of the Virgin Birth and the voice of the Virgin made in the impossible. Others temperament and confusion inducing, and one that the nature of the Godhead irrationally component, an affective one and only divine nature of such confusion prodigiously know it. Plot, and, therefore, all of them against the truth might oppose the wished to refute, the preaching of the holy places, and be not moved, as he taught the ancient great and universal synod, he decided to stay, but especially that of the 318 holy fathers of the undefiled faith.

And for the sake of those who are opposed to the Holy Spirit, one hundred and fifty of the fathers in the city of Constantinople a little later our saint had to the substance of the Holy Spirit, who came together to tradition, it strengthens. How, also, those all have suggested that, not that he thereby fell short in the preceding adding, to the understanding by those who are of his deity, but the domination of the same of the Holy Spirit to detract from passages of Scripture more fully to manifest.

For their sakes he, attempt the course, those who corrupt the mystery of his stewardship, and was only a man born of a virgin, who is shamelessly from the holy priest, they publish a synodal letters of the most holy Church of Alexandria, Cyril of her late husband, as well to Nestorius, in which he undertakes to refute the to the other, indeed, and those who agree, and congruous with the Nestorian through the east of madness, the interpretation of a religious zeal for the salvation of the symbol becomes contracted by those who are eager to know understanding, and a letter in which the writings of the holy and most blessed memory, Leo sent to Flavian, Archbishop of Canterbury, the first to overthrow the throne of the niggardliness of Eutyches, which is of great confession of Peter in agreement; and against those who can not properly ascribe glory to the certain kind of common existing page Confirmation of the Catholic religion clearly added.

And that those who are trying to break up into two Sons is cursed in the mystery of the ordinance of our Lord, and is opposed to the arguments used by those who are in the confusion of the two natures of Christ, or a moderately cool. And they that are for us the heavenly, he took the form of a servant, or any other part of your madness you assert that the substance of existence in order to cast off far, and those that were, indeed, before the union of the two, but only one after the union to be an anathema he doeth it.

The holy fathers who consent, then, in harmony with the voice of the one and the same Christ, the same time we are taught that our Lord Jesus confess that the Son, the same perfect in the humanity of the same God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body. Of one nature with the Father as touching His Godhead, according to the humanity of one of the same nature as we are, in all things like as we are, without sin. Born of the Father before time began according to his divinity. The latter, however, days, for our sake and for our salvation from Mary, the Virgin Mother of God according to his humanity, one and the same Christ.

The son of the Lord, the only-begotten, in two natures without confusion without change, without division, without separation by knowing. For the sake of the unity of the nature of the



difference has to be destroyed in no. Without prejudice to the contrary, the property of both natures, and in one the woman of a person, and for the only state with the participation of, to be divided or not in the partition of the two persons, but one and the same only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, as the true God is the prophet of him, and as He taught us and of the Senate from the beginning, he gave us a symbol.

When this was settled with all accuracy and diligence from us in order on it, and set the holy and universal synod has decreed that no one is permitted to bring forward any other faith; or to write, either to eat, or to separate, or to teach the same way. But he that shall dare, or to dispose of, or to bring forward any other faith, the symbol of those who wish to be converted to the knowledge of the truth, or to hand over the other, of the Gentiles, or Jews, or heretics, indeed, of whatever kind, or bishops, or the clergy, the bishops themselves to be gods, from the episcopal office, and of the clergy from the clergy.

If, however, the monks or lay persons, they will be struck with a curse. The confession of the faith of this holy and true, I Reccared than one king confessed by the Catholic Church throughout the whole world, retaining the heart, the mouth of the affirmative, the right hand of my God 's protection, subscribed. This Badda, glorious Queen of the faith which I have believed, and I supported you, of my hand with your whole heart, subscribed. Then they cried out with the praises of God, and in it is in the favour of the prince of the day from all the council,

1. Glory be to God the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic unity of the Church to provide for peace, and who hast care.
2. The glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, out of all the nations, and he gathered together the Catholic Church price of His blood.
3. The glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, he joined to the true faith, the unity of the nation, which is so brilliant, and one for the flock, and one shepherd.
4. To whom a the merit of the eternal God, and if it is in a catholic Recaredo the king.
5. To him a crown of eternal life from God, the king, and if it is the orthodox Recaredo
6. Had the presence of the glory and the eternal, except God, the lover of the king Recaredo.
7. He revolutionary people in the Catholic Church investigation.
8. He truly deserves merit who entrusted with the apostolic office.
9. He is a god, to God, and was pleasant to everyone, that is so wonderfully glorified on earth, our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the God the Father, with the Holy Ghost, world without end.

## Reccared's Confession of Faith.

Bishops, priests, or the first of the Gothic of the nation, who are below their signatures. And at the command of the whole, however, the venerable council of the one giving the orders, and one of catholic bishops, the Bishops of the clergy and religious, or out of the Arian heresy converted, by the speaking of this kind, arose the saying, by our office to the care of the captain of the recounting of the most glorious and most faithful, and are compelled to inquire, we learned from your love, or what damnetis is in heresy, or what you believe within the holy Catholic Church. In fact, the words of the psalmist we have learned: Begin ye to the Lord in the confession. It is best to come to believe that both of your salvation of his soul to confess Him openly, and to curse him under the ear of all things that have rejected.

Then the very best of you will be able to be partakers of the Gospel and the Apostolic Faith, by the confession of the Catholic faith, the Catholic, if you begin the same, either of the signature of the firmetis. And just as God who has now are from a good conscience, confession of the thing known, so also the members of the body of Christ, you shall signify to another, What man. And no doubt our shortness nothing to lash out at any time you suspect a pest Arian perfidy fraternity when you open offices in communion with all the rule books prejudice.

And detestable heresy exploited contact with a certain manner within the Church of God, gorgeous dress, true faith clareatis. Then, together with the clergy and bishops and all the leading nobles of the Gothic race, for the same consent, they said: Is it lawful to listen to the fact that paternity and wishes to or to be made by us, my brother, has, in our time, have been so long the conversion of Recaredo the king, our lord, this most glorious day of penance, we shall have followed the church, when we went, and the treachery of the Arianism with all superstitions their anathematized equally rejected.

But now, for the sake of charity, and of the holy catholic church, we remember the devotion he had either to God or that we owe. Not only is this the same thing, which is ready to act quickly, but also if there is still appropriate to take care of us love and persuades people to do. The devotion of the faith of love into it once he brought to us, therefore, rightly, that of all which we must acknowledge, and deliver to us, let us hold fast the confession of the true, open wide your brotherhood.

Every one therefore that the communion of the faith and from the wish to hold the Arrius is still coming, and was retained for the way from us, and of the full purpose of heart does not condemn, let him be anathema.

For as many as the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God has denied the Son from the substance, without beginning, begotten, and equal to or of one substance with the Father is not, let him be anathema.

For as many as the Holy Spirit, he does not believe, or not believe will be to proceed from the Father and the Son, and that He did not tell them to be co-eternal with the Father and the Son and to be co-essential to, let him be anathema.

Everyone who does not distinguish the persons of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit and of one substance of the Godhead, and does not acknowledge, let him be anathema.

For as many as, according to the Holy Spirit is the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and he asserted that the Godhead is inferior to the Father, and the degrees separated itself, is the creature is to be one, let him be anathema.

For as many as the omnipotence of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one substance, of eternity and do not believe, let him be anathema.

For as many as they did not know the Son of God, O God, which the Father knows how to say, let him be anathema.

And apports some to the Holy Spirit, and as many as the beginning of the Son of God, let him be anathema.

For as many as touching His Godhead, the Son of God, according to the visible, or could suffer, he has dared to profess it, let him be anathema.

For as many as the Father and the Son is true God and all-powerful, as to be the Holy Spirit, does not believe, let him be anathema.

For as many as in other places in addition to the faith and the communion of the Catholic Church, rather than in the decrees of the council, the Nicene and Constantinople, and the prim, hold together, and The Ephesian and Calcedonensis honour these things, let him be anathema.

The honour and the glory and divinity of the Father and the Son, and is as many as are pleading for, let him be anathema.

Not as many as would believe that there are to be glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit the Son of God, and should be honoured, let him be anathema.

For as many as not said it: Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, let him be anathema.

The sacrilegious wretch to be rebaptized, as many of the work, it is good to be a credit or believe, to act or have acted, let him be anathema.

For as many as a detestable little book published in the year of which it is contained Leobigildi of the king of the Romans, to the heresy of the Arian, turn away from us, and in

which the glory of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, so that this has had from us, the institutions of the place of truth contained in this book, if any man, let him be accursed for ever.

We confess that we are out of the sect of the Arians, our whole heart, our whole soul, our whole mind, and from the have been converted to the Catholic Church. No one doubts it is us and our successors, and made a mistake as to a heresy of the Arians, and the faith of the Gospel, the Catholic and Apostolic Church have learned within the church now. In the midst of the council, opened the holy land which the religious prince, was the belief of our lord he signed with his own hand, that this, and we made our own, we confess this together, and we accept it, to preach among the people this, and we promise to teach. This is the true faith that she holds throughout the whole world, while all the assembly, and the Catholic Church is thought to be proved as follows. When he had so faith does not please or not please, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Maranatha!

Men who measure faith rejects the Council of Nicea and Constantinople, he did not say a hundred and fifty of the bishops to be true, let him be anathema.

Men who do not hold the measure of faith of The First Synod of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, and do not take pleasure them, let him be anathema.

Council of orthodox bishops in harmony with the Nicene Council of Constantinople, the first Ephesus, and Chalcedon not receive it, let him be.

Accordingly, the judgement of this perfidy communicate Arian, and all the councils Arian heresy fostering a curse with their own hands subscribe.

The constitutions of the Council of Nicea The Ephesian saints or of Chalcedon, with very pleasing to the ear, which we have heard, we have proven to be true of the whole or consent; the heart of our country, and from thy whole soul, our whole mind, and from the signed, but with no knowledge of the truth, thinking that is brighter than the Councils which contain the aforesaid authorities. And the unity of the Trinity of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, or would be possible to be demonstrated that nothing could ever be more truly nothing is brighter: The mystery of the incarnation of the only begotten of the Son of God for the salvation of the human race without the contagion of sin, which is the strength of human nature, and proven to be true, and it remains uncorrupted in him the Godhead the fullness of the time, whilst these are not the nature of both of them is lost, and the other is made in a sufficiently plain on this side and the synods of our Lord Jesus is proved by the person of Christ is believed to be disclosed to the Truth, which is from us, removed from all hesitation.

Corrupt the faith of this holy man for ever, to corrupt, attempt to change, or we are by the same faith and the communion of the Catholic Church, which of late they obtained by God's mercy, to separate or dissociate himself wants to, let him be for ever in danger of the crime of infidelity to God and to the whole world. Flourish, however, the Catholic Church and by all the holy things of the world, it has been, and it be out of the doctrine of the holiness and

power. If any of those Father's right hand were placed within the word may hear to it have been communicate these: 'Come, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. If anyone who is not from it, they have gone back, and from his despised the faith and of the communion of the rejected, but the latter let the lips of the Lord, in the day of judgement, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, I know you, go ye into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.

Let them therefore be condemned in the heaven and on earth, no matter what the Catholic faith, they are condemned to by means of this. And let them be acceptable to God in heaven and on earth, that pass through this faith, they are taken, during the reign of the Holy Spirit with the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever.

### **The faith adopted by the Council of Nicea.**

We believe in one God the Father, the Almighty,  
the Creator of all things visible and invisible,  
and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God,  
born of the only-begotten of the Father,  
that is of the substance of the Father,  
God from God, Light from Light, true God from God,  
begotten, not made homoousion the Father,  
that is of the same substance with the Father,  
by whom all things were made that in the heavens and on the earth.  
Who for us and for our salvation he came down and became incarnate,  
suffered, and rose again the third day.  
And he went up into the heavens,  
He will come again to judge the living and the dead.  
And I believe in the Holy Spirit,  
those who say, There was, when He was not,  
and before he was begotten he was not,  
and that he has no standing has taken place,  
or of some other substance,  
or the subsistence of the people say that I,  
the Son of God, or convertible or changeable,  
anathematized by the catholic and apostolic Church Church.

The 150 fathers of the holy things of faith which we have mentioned

### **The Council of Constantinople**

We believe in one God the Father,  
the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth,  
and of all things visible and invisible,  
and in one Lord, Jesus Christ is the Son of God,  
eternally begotten of the Father before all ages.  
God from God, Light from Light, true God from God, true God.  
Begotten, not made homoousion the Father,

that is of the same substance with the Father.  
By whom all things were made,  
those in heaven and things on the earth.

Who for our salvation, came down,  
and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.  
For man, being, for He felt sup Pontius Pilate, was buried,  
and the third day he rose again.  
He ascended to heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father.  
He shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead.  
And his kingdom, there shall be no end,

and of the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life.  
Proceeds from the Father,  
with the Father and the Son to be adored and glorified.  
He has spoken through the prophets.

One Catholic and Apostolic Church.  
We confess one baptism for the remission of sins.  
We look forward to the resurrection of the dead,  
and the life of the world to come. Amen.

### **Council of Chalcedon.**

Enough knowledge and devotion to the fullest confirmation cautious symbol of divine grace, salvation. Teaches the doctrine of the perfect and the Son and the Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the incarnation of our Lord, faithfully, and received by, clear. But for those who try to destroy the preaching of the truth, some of his own heresy innovations give birth. They dare to corrupt the mystery of the divine dispensation for us, an act of some of them, that of the Virgin Birth and the voice of the Virgin made in the impossible.

Others temperament inducing confusion, and one of the vilest nature of the Godhead omnipotent, suffering only begotten of the divine nature of such confusion prodigiously know it. For this reason, Plot, and all wished to refute all of them should be set against the truth, great and holy universal synod has declared that it is an ancient teaching, the preaching of it be not moved, he decided to, especially [q] undefiled the faith of the holy fathers of the bishops, three hundred thousand and eight hundred and lodged there again.

And a little later time, for the sake of those who are the fathers in the city of Constantinople to the Holy Spirit and were opposed to 150 together, is part of the substance of the Holy Spirit to tradition, it strengthens. They also suggested that all was not something that was lacking in the previous additions, but their understanding of the Holy Scriptures to detract from the domination of the deity against those who fully manifest. For their sakes he, attempt the course, those who corrupt the mystery of his stewardship, and from the holy one who is born of a virgin, shamelessly divulge a mere man, the priest of the church of the most

blessed once a synodal letters of Cyril of Alexandria, as well to which Nestorius and those who agree, and congruous with received to the other through the east.

To refute the Nestorian fanatical zeal of a religious symbol and the interpretation of those who take their understanding. To whom also he was the first seat of the archbishop of the letter of the holy and the most holy Archbishop Leo sent to Flavian of holy memory, written as the great confession of Peter and which agrees to overthrow the niggardliness of Eutyches, and the certain kind of common against those who can not properly ascribe glory to the page of the confirmation of the Catholic religion exists, clearly added. For that they would endeavor to rend the mystery of who is in the ordinance of our Lord is cursed in two of his sons. They dare to assert that the divine nature of the Only Begotten Son of God and that those who could suffer, from the Council of the priests, it repels, and is opposed to the arguments used by those who are in the confusion of the two natures of Christ, or the temperament.

And they that are for us the heavenly, he took the form of a servant, or exist in any other part of the substance of the faithful of your madness, just at the goods, and, indeed, before the unification of the two natures in the Lord, and those who deluded, they invent an only one after the union and one after, let him he doeth it. The holy fathers who consent, then, in harmony with the voice of the one and the same Christ, the same time we are taught that our Lord Jesus confess that the Son, in the unity of God, the same is true and perfect man, of a rational soul and a body, one with the Father according to His divinity of nature, according to the humanity in all things like as we are of one nature, without the same sin. Born of the Father before time began according to his divinity, in these last days, for us and for our salvation, of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God according to his humanity.

There is one and the same Christ, the son of the Lord of the only-begotten, in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation to know Him, for the sake of the unity of the nature of the difference has to be destroyed in any way. Without prejudice to the meeting of the two natures in the one person of the property and on the contrary, the one with the participation of the state, it is not a division or to be divided in the two persons, but one and the same only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, true God, just as the prophet of him, and as He taught us from the beginning, and the symbol of the Fathers has handed down.

After these things he set up in order to us, with all diligence, and the enthusiasm from the holy and universal synod has decreed that no one is permitted to bring forward any other faith; or to write, either to eat, or to separate, or to teach the same way. But he that shall dare to explain to any other faith, or to mention them, or to teach, or to give up the symbol of the other, since they wished to turn to the knowledge of the truth from the Gentiles, or Jews, or heretics they may be, they are if they are bishops or clerics, the bishops from the episcopate to be gods, and the clerics from the clergy order . If, however, they are monks or lay persons, with a curse struck.

**Anastasius** the bishop, in the name of Christ, anathematizes heresy condemned the Arians the dogma of the above, I believed, the faith of this holy Catholic faith that he may come into my hand, in the Catholic Church from the whole heart, subscribed.

**Murilo** in the name of Christ Bishop anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith and the Catholic Church came out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

**Uuiligiscus** in the name of Christ Bishop, anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith and the Catholic Church came out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

**Sumnila** in the name of the city Vesensis Bishop, anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith and the Catholic Church came out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

**Gardings** in the name of Christ in the city of Sobrado, anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith and the Catholic Church came out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

**Beccila** in the name of the city Lucénsis Bishop, anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith, which the Catholic Church has come out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

The city portucalensis choice in the name of Christ, anathematizes heresy Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith, which the Catholic Church has come out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

**Friusclus** in the name of the city Dertosane Bishop, anathematizes heretical Arians dogma has condemned this holy Catholic faith and the Catholic Church came out of my hand, I believed with all his heart subscribed.

Similarly, the other priests and deacons from the Arian heresy turn in their notes.

**Gussin** sign of a famous tall. The source of a man of rank, anathematizes subscribed.

**Afrila** a man of rank, anathematizes subscribed.

**Abila**, a man of rank, anathematizes subscribed.

Lift up my a man of rank, anathematizes subscribed.

In the same way, and all the elders of the Goths, in their notes.

After the confession, and the signatures of all the bishops and the whole nation Gothic elders, honour our Lord Reccared the time for repair and strengthening of ecclesiastical



discipline the behaviour of priests in such a manner is saying, the attention should be drawn up in the manner established and directed until the full knowledge and grasp of age reason. In fact, it stands out as it is in the affairs of men more glorious royal power, and thus ought to be greater, and seeing clearly the interests of the provincial and providence. But now the priests, the most blessed, and not in those things only to the government of the things were placed in the most diffuse and wisdom of our to whom these people are governed by, and under our live, but also in the support extended to us to the things of Christ's faithful people to make the struggle to which are the celestial things which are not to think and not to know. Otherwise, if you put all your effort to limit the powers of human behaviour, and strange frenzy of royal power and control, and peace and quiet if we extend aid to spend much more has to be concern and desire to think of the divine, sublime and serving the people the truth from error reining them serenely light of day.

In this way, for he gives that has been often seen to be rewarded by God, he contends. Thus, one understands him, who is above that which he is entrusted with, giving increase, while they were in it is said, whatever is over and above, I, at my return, will repay thee. So for now our faith and praise your happiness reviewed a series full time nobles and priests and our belief in the sanctity of confession and your health, it is necessary for the stability of the Catholic faith from God, humbly with our God decided to establish authority, to strengthen our nation for a new conversion, observe this rule, all the Spain, and of Gaul, of the church, with all of the sacrifice of time, either before the manner of communication of the parts of the body and blood of Christ, according to the children of the east, the most holy of faith can edit a symbol in a clear voice, unanimously, as soon as the belief in people as they hold the knife, but the perception of the body and blood of Christ, and in this way to the hearts of the purified the faith, exhibits.

For while they look for ever the constitution it is to be kept in God's church, and the care of its power and the credulity of the faithful, from the fact, that which is repeated several times, and treachery goes into the field to the unbelieving, recognizes easily, which hold and believe the Catholic church. The rules of the sanctity of the Church, therefore, must be added to all your chapters which as yet is, that the strength of the faith of the holy reverence of God and in view, which is the symbol of our God, as he was teaching by means of a decree of the weather. For the rest of my character being prevented from insolent you consent Clement's opinion severer and firm discipline that must not terminate the stay, and what should be done, immovable foundation of stability.

## **The Canons of the Third Council of Toledo**

**1.** That the Councils are to be kept the statutes and the decrees of the bishops of the Romans.

After the Arian heresy and faith of the Catholic interpretation of this holy council that ordered the necessity for some or heresy or paganism by Spanier canon ignored the order, and when they leave plenty of trespassing and discipline choice of refusal, while all the excesses of the party proved patronage and abundance Evil would be levied at the time of instruction.

But now peace of the Church was rebuilt by the mercy of Christ, the authority of all that is forbidden by the ancient canons, it is the discipline of his resurrection, to be restrained, and it is a question all that God commanded. Remain in force councils established together a synod of bishops of the Roman letters. Contrary to that of the Canons of the Church, would inspire the future, no honours, all unworthy, have the purpose of serving, there is nothing to be from this that the holy Fathers should be sanctioned by the Spirit of God are full of not to be done, and the severity of the first, that of the Canons who would presume to be distrained.

**2.** In order to be recited in all churches of the symbol of the Lord's day.

For out of respect of the Most Holy of the faith, and for the sake of strengthening the minds of weak men, after consulting the most pious and most glorious Reccared the king appointed with the council, orders that through all the churches of Gallitia according to the form of the East of France and Spain, and one of the churches, of the council of 150 Bishops at Constantinople, that is the symbol of faith is to be recited before the Lord 's prayer must be said, in a clear voice to the people of predicated. Which were also the testimony of the true faith, is manifest and the hearts of the people, and to the faith of Christ, that they may be pure in their approach to the body and the blood.

**3.** And lest any man out of the necessity of the affairs of the Church and alienates.

All these things the holy Synod has given the license of any bishop to alienate the church, that he is both more ancient canons, this is prohibited. But if any of the churches of that advantage to its own parish had for monks and not be burdened with those belonging to a vote of the church as they give a firm remains the same. Foreigners, or the right of clergy and church arrangements are permitted for the needs of the poor are able.

**4.** That allowed the bishop of one of the parishes of the church monastery.

If the bishop one of the parrochitanis from their churches, a monastery and dedicated, and he likes, as a rule, the congregation of the monks live in it, that of making the license with the consent of the Council of Himself God has. They, too, in the case of the substance of a thing is that the disaster, the church does not provide for their things of the church, to the same the place He gives it, is stable. A good decision, the holy council gives consent.

**5.** That it may, the priests and lawyers were, along with their wives may live.

It is adopted by the Council, bishops, priests, and deacons hailing from the heresy, yet carnal as upon the desire of wives to be joined. Do not, therefore, in the future, that I bid you, which was also the first Canons. The society may not be permitted to live a passionate one, but by His abiding among them, they have to the common good of marriage, and I will not be in the same room should remain valid. Is supported by the power of his own wife, or certainly if it to cause the house to dwell in the other men to have a good testimony before God and before our chastity. If you choose to live with his wife, who will come after that not even this

agreement the reader is to be considered obscene. He always lie under canon of the Church if women are notorious for the ancient emperor in their cells can generate suspicion that the company had, indeed, they canonically destringat, women are sold by the bishops, especially the very poor.

**6.** In order that the protection of the Church can never turn away a servant of the church by the bishop, who is freed, and the protection of all the freedmen of things other than the bishop.

But this I commanded that the holy Synod of the freedmen, so that if any have been made by the bishops, priests, and deacons, according to the ancient canons of the manner in which they give permission may be free, and yet the protection of the church, both to him and not the offspring from them, and go his way. The Church in defence of freedom and delivered by other bishops connected, and not to tell anyone done a prince bishop demands.

**7.** If we come to the table, the Bishop of the divine scriptures are read.

For out of respect and of the priests of God, that he made for all the holy Synod ordains, that are accustomed to so that, while they are introduced some idle story of the month, in the feast of the reading of the Divine Scriptures, is mixed with all of the high priest. The fact of the soul, and are emboldened to do what is good, and play are not necessarily prohibited by law.

**8.** In order that clerics are not to give into the families of the Treasury, one from the ruler.

By order of the king Recaredo, and the consent of his owner, that he ordered the priests, the clergy, of the family council it was donated, one from the ruler of the Treasury, no one should dare to seek for, they are alluded to, but as far as God, to whom were handed over to the church of his head while they live as a rule in administering the tax.

**9.** Belong to the Catholic Bishop in whose diocese they are to make the Church of the Arians.

By a decree of this Council is established, that the churches of things that were in the sect of the Arians, but now they are the Catholic Church, for the bishops of about their own situation to them, to whom they belong to the church: and he himself was in the parishes were established, which seem to belong to.

**10.** as a widow for self-inflicting violence there, and as a woman in spite of her origin.

For the violation of the admonition of the council, which is the maximum advance of chastity ought to be consulted, with the approval of the glorious, our Lord, Recaredo the king, it states that it is a holy gathering, so they maintain the chastity of the widow, whom we pleased, and there was a widow is forced to come to the wedding they go in. But if you choose to marry before they profess containment, they will marry whom they wish to have

their own husbands. Now concerning virgins I like is to be considered, and the condition of, and not be obliged to, without the consent of their parents or their husbands to receive it. But if any of them would prevent the object now of chastity of the virgin or the widow, and from the bounds of the church from the reception of Holy Communion is to be considered a stranger.

**11.** He may be able repentance.

As is known to me, not according to the canon of the churches of Spain by certain, but the sordid men should repent for their sins, to sin and as often as you please, so often recalled by the priests themselves, the Council's demand. Hence, as a presumption that adopted by the Council is ordered to eradicate this accursed, that they may be given, according to the old canons of repentance. This is the fact that he was, as before, repent of the thing made, is suspended for cause from the communion of the imposition of hands among the other penitents to come frequently to the. At the end of the priestly contemplatio satisfaction as it proves to restore communion. Those who, in the time of repentance, or after reconciliation, or under, are admitted into the vices of his own, according to the severity of earlier canons condemned for eternity.

**12.** Concerning those who repent, ask for, if a man, if a woman has been the habit of graze is prior to the change.

For as many as in health or infirm from the bishop or the priest, repentance posits, it is, above all, would have to respect the bishop and the priest, so that if a man, whether he is healthy or the sick person, first to him tondat, or to change the habit of doing penance in ashes and sackcloth, and thus perform repentance to him to give it to. If, however, the woman was not to receive them repentance, shall alter, or be veiled, but that he, or a habit. For laymen often given to women with passive repentance to meditate again after having repented the crimes relapse.

**13.** That clerics who are secular judges tend to be excommunicated.

Grown presumption of access to such illegal deeds revealed that clerics [X] clergy leaving their bishop, to draw public trial. Accordingly, we have established, in order that we are not to be presumed. But the man who has dared to do this, and the cause of lost or having to become a stranger from the communion of.

**14.** Concerning the Jews.

The canons of this Convention to insert in our charge, that in the Christian it is unlawful for the Jews to have wives or concubines, nor a slave, the service of their own to procure for the Christian, but they are to be taken for your children who shall be born from such a marriage: to be washed. No duty imposed on them by the State in which they are given the opportunity to inflict punishment Christians. If any of those are stained rite Christians from Judaism, or even cut the price of not giving up, and the freedom to return to the Christian religion.

**15.** As of taxpayers who build churches, she can do.

If a church construction has a debt, do not chains them in their poverty that they may take care of their bishops, the authority confirmed.

**16.** When the judges That bishops destroy the idols, and to the idolatry of the servants of the Lord prevented them.

For almost all Spain, or Gaul, but he has grown up the sacrilege of idolatry, that, with the consent of the most glorious of the prince of the holy synod decreed, that every man in his place, together with the priest, the judge, the territories of the sacrilegious wretch to be done to examine the aforementioned, it was found not to differ, and had to be exterminated. All concur that such an error could be punished without discrimination as to restrain it. But if you neglect that, they know that they would have to suffer to be a danger to both of excommunication. To root out this evil is of the Lord neglect his own possession: But if there are, will not prevent or to his family, and that they, from the communion from the bishop's minds.

**17.** As Bishop and merciless judges of stronger discipline punished.

While many complaints brought to the attention of the Holy Council, among other things, the need for such cruelty and was told, as far as sitting down, standing up sacred ears could not bear it. That in some parts of the children and their parents were going to kill her in eager piety. We could increase the number of the sons of absence of those who, before you ought to punish themselves from sexual immorality. In fact, while the cause of the propagation of offspring are made to be and marriages, and are held guilty of the murder, and from fornication, that says the children The man who kills his own, teach him, not for the pleasure of the children, but for the wives that he married. Therefore, the only crime for the knowledge of our glorious King Reccared reported. His glory did not deign to rule over the judges, in the same faction, that they may be removed carefully with the priest, they take charge of so great a crime, the severity of teachers are opposed to, and abide. The brutality of this crime, and the priests, therefore, is carried out in which the passages of the same holy synod, commanding in common, as a group and look for the same thing is iniquity, even the judge, and without the discipline of teachers are opposed to capital punishment still more violent.

**18.** In order to be done once a year, the council is of the Treasury, and their judges, and are present in attendance.

Commanded by the authority of the canons of this holy and universal synod, as they stood by the former council by a considered way of the length of it and twice a year he commanded to gather together the poverty of the churches, Spanier, the metropolitan has chosen once a year in the place which the bishops are gathered together. Regional or local actors of the patrimony of the judgement by virtue of a decree of royal council of the priests of our Lord at the same time when the autumn time, day of the month of November, these should come together, that they may learn with the people, which ought to act as a godly and just, lest by her down with anguish and with an excess of, or in the working of, or a

private citizen, a burden, or a fiscal hangovers. For clarity the Bishop of judges with the advice and how people act as they forewarned corrected or obsolete leaders known for their ears. But if you have been unable to correct the malady, and from the communion of the church, and they may hang. By a priest in his own detriment, however, to lend and to the elders ought to be delivered to what is meant by the judges of the provinces, if they do not come to the council. The Council did not choose the first of which will be succeeded not be broken, but a place for at the time of the second time to a general council should be visited, so that now it is not necessary to assemble a council of a metropolitan bishop, in the letter to you, to all the notice is given of the time and the place, or the council of the former.

**19.** Shall have respect to the things of the church with the ordination of a bishop, as it pertains.

Some of the Churches that build demand, contrary to any text as applying to be consecrated, the same church as the dowry which they conferred on the bishop's ordination, is not judged to belong to. What has been made in the past in such a way to correct, and in the future not to be a stand in their way, but the foundation of all things according to the ancient and the power of the ordination of the bishop applicable to them.

**20.** As a bishop in the diocese did not lay down with injunctions.

In a cruel manner by the bishop, but because we have known in priests desire dioceses, that they can not, and as long as it is written, Be ye the flock, over the form, not as lords over the clergy of his diocese exacting to inflict any harm, and therefore, I think, with the exception of that of the old in order to have the bishops to sees in the still were those which were raised or presumed, of what has been said are denied. This is the Any presbyters or deacons or in the down with anguish and, in some cases, neither be weary from the judges, the chief priests of God, lest we seem to be named in the Church of God, rather than their oppressors. But these men, clerics, both the vowels [e] which the diocesan bishop himself from the burden they will have a complaints do not differ in their referral to the metropolitan, so that the metropolitan of this kind does not prevent you from reaching for daring to restrain.

**21.** That he can not be allowed to take possession of the judges, clerks or servants of the church in their exactions.

Servant of the church and that of bishops, or from all of the clergy down with anguish and in different public from the judges, or to governors and weary, I regret. Because of this, all the council, he demanded from the piety of the most glorious of our Lord, in order that such people are henceforth dared to stop them. But the slaves of the church or the use of the above labour in their offices. If any of those, or of the acts of the judges, the clerk or the slave is to occupy in the affairs of the clergy or of the church in public and private, he will, from the communion of the Church to which the impediment, he becomes a stranger.

**22.** Singing religious bodies only implementation, and in the holy Birthdays ballimathiae prohibited.

Those who depart this life by divine vocation, the voices of persons singing, and with the Psalms must be brought to the grave only to be carried. For the funeral psalms which is commonly sung is dead, or in themselves or their families or neighbours will redound to prohibit. Let it be enough, however, that the service of God in the hope of the resurrection of the bodies of Christians is spent on the songs, the Holy Apostle forbids us to mourn for the dead, saying: By the them which are asleep, however, would not have you to be sorrowful, even as others which have no hope. And the Lord did not weep for Lazarus is dead, but under the affliction of this life, she has wept rose again. For if we can not perform this bishop, let all Christians can not stop you trying to stop. Fit well at all, however, we think it would not otherwise be religious. Thus, for Christians throughout the world must not allow the bodies of the dead.

**23.** Irreligious people of the saints of the services for which it is customary to do the rest. The people who attend divine duty to watch for indecent dances, singing songs not only bad, but religious duties noise. This is also to a great council of the holy place, that the care of priests and the judges from all Spain, to remove to start.

#### **HERE BEGINS THE EDICT OF THE KING OF THE COUNCIL In confirmation of this.**

Reccared most glorious Lord, King of the universe, under the rule in our power to consistency. Lovers of making us your divine truth, our sense of the inspired to the cause of restoring the faith and of ecclesiastical discipline all Spain present our summit territory. In process of deliberation or careful and cautious in matters of faith come together, the sense of maturity and understanding, that is, which refer to the weight of the correction of morals it is plain are in a series, belonging to our realm of our and thus to all men, and ordered the authority will not, in this holy synod decrees that if there were decided to be made in the the city of Toledo, the fourth year of the reign of our good fortune to show contempt for it is lawful for no one, no one may presume to have passed by. From the present to our senses to what is acceptable, what is appropriate to the discipline of the chapters of the Synod recited, are reported to be maintained as, and remain, in all the of all the authority of either clerics or those of any other, that is, about the observance of the canons on the symbol of the former by means of a from the people in the church. The matter just as they were not allowed to alienate the bishops of the Church, as a bishop to the churches of the monastery is one of the parishes to do. And deacons, the bishops and the priests of the sect of the order to the converted, it would not be allowed to be mixed with wives. Or, that they who had always Catholics, they will make no scruple of a stranger in his own cell, with the women.

Being commended by the bishops to the churches of a certain freedom of action, and to remain, or from others they ought to have children. But in all the reading of [I] of the month, have to be read in priestly action. That the clerk of the king, of the families belonging to our imperial, no one ever calls for it, and he that has received such a donation would remain void. Of the churches from the sect of the transfer, to the bishops of dioceses in which they are applicable to them. Widows and that he [m] as they will control it by heart, to marry, and the things which they chose; they wish, let them marry. Level of virgins. They ought to do, repentance, that repentance, after the manner of the old canons, which is that those who wish to do penance, or the habit of graze the first breath. It is not allowed to lead the Jews

out of Christian wives, or concubines, or to procure slaves for Christ; and then the Jews are not allowed to carry out the duties or the public. That must remain strong if our church treasury officials have done them a treasure of his diocese. That idolatrous worship by priests or judges out to be exterminated. The things which are from those that condemn his son to the priest or destruction and death. To the council of the priests, and the judges, once a year, and that the actors of the patrimony of our come together. That the ordination of a bishop of the churches ought to belong to the cause of all things. That ought to act as priests moderate by dioceses. They will be slaves of the church or of the clergy, some things ought not to be weary, from the judges, or by our agents, who, in your service. With hymns, and songs of the bodies of which the religious are, to that extent they are to be carried to the grave. That ballads and ugly songs forbidden by the Holy Scriptures. The Ecclesiastical as it were summarily and briefly touch upon all these, as we shall explain in the part of the canon, let her remain burn in the strength of the sanction. If a man therefore will not be a cleric or lay person, in obedience to these sanctions, if a bishop, priest, deacon, or a cleric by the great council excommunicated. If he is a lay person shall be honest and honourable place for me cease or lose their faculties would benefit taxpayers strength. If, however, the person is in an inferior place which ended in the loss of their possessions into exile, is to be appointed.

### **Reccared, The King**

This deliberation with which the Holy Synod defined strengthening subscribed.

The metropolitan bishop of the province of Lusitania, in the name of Christ Emeretensis Masona these constitutions, in the Catholic Church in the city of Toledo, in which I have been, with my own hand have subscribed.

Similarly, the other bishops signed.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> My awful translation with the help of google is based on the latin text I sourced at this URL [http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga\\_045t.htm](http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_045t.htm)



# Toledo VIII - 653

The Creed at the 8th Council of Toledo. It does not say it is the Nicene Creed, but effectively it is. The Latin is *ex patre et filio procedentem* not *filioque* however the meaning is the same.

Consequently the one true faith and true rule of profession we all profess courage and acclaim all over perceived and held full deliberation incensanter preach, as shown by the holy Apostles taught, just from what proved to orthodox eloquent, as well as those from the Holy Synod things really holy confirmed injunction, in which Arius or Eutyches insane error is detected and eradicated uprooted. And, finally, in the Holy Mass, just as we make solemn and faithful profession voice; we say,

We believe in one God the Father, the Almighty,  
maker of heaven and earth of all things visible and invisible.

And we believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God,  
born of the Father before all ages,  
God from God, Light from Light, true God from God, true God.  
The son is not made, but of one homoousion the Father,  
that is of the same substance with the Father,  
all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth,  
were made through him,

for us and for our salvation, came down,  
and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit, and the Virgin Mary.  
Had become a Man,  
and He suffered under Pontius Pilate,  
and was buried.  
On the third day he rose again,  
He ascended into heaven,  
and is seated at the right hand of the Father.

He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead  
and his kingdom will have no end.

We believe also in the Holy Spirit the Vivifier,  
proceeding from the Father and the Son,  
with the Father and the Son to be adored and glorified,  
who spoke through the prophets,

and one of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.  
We confess one baptism for the remission of sins,  
we are waiting for the resurrection of the dead,  
and the life of the world to come. Amen.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Translation of latin sourced on this URL [http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga\\_051t.htm](http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_051t.htm)

# The Synod of Hatfield 680 AD<sup>68</sup>

*The Synod held in Hatfield, Archbishop Theodore presiding. [680 ad]*

*Hatfield is about 50 miles north by northwest of London.*

About this time, Theodore being informed that the faith of the Church at Constantinople was much perplexed by the heresy of Eutyches, and desiring that the Churches of the English, over which he presided, should remain free from all such taint, convened an assembly of venerable bishops and many learned men, and diligently inquired into the faith of each. He found them all of one mind in the Catholic faith, and this he caused to be committed to writing by the authority of the synod as a memorial, and for the instruction of succeeding generations; the beginning of which document is as follows:

“In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on the seventeenth of September, under the rule of our most pious lords, Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, in the tenth year of his reign, Ethelred, king of the Mercians, in the sixth year of his reign; Aldwulf king of the East Angles, in the seventeenth year of his reign; and Lothair, king of Kent, in the seventh year of his reign; Theodore, by the grace of God, archbishop of the island of Britain, and of the city of Canterbury, in the eighth year of his episcopate; being president, and the other venerable bishops of the island of Britain sitting with him, the holy Gospels being laid before them, at the place which, in the Saxon tongue, is called Hatfield, we conferred together, and set forth the right and orthodox faith, as our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh delivered the same to His disciples, who beheld His Presence and heard His words, and as it is delivered by the creed of the holy fathers, and by all holy and universal synods in general, and by the consent of all approved doctors of the Catholic Church.

We, therefore, following them, in piety and orthodoxy, and professing accordance with their divinely inspired doctrine, do believe agreeably to it, and with the holy fathers confess the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, to be properly and truly a Trinity consubstantial in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, that is, one God in three Subsistences or consubstantial persons, of equal glory and honour.”

And after much more of the same sort, appertaining to the confession of the right faith, this holy synod added to its document, “We acknowledge the five holy and general councils of the blessed fathers acceptable to God; that is, of the 318 assembled at Nicaea, against the most impious Arius and his tenets; and at Constantinople, of 150, against the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius, and their tenets; and at Ephesus, for the first time, of 200, against the most wicked Nestorius, and his tenets; and at Chalcedon, of 630, against Eutyches and Nestorius, and their tenets; and again, at Constantinople, in a fifth council, in

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<sup>68</sup> Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland. - Edited, after Spelman and Wilkins, by Arthur West Haddan, B.D. and William Stubbs, M.A. Regius Professor of Modern History, Vol 3 Clarendon Press 1871. Much of this is a ratty translation. Some of this matter also appears in the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England.

the time of Justinian the younger, 648 against Theodorus, and the epistles of Theodoret and Ibas, and their tenets in opposition to Cyril.”

And again a little lower, “the synod held in the city of Rome, in the time of the blessed Pope Martin, 649 in the eighth year of his reign, and in the ninth year of the most pious Emperor Constantine, we also acknowledge.

And we glorify our Lord Jesus Christ, as they glorified Him, neither adding aught nor taking away; anathematizing with hearts and lips those whom they anathematized, and receiving those whom they received; glorifying God the Father, Who is without beginning, and His only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the worlds, and the Holy Ghost proceeding ineffably from the Father and the Son, even as those holy Apostles, prophets, and doctors, whom we have above-mentioned, did declare. And all we, who, with Archbishop Theodore, have thus set forth the Catholic faith, thereto subscribe.”

Also present at this synod, the Catholic Faith dechalk The venerable man, he established the Johannes archchanter of the church; and the holy Apostle Peter, and abbot of the monastery of the blessed Martin, who had recently come from Rome, by order of Pope Agatho, under the leadership of the most reverend Abbot Biscop, surnamed Benedict, of which over I remember.

For when that same Benedictus, having built a monastery in Britain, for the honor of the most blessed prince of the Apostles, according to the mouth of the river Were, went to Rome with his companion and the same work, concurrence, and who was after him abbot of the monastery of the same, as he had often done before, and was now honourably Pope of blessed memory, was received being a Agatho: and desired to set up on their liberty, of the monastery, which he had made: and he took from him, the king of a letter of privilege from the authority of the apostolic Egfrid is secure, according to that which he wanted to, and he knew that he had the license, in which the permission of the goodness of the earth and to the inheritance, the monastery he had made.

He then received the aforesaid John Abbot conducted into Britain, in so far as in his monastery the method of singing throughout the year, as at St. Peter's in Rome: it was practised: and the abbot John as the end of the flower that he had received of the high priest, that is to say, by teaching and the chanters of the said monastery the singing and reading, by word of mouth, and it is the source of all in the celebration of the year feast days, it was demanding, even you use by command, which is still observed in that monastery, and have been copied by many. And not only that the same John and taught the brothers of that monastery, but to hear him; from almost all the monasteries of the same province, who had skill in singing resorted to. To teach in other places, however, is the same as many invited.

But he that is with the exception of singing and reading, he had been directed by the Pope else had received, as the faith of the Church of England, carefully to inform himself, his return to Rome. In fact, the Pope and the synod of the blessed Martin, in a hundred and five bishops, held not long before at Rome, principally against those who would have one will

and operation in Christ, and preached, and gave it; Benedict monastery in the aforesaid religious transcribed lent. Such men at that time, the faith of the church of Constantinople, much perplexed; but by the help they were then discovered and subdued. So in his desire Pope Agatho, as in the other provinces, and also in Britain, what was the state of the church, as well as from the contagion of heretics, to learn by heart;

This business reverend Abbot John Britain planning to Britain.

For this reason, the synod, which for this purpose in Britain, we have said, there is found in the Catholic faith was all given to him, a pattern of it to carry to Rome. But in his return, soon after crossing the sea, he fell sick, and died: and his body, by his friends, for the love of Saint Martin, in whose monastery he presided, is carried to Tours, and was now honourably interred.

For the Church, he had been kindly entertained there when Britain, and earnestly entreated by the brethren, that they may return to Rome he would come that way, and turn aside to her in the church. In short, the work in the same place and took the papacy enjoined on the roads and the laborers together with God: who, although they were in the way he died, nihil- Nevertheless, the example of Catholic "of faith the English nation was carried to Rome, and brought from the apostolic pope, and all those that heard or read, most agreeably received.

## **Appendix to the Council of Hartfield**

### **Canons of the Lateran Council 649**

The holy synod said: - Even when a new experience of the authors, as we have been approved with us out of all these circumstances, since it is the indistinct from one another, not only to their words, but also by means of the teachings of the heretics, the harmony of all of them, the preaching of the Synod of the Catholic Church as well as his father's, and from them extraneous, did not understand at all , just as it is said, by the prophecy of the prophecy, because "are darkened, that they see not with their eyes, and understand with their hearts," and the definitions of the decrees of the venerable sound of our fathers, which they have set in the preservation of the orthodox faith.

And we also have "the heart of those who believe in righteousness, and with the mouth, to give thanks to salvation," perfect accord, and without any novelty, as receiving from them have received one and the same Son, our Lord and your God, so intransgressibiliter we believe that Jesus Christ, the same perfect in His Deity, and the same perfect in his humanity truly God and truly, and the man is truly the same, of a reasonable soul and body, consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the humanity, in all things like unto us, without sin, begotten of the Father before time began according to his divinity, in the last days the same for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God according to his humanity, one and the same Christ, the Son of the Lord, the only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures not having been taken on account of the union, the two natures without confusion in minute, and concurring in one

Person and subsistence, and shall not be divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, the only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the unity of the two natures of the same, as it appeared in two natures, without division, so the Divine and the human, and two natural wills and two natural operations of the Divine and the human nature, in the the approval of the perfect and in minute, he is truly to be a perfect God, and perfect man, according to the truth, and the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to give one the same, since it is willing and the working of the human and our salvation, as we have the prophets and of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ taught by the Lord Himself us, and delivered in the creed of the holy fathers, and in general all of the holy and universal synods, and all the doctors of the catholic churches.

Now when these things to us, jointly and orthodoxly, according to their divinely inspired doctrine, do, Professor, with a unanimous voice say we all.

**<sup>69</sup>Canon 1.** If anyone does not confess properly and truly in accord with the holy Fathers that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit [are a] Trinity in unity, and a unity in Trinity, that is, one God in three subsistences, consubstantial and of equal glory, one and the same Godhead, nature, substance, virtue, power, kingdom, authority, will, operation of the three, uncreated, without beginning, incomprehensible, immutable, creator and protector of all things, let him be condemned.

**Canon 2.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess in accordance with the Holy Fathers that God the Word himself, one of the holy and consubstantial and venerable Trinity, descended from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary ever Virgin, and was made man, was crucified in the flesh, voluntarily suffered for us and was buried, and arose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with paternal glory, with his flesh assumed by Him and intellectually animated, to judge the living and the dead, let him be condemned.

**Canon 3.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess in accord with the holy Fathers, that the holy Mother of God and ever Virgin and immaculate Mary in the earliest of the ages conceived of the Holy Spirit without seed, namely, God the Word Himself specifically and truly, who was born of God the Father before all ages, and that she incorruptibly bore [Him?], her virginity remaining indestructible even after His birth, let him be condemned.

**Canon 4.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers, two nativities of our one Lord and God Jesus Christ, as before the ages from God and the Father incorporeally and eternally, and as from the holy ever Virgin, Mother of God Mary, corporally in the earliest of the ages, and also one and the same Lord of us and God, Jesus Christ with God and His Father according to His divine nature and , consubstantial with man and His Mother according to the human

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<sup>69</sup> Translation sourced here: <http://www.catecheticonline.com/SourcesofDogma3.php> with thanks

nature, and the same one passable in the flesh, and impassible in the Godhead, circumscribed in the body, uncircumcised in Godhead, the same one uncreated and created, terrestrial and celestial, visible and intelligible, comprehensible and incomprehensible, that all mankind which fell under sin, might be restored through the same complete man and God, let him be condemned.

**Canon 5.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers one incarnate nature of God the Word, in this way, that our substance is called incarnate perfectly in Christ God and without diminution, provided substance is signified without sin, let him be condemned.

**Canon 6.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers, that from two and in two natures substantially united unconfusedly and undividedly there is one and the same Lord and God, Jesus Christ, let him be condemned.

**Canon 7.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers, the substantial difference of the natures preserved in Him, unconfusedly and undividedly, let him be condemned.

**Canon 8.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers the substantial union of the natures recognized in Him undividedly and unconfusedly, let him be condemned.

**Canon 9.** If anyone does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers, the natural properties of His Godhead and of His humanity preserved without diminution and without injury in Him, let him be condemned.

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

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

**Canon 12.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics confesses one will and one operation of Christ our God, to the destruction of the confession of the holy Fathers and to the denial of the same dispensation of our Savior, let him be condemned.

**Canon 13.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics, contrary to the doctrine of the Fathers, confesses both one will and one operation, although two wills and two operations, divine and human, have been substantially preserved in union in Christ God, and have been piously preached by our holy Fathers, let him be condemned.

**Canon 14.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics, together with one will and one operation, which is impiously confessed by the heretics, denies and rejects both two wills and in like manner two operations, that is, divine and human, which are preserved in unity in the very Christ God, and are proclaimed in regard to Him in an orthodox manner by the holy Fathers, let him be condemned.

**Canon 15.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics unwisely accepts the divine-human operation, which the Greeks call (Greek text deleted), as one operation, but does not confess that it is twofold according to the holy Fathers, that is, divine and human, or that the new application itself of the word “divine-human” which has been used is descriptive of one, but not demonstrative of the marvelous and glorious union of both, let him be condemned.

**Canon 16.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics in the destruction of the two wills and the two operations, that is, divine and human, preserved essentially in unity in Christ God, and piously preached by the holy Fathers, foolishly connects discords and differences with the mystery of His dispensation, and so attributes the evangelical and apostolic words about the same Savior not to one and the same person and essentially to the same Lord Himself and God, our Jesus Christ, according to blessed Cyril, so that he is shown to be by nature God and likewise man, let him be condemned.

**Canon 17.** If anyone in word and mind does not properly and truly confess according to the holy Fathers all even to the last portion that has been handed down and preached in the holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church of God, and likewise by the holy Fathers and the five venerable universal Councils, let him be condemned.

**Canon 18.** If anyone according to the holy Fathers, harmoniously with us and likewise with the Faith, does not with mind and lips reject and anathematize all the most abominable heretics together with their impious writings even to one least portion, whom the holy Catholic and apostolic Church of God, that is, the holy and universal five Synods and likewise all the approved Fathers of the Church in harmony, rejects and anathematizes, we mean Sabellius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Polemon, Eutyches, Dioscurus, Timothy Aelurus, Severus, Theodosius, Colluthus, Themistius, Paul of Samosata, Diodorus, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodulus the Persian, Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, and briefly all the remaining heretics, who have been condemned and cast out by the Catholic Church; whose teachings are the fruit of diabolical operation, and those, who unto the end have obstinately suggested (ideas) similar to these, or do suggest (them), or are believed to suggest (them), with whom (they are) justly (associated), inasmuch as

(they are) like them and (are) possessed of a similar error, according to which they are known to teach and by their own error determine their lives, we mean, Theodore formerly Bishop of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, or his successors, Pyrrhus and Paul, persisting in their treachery, and all their impious writings; and those, who have unto the end obstinately suggested, or are suggesting, or are believed to suggest (ideas) similar to those, that is, one will and one operation of the divinity and humanity of Christ, and besides these the very impious Ecthesis, which was composed at the persuasion of the same Sergius by Heraclius, formerly emperor in opposition to the orthodox faith, defining that one will of Christ God, and one operation from the composite are to be venerated; but also everything, which has been impiously written or done by them in defense of it, and those who accept it, or any thing that has been written or done in defense of it; and together with those again the wicked Typus, who on the persuasion of the aforementioned Paul was prepared recently by the most serene Emperor Constantine [read: Constantius], the emperor against the Catholic Church, inasmuch as he promulgates equally the denial and by silence the binding together of two natural wills and operations, divine and human, which are piously preached by the holy Fathers in the very Christ, true God and our Savior, together with one will and operation, which is impiously venerated in Him by the heretics, and inasmuch as he unjustly defines that together with the holy Fathers the wicked heretics also are freed from all reprehension and condemnation, unto the trimming down of the definitions or of the rule of the Catholic Church.

If anyone therefore, as has been said, does not in agreement with us reject and anathematize all these most impious teachings of their heresy, and those matters which have been impiously written by anyone in defense of them or in definition of them, and the specifically designated heretics, we mean Theodore, Cyrus and Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul, seeing that they are the rebels against the Catholic Church; or if anyone holds as condemned and entirely deposed some one of these who were in writing, or without writing, in any manner or place or time whatsoever rashly deposed or condemned by them (heretics) or by persons like them, inasmuch as the one condemned does not believe at all like them but with us confesses the doctrine of the holy Fathers-but, on the contrary (anyone) does not consider everybody who has been of this class-that is, whether bishop or priest or deacon or a member of any other ecclesiastical rank, or monk or layman-pious and orthodox and a defender of the Catholic Church, and also more firmly settled in the order to which he has been called by the Lord, but believes such (to be) impious and their judgments in defense of this detestable, or their opinions vain and invalid and weak, nay more wicked and execrable or worthy of condemnation, let such a person be condemned.

**Canon 19.** If anyone who indubitably has professed and also understands those (teachings) which the wicked heretics suggest, through vain impudence says that these are teachings of piety, which the investigators and ministers of the Word have handed down from the beginning, that is to say, the five holy and universal Synods, certainly calumniating the holy Fathers themselves and the five holy Synods



mentioned, in the deception of the simple, or in the acceptance of their own impious treachery, let such a person be condemned.

**Canon 20.** If anyone according to the wicked heretics in any manner whatsoever, by any word whatsoever, or at any time or place whatsoever illicitly removing the bounds which the holy Fathers of the Catholic Church have rather firmly established [Prov. 22:28], that is, the five holy and universal Synods, in order rashly to seek for novelties and expositions of another faith; or books, or letters, or writings, or subscriptions, or false testimonies, or synods, or records of deeds, or vain ordinations unknown to ecclesiastical rule; or unsuitable and irrational tenures of place; and briefly, if it is customary for the most impious heretics to do anything else, (if anyone) through diabolical operation crookedly and cunningly acts contrary to the pious preachings of the orthodox (teachers) of the Catholic Church, that is to say, its paternal and synodal proclamations, to the destruction of the most sincere confession unto the Lord our God, and persists without repentance unto the end impiously doing these things, let such a person be condemned forever, and let all the people say: so be it, so be it

Greetings from us, when these things were promulgated, and with all accuracy, according to the Lord's precepts is that offend, and all that do, indeed, the tares, when mixed with chaff, and a heretic meaning of the materials to the fire that cast a canonical sentential is by apostolic authority, but the wheat into the barn, orthodox Christians of our faith and apostolic, that is to say, the doctrine of the Catholic Church more firmly by the fan is of the Father's, assembling the triumphal hymns of victiccs Sophonia with the prophet to him, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, be glad and rejoice with all your heart, O daughter of Jerusalem. Lord hath taken away from thee the iniquity of thine enemies, he delivered thee from the hand of his enemies, in the midst of the LORD of thee, Thou shalt not see evil any more: "all by force in the newness of the heretical, he was confirmed in you, and to all the Orthodox faith, in the possession of eternal life.

Through him, Christ the Lord and the Savior of our souls, to whom be glory, honor, and veneration for, and the government, with the Father and the Holy Spirit now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.

#### **And subscriptions;**

Martin said, 'the grace of God Bishop of the holy, catholic and apostolic church of the city of Rome, this definition of the confirmation of the orthodox faith, and the sentence was that formerly Bishop of Constantinople, Sergius, Bishop of Cyrus of Alexandria and Theodore of item of the Bishop, the Bishop and the heretics of Pyrrhus, and Paul, and likewise Constantinus, politani their writings, setting up, subscribed. Maximus, bishop of the holy church of Aquileia, etc.

#### **Letter from Pope Agatho**

I, Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and the Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and the Bishop of the Mercians Saxulf, who before was

abbot ; and all the abbots that are in England : with God's greeting and my blessing. I have heard the yearning of King Ethelred and of the Archbishop Theodore, and of the Bishop Saxulf, and of the Abbot Cuthbald; and I will that it be in all wise as ye have spoken it. And I command on behalf of God and of S. Peter and of all Saints, and of all ordained persons, that neither King nor Bishop, nor earl, nor any man, have any authority, or law, or tax, or military service; nor let any man take any service of any kind from the abbacy of Medesham stede. I command also that the shire- bishop be not so bold that he perform any ordination or consecration in this abbacy, unless the abbot request it of him; nor have " biscop-wite" or synod or authority there of any kind. And I will that the abbot be holden as legate of Rome, over all the island; and that every abbot who shall be there chosen by the monks be blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I will and grant that every man who hath promised to go to Rome, and cannot perform it, either from infirmity or his lord's need, or from lack of means, or from need of any other kind he cannot go thither, be he of England, or of whatsoever other island he be, let him come to the monastery of Medeshamstede, and have the same forgiveness of Christ and S. Peter, and of the abbot and of the monks, that he should have if he went to Rome. I now pray thee, brother Theo dore, that thou let be commanded throughout all England, that a synod be gathered, and this writ be read and observed. In like manner, I command thee, Bishop Saxulf, that so as thou yearnest that the monastery be free, so I forbid thee, and all the Bishops who shall come after thee, from Christ and from all his saints, from having any authority over the monastery, save as much as the abbot may allow. I will now say by word, that whoso holds this writ and this order, may he be ever dwelling with God Almighty in the kingdom of heaven ; and whoso violates it, be he excommunicated and cast down with Judas and with all the devils into hell, unless he come to repentance. Amen. This writ Pope Agatho and a hundred and twenty-five \* Bishops sent to England by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. This was' done after the birth of our Lord 680, the sixth year of King Ethelred.

Then the King commanded the Archbishop Theodore that he should appoint a meeting of all the witan at the place which is called Hatfield. When they were there gathered, he caused the writ to be read which the Pope had sent thither, and they all assented to and fully confirmed it. Then said the King, "All the things which my brother Paeda, and my brother Wulfhere, and my sisters Kyneburh and Kyneswith, gave and granted to S. Peter and the abbot, I will that they stand; and I will in my day increase it, for their souls and for my soul. I now give today to S. Peter, for his monastery at Medeshamstede, these lands and all thereto adjacent:

Bredune,  
Hrepingas,  
Cedenac,  
Swineshaefed,  
Heanbyrig,  
Lodeshac,  
Scuffanhalch,  
Costesford,  
Stretford,

Waetelleburne,  
Lufgeard,  
AEthelhuniglond,  
Barthanig.

These lands I give to S. Peter as freely as I myself possessed them, and so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If any one do it, may he have the curse of the Pope of Rome and the curse of all Bishops, and of all those that are here witnesses; and this I confirm with the sign of Christ. >{«

I, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this writ of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my writing ; and I excommunicate all who shall violate anything thereof, and I bless all who shall hold it.

I, Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, I am witness to this writing, and I assent to the same curse,  
I, Saxulf, who was first abbot and now am Bishop, I give them my curse and that of all my successors who shall violate this.

I, Osthryth, Ethelred's queen, grant it.

I, Adrian, legate, assent to it.

I, Putta, Bishop of Rochester, subscribe it.

I, Waldhere, Bishop of London, confirm it.

I, Cuthbald, Abbot, assent to it, so that whoso shall violate it, have he the cursing of all Bishops and of all Christian folk. Amen.

## Thirteenth Council of Toledo 683

The Creed from the Thirteen Council of Toledo seems a bit of a mess, some of this may be my difficulty in translating the Latin. The odd thing here is that the language of procession has been dropped from the pneumatology.

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty,  
maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible,

and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God,  
born of the Father before all ages.

God from God, Light from Light. True God from true God.

Born, not made.

Omousion the Father, that is of the same substance with the Father.

Through him all things were made.

Things that are in heaven, and which are in the earth.

Who for us and for our salvation he came down.

And was incarnate by the Holy Spirit, of the Virgin Mary,  
suffered under Pontius Pilate, was made man.

He was buried on the third day he rose again.

He ascended to the heavens,

and is seated at the right hand of the Father,

He shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead,  
and his kingdom will have no end.

We believe in the Holy Spirit,  
the Lord and vivifier.

From the Father and the Son, is worshiped and glorified,  
who spoke through the prophets.

One Catholic and Apostolic Church.

We confess one baptism for the remission of sins,

we await the resurrection of the dead

and the life of the world to come. Amen.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> My translation from latin found at [http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga\\_056t.htm](http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_056t.htm)