

**FRANKS,  
ROMANS,  
FEUDALISM,  
AND DOCTRINE**

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# Part I

## Introduction

In the background of dialogue and the Ecumenical Movement for the reunion of Christendom lies the generally recognized fact that there is an interplay between theology and society, which may lead to a dogmatic formulation and become the cause of doctrinal differences.

Within the Roman Empire doctrinal conflicts took place usually among Roman citizens in a atmosphere of religious and philosophical pluralism. With the official recognition of Orthodox Christianity, we witness the beginning of the use of doctrinal differences in support of nationalistic movements of separate identity and secession from Roman rule, both political and ecclesiastical. Both Nestorianism and so-called Monophysitism, although initially promoted by Roman nationals, were finally supported by separatist tendencies among such ethnic groups as Syrians, Copts, and Armenians. Indeed, both Persians and Arabs took care to keep Christians separated.

By the eighth century, we meet for the first time the beginning of a split in Christianity which, from the start, took on ethnic names instead of names designating the heresy itself or its leader. Thus in

West European sources we find a separation between a Greek East and a Latin West. In Roman sources this same separation constitutes a schism between Franks and Romans.

One detects in both terminologies an ethnic or racial basis for the schism which may be more profound and important for descriptive analysis than the doctrinal claims of either side. Doctrine here may very well be part of a political, military, and ethnic struggle and, therefore, intelligible only when put in proper perspective. The interplay between doctrine and ethnic or racial struggle may be such that the two can be distinguished, but not separated.

The schism between Eastern and Western Christianity was not between East and West Romans. In actuality, it was a split between East Romans and the conquerors of the West Romans.

The Roman Empire was conquered in three stages: 1st by Germanic tribes who became known as Latin Christianity, 2nd by Muslim Arabs, and finally, by Muslim Turks. In contrast to this, the ecclesiastical administration of the Roman Empire disappeared in stages from West European Romania (the Western part of the Roman nation), but has survived up to modern times in the Roman Orthodox Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.

The reason for this is that the conquerors of the West Romans used the Church to suppress the Roman nation, whereas under Islam the Roman nation survived by means of the Church. In each instance of conquest, the bishops became the ethnarchs of the conquered Romans and administered Roman law on behalf of the emperor in Constantinople. As long as the bishops were Roman, the unity of the Roman Church was preserved, in spite of theological conflicts. The same was true when Romanized Franks became bishops during Merovingian times and shared with Roman bishops church administration.

# Roman Revolutions and the Rise of Frankish Feudalism and Doctrine

**D**uring the seventh century, however, the seeds of schism appear. The Visigoths in Spain had abandoned their Arian heresy and had become nominally Orthodox. But they preserved their Arian customs of church administration, which became that of the Carolingian Franks, and finally, of the Normans. The Visigoths began subjugating the Spanish Romans by replacing Roman bishops with Goths and by 654, had abolished Roman law.

During this same century, especially after 683, the Franks also had appointed Frankish bishops en masse and had rid their government administration of Roman officials.

Earlier, during the sixth and early seventh century, rebellions of leaders in Francia were joint conspiracies of Franks and Romans. By 673, however, the rebellions had become purely Frankish.

The fact that Constantinople sent its navy twice to Spain at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century to reestablish the beachhead lost in 629 is testimony to the plight of Roman Christians in Spain. In the face of the victorious Arabs, who had completed their conquest of the Middle East and had driven across Northern Africa, within striking distance of Carthage, Constantinople seemed ill-prepared for such military ventures into Spain. However, judging from the pattern of events, it seems that these attempted East Roman landings in Spain were supposed to touch off a general uprising of the Christian and Jewish Romans in Spain and Gaul against Visigothic and Frankish rule. The success of such rebellions in Spain and Gaul would perhaps have helped Constantinople in stemming the Arab tidal wave, which at times seemed to swamp the whole empire.

At the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694, the Jews were condemned to slavery because they had confessed to a plot to overthrow the 'Christians' (meaning Goths) in Spain, with the help of "those who dwelt in lands beyond the sea," the Roman, and not the later Arabic province of Africa, as is commonly believed. The Arabs at this time had not yet reached Carthage, the capital of this province or exarchate. Egica (687-701), the Gothic king, had fought off an attempt by the East Roman navy to reinstall the beachhead lost in 629. There can be no doubt that the Jews were condemned at this Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694 for plotting with Constantinople and Spanish Romans for the overthrow of Gothic rule in Spain.

King Witiza (701-708/9), the son of Egica, also defeated an East Roman attempt to liberate some of the cities in Southern Spain. Since 698 the Arabs were in firm control of Carthage and its environs and were establishing their control in the area of Ceuta.

These attempts of Constantinople failed, and the Roman Berber (Numedian) governor of Ceuta [ 1 ] in 711, and a bit later, the Gallo Romans, chose what seemed the lesser evil by establishing ad hoc alliances with the Arabs against Visigoths and Franks. These Roman Arab alliances overthrew Visigothic rule in Spain (711-719), but were defeated by the Frank warlord Charles Martel, first at Poitiers in 732, and then in Provence in 739.

The Roman revolts reduced Francia to the northern kingdoms of Austrasia and Neustria. Eudo, the Roman duke of Aquitaine, who made the first mentioned alliance with the Arabs against the Franks [ 2 ], had temporarily occupied Paris itself in an attempt to keep the pro-Roman Merovingian Franks in power. It fell to Charles Martel, Pippin III, and Charlemagne to restore Frankish rule over Burgundy, Auvergne, Aquitaine, Gascony, Septimania, and Provence.

Carolingian feudalism had its origin in the need to prevent the disaster which had overtaken the Visigoths in Spain. The Franks

were obliged to develop and extend the already existing system of controlling slave populations. Their goal was to keep the Romans subjugated and pacified, first in Austrasia and Neustrasia, and then elsewhere in Gaul, and, finally, in Northern Italy, as circumstances permitted.[ 3 ]

While still consolidating their grip on Gaul, the Franks conquered Northern and Central Italian Romania in the middle of the eighth century, in the guise of liberators of Italic of Papal Romania from Lombard oppression. At this time, the papacy was deeply involved in the iconoclastic controversy, having taken a firm stand, against the Roman emperors and patriarchs of New Rome who supported the iconoclastic movement.

The Franks applied their policy of destroying the unity between the Romans under their rule and the Romans under the rule of Constantinople and the Arabs. They played one Roman party against the other, took neither side, and finally condemned both the iconoclasts and the Seventh Ecumenical Synod (786/7) at their own Council of Frankfurt in 794, in the presence of the legates of Pope Hadrian I (771-795), the staunch supporter of Orthodox practice.

In the time of Pippin of Herestal (697-715) and Charles Martel (715-741), many of the Franks who replaced Roman bishops were military leaders who, according to Saint Boniface, "shed the blood of Christians like that of the pagans." [ 4 ]

In order to defend itself against foreign interference and protect itself from the fate of conquered Romans elsewhere, the papacy promulgated electoral laws in 769, according to which candidates for the papal dignity had to be cardinal deacons or presbyters of the city of Rome, and Romans by birth. Only Roman nationals were allowed to participate in the elections. Thirteen Frankish bishops were in attendance when these decisions were made.[ 5 ]

Meanwhile, Roman revolutionary activity in Gaul had not yet been fully suppressed. Pippin III had died the year before and Charlemagne and his brother Carloman had taken over the rule of Austrasia and Neustria. Within the surprisingly short period of only twenty-two years, from 732 to 754, the Franks had defeated the Roman-Arab alliance, swamped all the provinces of Gaul, and had swept into Northern Italy. This was made possible by the new feudal order which was first established in Austrasia and Neustria. The Roman administrative units of the civitates were abolished and replaced by the military comitates. The former free Romans were transferred en masse from the cities and were established on the slave labor camps called villae and mansi, alongside the serfs. They were called villeins (villains), a term which, for understandable reasons, came to mean enemies of law and order.

The Visigoths in Spain were overthrown by the Romans, who opened their city gates to the Berbers and Arabs. The Franks reacted with determination to avoid the occurrence of the same in Francia (Land of the Franks) by abolishing Roman urban society.

By the middle of the eighth century, the Frankish armies of occupation were overextended far beyond Austrasia and Neustria, where the main body of their nation was established. They could not yet afford to take over the church administration of Papal Romania as they had done elsewhere. It was expedient to play the part of liberators for the time being. Therefore, they appointed the Roman pope as a vassal of Francia.

The measure of freedom left to the Romans in Papal Romania depended on their right to have their own Roman pope, bishops, and clergy. To lose this right would have been tantamount to the same loss of freedom suffered by their compatriots in Northern Italy and Francia. Therefore, they had to be very careful not to incite the Franks.

# The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne

**A**n unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of Pope Leo III (795-816), the successor of Hadrian. Pope Leo was then accused of immoral conduct. Charlemagne took a personal and active interest in the investigations which caused Leo to be brought to him in Paderborn. Leo was sent back to Rome, followed by Charlemagne, who continued the investigations. The Frankish king required finally that Leo swear to his innocence on the Bible, which he did on December 23, 800. Two days later Leo crowned Charlemagne 'Emperor of the Romans.'

Charlemagne wanted the title 'Emperor', but not that of 'Emperor of the Romans'. His biographer Einhard claims that had Charlemagne known what the pope was up to, he would not have entered the church.[ 6 ]

Charlemagne had arranged to get the title 'Emperor' in exchange for Leo's exoneration. Leo almost spoiled things because Charlemagne wanted the title recognized by Constantinople-New Rome whose real 'Emperor of the Romans' would never recognize this full title for a Frank. This is why Charlemagne never used this title in his official documents, using instead the titles 'Emperor and Augustus, who governs' or 'administers the Roman Empire'. By claiming that he ruled the Roman Empire, Charlemagne thus clearly meant that he governed the whole Roman Empire. The Franks decided that the Eastern part of the Empire had become 'Greek', and its leader, an emperor of 'Greeks'. This is why Otto III (983-1002) is described in the year 1000 by his chronicler as 'visiting the Roman Empire', meaning, simply, the Papal States. [ 7 ]

The Romans called their empire Romania and respublica. The Franks reserved these names exclusively for the Papal States and



literally condemned the Eastern part of the Empire to be Graecia. [ 8 ] The Franks were very careful to always condemn 'Greeks' as heretics, but never Romans, although East and West Romans were one nation. Thus at the Council of Frankfurt (794), the Franks condemned the 'Greeks' and their Seventh Ecumenical Synod in the presence of the legates of the Roman Pope Hadrian II, an aggressive promoter of this same Seventh Ecumenical Synod.

Hadrian had already excommunicated all those who had not accepted the Seventh Ecumenical Synod. Technically the Franks were in a state of excommunication. But to implement this would have brought down upon Papal Romania and her citizens the wrath of Frankish feudalism, as had been the fate of the Romans in the rest of Francia (Gallia, Germania, and Italia).

Charlemagne had also caused the Filioque to be added to the Frankish Creed, without consulting the pope. When the controversy over this addition broke out in Jerusalem, Charlemagne convoked the Council of Aachen in 809 and decreed that this addition was a dogma necessary for salvation. With this fait accompli under his belt, he tried to pressure Pope Leo III into accepting it.[ 9 ]

Leo rejected the Filioque not only as an addition to the Creed, but also as dogma, claiming that the Fathers left it out of the Creed neither out of ignorance, nor out of negligence, nor out of oversight, but on purpose and by divine inspiration.

What Leo is clearly saying, but in diplomatic terms, is that the addition of the Filioque to the Creed is a heresy. The Franks were a too dangerous a presence in Papal Romania, so Leo acted as Hadrian had done before him. Leo did not reject the Filioque outside of the Creed, since there is in the West Roman tradition an Orthodox Filioque which was, and is, accepted as such by the East Romans until today. However, this West Roman Orthodox Filioque could not be added to the Creed where the term procession had a different meaning. In other words in a wrong context.

In any event, Charlemagne cared very little about the pope's thoughts on icons and the Filioque. He needed the condemnation of the East Romans as heretics in order to prove that they were no longer Romans, but Greeks, and he succeeded in getting this in the only way the Frankish mind at this time could devise. Believing that the Franks would eventually take over the Papacy, he knew that future Frankish popes would accept what Roman popes of his day had rejected. Charlemagne in his youth heard stories of his father's and uncle's struggles to save Francia from the Roman revolutions, which had destroyed Visigothic rule in Hispanic Gothia (Spain) and had almost destroyed the Franks in Gaul.

Many historians take for granted that, by this time, the Franks and Romans in Gaul had become one nation, and that the Romans were supposedly included under the name Frank or *populus Francorum*.

So there is not doubt about the identity of the revolutionaries in Gaul, we quote a contemporary Frankish chronicler who reports that in 742, the year of Charlemagne's birth, the Gascons rose in revolt under the leadership of Chunoald, the duke of Aquitaine and son of Eudo, mentioned above. Charlemagne's father and uncle "united their forces and crossed the Loire at the city of Orleans. Overwhelming the Romans, they made for Bourges." [ 10 ] Since Chunoald is here described as a beaten Roman, this means that his father Eudo was also a Roman, and not a Frank, as claimed by some.

The resulting Carolingian hatred for Romans is reflected in Charlemagne's *Libri Carolini* and in Salic law, and is clearly expressed by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, during the following century, as we shall have occasion to see.

Meanwhile, the West Romans and the pope continued to pray in church for their emperor in Constantinople. Even the Irish prayed for the *Imperium Romanum*. However, when the emperor supported a heresy like iconoclasm, West Romans stopped praying for him and prayed only for the *Imperium*.

The name Roman had come to mean Orthodox, while the name Greek, from the time of Constantine the Great, meant pagan. [ 11 ] By Frankish logic this meant that if the East Romans became heretics, this would be proof that they had given up Roman nationality and that their empire was no longer Romania. Thus, West Roman prayers would no longer apply to a heretical emperor of 'Greeks', but to the Orthodox Frankish emperor of 'doctrinally true' Romans. Also part of Frankish logic was the belief that God grants conquests to the orthodox and defeats to the heretics. This supposedly explains the explosive growth of Francia already described, but also the shrinkage of Romania at the hands of the Germanic and Arabic tribes.

These Frankish principles of reasoning are clearly spelled out in a letter of Emperor Louis II (855-875) to Emperor Basil I (867-886) in 871. Louis calls himself "Emperor Augustus of the Romans" and demotes Basil to "Emperor of New Rome." Basil had poked fun at Louis, insisting that he was not even emperor in all of Francia, since he ruled only a small part of it, and certainly was not emperor of the Romans, but of the Franks. Louis argued that he was emperor in all of Francia because the other Frankish kings were his kinsmen by blood. He makes the same claim as that found in the Annals of Lorsch: he who holds the city of Old Rome is entitled to the name "Emperor of the Romans." Louis claimed that : "We received from heaven this people and city to guide and (we received) the mother of all the churches of God to defend and exalt."

Louis claimed that Rome, its people, and the papacy were given to the Franks by God because of their orthodox beliefs and were taken by God away from the 'Greeks', who used to be Romans when they were orthodox.

Louis responded by saying: "We have received the government of the Roman Empire for our orthodoxy. The Greeks have ceased to be emperors of the Romans for their cacodoxy. Not only have they deserted the city (Rome) and the capital of the Empire, but they

have also abandoned Roman nationality and even the Latin language. They have migrated to another capital city and taken up a completely different nationality and language." [ 12 ]

These remarks explain the Frankish use of the name Romania for territories they conquered from the East Romans and Turks during their so-called crusades. These provinces, and the Greek language, now become once again Romania because the Frankish armies had restored them to the 'orthodoxy' of the Frankish Papacy and to the 'supremacy' of the Latin language.[ 13 ]

## Roman Reactions to Charlemagnian Policies

**E**mperor Basil I fully understood the dangers of Frankish plans revealed in the letter of Emperor Louis II and answered by sending his army to expel the Arabs from Southern Italy in 876. Frankish occupation of Papal Romania and Arab pressure from the South had put a tremendous strain on the papacy, and gave rise to a pro-Frankish party of Romans who managed to elect Nicholas I (858-867) as pope.

However, with the Roman army now established in the south, the papacy gained enough freedom and independence to react doctrinally to the Franks on the questions of icons and the Filioque. Pope John VIII (872-882) felt strong enough to participate in the Eighth Ecumenical Synod of 879 in Constantinople, which condemned Charlemagne's Councils of Frankfurt (794) and Aachen (809). However, this Synod of Constantinople did not mention these Frankish Councils or the Franks by name. It simply condemned and excommunicated all those who rejected the Seventh Ecumenical Synod [ 14 ] and altered the Creed, either by addition or by deletion.[ 15 ]

Pope John VIII was on good terms with the Frankish rulers and kept them pleased with gifts of the title emperor. He never ceased to appeal to them for aid against the Saracens. The Franks were not as powerful then as they were in the time of Charlemagne, but they were still dangerous, and could be useful.

In a private letter to Patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886), Pope John VIII assured his colleague that the Filioque was never added to the Creed in Rome (as had been done by the Franks when they feudalized Northern Italy), that it was a heresy, but that the question should be handled with great caution..."so that we will not be forced to allow the addition..."[ 16 ] This papal letter was added at the end of the minutes of the Synod and explains why the Synod did not name the heretics who were condemned.[ 17 ]

Pope John also proposed to this same Synod of Constantinople the adoption of two of the provisions of the 769 decree on papal elections by a college of cardinal clergy already mentioned. However, they were to be applied to the election of the Patriarch of Constantinople. One proposed canon forbids the candidacy of laymen. The second restricts candidacy to the cardinal clergy of the city of Constantinople.[ 18 ] Both papal proposals were rejected as inapplicable to New Rome, but accepted as applicable to Old Rome.[ 19 ] Thus in this indirect manner, the 769 decree on papal elections became part of Roman law when the acts of this Synod were signed by the emperor.

Pope John could not directly petition that the 769 papal election law be incorporated into Roman law, since this would be tantamount to an admission that for more than a hundred years popes were being elected illegally. It appears that Franks and pro-Frankish Romans had been promoting the argument that papal election practice was neither that of the East Roman Patriarchates, nor legal, since not a part of Roman law. Now it was at least part of Roman law.

It was very important for the Romanism and Orthodoxy of the papacy that it remain self-perpetuating, without the possibility of infiltration by pro-Franks such as Nicholas I, or even of a Frankish takeover, if clergy from outside of the papacy could become candidates, as had happened in the East where it was permissible for a presbyter of one Patriarchate to become patriarch of another.

In addition, the canons which forbid the transference of bishops became extremely important. The successor of John VIII was not recognized as pope by Emperor Basil I because he had been bishop and had become pope by transference.

## The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals

**T**he sixth and seventh centuries witnessed a continuing controversy in Francia over the place of the Frankish king in the election of bishops. One party insisted that the king had no part in the elections. A second group would allow that the king simply approve the elections. A third group would give the king veto power over elections. A fourth group supported the right of the kings to appoint the bishops. Gregory of Tours and most members of the senatorial class belonged to this fourth group. However, while supporting the king's right to appoint bishops, Gregory of Tours protested against the royal practice of selling bishoprics to the highest bidder.

From the time of St. Gregory the Great, the popes of Old Rome tried to convince the Frankish kings to allow the election of bishops according to canon law by the clergy and people. Of course, the Frankish kings knew very well that what the popes wanted was the election of bishops by the overwhelming Roman majority. However, once the Franks replaced the Roman bishops and reduced the *populus Romanorum* to serfdom as villeins, there was no longer any reason why the canons should not apply. Thus

Charlemagne issued his capitulary of 803, which restored the free election of bishops by the clergy and people *secunda statuta canonum*. Charlemagne restored the letter of the law, but both its purpose and that of the popes were frustrated. The church in Francia remained in the grip of a tyrannical Teutonic minority.

It is within such a context that one can appreciate the appearance of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, a large collection of forged documents, mixed with and fused into authentic ones compiled and in use by 850.

Incorporated into this collection was the forgery known as the Donation of Constantine whose purpose was to prevent the Franks from establishing their capital in Rome. This is strongly indicated by the fact that Otto III (983-1002), whose mother was an East Roman, declared this document a forgery as part of his reason for establishing Old Rome as his capital. Constantine the Great allegedly gave his imperial throne to the pope and his successors because "it is not right that an earthly emperor would have power in a place where the government of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been established by the heavenly Emperor." For this reason he moved his "empire and power" to Constantinople. And it was hoped that the Franks would fall for the ruse and leave Rome to the Romans.

Translated into feudal context, the Decretals supported the idea that bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, patriarchs and popes are related to each other as vassals and lords in a series of pyramidal relations, similar to Frankish feudalism, except that the pope is not bound by the hierarchical stages and procedures and can intervene directly at any point in the pyramid. He is at the same time the pinnacle, and directly involved by special juridical procedure in all levels. Clergy are subject only to the church tribunals. All bishops have the right of appeal directly to the pope who alone is the final judge. All appeals to lower level church courts are to be reported to the pope. Even when no appeal is made, the pope has the right to bring cases before his tribunal.

The throne of Saint Peter was transferred to Rome from Antioch. Constantine the Great gave his throne to Pope Silvester I and his successors in Rome. Thus the pope sat simultaneously on the thrones of Saints Peter and Constantine. What more powerful rallying point could there be for that part of the Roman nation subjugated to Teutonic oppression?

The Decretals were strongly resisted by powerful members of the Frankish hierarchy. However, they very quickly had wide distribution and became popular with the oppressed. At times the Frankish kings supported the Decretals against their own bishops as their interests dictated. They were also supported by pious Frankish clergy and laymen, and even by Frankish bishops who appealed to the pope in order to nullify decisions taken against them by their metropolitans.

The forged parts of these Decretals were written in Frankish Latin, an indication that the actual work was done in Francia by local Romans. The fact that the Franks accepted the Decretals as authentic, although not in the interests of their feudal establishment, means clearly that they were not a party to the forgery. The Franks never suspected the forgery until centuries later.

Both Old and New Rome knew that these Decretals were forgeries. [ 20 ] Roman procedure for verification of official texts can leave no doubt about this. Therefore, it is very possible that agents of Constantinople, and certainly, agents of Old Rome, had a hand in the compilation.

The strongest argument that Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (845-882) could conjure up against the application of these Decretals in Francia was that they applied only to Papal Romania. He made a sharp distinction between canons of Ecumenical Synods, which are immutable and applicable to the whole Church because they were inspired by the Holy Spirit, and laws which are limited in their application to a certain era and to only a part of the



Church.[ 21 ] One can see why Hincmar's contemporary, Pope John VIII (872-882), expressed to Patriarch Photios his hope, that he, John, might be able to persuade the Franks to omit the Filioque from the Creed. What Pope John did not fully grasp was the determination with which the Franks decided that the East Romans be only 'Greeks' and heretics, as is clear from the Frankish tradition now inaugurated to write works against the errors of the 'Greeks'.  
[ 22 ]

The Decretals were an attack on the very heart of the Frankish feudal system, since they uprooted its most important administrative officials, i.e., the bishops, and put them directly under the control, of all things, of a Roman head of state.

The astute Franks understood the danger very well. Behind their arguments against the application of the Decretals in Francia, one finds lurking two Frankish concerns. On the one hand, they contended with a Roman pope, but on the other hand, they had to take this pope very seriously because the villeins could become dangerous to the feudal establishment if incited by their ethnarch in Rome.

Pope Hadrian II (867-872), John VIII's predecessor, threatened personally to restore Emperor Louis II (855-875) to his rightful possession in Lotharingia, taken by Charles the Bald (840-875), who had been crowned by Hincmar of Rheims (845-882).

[ 23 ] Hincmar answered this threat in a letter to the pope. He warned Hadrian not to try "to make slaves of us Franks", since the pope's "predecessors laid no such yoke on our predecessors, and we could not bear it...so we must fight to the death for our freedom and birthright." [ 24 ]

Hincmar was not so much concerned with bishops becoming slaves of the pope, but that a Roman should "make slaves of us Franks." [ 25 ]

In 990, King Hugh Capet (987-996) of West Francia (Gaul or Gallia) and his bishops applied to Pope John XV (985-996) for the suspension of Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims as required by the Decretals. Arnulf had been appointed by Hugh Capet, but subsequently betrayed his benefactor, in favor of the Carolingian Duke Charles of Lotharingia who was his uncle.

Impatient with the pope's eighteen month delay in making a decision, Hugh Capet convened a council at Verzy near Rheims in 990. Arnulf pleaded guilty and begged for mercy. Nonetheless, a group of abbots challenged the proceedings as illegal because they were not consistent with the Decretals.[ 26 ] The Council deposed Arnulf. Hugh Capet caused Gerbert de Aurillac, the future Pope Silvester II, to be appointed in his place.[ 27 ]

Pope John, however, rejected this council as illegal and unauthorized. He sent a Roman abbot named Leo to depose Gerbert, restore Arnulf, and pronounce suspension on all the bishops who had taken part in the council. The pope's legate announced the pope's decision at the Council of Mouson in 995. [ 28 ]

Gerbert vigorously defended himself.[ 29 ] He rejected the papal decision in the presence of the papal legate Leo and refused the advice of colleagues to desist from his duties until the matter could be brought before the next Council of Rheims. The bishop of Triers finally persuaded him not to celebrate mass until the final decision on his case was reached.[ 30 ]

Thus Gerbert was completely abandoned by both the ecclesiastical and lay Frankish nobles who felt obliged to display, at least publicly, their support for the pope's decision. They even avoided every kind of contact with Gerbert. But Abbot Leo had aroused the faithful in support of the pope who sat on the thrones of Saints Peter and Constantine the Great. Out of prudence, Gerbert went into seclusion.

At the next Council of Rheims in 996, Gerbert was deposed and Arnulf was restored.[ 31 ]The Frankish ecclesiastical nobility could not afford to oppose popular support for the pope.

It seems that it was not popular superstition and piety alone that was the foundation of the people's fervor for the pope, but also the common Romanism the majority shared with the pope. It is this Romanism which constituted the power basis for the papal thrones of Saints Peter and Constantine the Great.

That the underlying problem was a clash between Romans and Franks is clearly stated by Gerbert in a letter to Wilderod, bishop of Strassburg. He writes: "The whole Church of the West Franks lies under the oppression of tyranny. Yet remedy is not sought from the West Franks, but from these (Romans)."[ 32 ] It is easy to understand the enthusiasm with which the subject populus Romanorum welcomed the Roman pope's interventions, punishing and humiliating Frankish nobles guilty of injustice. That the legate Leo could reverse the decisions of Hugh Capet and his bishops, and drive the nobility into conformity and Gerbert into seclusion by means of the faithful indicates that the makings of a revolution were present.

## The Frankish Counterattack

**T**he Frankish establishment, however, had the power to react, and it did so on two fronts. It stepped up its propaganda against alleged papal "corruption" and, of all things, "illiteracy," and made the decisive move to replace Roman popes with alleged "pious" and "literate" Germanic popes.

The alleged corrupt Roman popes could have been replaced by pious Roman popes. At the time there were at least some 200 monasteries and 50,000 Roman monks south of Rome.[ 33 ] But this was exactly the danger that had to be avoided. The Decretals

in the hands of the pious Roman popes were even more dangerous than when in the hands of corrupt ones. The purpose of this smear campaign was to shatter the people's confidence in the Roman Papacy and justify the need to cleanse it with "virtuous" and "literate" Lombards, and East and West Franks.

Otto II (973-983) had appointed a Lombard, Peter of Pavia to the papacy in 983. He became the first non-Roman pope as John XIV (983-984), and thus provoked a revolution of the Roman populace aided by Constantinople. However, it took another forty years for the noble vassals of King Robert the Pious (996-1031) to get up enough Christian courage to take an oath that they would no longer violate "noble women." They were careful not to include villeins and serf women in the oath.

The concern of the Frankish bishops for the morality of Roman popes is quite interesting, as they did not seem concerned with their own morality when passing the death sentence in their episcopal courts. Charlemagne's many wives and fifteen illegitimate children were taken in stride, together with the fact that he forbade the marriage of his daughters. But Charlemagne did not mind their having children, although he castigated such practices in his capitularies.

At the Council of Rheims in 991, already mentioned, Arnuld, the bishop of Orleans, lists and violently attacks the alleged "corrupt" popes and, of course, praises Peter of Pavia, i.e., Pope John XIV, the Lombard already mentioned. It is, perhaps, not by accident that the allegedly corrupt popes were attached to Constantinople and the pious one was a Lombard.

In this same speech, Arnulf remarks: "But as at this time in Rome (as is publicly known) there is hardly anyone acquainted with letters-without (as it is written) one may hardly be a doorkeeper in the house of God-with what face may he who has himself learnt nothing set himself up as a teacher of others? Of course, in comparison with the Roman pontiff, ignorance is tolerable in other

priests, but in the Roman (pope), in him to whom it is given to pass in review the faith, the morals, the discipline of the priesthood, indeed, of the universal church, ignorance is in no way to be tolerated." [ 34 ]

This deliberate fabrication should raise the question of the veracity of such Frankish sources concerning the corruption and illiteracy of Roman popes. Certainly many of them were neither saints nor scholars, but it is likely that Frankish propaganda exaggerates their weaknesses and it is certain that it does not stop short of fabrication.

In this same speech Arnulf lists among the papal "monsters" Pope John XII (955-964), who was put on trial in 963 by Otto I (936-973) and condemned in absentia. The report of Liutprand, the Lombard bishop of Cremona, that no proof was necessary at the trial because the pope's alleged crimes were publicly known may be indicative of the need to reexamine such cases.

Perhaps the most important incentive for replacing Roman popes with Franks and Lombards is that revealed by this same Liutprand, a chief adviser to Otto I. He writes: "We...Lombards, Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bajoarians, Sueni, Burgundians, have so much contempt [for Romans and their emperors] that when we become enraged with our enemies, we pronounce no other insult except Roman (*nisi Romane*), this alone, i.e., the name of the Romans (*hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine*) meaning: whatever is ignoble, avaricious, licentious, deceitful, and, indeed whatever is evil." [ 35 ]

Perhaps the real reason that Pope John XII became the monster of Frankish propaganda was that he dared restore the older tradition of dating papal documents by the years of the reign of the Roman emperor in Constantinople. In any case, Liutprand's tirade against the Romans, just quoted, reveals the fact that he knew very well that East and West Romans were one nation, and that the emperor in Constantinople was the real emperor of the Romans.

This tirade also reveals the fact that Liutprand was not aware of the prevailing theory among modern European historians that the Germanic nations became one nation with the Romans in Western Europe. As is clear from Liutprand, the Germanic peoples of his time would have been insulted by such claims.

Otto III (983-1002) solved the main problem of Frankdom in 996 by appointing to the papacy Bruno of Carinthia, an East Frank, who, as Gregory V (996-999), demanded the reinstatement of Arnulf as archbishop of Rheims. Thus Gerbert de Aurillac gave up trying to be restored to Rheims. He was compensated, however, by his fellow Frank, now on the papal throne, with confirmation of his appointment as archbishop of Ravenna (998-999).

Upon the death of Bruno, Gerbert was appointed to the papacy by Otto III and ruled Papal Romania as Silvester II (993-1003). For European and American historians, this Silvester II is one of the great popes in the history of the papacy. But for Romans, he was the head of the Frankish army of occupation, and the pope who introduced the feudal system of suppression into Papal Romania and enslaved the Romans to the Frankish nobility. There was no other way the people of Old Rome would accept Germanic popes.

In defending himself against the decision of the Roman pope, John XV, the future Frankish Pope Gerbert d'Aurillac, staunchly and eloquently supported the positions of Hincmar against the universal application of the Decretals. When d'Aurillac became Pope Silvester II, he found their universal application useful. The Decretals in the hands of the Frankish Papacy, sealed the tomb of the West Romans very firmly for many centuries.

Between the years 973-1003, and especially between 1003-1009, the Romans of Papal Romania made valiant efforts to preserve their freedom and independence from Frankish feudalism by having or attempting to have their own popes; once, at least, with the assistance of the East Roman army which had reached Rome and entered the city. The German emperors, however, devised an

interim method of keeping the Romans somewhat pacified, by confirming the election of Roman popes from the Roman Tusculan family, which secured the papacy for itself, in exchange for the betrayal of Constantinople and her Orthodoxy represented by the Crescenti family. However, this temporary facade was abolished at the Council of Sutri in 1046. Thenceforth, Germanic popes were once again appointed by the German emperors, until the Normans became the deciding factor in allowing the reformer Franks to wrest the papacy from the imperial Germans. Even Italian popes like Gregory VII are descended from the Frankish army of occupation, established in Italy since the time of Charlemagne. It is no wonder that Beatrice and Matilda, wife and daughter of Boniface II, marquess of Tuscany, should become the great supporters of the reformed Papacy, since this is also a Frankish family established there since the ninth century.

## Conclusions

**T**he conclusions, I believe, seem clear. The underlying forces which clashed on the battlefield were not the Decretals, canon law, and the Filioque, but Romans and Franks. The Franks used church structure and dogma in order to maintain their birthright, to hold the Roman nation in "just subjection." The Romans also used church structure and dogma to fight back for their own freedom from oppression and for their independence.

Both sides used the most convenient weapons at hand. Thus, the same canonical and decretal arguments are to be found now on one side, now on the other, according to the current offensive and defensive needs of each nation. The Filioque, however, became a permanent feature of conflict between East Romans and Franks with the West Romans attempting to side with the East Romans.

From all that has been pointed out, it should be evident that there are strong indications that Roman historical terms are much closer to the reality of the schism than is Frankish terminology. The first

is consistent with its own past, whereas the second is a deliberate provocation of a break with the past.

To speak of the schism as a conflict between Franks and Romans, to which theology was subjected as an offensive weapon on the Frankish side, and as a defensive and counter-offensive weapon on the Roman side, would seem close to taking a picture of history with a movie camera. On the other hand, to speak of a conflict between so-called "Latin" and "Greek" Christianities is tantamount to commissioning Charlemagne and his descendants to prophesy the future, and see to it that the prophecy is fulfilled.

There is strong evidence that the higher and lower nobility of European feudalism were mostly descendants of Germanic and Norman conquerors, and that the serfs were mostly descendants of the conquered Romans and Romanized Celts and Saxons. This explains why the name Frank meant both noble and free in contrast to the serfs. This usage was strong enough to get into the English language by way of the Normans. Thus, even the African-American was described as receiving his franchise when set free.

The implications are quite tantalizing when applied to the task of understanding the framework of Frankish or Latin Christianity and theology in relation to Roman Christianity and theology. Feudalism, the Inquisition, and Scholastic theology were clearly the work of the Franks, Germans, Lombards, Normans, and Goths, who took over the Church and her property, and used the religion of the Romans to keep the conquered Romans in a servile state. In contrast to this, the Romans who were conquered by Arab and Turkish Muslims, had their own Roman bishops. Thus in the one case, the institutional aspects of Christianity became a tool of suppression, and in the other, the means of national survival.

Because it is impossible to believe that four Roman Patriarchates broke away from a Frankish Papacy, the Franks were forced to forge the somewhat more believable myth that four "Greek" Patriarchates broke away from a so-called Roman but, in reality,



Frankish Papacy. European and American historians continue to teach and support this.

The schism began when Charlemagne ignored both Popes Hadrian I and Leo III on doctrinal questions and decided that the East Romans were neither Orthodox nor Roman. Officially, this Frankish challenge was answered at the Eighth Ecumenical Synod in 879 by all five Roman Patriarchates, including that of Old Rome.

There was no schism between the Romans of Old and New Rome during the two and a half centuries of Frankish and German control over Papal Romania.[ 36 ]

The so-called split between East and West was, in reality, the importation into Old Rome of the schism provoked by Charlemagne and carried there by the Franks and Germans who took over the papacy.

The atmosphere for dialogue between Old and New Rome may be cleared by the realization that the so-called "French" Revolution was essentially not much different from the so-called "Greek" Revolution. One was a revolt of Romans against their Frankish conquerors, and the other, a revolt of Romans against their Turkish conquerors.

It would seem that there is a much stronger unity among the Romans extending from the Atlantic to the Middle East than there can ever exist among those working for a union based on only a Charlemagnian Europe.

Perhaps the best path to the political reunion of Europe is to first realize that the already existing Roman Republics should, and can, unite into a Federation of Roman Republics. In other words, the so-called "French" and "Greek" Revolutions must be completed by becoming a Roman Revolution.

However, the path to the reunion of Christianity is not at all political or ethnic in nature. The Church's involvement in politics, and state structures for the preservation or the suppression of Roman society produced an interplay between church and society, but not necessarily between dogma and society.

The Medieval papacy incorporated the feudal structure into her fabric of administration and elevated it to the level of dogma.

The Orthodox Churches have also been adapting themselves to changing circumstances which affect their administrative fabric also, but have left this at the level of canon law.

The Protestant churches have rejected not only the dogmatic aspects of the Medieval papal administrative structure, but, on the whole, they have rejected the Orthodox development also, and have attempted to go back to what they understand to be Biblical or Apostolic Christianity.

Thus, Roman Orthodox and so-called "Roman Catholics" find themselves heirs to differences due to historical circumstances, and Protestants see themselves as a series of third alternatives.



## FOOTNOTES

[ 1 ] There are two factors which may shed further light on the events surrounding the role played by the governor of Ceuta in the overthrow of Gothic rule in Hispanic Romanian. The first is mentioned by Ibn Khaldoun who claims that the Berber tribes (the Numidians of Roman history) were converted to Islam twelve times. This means that the Berber tribesmen who participated in

the liberation of Spain were either still outright Roman Christians, or still Roman Christians in sentiment and no different from their leader, the governor of Ceuta who was a Berber, a Roman (Rum), and an Orthodox Christian. The second factor, testified to by St. John of Damascus (circa 675-749) is that the Romans at this time still considered Islam to be a Christian heresy. The Koran (S.30) itself considers the Romans as coreligionists. This means that the Hispanic Romans accepted the Numidians as fellow Romans and the Arabs as heretical Christians. These factors explain the otherwise mysterious rapidity and total effectiveness of the overthrow of Gothic power. The tradition that the Jews alone aided the Berbers and Arabs in "conquering" Gothia (Goth occupied Spain) is clearly a fabrication. Both Jewish and Christian Romans assisted in the liberation which, in reality, was the implementation of revolutionary plans several decades old, with two known attempts to incite rebellions via landings of the free Roman army, already mentioned.[ 2 ] "When Duke Eudo saw that he was beaten and an object of scorn, he summoned to his assistance against Prince Charles and his Franks the unbelieving Saracen people. So they rose up...and crossed the Garonne...From thence they advanced on Poitiers..." Fredegarii, *Chronica Continuaciones* 13, trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadril (London, 1960), p. 90

[ 3 ] On the origins of European feudalism, see my books *Romanism, Romania, Roumeli* (in Greek) (Thessaloniki, 1975).

[ 4 ] Migne, PL 89: 744.

[ 5 ] F. Mourret, *A History of the Catholic Church*, 3 (London, 1936), pp. 351-55. The main conditions of this decree were restated in 817 in an agreement between Louis the Pious (814-840) and Pope Paschal I (817-824), but reversed in 824 by Emperor Lothar (823-855) who added the provision that the pope was to be elected with his consent and consecrated after swearing an oath of fealty. Brian Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 47-52.

[ 6 ] It is within such a context that the seeming contradiction between Einhard and the Annals of Lorsch may be resolved.

[ 7 ] Thietmar of Mersebourg, *Chronicon*, 4.47; Brian Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 120-121.

[ 8 ] John S. Romanides, *Romanism*, pp.33, 50-51, 205-249.

[ 9 ] For a review of the historical and doctrinal aspects of this question, see J.S. Romanides, *The Filioque, Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions, St. Albans 1975-Moscow 1976* (Athens, 1978).

[ 10 ] Fredegarii, *Chronica Continuaciones* 25.

[ 11 ] Thus Saint Athanasios the Great's work entitled *Discourse against the Greeks*, Migne, PG 25: 3-96.

[ 12 ] Pullan, *Sources*, pp. 16-17.

[ 13 ] Romanides, *Romanism*, pp. 224- 249.

[ 14 ] Mansi, 17. 493-496.

[ 15 ] *Ibid.*, 17.516-517.

[ 16 ] *Ibid.*, 17.525. Romanides, *Romanism*, p. 62ff.

[ 17 ] It has been argued that the surviving version of this letter is a product of the fourteenth century. However, the letter fits in quite snugly with the conditions of Papal Romania at this time and could not have been known by either the Franks or East Romans in the fourteenth century.

[ 18 ] Mansi 17.489.

[ 19 ] *Ibid.*, Romanides, *Romanism*, pp. 149-50,, 325-27.

[ 20 ] It is no accident that Otto III declared the Donation of Constantine to be a forgery, as already mentioned, a fact he probably learned from his East Roman mother and tutors. However, he evidently never suspected that the rest of the decretals had been tampered with.

[ 21 ] Hincmar's copious arguments are contained in his writings about his nephew's illegal appeal to the pope, *Opuscula et Epistolae quae spectant ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*, Migne, PL 126:279-648.

[ 22 ] Of these, the following three survive: 1) *Responsio De Fide S. Trinitatis Contra Graecorum Haeresim*, Migne, PL 110:111-112; 2) Ratramnus of Corbie, *Contra Graecorum Opposita*, Migne, PL 121:225-346; 3) Aeneas of Paris, *Liber Adversus Graecos*, Migne, PL 121:685-762.

[ 23 ] Mansi 16.555-60.

[ 24 ] "...nos Francos non jubeat servire, quia istud jugam sui antecessores nostris antecessoribus non imposuerunt, et nos illud portare non possumus, qui scriptum esse in sanctis libris audimus, ut pro libertate et haereditate nostra usque ad mortem certare debeamus." Migne, PL 126:181.

[ 25 ] Mansi 19.97-100.

[ 26 ] It is interesting to carefully note that Richerus (*Historiae* 68), a student of Gerbert, reports that the abbots were answered by the claim that it was impossible to notify the Roman pontiff about the matter because of obstacles caused by enemies and the bad conditions of the roads.

[ 27 ] Mansi 19.103-08. For Gerbert's own spontaneous version of the proceedings, see his report to Wilderod, bishop of Strassbourg. Mansi 19.107-68. It is clear that Richerus is attempting to cast the factual material in such a way as to cover up the clash that was in

process between the West Frankish establishment and the Roman papacy. This is nowhere so much in evidence as in the fact that he carefully avoids mentioning that Gerbert and the bishops who ordained him were deposed by Pope John XV, a fact which Gerbert himself complains about in his letter to Empress Adelaide. Mansi 19.176-78.

[ 28 ] Mansi 19.193-96. This evidence should be used in the light of Gerbert's letter to Empress Adelaide, already mentioned in the previous footnote. Richerus makes a feeble attempt to present pope John as having sent Leo to simply investigate the matter at the Council of Mouzon (*Historiae* 4.95) and for this reason the text of the Papal decision had to be omitted from his acts of the Council. One can understand why this text has also disappeared from the Papal archives most probably when Bruno of Carinthia or Gerbert himself took over the Papacy.

[ 29 ] Richerus, *Historiae* 4.101-05. Mansi 19.193-96.

[ 30 ] Mansi 19.196. Richerus gives us an important key to these deliberations. Gerbert finally promised to abstain from the celebration of mass in order to avoid the appearance of an open revolt against the pope. *Historiae* 4.106. In other words, there was a general agreement among the lay and church nobles (i.e., the Franks) that the pope and the Gallo-Roman (Walloon) multitude are to be out-flanked, and for this reason, a final decision was at all costs avoided. That a Frankish candidate for the Papacy was being prepared for the succession of John XV was perhaps already decided upon and known by key Frankish leaders. In order to govern the predominantly Roman multitude effectively, the Franks had to always give the impression that they were faithful and obedient to the Roman pope.

[ 31 ] Mansi 19.197-200. Richerus mentions this council, but is silent about its decisions. *Historiae* 4.108. As already mentioned, he carefully avoids giving out the information that Gerbert was suspended by John XV. By not mentioning the death of this pope,

Richerus gives us the impression that Gerbert twice visited the same papacy, which also recognized his appointment to the Archbishopric of Ravenna.

[ 32 ] "Pressa jacet tyrannide omnis Ecclesia Gallorum; atqui non a Gallis, sed ab his sperabatur salus," Mansi 19.166. Gallia, Germania, and Italia were parts of the Frankish Empire ruled in the past by members of the Carolingian families. Within this context, Ecclesia Gallorum signifies the Church of the West Franks and certainly not the French, who at this time were predominantly the Gallo-Roman serfs and villeins under Frankish rule. This is clear from the use of the title Rex Francorum by the Capetian Kings. See, e.g., Mansi, 19.93-94, 97, 105, 107-08, 113, 129, 171-72, 173-74.

[ 33 ] F. Mourret, *A History of the Catholic Church*, 3 (London, 1936), p. 439; J. Gay, *L'Italie Meridionale et L'Empire Byzantine (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904), p. 285.

[ 34 ] Mansi 19.132-33.

[ 35 ] *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* 12. Migne, PL 136. 815

[ 36 ] In his letter to Emperor Michael I (811-813), Charlemagne refers to the restoration of the unity of the Churches within the context of the establishment of peace between the Western and Eastern Empires, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* 4, p. 556ff. Charlemagne is here thinking in terms of the Frankish West and the Roman or Greek East and not of Old and New Rome. Pope Leo III had never accepted Charlemagne's doctrinal adventures about icons and the Filioque, and the East Roman Patriarchs desisted from reacting against them, evidently in support of the delicate and dangerous position of the West Romans under Frankish occupation. In any event, Charlemagne's remarks are his own admission that he himself had provoked a schism which existed only in his own mind, since all five Roman Patriarchs

avoided being provoked, and seemed not to take the Franks doctrinally serious at that time. For an English translation of this letter, see Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne* (London, 1974), pp. 242-43.



# Part II

In part I we presented a summary of evidence which testifies that feudalism in Western Europe did not result from the commingling of the Roman and Germanic races and customs, as commonly believed, but rather from the subjugation of the West Romans to their conquerors. The Franks then turned their attention to the ecclesiastical and doctrinal enslavement of Papal Romania, attempting to cause a split between Papal and East Romania. This effort failed so long as the Roman nation remained in control of the Papal throne.

European and American histories treat the alienation between East and West as though it were inevitable, because of an alleged separation of the Roman Empire itself into East and West, because of alleged linguistic and cultural differences, and because of an alleged difference between the legal West and the speculative East. [ 1 ] Evidence strongly suggests that such attempts to explain the separation between East and West are conditioned by prejudices inherited from the cultural tradition of the Franks, and from the centuries-old propaganda of the Frankish Papacy.

The evidence points clearly to the national, cultural, and even linguistic unity between East and West Romans (which at times almost brought Francia to her knees), and which survived to the time when the Roman popes were replaced by Franks. That the pre-Tusculan Roman popes never accepted the Frankish condemnation of the East Romans for alleged heresy, but, on the contrary, participated in the condemnation of the Franks, (albeit without naming them) are facts to be seriously considered.

The Decretal principles of juridical procedure had been a part of the Papacy for at least a hundred years before the East Franks took over. However, it is certain that Roman popes would never have thought of applying these principles to administration so that the local synods would be replaced by direct monarchical rule of the popes, as happened later. The Franks resisted the Roman popes's juridical surveillance. They would never have accepted a Roman pope's direct rule, just as the East Romans would never accept the direct rule of a Frankish pope.

Had the Franks not taken over the Papacy, it is very probably that the local synod of the Church of Rome (with the pope as president), elected according to the 769 election decree approved by the Eighth Ecumenical Synod in 879, would have survived, and that there would not have been any significant differences between the papacy and the other four Roman Patriarchates.

However, things did not turn out that way. The Papacy was alienated from the East by the Franks, so we now are faced with the history of that alienation when we contemplate the reunion of divided Christians. In any case, the administrative structure of the church cannot be judged and evaluated simply by whether or not it complies with ancient canon law and custom, as is usually done on the Orthodox side. Nor can one simply appeal to an alleged need of the Church to adapt itself to changing times and circumstances, in order to allegedly improve what is good by making it more efficient.

Many of today's Protestants would accept such an approach, but would not agree that the adaptation could not be elevated to dogma, as has been done by the Papacy itself. Orthodox, Latin, and Protestant theologians would agree that authentic Christianity has to have a continuity with its apostolic past, but at the same time must adapt to current situations and needs. This means that the interplay between theology and society is accepted as a normal necessity in the history of Christianity. Nevertheless, Christians are

divided because each group sees the adaptation of the other as a serious break in continuity and, therefore, in authenticity.

## Empirical Theology

Perhaps the key to unwinding the mass of questions awaiting examination by the specialists in dialogue would be to adopt methods used in the positive sciences, and to relegate the methods already in use from the social sciences to a dependent level. Of course, one could not readily apply such methods to an examination of God and the life after death, but one could certainly do so for this life, with regard to spiritual experiences in the various religions.

In the Orthodox partisan tradition, genuine spiritual experience is the foundation of dogmatic formulations which, in turn, are necessary guides for leading to glorification. Translated into the language of science, this would mean that verification by observation is expressed in descriptive symbols which, in turn, act as guides for others to repeat this same verification by observation. Thus, the observations of prior astronomers, biologists, chemists, physicists, and doctors become the observations of their successors.

In exactly the same manner, the experience of glorification of the prophets, apostles, and saints are expressed in linguistic forms, whose purpose is to act as a guide to the same experience of glorification by their successors.

The tradition of empirical observation and verification is the cornerstone of sifting factual reality from hypotheses in all of the positive sciences. The very same is true of the Orthodox patristic theological method also.

A basic characteristic of the Frankish scholastic method, misled by Augustinian Platonism and Thomistic Aristotelianism, had been

its naive confidence in the objective existence of things rationally speculated about. By following Augustine, the Franks substituted the patristic concern for spiritual observation, (which they had found firmly established in Gaul when they first conquered the area) with a fascination for metaphysics. They did not suspect that such speculations had foundations neither in created nor in spiritual reality.

No one would today accept as true what is not empirically observable, or at least verifiable by inference, from an attested effect. so it is with patristic theology. Dialectical speculation about God and the Incarnation as such are rejected. Only those things which can be tested by the experience of the grace of God in the heart are to be accepted. "Be not carried about by divers and strange teachings. For it is good that the heart by confirmed by grace," a passage from Hebrews 13.9, quoted by the Fathers to this effect.

## The Bible and Tradition

**T**he Fathers did not understand theology as a theoretical or speculative science, but as a positive science in all respects. This is why the patristic understanding of Biblical inspiration is similar to the inspiration of writings in the field of the positive sciences.[ 2 ]

Scientific manuals are inspired by the observations of specialists. For example, the astronomer records what he observes by means of the instruments at his disposal. Because of his training in the use of his instruments, he is inspired by the heavenly bodies, and sees things invisible to the naked eye. The same is true of all the positive sciences. However, books about science can never replace scientific observations. These writings are not the observations themselves, but about these observations.

This holds true even when photographic and acoustical equipment is used. This equipment does not replace observations, but simply aids in the observations and their recordings. Scientists cannot be replaced by the books they write, nor by the instruments they invent and use.

The same is true of the Orthodox understanding of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. Neither the Bible nor the writings of the Fathers are revelation or the word of God. They are about the revelation and about the word of God.

Revelation is the appearance of God to the prophets, apostles, and saints. The Bible and the writings of the Fathers are about these appearances, but not the appearances themselves. This is why it is the prophet, apostle, and saint who sees God, and not those who simply read about their experiences of glorification. It is obvious that neither a book about glorification nor one who reads such a book can never replace the prophet, apostle, or saint who has the experience of glorification.

The writings of scientists are accompanied by a tradition of interpretation, headed by successor scientists, who, by training and experience, know what their colleagues mean by the language used, and how to repeat the observations described. So it is in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. Only those who have the same experience of glorification as their prophetic, apostolic, and patristic predecessors can understand what the Biblical and Patristic writings are saying about glorification and the spiritual stages leading to it. Those who have reached glorification know how they were guided there, as well as how to guide others, and they are the guarantors of the transmission of this same tradition.

This is the heart of the Orthodox understanding of tradition and apostolic succession which sets it apart from the Latin and Protestant traditions, both of which stem from the theology of the Franks.

Following Augustine, the Franks identified revelation with the Bible and believed that Christ gave the Church the Holy Spirit as a guide to its correct understanding. This would be similar to claiming that the books about biology were revealed by microbes and cells without the biologists having seen them with the microscope, and that these same microbes and cells inspire future teachers to correctly understand these books without the use of the microscope.

And, indeed, the Franks believed that the prophets and apostles did not see God himself, except possibly with the exception of Moses and Paul. What the prophets and apostles allegedly did see and hear were phantasmic symbols of God, whose purpose was to pass on concepts about God to human reason. Whereas these symbols passed into and out of existence, the human nature of Christ is a permanent reality and the best conveyor of concepts about God.

One does not, therefore, need telescopes, microscopes, or a vision of God, but rather, concepts about invisible reality, which human reason is by nature allegedly capable of understanding.

Historians have noted the naiveté of the Frankish religious mind which was shocked by the first claims for the primacy of observation over rational analysis. Even Galileo's telescopes could not shake this confidence. However, several centuries before Galileo, the Franks had been shocked by the East Roman claim, hurled by Saint Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), of the primacy of experience and observation over reason in theology.

Today's Latin theologians, who still use their predecessor's metaphysical approach to theology, continue to present East Roman theologians, such as the hesychasts, as preferring ignorance to education in their ascent to union with God. This is equivalent to claiming that a scientist is against education because he insists on the use of telescopes and microscopes instead of philosophy in his search for descriptive analysis of natural phenomena.

The so-called humanist movement in Eastern Romania was an attempt to revive ancient Greek philosophy, whose tenets had already been rejected, long before modern science led to their replacement in the modern West. To present this so-called humanist movement as a revival of culture is to overlook the fact that the real issue was between the primacy of reason and that of observation and experience.

## Instruments, Observation, Concepts, and Language

**M**odern science has arisen by the accumulated techniques of testing with the aid of instruments the imaginative theories proposed by the intellect. Observation by means of these man-made instruments has opened up vast areas of knowledge which would have been absolutely impossible for the intellect to even begin to imagine.

The universe has turned out to be a much greater mystery to man than anyone was ever able to imagine, and indications are strong that it will yet prove to be an even greater mystery than man today can yet imagine. In the light of this, one thinks humorously of the bishops who could not grasp the reality, let alone the magnitude, of what they saw through Galileo's telescope. But the magnitude of Frankish naiveté becomes even greater when one realizes that these same church leaders who could not understand the meaning of a simple observation were claiming knowledge of God's essence and nature.

The Latin tradition could not understand the significance of an instrument by which the prophets, apostles, and saints had reached glorification.

Similar to today's sciences, Orthodox theology also depends on an instrument which is not identified with reason or the intellect. The

Biblical name for this is the heart. Christ says, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." [ 3 ]

The heart is not normally clean, i.e., it does not normally function properly. Like the lens of a telescope or microscope, it must be polished so that light may pass through and allow man to focus his spiritual vision on things not visible to the naked eye.

In time, some Fathers gave the name nous (nouV) to the faculty of the soul which operates within the heart when restored to normal capacity, and reserved the names logos\_(logoV) and dianoia (dianoia) for the intellect and reason, or for what we today would call the brain. In order to avoid confusion, we use the terms noetic faculty and noetic prayer to designate the activity of the nous in the heart called (noera euch).

The heart, and not the brain, is the area in which the theologian is formed. Theology includes the intellect as all sciences do, but it is in the heart that the intellect and all of man observes and experiences the rule of God.

One of the basic differences between science and Orthodox theology is that man has his heart or noetic faculty by nature, whereas he himself has created his instruments of scientific observation.

A second basic difference is the following: By means of his instruments, and the energy radiated by and/or upon what he observes, the scientist sees things which he can describe with words, even though at times inadequately. These words are symbols of accumulated human experience.

In contrast to this, the experience of glorification is to see God who has no similarity whatsoever to anything created, not even to the intellect or to the angels. God is literally unique and can in no way be described by comparison with anything that any creature may



be, know or imagine. No aspect about God can be expressed in a concept or collection of concepts.

One can readily see why Plato's theory of ideas, even in Augustinian form (whereby creatures are literally copies of real archetypal prototypes in the divine mind), are consistently rejected by the Fathers of the Church.

Thus, the experience of glorification has no room either for Augustine's speculation about God by the use of psychological analogies, nor for the claim of some Russian theologians that the Fathers of the Church allegedly theologize about God on the basis of some kind of 'personalism.' Neither the term, nor the concept, is ever applied to God by the Fathers. The reason is clear. All the Fathers emphasize, and mean what they say, that there is absolutely no similarity between God and any of His creatures. This means that the names of God or language about God are not intended to be the means by which the human intellect can attain to concepts which reveal the essence of God to the intellect. Rather, the purpose of language about God is to be a guide in the hand of a spiritual father who leads his student through various stages of perfection and knowledge to glorification where one sees for himself what the saints before him insisted upon—that God is completely different from concepts used about Him.

It is for this reason that positive statements about God are counterbalanced by negative statements, not in order to purify the positive ones of their imperfections, but in order to make clear that God is in no way similar to the concepts conveyed by words, since God is above every name and concept ascribed to Him.

The Fathers insisted against the Eunomian heresy that language is a human development and not created by God. Arguing from the Old Testament itself, Saint Gregory of Nyssa claimed that Hebrew is one of the newer languages in the Middle East, a position considered today correct. Compare this with Dante's claim that God created Hebrew for Adam and Eve to speak, and preserved it

so that Christ would speak this language of God also. Of course, Christ did not speak Hebrew, but Aramaic.

Nyssa's analysis of Biblical language has always been dominant among East Roman writers. I have found Dante-type theories so far only among the Eunomians and Nestorians. Given such presuppositions, one can see why the Fathers insist that to study the universe, or to engage in philosophical speculation adds nothing to the stages of perfection leading to glorification.

The doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the incarnation, when taken out of their empirical or revelatory context, become and have become ridiculous. The same is true of the distinction between the essence and uncreated energy of God. We know this distinction from the experience of glorification since the time of the prophets. It was not invented by Saint Gregory Palamas. Even modern Jewish theologians continue to see this clearly in the Old Testament.

Although God created the universe, which continues to depend on Him, God and the universe do not belong to one category of truth. Truths concerning creation cannot apply to God, nor can the truth of God be applied to creation.

## Diagnosis and Therapy

**H**aving reached this point, we will turn our attention to those aspects of differences between Roman and Frankish theologies which have had a strong impact on the development of difference is the doctrine of the Church. The basic difference may be listed under diagnosis of spiritual ills and their therapy.

Glorification is the vision of God in which the equality of all men and the absolute value of each man is experienced. God loves all men equally and indiscriminately, regardless of even their moral

statues. God loves with the same love, both the saint and the devil. To teach otherwise, as Augustine and the Franks did, would be adequate proof that they did not have the slightest idea of what glorification was.

God multiplies and divides himself in His uncreated energies undividedly among divided things, so that He is both present by act and absent by nature to each individual creature and everywhere present and absent at the same time. This is the fundamental mystery of the presence of God to His creatures and shows that universals do not exist in God and are, therefore, not part of the state of illumination as in the Augustinian tradition.

God himself is both heaven and hell, reward and punishment. All men have been created to see God unceasingly in His uncreated glory. Whether God will be for each man heaven or hell, reward or punishment, depends on man's response to God's love and on man's transformation from the state of selfish and self-centered love, to Godlike love which does not seek its own ends.

One can see how the Frankish understanding of heaven and hell, poetically described by Dante, John Milton, and James Joyce, are so foreign to the Orthodox tradition. This is another of the reasons why the so-called humanism of some East Romans (those who united with the Frankish papacy) was a serious regression and not an advance in culture.

Since all men will see God, no religion can claim for itself the power to send people either to heaven or to hell. This means that true spiritual fathers prepare their spiritual charges so that vision of God's glory will be heaven, and not hell, reward and not punishment. The primary purpose of Orthodox Christianity then, is to prepare its members for an experience which every human being will sooner or later have.

While the brain is the center of human adaptation to the environment, the noetic faculty in the heart is the primary organ for

communion with God. The fall of man or the state of inherited sin is: a.) the failure of the noetic faculty to function properly, or to function at all; b.) its confusion with the functions of the brain and the body in general; and c.) its resulting enslavement to the environment.

Each individual experiences the fall of his own noetic faculty. One can see why the Augustinian understanding of the fall of man as an inherited guilt for the sin of Adam and Eve is not, and cannot, be accepted by the Orthodox tradition.

There are two known memory systems built into living beings, 1.) cell memory which determines the function and development of the individual in relation to itself, and 2.) brain cell memory which determines the function of the individual in relation to its environment. In addition to this, the patristic tradition is aware of the existence in human beings of a now normally non-functioning or sub-functioning memory in the heart, which when put into action via noetic prayer, includes unceasing memory of God, and therefore, the normalization of all other relations.

When the noetic faculty is not functioning properly, man is enslaved to fear an anxiety and his relations to others are essentially utilitarian. Thus, the root cause of all abnormal relations between God and man and among men is that fallen man, i.e., man with a malfunctioning noetic faculty, uses God, his fellow man, and nature for his own understanding of security and happiness. Man outside of glorification imagines the existence of god or gods which are psychological projections of his need for security and happiness.

That all men have this noetic faculty in the heart also means that all are in direct relation to God at various levels, depending on how much the individual personality resists enslavement to his physical and social surroundings and allows himself to be directed by God. Every individual is sustained by the uncreated glory of God and is the dwelling place of this uncreated glory of God and is the

dwelling place of this uncreated creative and sustaining light, which is called the rule, power, grace, etc. of God. Human reaction to this direct relation or communion with God can range from the hardening of the heart (i.e., the snuffing out of the spark of grace) to the experience of glorification attained to by the prophets, apostles, and saints.

This means that all men are equal in possession of the noetic faculty, but not in quality or degree of function.

It is important to note the clear distinction between spirituality, which is rooted primarily in the heart's noetic faculty, and intellectuality, which is rooted in the brain. Thus:

- 1.) A person with little intellectual attainments can raise to the highest level of noetic perfection.
- 2.) On the other hand, a man of the highest intellectual attainments can fall to the lowest level of noetic imperfection.
- 3.) One may also reach both the highest intellectual attainments and noetic perfection.
- Or 4.) One may be of meager intellectual accomplishment with the hardening of the heart.

The role of Christianity was originally more like that of the medical profession, especially that of today's psychologists and psychiatrists.

Man has a malfunctioning or non-functioning noetic faculty in the heart, and it is the task especially of the clergy to apply the cure of unceasing memory of God, otherwise called unceasing prayer or illumination.

Proper preparation for vision of God takes place in two stages: purification, and illumination of the noetic faculty. Without this, it is impossible for man's selfish love to be transformed into selfless

love. This transformation takes place during the higher level of the stage of illumination called theoria, literally meaning vision-in this case vision by means of unceasing and uninterrupted memory of God.

Those who remain selfish and self-centered with a hardened heart, closed to God's love, will not see the glory of God in this life. However, they will see God's glory eventually, but as an eternal and consuming fire and outer darkness.

In the state of theoria the noetic faculty is liberated from its enslavement to the intellect, passions, and environments, and prays unceasingly. It is influenced solely by this memory of God. Thus continual noetic prayer functions simultaneously with the normal activities of everyday life. It is when the noetic faculty is in such a state that man has become a temple of God.

Saint Basil the Great writes that "the indwelling of God is this-to have God established within oneself by means of memory. We thus become temples of God, when the continuity of memory is not interrupted by earthly cares, nor the noetic faculty shaken by unexpected sufferings, but escaping from all things this (noetic faculty) friend of God retires to God, ridding out the passions which tempt it to incontinence and abides in the practices which lead to virtues." [ 4 ]

Saint Gregory the Theologian points out that "we ought to remember God even more often than we draw out breath; and if it suffice to say this, we ought to do nothing else... or, to use Moses' words, whether a man lie asleep, or rise up, or walk by the way, or whatever else he is doing, he should also have this impressed in his memory for purity." [ 5 ]

Saint Gregory insists that to theologize "is permitted only to those who have passed examinations and have reached theoria, and who have been previously purified in soul and body, or at least are being purified." [ 6 ]

This state of theoria is twofold of has two stages: a.) unceasing memory of God and b.) glorification, the latter being a gift which God gives to His friends according to their needs and the needs of others. During this latter state of glorification, unceasing noetic prayer is interrupted since it is replaced by a vision of the glory of God in Christ. The normal functions of the body, such as sleeping, eating, drinking, and digestion are suspended. In other respects, the intellect and the body function normally. One does not lose consciousness, as happens in the ecstatic mystical experiences of non-Orthodox Christian and pagan religions. One is fully aware and conversant with his environment and those around him, except that he sees everything and everyone saturated by the uncreated glory of God, which is neither light nor darkness, and nowhere and everywhere at the same time. This state may be of short, medium, or long duration. In the case of Moses it lasted for forty days and forty nights. The faces of those in this state of glorification give off an imposing radiance, like that of the face of Moses, and after they die, their bodies become holy relics. These relics give off a strange sweet smell, which at times can become strong. In many cases, these relics remain intact in a good state of preservation, without having been embalmed. They are completely stiff from head to toes, light, dry, and with no signs of putrefaction.

There is no metaphysical criterion for distinguishing between good and bad people. It is much more correct to distinguish between ill and more healthy persons. The sick ones are those whose noetic faculty is being cleansed and illumined.

These levels are incorporated into the very structure of the four Gospels and the liturgical life of the Church. Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke reflect the pre-baptismal catechism for cleansing the heart, and the Gospel of John reflects the post-baptismal catechism which leads to theoria by way of the stage of illumination. Christ himself is the spiritual Father who led the apostles, as He had done with Moses and the prophets, to glorification by means of purification and illumination.[ 7 ]

One can summarize these three stages of perfection as a.) that of the slave who performs the commandments because of fear of seeing God as a consuming fire; b.) that of the hireling whose motive is the reward of seeing God as glory, and c.) that of the friends of God whose noetic faculty is completely free, whose love has become selfless and, because of this, are willing to be damned for the salvation of their fellow man, and in the cases of Moses and Paul.

## The Rise of Monasticism, Its Contribution, and Decline

**T**heoretically, the clergy is supposed to be elected from among the faithful who have reached illumination or glorification. The historical outline of the process, whereby it became customary to elect bishops who had not reached the spiritual experience of which dogmas are a verbal expression, is described by Saint Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1042), recognized as one of the greatest Fathers of the Church. This means that his historical analysis is part of the Orthodox Church's self-understanding.

The three stages of perfection are three stages of spiritual understanding and, at one time, existed in each community. This is comparable to having in each community university students, graduate students, and professors. This would be the case when religious leaders are at the higher levels of illumination. However, it is possible that the religious leaders may not be spiritually at the level of the students.

The outcome of the collapse among the clergy in the spiritual life and understanding thus far described, was the rise of an ascetic movement parallel to the Episcopal communities. This became the monastic movement, which preserved the prophetic and apostolic tradition of spirituality and theology. When the custom prevailed



that bishops were recruited mostly from monasticism, the ancient tradition of bishops as masters in spirituality and theology was greatly restored, due to the very powerful influence of Saint Symeon the New Theologian. This restoration was so strong that it gave the East Roman Churches the strength to not only survive the dissolution and disappearance of the Empire, but also to keep spirituality and theology at a surprisingly high level during the Ottoman occupation of the four East Roman Patriarchates, right down to the so-called "Greek" revolution.

Under the influence of the French citizen and agent Adamantios Koraes, officially recognized by the 1827 Hellenic Third National Assembly as the Father of Neo-Hellenism, the new Greek state decided the Church of Greece should follow the example of Russian Orthodox, because it was in an advanced state of Westernization, especially since the time of Peter the Great (1672-1725). The Greek state founded a Greek Church, and literally forced it to separate from the Ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople-New Rome, and at the same time declared war on monasticism. The unbelievable ignorance of Adamantios Koraes became the ideology upon which the Church of Greece's new spirituality and new theology was founded.

The Russian Church had dealt a blow to Orthodox spirituality and theology by condemning Maximos of Mount Athos and Trans-Volga elders in the sixteenth century. In other words, the Russian Church became like a keeper of books about astronomy, biology, and medicine, but had gotten rid of the telescopes, microscopes, and the scientist who used them. This made the Church ripe for Westernization under Peter the Great.

One of the amazing quirks in history is that while the Greek state was getting rid of theology and spirituality based on noetic prayer, this same tradition was being reintroduced into Russia by means of the spiritual children of Paisios Velitchkovsky of Moldavia who passed away in 1817.

It was extremely fortunate for Orthodoxy at the same time when Koraes' followers were in power that the Greek state did not extend to Mount Athos and the many monasteries within what was left of the Ottoman Empire. Otherwise, the imbecilities of Adamantios Koraes would have had an even more destructive effect on Roman Orthodoxy, now called Byzantine Orthodoxy, because of this same Adamantios Koraes who undertook to convince the inhabitants of Old Greece that they were not also Romans, but exclusively Greeks, who had allegedly forgotten their real national identity. The vision of Adamantios Koraes was to replace patristic spirituality, theology, and Roman nationality with Greek philosophy and nationalism as the basis of theology and political philosophy. It is perhaps not an accident that Napoleonic France revived such policies pertaining to East Romans which are similar to the Charlemagnian ones described in Lecture 1. Napoleon was, after all, a descendant from the Frankish nobility of Tuscany, established there since the time of Charlemagne.

Now this vision is dead, put into the grave by the further advances in modern science and the very strong revival of patristic theology and spirituality along with Roman or so-called Byzantine national identity.

## Orthodox Spirituality, the Same in East and West

**I**n order to have a clear picture of what this means in terms of today's dialogues, we have only to be reminded that the theology and spirituality of Roman Christians was the same in both East and West, whether written in Greek or Latin, with, however, the exception of Augustine.

The later differences between Carolingian Frankish and Roman Orthodox theology are clearly visible in the differences between Augustine and Saint Ambrose, who is usually presented as

Augustine's teacher. However, not only is there no evidence that there were intimate relations between the two, but their theologies point in different directions. We have pointed this out in some detail elsewhere.

However, we shall turn our attention to Gregory of Tours, who gives us clear testimony that during Merovingian Frankish rule, Orthodox spirituality and theology were flourishing in Francia. At the same time, they were not very well understood by the new class of aristocratic administrator bishops created by the Frankish kings. (We skip Saint John Cassian, since he is pre-Frankish and his identification with Eastern spirituality and theology is unquestioned.)

Gregory of Tours was a great admirer of the spirituality and theology described in this lecture. He recognizes and expresses his high regard for Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Cassian of Marseilles (one time deacon of Saint John Chrysostom) as the guides of monasticism in Gaul. IN his many writings, Gregory of Tours never mentions Augustine. Yet Gregory's understanding of the spirituality and theology of Saint Basil and Saint John Cassian is very limited and is colored by some basic and, at times, humorous errors.

Gregory reports that in the treasury of Saint Martin's Church, he found the relics of the Agaune Martyrs, members of the Theban Legion sent to Gaul in 287 to crush a revolt. Gregory writes that "the relics themselves were in a terrible state of putrefaction." [ 8 ] It is clear that Gregory did not know how to recognize holy relics. Corpses in even a slight, let alone terrible, state of putrefaction are not holy relics.

Gregory terminates his History of the Franks with the miracles and death of Saint Aredius Abbot of Limoges. He writes that, "One day when the clergy were chanting psalms in the cathedral, a dove flew down from the ceiling, fluttered gently around Aredius and then alighted on his head. This was, in my opinion, a clear sign that he

was filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit. He was embarrassed at what had happened and tried to drive the dove away. It flew around for a while and then settled down again, first on his head and then on his shoulder. Not only did this happen in the cathedral, but when Are dius went off to the bishop's cell, the dove accompanied him. This was repeated day after day..."[ 9 ]

Are dius clearly had reached the state of glorification of long duration. However, Gregory's ignorance of this tradition led him to confuse and substitute the linguistic symbol of the dove used to describe this experience, with a real bird. The attempt to drive the dove off is Gregory's understanding of Are dius' testing of the vision, to make sure it is not demonic or hallucinatory. That the dove left, and returned, and then remained on him day after day means that he was in a state of glory, first of short duration and then of long duration. That he went about his business as usual during this state, and that the state was in perceptible to those around him who themselves were in a state of illumination, was also evidence of his being in a state of glory.

Gregor's misunderstanding can also be seen in his description of the life of Patroklos the Recluse. Gregory writes that his "diet was bread soaked in water and sprinkled with salt. His eyes were never closed in sleep. He prayed unceasingly, or if he stopped praying for a moment, he spent his time reading or writing."[ 10 ]

Gregory believes that to pray unceasingly, one would have to somehow stay awake unceasingly. Also since Patroklos was known to spend time reading and writing, this means for Gregory that he had to stop praying to do so. Gregory was unaware that unceasing prayer continues without intermission, while asleep or while awake, and while reading, writing, walking, talking, toiling, etc.

In addition, Gregory's claim that Patroklos' "eyes were never closed in sleep" would be an unheard of miracle. When Patroklos was in a state of glorification, he not only did not sleep, but he did not eat bread or drink water either. But he was not unceasingly in

such a state in this life. During this state he stopped praying. When he was not in this state of glory, he both slept his three or so hours per day, and prayed without any interruption whatsoever. However, at the time these misunderstandings were being recorder, there were many bishops in Francia who understanding was less that that of Gregory.

This can be seen in the case where certain bishops ordered the Lombard ascetic Vulfoaic to come down from his column, claiming that "It is not right what you are trying to do. Such an obscure person as you can never be compared with Symeon the Stylite of Antioch. The climate of the region makes it impossible for you to keep tormenting yourself in this way." [ 11 ] Evidently the life of Saint Daniel the Stylite of Constantinople was still unknown in Francia.

While in the state of noetic prayer or glory, wherein one passes back and forth between these two stages, one attains to such physical resources that one resists the normal effects of the environment. This has nothing to do with self torment or an attempt to appease God. Noetic prayer is also the key to understanding the spiritual power by which Orthodox Christians persevered in martyrdom, and also why those who renounced Christ under torture were considered to have fallen from the state of grace, i.e., illumination, or noetic prayer.

What is important for Gregory is that he presents Vulfoaic as saying "Now, it is considered a sin not to obey bishops, so of course, I came down...I have never dared to set up again the column...for that would be to disobey the commands of the bishops." [ 12 ]

Here we have an important distortion of the meaning of obedience. It is clear that neither Gregory nor his colleagues knew what Vulfoaic had been doing. However, what they did know is that they had to secure the obedience of the faithful in order to preserve, as much as possible, law and order for their master, the

Frankish king, who appointed them. Therefore, disobedience to a bishop is a sin that has a special importance.

The effectiveness of the bishops as officers of the law was also enhanced by the pagan distinction between heaven and hell which we find in Augustine and Gregory of Tours. Both are unaware that the clergy are supposed to prepare people for the vision of God, which everyone will have either as heaven or as consuming fire. This unawareness is coupled with the peculiar shift of the need to change from man to God. For Gregory, God must be satisfied by obedience to the clergy and participation in their sacraments as the condition for man's entry into paradise.

Augustine's position had been even more consistent in that God had allegedly decided in advance who is going to heaven and who is to remain in hell. Because of the alleged inherited guilt of Adam and Eve, all are worthy of hell, so that those chosen for heaven have no merit of their own to warrant God's choice, which is therefore allegedly unconditioned and free. These ideas of Augustine would be quite humorous if it were not for the fact that so many millions of Europeans and Americans used to believe in them, and many still do.

## Criteria for Reunion

**T**he criteria used for the reunion of divided Christians cannot be different from those used for the union of associations of scientists. Astronomers would be shocked at the idea that they would unite with astrologers. Members of a modern medical association would be shocked at the suggestion that they should become one with an association of quack doctors and tribal medicine men. In the same way, the Fathers would be shocked at the idea of a union between Orthodoxy and religious superstitions which has not the slightest idea about the production of authentic holy relics. Avoiding this issue by claiming that such a theology is

for monks only, is like claiming that the cure of cancer is for doctors only.

The correct interplay between theology and society is not much different from a correct interplay between science and society. Thus, the question of organizational and administrative structure, as in the sciences, is resolved into the question of the success of theology in producing the results for which it exists.

"Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."



## FOOTNOTES

[ 1 ] The European and Middle Eastern parts of the Roman Empire were carved out of areas which, among other linguistic elements, contained two bands, the Celtic and the Greek, which ran parallel to each other from the Atlantic to the Middle East. The Celtic band was north of the Greek band, except in Asia Minor, where Galatia had the Greek band to the east, the north, and the south. Northern Italy itself was part of the Celtic band and Southern Italy a part of the Greek band (here called Magna Graecia) which in the West covered Southern Spain, Gaul, and their Mediterranean islands. Due consideration should be given to the fact that both the Celtic and Greek bands were east and west of Roman Italy. The Romans first took over the Greek and Celtic parts of Italy and then the Greek and Celtic speaking peoples of the two bands. The Celtic band was almost completely Latinized, whereas, the Greek band, not only remained intact, but was even expanded by the Roman policy of completing the Hellenization of the Eastern provinces initiated by the Macedonians. The reason why the Celtic band, but

not the Greek band, was Latinized was that the Romans were themselves bilingual in fact and in sentiment, since in the time of their explosive expansion they spoke both Latin and Greek, with a strong preference for the latter. Thus, one is obliged to speak of both the Western and Eastern parts of European Romania in terms of a Latin North and a Greek South, but certainly not of a Latin West and a Greek East, which is a Frankish myth, fabricated for the propagandistic reasons described in Lecture I, which survives in text books until today. Indeed, the Galatians of Asia Minor were in the fourth century still speaking the same dialect as the Treveri of the province of Belgica in the Roman diocese of Gaul. (Albert Grenier, *Les Galois* [Paris, 1970], p. 115.) That the Latin West/Greek East division of Europe is a Frankish myth is still witnessed to today by some 25 million Romans in the Balkans, who speak Romance dialects, and by the Greek speaking inhabitants of the Balkans and the Middle East, who call themselves Romans. It should be noted that it is very possible that the Galatians of Asia Minor still spoke the same language as the ancestors of the Walloons in the area of the Ardennes when the legate of Pope John XV, Abbot Leo, was at Mouzon pronouncing the condemnation of Gerbert d'Aurillac in 995.

[ 2 ] For further details on this subject one may consult my studies: "Critical Examination of the Applications of Theology," *Proces - Verbaux du Deuxieme Congres de Theologie Orthodoxe*. (Athens, 1978), pp. 413-41, and the various works quoted therein.

[ 3 ] Matthew 5.8.

[ 4 ] Epistle 2.

[ 5 ] Theological Oration 1.5.

[ 6 ] *Ibid.* 1.3

[ 7 ] On the relations between the Johanine and Synoptic gospel traditions see my study, "Justin Martyr and the Fourth



Gospel," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 4 (1958-59), pp. 115-39.

[ 8 ] *The History of the Franks* 10.31, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1977), p. 601.

[ 9 ] *Ibid.* 10.20, p. 589.

[ 10 ] *Ibid.* 5.10, p. 265

[ 11 ] *Ibid.* 8.15, p. 447.

[ 12 ] *Ibid.*

# Part III

## Historical Background

One must take note from the very beginning that there never was a Filioque controversy between the West and East Romans. There were domestic quarrels over details concerning the Christological doctrine and the Ecumenical Synods dealing with the person of Christ. The West Romans championed the cause of Icons defined by the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, but they never supported the Frankish Filioque, either as doctrine or as an addition to the Creed. The Filioque controversy was not a conflict between the Patriarchates of Old Rome and New Rome, but between the Franks and all Romans in the East and in the West.

As we saw in Part 1, there is strong evidence that the cause of the Filioque controversy is to be found in the Frankish decision to provoke the condemnation of the East Romans as heretics so that the latter might become exclusively "Greeks" and, therefore, a different nation from the West Romans under Frankish rule. The pretext of the Filioque controversy was the Frankish acceptance of Augustine as the key to understanding the theology of the First and Second Ecumenical Synods. That this distinction between cause and pretext is correct seems adequately clear in the policy manifested at the Synod of Frankfurt in 794 which condemned

both sides of the iconoclastic controversy so that the East Romans would end up as heretics no matter who prevailed.

The Franks deliberately provoked doctrinal differences in order to break the national and ecclesiastical unity of the Roman nation, and thus separate, once and for all, the revolutionary West Romans under their rule from the East Romans. The free Romans supposedly have `changed' their nationality by becoming heretics, by moving their capital from Old Rome to New Rome, and preferring Greek over Latin. So goes the argument of Emperor Louis II in his letter to Emperor Basil I in 871, as we saw.

Because of this deliberate policy, the Filioque question was about to take on irreparable dimensions. Up to this time, the Filioque was a Frankish political weapon which had not yet become a theological controversy because the Romans hopefully believed that the Papacy could dissuade the Franks from their doctrinal dead-end approach. When it became clear that the Franks were not going to retreat from these politico-doctrinal policies, the Romans accepted the challenge and condemned both the Filioque and the Frankish double position on icons at the Eighth Ecumenical Synod of 879 in Constantinople-New Rome.

During the ensuing centuries long course of the controversy, the Franks not only forced the Patristic tradition into an Augustinian mold, but they confused Augustine's Trinitarian terminology with that of the Father's of the First and Second Ecumenical Synods. This is nowhere so evident as in the Latin handling of Maximos the Confessor's description, composed in 650, of the West Roman Orthodox Filioque at the Council of Florence (1438-42). The East Romans hesitated to present Maximos' letter to Marinos about this West Roman Orthodox Filioque because the letter did not survive in its complete form. They were pleasantly surprised, however, when Andrew, the Latin bishop of Rhodes, quoted the letter in Greek in order to prove that in the time of Maximos there was no objection to the Filioque being in the Creed. Of course, the Filioque was not yet in the Creed. Then Andrew proceeded to

translate Maximos into Latin for the benefit of the pope. However, the official translator intervened and challenged the rendition. Once the correct translation was established, the Franks then questioned the authenticity of the text. They assumed that their own Filioque was the only one in the West, and so they rejected on this ground Maximos' text as a basis of union.

When Maximos spoke about the Orthodox Filioque, as supported with passages from Roman Fathers, he did not mean those who came to be known as Latin Fathers, and so included among them Saint Cyril of Alexandria.

The fanaticism with which the Romans clung to the Papacy, the struggle of the Romans to preserve this institution, and the hierarchy within the confines of the Roman nation are very well-known historical facts described in great detail in Medieval histories.

However, the identity of the West Romans and of the East Romans as one indivisible nation, faithful to the Roman faith promulgated at the Roman Ecumenical Synods held in the Eastern part of the Empire, is completely lost to the historians of Germanic background, since the East Romans are consistently called "Greeks" and "Byzantines."

Thus, instead of dealing with church history in terms of a united and indivisible Roman nation, and presenting the Church as being carved up in the West by Germanic conquerors, European historians have been sucked into the Frankish perspective, and thereby deal with church history as though there were a Greek Christendom as distinguished from a Latin Christendom. Greek Christendom consists of supposedly, the East Romans, and Latin Christendom, of the Franks and other Germanic peoples using Latin plus, supposedly, the West Romans, especially Papal Romania, i.e. the Papal States.

Thus, the historical myth has been created that the West Roman Fathers of the Church, the Franks, Lombards, Burgundians, Normans, etc., are one continuous and historically unbroken Latin Christendom, clearly distinguished and different from a mythical Greek Christendom. The frame of reference accepted without reservation by Western historians for so many centuries has been "the Greek East and the Latin West."

A much more accurate understanding of history presenting the Filioque controversy in its true historical perspective is based on the Roman viewpoint of church history, to be found in (both Latin and Greek) Roman sources, as well as in Syriac, Ethiopian, Arabic, and Turkish sources. All these point to a distinction between Frankish and Roman Christendom, and not between a mythical Latin and Greek Christendom. Among the Romans, Latin and Greek are national languages, not nations. The Fathers are neither Latins nor Greeks but Romans.

Having this historical background in mind, one can then appreciate the significance of certain historical and theological factors underlying the so-called Filioque controversy. This controversy was essentially a continuation of the Germanic or Frankish effort to control not only the Roman nation, but also the rest of the Roman nation and Empire.

In order to expand on this historical approach, we would point out the following:

- 1.) The doctrinal differences which exist between Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine are a summary of the differences between Frankish and Roman theological method and doctrine. This is indeed a strange discovery, since one is given the impression that Augustine was a student and friend of Ambrose, and that the latter instructed and baptized the former. After comparing the two, I have come to the conclusion that Augustine did not pay much attention to the sermons of Ambrose and evidently read little of Ambrose's works.

The two differ radically over the questions of the Old Testament appearances of the Logos, the existence of the universals, the general framework of the doctrine of the Trinity, the nature of communion between God and man, the manner in which Christ reveals His divinity to the apostles, and in general, over the relation between doctrine and speculation, or revelation and reason. A reason. Ambrose clearly follows the East Roman Fathers, and Augustine follows the Bible interpreted within the framework of Plotinus, and under the pressure of his Manichaean past.

2.) The province of Gaul was the battleground between the followers of Augustine and of Saint John Cassian, when the Franks were taking over the province and transforming it into their Francia. Through his monastic movement and his writings in this field and on Christology, Saint John Cassian had a strong influence on the Church in Old Rome also. In his person, as in other persons such as Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus, Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great, we have an identity in doctrine, theology, and spirituality between the East and West Roman Christians. Within this framework, Augustine in the West Roman area was subjected to general Roman theology. In the East Roman area, Augustine was simply ignored.

3.) In contrast to East and West Roman theology, the Frankish theological tradition makes its appearance in history reading and knowing in full only Augustine. As the Franks became acquainted with other Latin-speaking or Greek-speaking Roman Fathers, they subordinated them all to the authority of Augustinian categories. Even the dogmas promulgated at Ecumenical Synods were replaced by Augustine's understanding of these dogmas.

4.) This theological frame of reference within the framework of feudalism gives the Franks confidence that they have the best theology, not only because they have what Latin (i.e. Frankish) Christendom ever since has considered the greatest Father of the Patristic period, but also because the Franks and the other Germanic peoples are, by the very nature of their birth, a noble

race superior to the Romans, "Greeks" (East Romans), and Slavs. The natural result of this superiority is that the Germanic races, especially the Franks, Normans, Lombards, and, finally, the Germans, should produce a theology better than that of the Romans. Thus, the scholastic tradition of the Germanic Europe surpasses the Patristic period of the Romans. I personally can find no other justification of the claim, so popular until a few years ago in the West, that scholastic theology succeeded and surpassed patristic theology.

5.) This distinction has its derivation in a second factor which has gone unnoticed in European, Russian, and modern "Greek" manuals because of the identification of Germanic or Frankish theology with Latin-language Roman theology under the heading "Latin Christendom".

The historical appearance of Frankish theology coincides with the beginnings of the Filioque controversy. Since the Roman Fathers of the Church took a strong position on this issue, as they did on the question of Icons (also condemned initially by the Franks), the Franks automatically terminated the patristic period of theology with Saint John of Damascus in the East (after they accepted the Seventh Ecumenical Synod) and Isidore of Seville in the West. After this, the Roman Empire no longer can produce Fathers of the Church because the Romans rejected the Frankish Filioque. In doing so, the Romans withdrew themselves from the central trunk of Christianity (as the Franks understood things) which now becomes identical with Frankish Christianity, especially after the East Franks expelled the Romans from the Papacy and took it over themselves.

6.) From the Roman viewpoint, however, the Roman tradition of the Fathers was not only not terminated in the eighth century, but continued a vigorous existence in free Romania in the East, as well as within Arab-occupied areas. Present research is now leading to the conclusion that the Roman Patristic period extended right in to the period of Ottoman rule, after the fall of Constantinople New

Rome. This means that the Eighth Ecumenical Synod (879), under Photios, the so-called Palamite Synods of the fourteenth century, and the Synods of the Roman Patriarchate during the Ottoman period, are all a continuation and an integral part of the history of Patristic theology. It is also a continuation of the Roman Christian tradition, minus the Patriarchate of Old Rome, which, since 1009 after having been captured, ceased to be Roman and became a Frankish institution.

7.) Without ever mentioning the Franks, the Eighth Ecumenical Synod of 879 condemned those who either added or subtracted from the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, and also those who had not yet accepted the Seventh Ecumenical Synod.

It must first be emphasized that this is the first instance in history wherein an Ecumenical Synod condemned heretics without naming them. In this case, the heretics are clearly the Franks.

It is also significant that Pope John VIII's Commonitorium to the Synod does not mention the need to condemn those who either add or subtract from the Creed.

There is, however, a letter of John to Photios, which is usually published at the end of the acts of the Synod, in which the Filioque is vigorously condemned, and is described as something added not long ago, but never in the Church of Rome. The letter also requested that admonition from the pope be used for its removal, since a harsher approach may lead to its addition by force.

It has been argued that the surviving version for the letter is a product of the fourteenth century. However, the existing version fits in perfectly with the conditions of Papal Romania under Frankish domination at the time of John VIII, which could not have been known by either a Frank or an East Roman in the fourteenth century.



The power of the Franks over the Papacy, although not completely broken after the death of Charlemagne in 814, was in any case weakened with the dissolution of his Empire, and, in turn, neutralized by the reconquest of South Italian Romania from the Saracens by the Roman army beginning in 876. However, Roman power had not been so strongly established that the Papacy in 879 could afford an open doctrinal war with the Franks. Such an open conflict would have led to the transformation of papal Romania into a Frankish duchy, and of the Roman population into the condition of the Romans conquered in other parts of Western Romania by the Franks and other Germanic nations and, of course, also would have meant the addition of the Filioque to the Creed by force, as pointed out by John.

At the same time, the Roman popes, after the death of Charlemagne, seem to have gained a real influence over the Frankish kingdoms which recognized the magical powers of the popes to anoint an emperor in the West, thus making him equal to the emperor in the East. John VIII seems to have been extraordinarily successful in this regard, and there is no doubt that his request to Photios to be allowed to use persuasion for the removal of the Filioque was based on a real possibility of success.

8.) It is always claimed by Protestant, Anglican, and Latin scholars that since the time of Hadrian I or Leo III, through the period of John VIII, the Papacy opposed the Filioque only as an addition to the Creed, but never as doctrine or theological opinion. Thus, it is claimed that John VIII accepted the Eight Ecumenical Synod's condemnation of the addition to the Creed and not of the Filioque as a teaching.

However, both Photios and John VIII's letter to Photios mentioned above testify to this pope's condemnation of the Filioque as doctrine also. Yet the Filioque could not be publicly condemned as heresy by the Church of Old Rome. Why? Simply because the Franks were militarily in control of papal Romania, and as illiterate barbarians were capable of any kind of criminal act against Roman

clergy and populace. The Franks were a dangerous presence in papal Romania and had to be handled with great care and tact.

Gallic Romania and Italic Romania (including papal Romania) are for the Romans one continuous country, identical with East Romania. The conquering movements of the Franks, Lombards, and Normans into the free sections of Romania are seen from the Roman viewpoint as a united whole, and not from the viewpoint of the Germanic European conquerors, who see the Romans as happy to be conquered and liberated from the so-called "Greeks", or now, "Byzantines", so that once conquered, they are of no concern to the Romans of free Romania.

9.) That the above is the correct framework for understanding the historical context of the Filioque controversy and the place of the Roman popes with this conflict, from the time of Pepin till the descent of the Teutonic or East Franks into the papal scene in 962-963, and their removal of the Romans from their papal ethnarchy finalized in 1009, can be seen in a.) the doctrinal positions of Anastasios the Librarian, the chief advisor of the pro-Frank Nicholas I and also of John VIII, in preparation for the Eighth Ecumenical Synod of 879, representing the newly restored Roman power over the Papacy, and b.) in the attitudes toward the Filioque of anti-Pope Anastasios the Librarian (855-858) and Pope Leo III.



It is obvious that Anastasios the Librarian did not at first understand the Frankish Filioque, since on this question he reprimands the "Greeks" for their objections and accuses them of not accepting Maximos the Confessor's explanation that there are two usages of the term; the one whereby procession means

essential mission, wherein the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son (in which case the Holy Spirit participated in the act of sending, so that this is a common act of the whole Trinity), and the second, whereby precession means casual relation wherein the existence of the Holy Spirit is derived. In this last sense, Maximos assures Marinos (to whom he is writing), that the West Romans accept that the Holy Spirit proceeds casually only from the Father and that the Son is not cause.

There is every reason to believe that this reflects the position of Nicholas I on the question.

However, this was not the position of the Franks who followed, not the West Romans on the question, but Augustine, who can easily be interpreted as teaching that the Holy Spirit receives not only His essence, but His existence from the Father and the Son.

But this also means that the Romans in the West could never support the introduction of the Filioque into the Creed, not because they did not want to displease the "Greeks," but because this would be heresy. The West Romans knew very well that the term procession in the Creed was introduced as a parallel to generation, and that both meant causal relation to the Father, and not energy or mission.

It was perhaps as a result of the realization that the Franks were confused on the issue and were saying dangerous things that led Anastasios to a serious reappraisal of the Frankish threat, and to the support of the East Roman position, as clearly represented by Photios the Great and John VIII at the Eighth Ecumenical Synod of 879.

This interpretation of the Filioque, given by Maximos the Confessor and Anastasios the Librarian is the consistent position of the Roman popes, and clearly so in the case of Leo III. The minutes of the conversation held in 810 between the three apocrisari of Charlemagne and Pope Leo III, kept by the Frankish

monk Smaragdus, bear out this consistency in papal policy. Leo accepts the teaching of the Fathers, quoted by the Franks, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, as taught by Augustine and Ambrose. However, the Filioque must not be added to the Creed as was done by the Franks, who got permission to sing the Creed from Leo but not to add to the Creed.

When one reads these minutes, remembering the Franks were a dangerous presence in Papal Romania capable of acting in a most cruel and barbarous manner if provoked, then one comes to the clear realization that Pope Leo III is actually telling the Franks in clear and diplomatic terms that the Filioque in the Creed is a heresy.

What else can Leo's claim mean but that the Second Ecumenical Synod, and the other synods, left the Filioque out of the Creed neither by oversight nor out of ignorance, but on purpose by divine inspiration?

This theological position is that of Pope Hadrian I (772-795) also and of the Toledo Synods where the Filioque is not in the Creed but is in another context.

10.) Once the Franks secured their hold on Papal Romania, the Papacy became like a "mouse caught in the paws" of its traditional enemy-the cat. The Franks knew very well what they had captured. They began developing theories and church policy which would put this Roman institution to good use for the fostering of Frankish control over territories formerly under the control of the Romans, and of aiding in new conquests. The West Franks continued in the steps of Charlemagne, but in a weak manner. The Romans regained full control of the papacy after 867, but then the East Franks entered the papal scene beginning in 962, with the known results.

The attitudes of the West and East Franks toward the Papacy and the Filioque were different, the first being mild, and the second fanatically hard. One of the important reasons for this is that, after

920, the new reform movements gained enough momentum to shape the policies of the East German Franks who took over the Papacy. When the Romans lost the Papacy, the Filioque was introduced into Rome for the first time in either 1009, or at latest by 1014.

In the light of the above, we do not have the situation usually presented by European, American, and Russian historians in which the Filioque is an integral part of so-called "Latin" Christendom with a "Greek" Christendom in opposition on the pretext of its introduction into the Creed. (The addition to the Creed was supposedly opposed by the popes not doctrinally, but only as addition in order not to offend the "Greeks.") What we do have is a united West and East Roman nation in opposition to an upstart group of Germanic races who began teaching the Romans before they really learned anything themselves. Of course, German teachers could be very convincing on question of dogma, only by holding a knife to the throat. Otherwise, especially in the time of imposing the Filioque, the theologians of the new Germanic theology were better than their noble peers, only because they could read and write and had, perhaps, memorized Augustine.

11.) The cleavage between the Roman and Frankish Papacy is nowhere so clearly apparent as in the fact that, when at the Pseudo-Union Council of Florence (1439), the Romans presented to the Franks Saint Maximos the Confessor's interpretation of the Filioque as a basis of union. The Franks not only rejected this interpretation as false and not in keeping with Franco-Latin doctrine, but also they were not aware of its correct reading.

## **The Theological Background**

**A**t the foundation of the Filioque controversy between Franks and Romans lie essential differences in theological method, theological subject matter, spirituality, and therefore, also in the understanding of the very nature of doctrine and of the development of the language or of terms in which doctrine is expressed. Of all the aspects dealt with in my published works, I will single out the following as necessary to an elemental understanding of the Roman attitudes to Frankish pretensions on the Filioque. Although we have named the second part of this paper "The Theological Background," we are still speaking about theology within historical perspective, and not abstractly with extra contextual references to the Bible.

When reading through Smaragdus' minutes of the meeting between Charlemagne's emissaries and Pope Leo III, one is struck not only by the fact that the Franks had so audaciously added the Filioque to the Creed and made it into a dogma, but also by the haughty manner in which they so authoritatively announced that the Filioque was necessary for salvation, and that it was an improvement of an already good, but not complete, doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit. This was in answer to Leo's strong hint at Frankish audacity. Leo, in turn, warned that when one attempts to improve what is good he should first be sure that in trying to improve he is not corrupting. He emphasizes that he cannot put himself in a position higher than the Fathers of the Synods, who did not omit the Filioque out of oversight or ignorance, but by divine inspiration.

The question arises, "Where in the world did the newly born Frankish theological tradition get the idea that the Filioque is an improvement of the Creed, and that it was omitted from creedal expression because of oversight or ignorance on the part of the Fathers of the Synod?" Since Augustine is the only representative of Roman theology that the Franks were more or less fully acquainted with, one must turn to the Bishop of Hippo for a possible answer.

I think I have found the answer in Saint Augustine's lecture delivered to the assembly of African bishops in 393. Augustine had been asked to deliver a lecture on the Creed, which he did. Later he reworked the lecture and published it. I do not see why the Creed expounded is not that of Nicaea-Constantinople, since the outline of Augustine's discourse, and the Creed are the same. Twelve years had passed since its acceptance by the Second Ecumenical Synod and, if ever, this was the opportune time for assembled bishops to learn of the new, official, imperially approved creed. The bishops certainly knew their own local Creed and did not require lessons on that.

In any case, Augustine makes three basic blunders in this discourse and died many years later without ever realizing his mistakes, which were to lead the Franks and the whole of their Germanic Latin Christendom into a repetition of those same mistakes.

In his *De Fide et Symbolo*, Augustine makes an unbelievable naive and inaccurate statement: "With respect to the Holy Spirit, however, there has not been, on the part of learned and distinguished investigators of the Scriptures, a fuller careful enough discussion of the subject to make it possible for us to obtain an intelligent conception of what also constitutes His special individuality (*proprium*)."

Everyone at the Second Ecumenical Synod knew well that this question was settled once and for all by the use in the Creed of the word "procession" as meaning the manner of existence of the Holy Spirit from the Father which constitutes His special individuality. Thus, the Father is unbegotten, i.e. derives His existence from no one. The Son is from the Father by generation. The Holy Spirit is from the Father, not by generation, but by procession. The Father is cause, the son and the Spirit are caused. The difference between the ones caused is the one is caused by generation, and the other by procession, and not by generation.

In any case, Augustine spent many years trying to solve this non-existent problem concerning the individuality of the Holy Spirit and, because of another set of mistakes in his understanding of revelation and theological method, came up with the Filioque.

It is no wonder that the Franks, believing that Augustine had solved a theological problem which the other Roman Fathers had supposedly failed to grapple with and solve came to the conclusion that they uncovered a theologian far superior to all other Fathers. In him the Franks had a theologian far superior to all other Fathers. In him the Franks had a theologian who improved upon the teaching of the Second Ecumenical Synod.

A second set of blunders made by Augustine in this same discourse is that he identified the Holy Spirit with the divinity "which the Greeks designate *qeotheV*, and explained that this is the "love between the Father and the Son."

Augustine is aware of the fact that "those parties oppose this opinion who think that the said communion, which we call either Godhead, or Love, or Charity, is not a substance. Moreover, they require the Holy Spirit to be set forth to them according to substance; neither do they take forth to them according to substance; neither do they take it to have been otherwise impossible for the expression 'God is Love' to have been used, unless love were a substance."

It is obvious that Augustine did not at all understand what the East Roman Fathers, such as Saint Gregory Nyssa, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and Saint Basil the Great, were talking about. On the one hand, they reject the idea that the Holy Spirit can be the common energies of the Father and Son known as *qeotheV* and love since these are not an essence or an hypostasis, whereas the Holy Spirit is an hypostasis. Indeed, the Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Synod required that the Holy Spirit not be identified with any common energy of the Father and Son, but they did not



identify the Holy Spirit with the common essence of the Father and Son either.

The Holy Spirit is an individual hypostasis with individual characteristics or properties not shared by other hypostases, but He does share fully everything the Father and Son have in common, to wit, the divine essence and all uncreated energies and powers. The Holy Spirit is an individuality who is not what is common between the Father and Son, but has in common everything the Father and Son have in common.

All his life, Augustine rejected the distinction between what the persons are and what they have (even though this is a Biblical distinction) and identified what God is with what He has. He not only never understood the distinction between 1.) the common essence and energies of the Holy Trinity and 2.) the incommunicable individualities of the diving hypostases; but completely failed to grasp the very existence of the difference between a.) the common divine essence and b.) the common divine love and divinity. He himself admits that he does not understand why a distinction is made in the Greek language between *ousia* and *hypostaseis* in God. Nevertheless, he insisted that his distinctions must be accepted as a matter of faith and rendered in Latin as *una essentia* and *tres substantiae*. (De Trinitate, 5.8.10;7.4-6)

It is clear that St. Augustine accepted the most important aspect of the Trinitarian terminology of the Cappadocian Fathers and the Second Ecumenical Synod.

However, not aware of the teaching of such Fathers, like Basil and the two Gregories mentioned, who do not identify the common *ousia* and the *hypostasis* of the Trinity with the common divine essence of the Trinity, Augustine has the following peculiar remarks:

"But men like these should make their heart pure, so far as they can, in order that they may have power to see that in the substance of God there is not anything of such a nature as would imply that therein substance is one thing, and that which is accident to substance (*aliud quod accidat substantia*) another thing, and not substance; whereas whatsoever can be taken to be taken therein is substance."

Once these foundations are laid, then the Holy Spirit as that which is common to the Father and Son exists by reason of the Father and Son. Thus, there can be no distinction between the Father and Son sending the Holy Spirit, and the Father causing the existence of the Holy Spirit. What God is by nature, how the three hypostases exist by nature, and what God does by will, become confused. Thus, it is a fact that for Augustine both generation and procession end up being confused with the divine powers and energies and, thereby, also end up meaning the same thing. The Filioque thus is an absolute necessity in order to salvage something of the individuality of the Holy Spirit. God, then, is from no one. The Son is from one. The Holy Spirit must be from two. Otherwise, since generation and procession are the same, there would be no difference between the Spirit and the Son since they would both be from one.

The third and most disturbing blunder in Augustine's approach to the question before us is that his theological method is not only pure speculation on what one accepts by faith (for the purpose of intellectually understanding as much as one's reason allows by either illumination or ecstatic intuition), but it is a speculation which is transferred from the individual speculating believer to a speculating church, which, like an individual, understands the dogmas better with the passage of time.

Thus, the Church awaits a discussion about the Holy Spirit "Full enough or careful enough to make it possible for us to obtain an intelligent conception of what also constitutes His special individuality (*proprium*)..."

The most amazing thing is the fact that Augustine begins with seeking out the individual properties of the Holy Spirit and immediately reduces Him to what is common to the Father and Son. However, in his later additions to his *De Trinitate*, he insists that the Holy Spirit is an individual substance of the Holy Trinity completely equal to the other two substances and possessing the same essence as we saw.

In any case, the Augustinian idea that the Church herself goes through a process of attaining a deeper and better understanding of her dogmas or teachings was made the very basis of the Frankish propaganda that the Filioque is a deeper and better understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity. Therefore, adding it to the Creed is an improvement upon the faith of the Romans who had allowed themselves to become lazy and slothful on such an important matter. This, of course, raises the whole question concerning the relationship between revelation and verbal and iconic or symbolic expressions of revelation.

For Augustine, there is no distinction between revelation and conceptual intuition of revelation. Whether revelation is given directly to human reason, or to human reason by means of creatures, or created symbols, it is always the human intellect itself which is being illumined or given vision to. The vision of God itself is an intellectual experience, even though above the powers of reason without appropriate grace.

Within such a context, every revelation is a revelation of concepts which can be searched out by reason for a fuller and better understanding. Suffice it that faith and the acceptance of dogmas by virtue of the authority of the Church always forms the starting point. What cannot now be fully understood by reason based on faith will be fully understood in the next life. "And inasmuch as, being reconciled and called back into friendship through love, we shall be able to become acquainted with all the secret things of God, for this reason it is said of the Holy Spirit that "He shall lead you into all truth." What Augustine means by such language is

made very clear by what he says elsewhere, "I will not be slow to search out the substance of God, whether through His scripture or through the creature."

Such material in the hands of the Franks transformed the purpose of theology into a study or searching out of the divine substance and, in this respect, the scholastic tradition far surpassed the tradition of the Roman Fathers who consistently taught that not only man, but even the angels, neither know, nor will ever know, the divine essence which is known only to the Holy Trinity.

Both Orthodox and Arians fully agreed with the inherited tradition that only God knows His own essence. This means that He who knows the divine nature is himself God by nature. Thus, in order to prove that the Logos is a creature, the Arians argued that the Logos does not know the essence of the Father. The Orthodox argued that the Logos does know the essence of the Father and, therefore, is uncreated. The Eunomians threw a monkey wrench into the agreed rules for proving points with their shocking claim that, not only does the Logos know the essence of God, but man also can know this essence. Therefore, the Logos does not have to be uncreated because He knows this essence.

Against the Arian and Orthodox position that creatures cannot know the divine uncreated essence, but may know the uncreated energy of God in its multiple manifestations, the Eunomians argued that the divine essence and uncreated energy are identical, so that to know the one is to know the other.

Strangely, Augustine adopted the Eunomian positions on these questions. Therefore, when the Franks appeared in the East with these positions they were accused of being Eunomians.

In contrast to this Augustinian approach to language and concepts concerning God, we have the Patristic position expressed by Saint Gregory the Theologian against the Eunomians. Plato had claimed that it is difficult to conceive of God but, to define Him in words is

an impossibility. Saint Gregory disagrees with this and emphasizes that "it is impossible to express Him, and yet, more impossible to conceive Him. For that which may be conceived may perhaps be made clear by language, if not fairly well, at any rate imperfectly..."

The most important element in Patristic epistemology is that the partial knowability of the divine actions or energies, and the absolute and radical unknowability and incommunicability of the divine essence is not a result of the philosophical or theological speculation, as it is in Paul of Samosata, Arianism, and Nestorianism, but of the personal experience of revelation or participation in the uncreated glory of God by means of vision or *theoria*. Saint Gregory defines a theologian as one who has reached this *theoria* by means of purification and illumination, and not by means of dialectical speculation. Thus, the authority for Christian truth is not the written words of the Bible, which cannot in themselves either express God, but rather the individual apostle, prophet, or saint who is glorified in God.

Thus, the Bible, the writings of the Fathers, and the decisions of Synods are not revelation, but about revelation. Revelation itself transcends words and concepts, although it inspires those participating in divine glory to accurately express what is inexpressible in words and concepts. Suffice it that under the guidance of the saints, who know by experience, the faithful should know that God is not to be identified with Biblical words and concepts which point to Him, albeit infallibly.

Thus, we find that Saint Gregory the Theologian does not only point to the revelatory experience of the prophets, apostles, and saints in order to set out the theological foundations for confuting the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians, but also to his own experience of this same revelation of divine glory.

"What is this that has happened to me, O friends, and initiates, and fellow lovers of the truth? I was running to lay hold of God, and

thus I went up into the Mount, drew aside the curtain of the Cloud, and entered away from matter and material things, and as far as I could I withdrew within myself. And then when I looked up, I scarcely saw the back parts of God; although I was sheltered by the Rock, the Word that was made flesh for us. And when I looked a little closer, I saw, not the first and unmingled Nature known to itself, to the Trinity I mean; not that which abideth within the first veil, and is hidden by the Cherubim; but only that (Nature), which at last even reaches to us. And that is, as far as I can learn, the Majesty, or as holy David calls it, the Glory which is manifested among the creatures, which It has produced and governs. For these are the Back Parts of God, which are after Him, as tokens of Himself..."

This distinction between the first Nature and the uncreated glory of God, the first known only to God and the other to those to whom God reveals himself is to be found not only in the Orthodox Fathers but also in Paul of Samosata, the Arians, and the Nestorians all of whom claimed that God is related to creatures only by will, and not by nature, since natural relations mean necessary relations which would reduce God to a system of emanations like that of Valentinus. Paul of Samosata and the Nestorians argued that in Christ, God is united to humanity not by nature, but by will, and the Arians argued that God is related to the hypostatic Logos not by nature, but by will.

Against these positions, the Orthodox Fathers argues that in Christ, the Logos is united to His humanity by nature or hypostatically, and the Father generates His Son not by will only, but by nature primarily, the will not being in contradiction to what belongs to God by nature. Thus, God generates the Logos by nature and by will. The Holy Trinity creates and is related to creatures with the exception of the Logos who by nature unites himself His own humanity.

In any case, the Eunomians and Augustine obliterated this distinction between what God is by nature and what God does by

will. In Augustine this led to a failure to distinguish between generation and procession (which are not energies of the Father) and such acts as knowing, sending, loving, and giving, which are common energies of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, but not the radically incommunicable manners of existence and hypostatic properties of generation and procession.

Because the Franks, following Augustine, neither understood the Patristic position on this subject, nor were they willing from the heights of their majestic feudal nobility to listen to "Greek" explain these distinctions, they went about raiding the Patristic texts. They took passages out of context in order to prove that for all the Fathers, as supposedly in the case of Augustine, the fact that the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit means that the Holy Spirit derives His existence from the Father and Son.

In concluding this section, we note that the Fathers always claimed that generation and procession are what distinguish the Son from the Holy Spirit. Since the Son is the only generation begotten Son of God, procession is different from generation. Otherwise, we would have two Sons, in which case there is no only begotten Son. For the Fathers this was both a biblical fact and a mystery to be treated with due respect. To ask what generation and procession are is as ridiculous as asking what the divine essence is. Only energies of God may be known, and then only in so far as the creature can receive.

In contrast to this, Augustine set out to explain what generation is. He identified generation with what the other Roman Fathers called actions or energies of God which are common to the Holy Trinity. Thus, procession ended up being these same energies. The difference between the Son and the Spirit was that the Son is from one and the Holy Spirit from two.

When he began his *De Trinitate*, Augustine promised that he would explain why the Son and the Holy Spirit are not brothers. After completing his twelfth book, his friends stole and published this

work in an unfinished and uncorrected form. In Book 15, 45, Augustine admits that he cannot explain why the Holy Spirit is not a son of the Father and brother of the Logos, and proposes that we will learn this in the next life.

In his *Retractationun*, Augustine explains how he intended to explain what had happened in another writing and not publish his *De Trinitate* himself. However, his friends prevailed upon him, and he simply corrected the books as much as he could and finished the work with which he was not really satisfied.

What is most remarkable is that the spiritual and cultural descendants of the Franks, who pricked and swelled Roman livers for so many centuries, are still claiming that Augustine is the authority par excellence on the Patristic doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

Whereas no Greek-speaking Roman Father ever used the expression that the Holy Spirit proceeds (*ekporeuetai*) from the Father and Son, both Ambrose and Augustine use this expression. Since Ambrose was so dependent on such Greek-speaking experts as Basil the Great and Didymos the Blind, particularly his work on the Holy Spirit, one would expect that he would follow Eastern usage.

It seems, however, that at the time of the death of Ambrose, before the Second Ecumenical Synod, the term procession had been adopted by Didymos as the hypostatic individuality of the Holy Spirit. It had not been used by Saint Basil (only in his letter 38 he seems to be using procession as Gregory the Theologian) or by Saint Gregory of Nyssa before the Second Ecumenical Synod. Of the Cappadocian Fathers, only Saint Gregory the Theologian uses very clearly in his Theological Orations what became the final formulation of the Church on the matter at the Second Ecumenical Synod.



The first fully developed use of procession as the manner of existence and the hypostatic property of the Holy Spirit is to be found in the Pseudo-Justin collection of works, which probably came out of the Antiochene tradition. It reached Cappadocia via Saint Gregory the Theologian and Alexandria via Didymos the Blind. Saint Ambrose however, did not pick up this tradition. Augustine picked it up in a confused manner.

It is clear that, in the third or fourth century, the term generation, used with regard to the Logos and God, changed from signifying the Holy Trinity's relation to creation and the incarnation whereby the already existing God became Father, having generated the already existing Logos, who thus became the Son, so that He may be seen and heard by the prophets and become man) to signifying the manner of existence of the Logos from the Father. The question of the Holy Spirit's manner of existence and hypostatic attribute arose as a result of this change.

With the exception of Antioch, the prevailing tradition and, perhaps, the only tradition, was that the Father is from no other being, that the Logos is from the Father by means of generation, and the Holy Spirit is from the Father also, but not by generation. Saint Gregory of Nyssa initially seems to have put forth the idea that the Holy Spirit differs from the Son in so far as the Son receives existence from the Father, and the Spirit received existence from the Father also, but through the Son. The Father is His only principle and cause of existence, since these pertain to what is common, belonging to all three persons. Saint Gregory's usual usage is the "not by generation." To this "not by generation" was added "by procession" in Antioch. This gained enough support to be put into the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod. However, this term "procession" neither adds nor subtracts anything from the patristic understanding of the Holy Trinity, since the Fathers always insisted that we do not know what generation and procession mean. The Fathers evidently accepted the term in the Creed because it was better than inserting such cumbersome and negative expressions as "from the Father not by generation." In

combining Saint Gregory Nyssa's through the Son with the final settlement, we get Saint Maximos the confessor's and Saint John of Damascus' "procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son."

It is obvious that the Greek-speaking Fathers before this development used procession as the Bible does, and so spoke of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father, and never from the Father and the Son. It seems, however, that in the Latin-speaking tradition procedure is used for *ekporeuomai*, but sometimes also for *exercomai*, and even for *pemyiV*. In any case, when Saint Ambrose used procedure, he does not mean either manner of existence or hypostatic property. This is clear from his insistence that whatsoever the Father and the Son have in common, the Holy Spirit also has. When the Father and the Son send the Spirit, the Spirit sends himself. What is individual belongs to only one person. What is common is common to all three persons.

Evidently, because Augustine transformed the doctrine of the Holy Trinity into a speculative exercise of philosophical acumen, the simple, schematic and biblical nature of the doctrine in the Roman tradition had been lost sight of by those stemming from the scholastic tradition.

Thus, the history of the doctrine of the Trinity has been reduced to searching out the development of such concepts and terminology as three persons or hypostases, one essence, *homoousios*, personal or hypostatic properties, one divinity, etc.

For the Fathers, the Arians and the Eunomians, however, the doctrine of the Trinity was identical to the appearances of the Logos in His Glory to the prophets, apostles, and saints. The Logos was always identified with the Angel of God, the Lord of Glory, the Angel of Great Council, the Lord Sabbaoth and the Wisdom of God who appeared to the prophets of the Old Testament and became Christ by His birth as man from the Virgin Theotokos. No one ever doubted this identification of the Logos with this very

concrete individual, who revealed in himself the invisible God of the Old Testament to the prophets, with the peculiar exception of Augustine, who in this regard follows the Gnostic and Manichaean traditions.

The controversy between the Orthodox and Arians was not about who the Logos is in the Old and New Testament, but about what the Logos is and what His relationship is so the Father. The Orthodox insisted that the Logos is uncreated and unchangeable, having always existed from the Father, who by nature generates the Logos before the ages. The Arians insisted that this same Logos is a changeable creature, deriving His existence from non-being before the ages by the will of the Father.

Thus the basic question was, did the prophets see in God's uncreated glory a created Logos, or an uncreated Logos, a Logos who is God by nature and, therefore, has all the energies and powers of God by nature, or a God by grace who has some, but not all, the energies of the Father and then only by grace and not by nature.

Both Orthodox and Arians agreed in principle that, if the Logos has every power and energy of the Father by nature, then He is uncreated. If not, He is a creature.

Since the Bible is a witness of whom and what the prophets and apostles saw in the glory of the Father, the Bible itself will reveal whether or not the Logos has all the energies and powers of the Father by nature. Thus, we will know whether the prophets and apostles saw a created or an uncreated Logos with the Father.

Once can see clearly how, for the Fathers, the con-substantiality of the Logos with the Father is not only the experience of the apostles and saints, but also of the prophets.

One of the most amazing things in doctrinal history is the fact that both Arians and Orthodox use both the Old and New Testaments indiscriminately. The argument is very simple. They make a list of all the powers and energies of the Father. They do the same for the Son. Then they compare them to see if they are identical or not. The important thing is for them to be not similar, but identical.

Parallel to this, both Arians and Orthodox agree against the Sabellians and Samosatenes that the Father and Son have individual hypostatic properties which are not common, although they do not completely agree on what these are. When the controversy is extended into the question of the Holy Spirit, the exact same method of theologizing is used. Whatever powers and energies the Father and Son have in common, the Holy Spirit must also have both in common and by nature, in order to be God by nature.

However, parallel to this argumentative process is the personal experience of those living spiritual masters who themselves reach *theoria*, as we saw expounded by Saint Gregory above. This experience verifies or certifies the patristic interpretation of the Bible, which witnesses to the uncreatedness of the Logos and the Holy Spirit and their oneness nature with the Father and the identity of their uncreated glory, rule, grace, will, etc. This personal experience of the glory of God also certifies the biblical teaching that there is absolutely no similarity between the created and the uncreated. This means also that there can be no uncreated universals of which creatures are supposedly copies. Each individual creature is dependent upon the uncreated glory of God, which is, on the one hand, absolutely simple, yet indivisibly divided among individual creatures. All of God is present in each and every energy simultaneously. This the Fathers know by experience, not by speculation.

This summary of the Patristic theological method is perhaps sufficient to indicate the nonspeculative method by which the Fathers theologize and interpret the Bible. The method is simple

and the result is schematic. Stated simply and arithmetically, the whole doctrine of the Trinity may be broken down into two simple statements as far as the Filioque is concerned. (1)What is common in the Holy Trinity is common to and identical in all three persons or hypostases. (2)What is hypostatic, or hypostatic property, or manner of existence is individual, and belongs only to one person or hypostasis of the Holy Trinity.

Thus, we have *ta koina* and *ta akoinwnhta* , what is common and what is incommunicably individual.

Having this in mind, one realizes why the Romans did not take the Frankish Filioque very seriously as a theological position, especially as one which was supposed to improve upon the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod.

However, the Romans had to take the Franks themselves seriously, because they backed up their fantastic theological claims with an unbelievable self-confidence and with a sharp sword, What they lacked in historical insight, they made up with "nobility" of descent, and a strong will to back up their arguments with muscle and steel.

In any case, it may be useful in terminating this section to emphasize the simplicity of the Roman position and the humor with which the Filioque was confronted. We may recapture this Roman humor about the Latin Filioque with two syllogistic jokes from the Great Photios which may explain some of the fury of Frankish reaction against him.

"Everything, therefore, which is seen and spoken of in the all-holy and consubstantial and coessential Trinity, is either common to all, or belongs to one only of the three: but the projection (probolh) of the Spirit, is neither common, but nor, as they say, does it belong to anyone of them alone (may propitiation be upon us, and the blasphemy turned upon their heads). Therefore, the projection of the Spirit is not at all in the life-giving and all-perfect Trinity."

In other words, the Holy Spirit must then derive His existence outside of the Holy Trinity since everything in the Trinity is common to all or belongs to one only.

"For otherwise, if all things common to the Father and the Son, are in any case common to the Spirit,...and the procession from them is common to the Father and the Son, the Spirit therefore will then proceed from himself: and He will be principle (arch) of himself, and both cause and caused: a thing which even the myths of the Greeks never fabricated."

Keeping in mind the fact that the Fathers always began their thoughts about the Holy Trinity from their personal experience of the Angel of the Lord and Great Counselor made man and Christ, one only then understands the problematic underlying the Arian/Eunomian crisis, i.e., whether this concrete person derives His existence from the essence of hypostasis of the Father or from non-being by the will of the Father. Had the tradition understood the method of theologizing about God as Augustine did, there would never have been an Arian or Eunomian heresy. Those who reach glorification (theosis) know by this experience that whatever has its existence from non-being by the will of God is a creature, and whoever and whatever is not from non-being, but from the Father is uncreated. Between the created and the uncreated, there is no similarity whatsoever.

Before the Cappadocian Fathers gave their weight to the distinction between the three divine hypostases (hypostases) and the one divine essence, many Orthodox Church leaders avoided speaking either about one essence or one hypostasis since this smacked of Sabellian and Samosatene Monarchianism. Many preferred to speak about the Son as deriving His existence from the Father's essence and as being like the Father in essence (omoousios). Saint Athanasios explains that this is exactly what is meant by (omoiousios)--coessential. It is clear that the Orthodox were not searching for a common faith but rather for common

terminology and common concepts to express their common experience in the Body of Christ.

Equally important is the fact that the Cappadocians lent their weight to the distinction between the Father as cause (aitioV) and the Son and the Holy Spirit as caused (aitiata). Coupled with the manners of existence (tropoi uparxewV) of generation and procession, these terms mean that the Father causes the existence of the Son by generation and of the Holy Spirit by procession or not by generation. Of course, the Father being from no one (ex oudenov) derives His existence neither from himself nor from another. Actually, Saint Basil pokes fun at Eunomios for being the first to say such an obvious thing and thereby manifest his frivolousness and wordiness. Furthermore, neither the essence nor the natural energy of the Father have a cause of manner of existence. The Father possesses them by His very nature and communicates them to the Son in order that they possess them by nature likewise. Thus, the manner by which the uncaused Father exists, and by which the Son and the Holy Spirit receive their existence from the Father, are not to be confused with the Father's communicating His essence and energy to the Son and the Holy Spirit. It would, indeed, be strange to speak about the Father as causing the existence of His own essence and energy along with the hypostases of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

It also must be emphasized that for the Fathers who composed the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople neither generation nor procession mean energy or action. This was the position of the heretics condemned. The Arians claimed that the Son is the product of the will of God. The Eunomians supported a more original but bizarre position that the uncreated energy of the Father is identical with His essence, that the Son is the product of a single energy of the Son, and that each created species is the product of a special energy of the Holy Spirit, there being as many created energies as there are species. Otherwise, if the Holy Spirit has only one created energy, then there would be only one species of things in creation. It is in the light of these heresies also that one must

appreciate that generation and procession in the Creed in no way mean energy or action.

Augustine did not understand generation and procession in this manner since he clearly identifies them with energies. It is this which allowed him to speculate psychologically about the Holy Trinity, a luxury which was methodologically impossible for the Fathers. Thus, Augustine did not use and neither was he aware of the conciliar and especially East Roman understanding of generation and procession. He identified these terms with the Father's communication of being, i.e., essence and action to the Son and the Holy Spirit, an aspect which exists in all the Fathers, but not to be identified with generation and procession, at least after the First and Second Ecumenical Synod. It is within such a context that Augustine should be understood when he speaks about the Holy Spirit as receiving His being (essence) and as proceeding principally from the Father, but also from the Son. This is exactly what the East Roman Fathers mean by the Holy Spirit receiving His essence and energy from the Father through or even and (St. Gregory Palamas) the Son simultaneously with His procession or reception of His proper or individual existence of hypostasis from the Father. Neither the essence nor the essential energy of the Father are caused, nor are they the cause of the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father's essence and energy are communicated and common (*koina*) to the Holy Trinity which is thus one cause of creation. However, neither the Father's nor the Son's, nor the Holy Spirit's hypostasis is communicated. The hypostases are incommunicable (*akoinwnhta*). Thus, the persons of the Holy Trinity are one, not by union or identity of persons, but by the unity and identity of essence and energy, and by the Father being the sole cause of the existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

In the experience of illumination and glorification in Christ, one is aware that God is three absolutely similar realities, two derived from one and con-inhering in each other, and at the same time one identical reality of uncreated communicated glory, rule (*basileia*)



and grace in which God indivisibly divides himself in divisible things, His one mansion (monh) thus becoming many while remaining one. The divine essence, however, is not communicated to creatures and, therefore, can never be known.

Augustine did not approach the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in the manner of the other Fathers. However, the other West Roman Fathers each have their parallels in the developing East Roman tradition. Augustine also accepted the settlement of the Second Ecumenical Synod and the Fathers who forged it as we saw. Thus, the East Roman Fathers became West Roman Fathers. To speak about a Western doctrine of the Holy Trinity is, therefore, a falsification of how the West Romans themselves understood things. It is within such a context that procession in the West came to have the two meanings as explained by Maximos the Confessor and Anastasios the Librarian.

However, when the Franks began raiding the Fathers for arguments to support their addition to the Creed, they picked up the categories of manner of existence, cause and cause, and identified these with Augustine's generation and procession, thus transforming the old Western Orthodox Filioque into their heretical one. This confusion is nowhere so clear than during the debates at the Council of Florence where the Franks used the terms "cause" and "caused" as identical with their generation and procession, and supported their claim that the Father and the Son are one cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit. Thus, they became completely confused over Maximos who explains that for the West of his time, the Son is not the cause of the existence of the Holy Spirit, so that in this sense the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father. That Anastasios the Librarian repeats this is ample evidence of the confusion of both the Franks and their spiritual and theological descendants.

We end this section with the reminder that for the Fathers, no name or concept gives any understanding of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Saint Gregory the Theologian, e.g., is clear on this as we saw. He ridicules his opponents with a characteristic taunt: "Do tell

me what is the unbegottenness 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" Names and concepts about God give to those who reach theoria understanding not of the mystery, but of the dogma and its purpose. In the experience of glorification, knowledge about God, along with prayer, prophecy and faith are abolished. Only love remains (1 Cor. 13, 8-13; 14,1). The mystery remains, and will always remain, even when one sees God in Christ face to face and is known by God as Paul was (1 Cor. 13.12).

## The Significance of the Filioque Question

**S**maragdus record how the emissaries of Charlemagne complained the Pope Leo III was making an issue of only four syllables. Of course, four syllables are not many. Nevertheless, their implications are such that Latin of Frankish Christendom embarked on a history of theology and ecclesiastical practice which may have been quite different had the Franks paid attention to the "Greek."

I will indicate some of the implication of the presuppositions of the Filioque issue which present problems today.

1.) Even a superficial study of today's histories of dogma and biblical scholarship reveals the peculiar fact that Protestant, Anglican, Papal, and some Orthodox theologians accept the First and Second Ecumenical Synods only formally. This is so because there is at least an identity of teaching between Orthodox and Arians, which does not exist between Orthodox and Latins, about the real appearances of the Logos to the Old Testament prophets and the identity of this Logos made flesh in the New Testament. This, as we saw, was the agreed foundation of debate for the

determination of whether the Logos seen by the prophets is created or uncreated. This identification of the Logos in the Old Testament is the very basis of the teachings of all the Roman Ecumenical Synods.

We emphasize that the East Roman Fathers never abandoned this reading of the Old Testament theophanies. This is the teaching of all the West Roman Fathers, with the single exception of Augustine, who, confused as usual over what the Fathers teach, rejects as blasphemous the idea what the prophets could have seen the Logos with their bodily eyes and, indeed, in fire, darkness, cloud, etc.

The Arians and Eunomians had used, as the Gnostics before them, the visibility of the Logos to the prophets to prove that He was a lower being than God and a creature. Augustine agrees with the Arians and Eunomians that the prophets saw a created Angel, created fire, cloud, light, darkness, etc., but he argues against them that none of these was the Logos himself, but symbols by means of which God or the whole Trinity is seen and heard.

Augustine did not have patience with the teaching that the Angel of the Lord, the fire, the glory, the cloud, and the Pentecostal tongues of fire, were verbal symbols of the uncreated realities immediately communicated with by the prophets and apostles, since for him this would mean that all this language pointed to a vision of the divine substance. For the bishop of Hippo this vision is identical to the whole of what is uncreated, and could be seen only by a Neoplatonic type ecstasy of the soul, out of the body, within the sphere of timeless and motionless eternity, transcending all discursive reasoning. Since this is not what he found in the Bible, the visions therein described are not verbal symbols of real visions of God, but of creatures symbolizing eternal realities. The created verbal symbols of the Bible became created objective symbols. In other words, words which symbolized uncreated energies like fire, etc., became objectively real created fires, clouds, tongues, etc.

2.) This failure of Augustine to distinguish between the divine essence and its natural energies (of which some are communicated to the friends of God). led to a very peculiar reading of the Bible, wherein creatures or symbols come into existence in order to convey a divine message, and then pass out of existence. Thus, the Bible becomes full of unbelievable miracles and a text dictated by God.

3.) Besides this, the biblical concept of heaven and hell also becomes distorted, since the eternal fires of hell and the outer darkness become creatures also whereas, they are the uncreated glory of God as seen by those who refuse to love. thus, one ends up with the three-story universe problem, with God in a place, etc., necessitating a demythologizing of the Bible in order to salvage whatever one can of a quaint Christian tradition for modern man. However, it is not the Bible itself which need demythologizing, but the Augustinian Franco-Latin tradition and the caricature which it passed off in the West as "Greek" Patristic theology.

4.) By not taking the above-mentioned foundations of Roman Patristic theology of the Ecumenical Synods seriously as the key to interpreting the Bible, modern biblical scholars have applied presuppositions latent in Augustine with such methodical consistency that they have destroyed the unity and identity of the Old and New Testaments, and have allowed themselves to be swayed by Judaic interpretations of the Old Testament rejected by Christ himself.

Thus, instead of dealing with the concrete person of the Angel of God, Lord of Glory, Angel of Great Council, Wisdom of God and identifying Him with the logos made flesh and Christ, and accepting this as the doctrine of the Trinity, most, if not all, Western scholars have ended up identifying Christ only with Old Testament Messiahship, and equating the doctrine of the Trinity with the development of extra Biblical Trinitarian terminology within what is really not a Patristic framework, but an Augustinian

one. Thus, the so-called "Greek" Fathers are still read in the light of Augustine, with the Russians after Peter Mogila joining in.

5.) Another most devastating result of the Augustinian presuppositions of the Filioque is the destruction of the prophetic and apostolic understanding of grace and its replacement with the whole system of created graces distributed in Latin Christendom by the hocus pocus of the clergy.

For the Bible and the Father, grace is the uncreated glory and rule (basileia) of God seen by the prophets, apostles, and saints and participated in by the faithful followers of the prophets and the apostles. The source of this glory and rule is the Father who, in begetting the Logos, and projecting the Spirit, communicates this glory and rule so that the Son and the Spirit are also by nature one source of grace with the Father. This uncreated grace and rule (basileia) is participated in by the faithful according to their preparedness for reception, and is seen by the friends of God who have become gods by grace.

Because the Frankish Filioque presupposes the identity of uncreated divine essence and energy, and because participation in the divine essence is impossible, the Latin tradition was led automatically into accepting communicated grace as created, leading to its objectification and magical priestly manipulation.

On the other hand, the reduction by Augustine of this revealed glory and rule (basileia) to the status of a creature has misled modern biblical scholars into the endless discussion concerning the coming of the "Kingdom" (basileia should rather be rule) without realizing its identity with the uncreated glory and grace of God.

6.) In order not to extend ourselves into more detail, we end this section and this paper by pointing out what the presupposition of the Filioque have done to the matter of authority on questions of biblical interpretation and dogma.

In this patristic tradition, all dogma or truth is experienced in glorification. The final form of glorification is that of Pentecost, in which the apostles were led by the Spirit into all the truth, as promised by Christ at the Last Supper. Since Pentecost, every incident of the glorification of a saint, (in other words, of a saint having a vision of God's uncreated glory in Christ as its source), is an extension of Pentecost at various levels of intensity.

This experience includes all of man, but at the same time transcends all of man, including man's intellect. Thus, the experience remains a mystery to the intellect. Thus, the experience remains a mystery to the intellect, and cannot be conveyed intellectually to another. Thus, language can point to, but cannot convey, this experience. The spiritual father can guide a person to, but cannot produce, the experience which is a gift of the Holy Spirit.

When, therefore, the Fathers add terms to the biblical language concerning God and His relations to the world, like hypostasis, ousia, physis, homoousios, etc., they are not doing this because they are improving current understanding as over against a former age. Pentecost cannot be improved upon. All they are doing is defending the Pentecostal experience which transcends words, in the language of their time, because a particular heresy leads away from, and not to, this experience, which means spiritual death to those led astray.

For the Fathers, authority is not only the Bible, but the Bible plus those glorified or divinized as the prophets and apostles. The Bible is not in itself either inspired or infallible. It becomes inspired and infallible within the communion of saints because they have the experience of divine glory described in the Bible.

The presuppositions of the Frankish Filioque are not founded on this experience of glory. Anyone can claim to speak with authority and understanding. However, we follow the Fathers and accept only those as authority who, like the apostles, have reached a degree of Pentecostal glorification.

Within this frame of reference, there can be no institutionalized or guaranteed form of infallibility, outside of the tradition of spirituality which leads to theoria, mentioned above, by St. Gregory the Theologian.

As a heresy, the Filioque is as bad as Arianism, and this is borne out by the fact that the holders of this heresy reduce the Pentecostal tongues of fire to the status of creature as Arius had done with the Angel of Glory. Had Arius and the Scholastics been gifted with the Pentecostal glorification of the Fathers, they would have known by their experience that the Logos who appeared to the prophets and the apostles in glory, and the tongues of fire are uncreated; the one an uncreated hypostasis, and the other the common and identical energies of the Holy Trinity emanating from the new presence of the humanity of Christ by the Holy Spirit.

What is true of the Bible is true of the Synods, which, like the Bible, express in symbols that which transcends symbols and is known by means of those who have reached theoria. It is for this reason that the Synods appeal to the authority, not only of the Fathers in the Bible, but also to the Fathers of all ages, since the Fathers of all ages participate in the same truth which is God's glory in Christ.

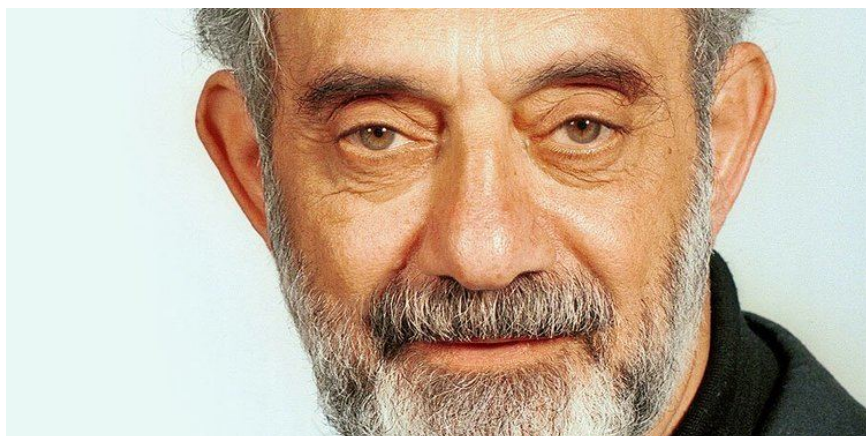
For this reason, Pope Leo III told the Franks in no uncertain terms that the Fathers left the Filioque out of the Creed neither because of ignorance nor by omission, but by divine inspiration. However, the implications of the Frankish Filioque were not accepted by all Roman Christians in the Western Roman provinces conquered by Franco-Latin Christendom and its scholastic theology. Remnants of Roman biblical orthodoxy and piety have survived all parts may one day be reassembled, as the full implications of the Patristic tradition make themselves known, and spirituality, as the basis of doctrine, becomes the center of our studies.

\* Because the question of the Filioque played such an important

role in the centuries long conflict between the Frankish and Roman worlds, the author's study originally prepared as the Orthodox position paper for the discussions on the Filioque between Orthodox and Anglicans at the subcommission meeting in St. Albans, England in 1975 and at the plenary commission meeting in Moscow in 1976, is presented here as Lecture 3 in a revised form. It was first published in *Kleronomia*, 7 (1975), 285-34 and reprinted in Athens in 1978.

E N D





## About the Author

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Born in Piraeus, Greece, on 2 March 1928, his parents emigrated to the United States when he was only two months old. He grew up in Manhattan, graduating from the Hellenic College, Brookline, Massachusetts. After attending Yale Divinity School, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Athens.

From 1956 to 1965 he was Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Holy Cross Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts. In 1968 he was appointed as tenured Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the University of Thessaloniki, Greece, a position he held until his retirement in 1982. His latest position was Professor

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He was a "candidate for the Far Right in the 1977 parliamentary elections in Greece"